

Abstract of the thesis entitled

**Early *Qin* Music:
Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393
and
Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633**

Submitted by

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The manuscripts Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633 are the two oldest surviving sources of *qin* music today, both pre-dating the twelfth century. The present thesis provides a detailed description of the two manuscripts, a survey of the biographies of the contributors of their texts, and an exploration on the historical inquiries about *qin* music carried out in eighteenth-century Japan.

Chapter I investigates the two manuscripts as physical artifacts. For each manuscript, it provides a detailed description of its external features, an analysis of the various scripts and their owners, and a reconstruction of the copying sequence.

Chapter II focuses on the contributors of the music and the various *qin* treatises preserved in the two manuscripts. A total of four figures involved in the compilation and transmission of *qin* related texts from the early sixth to the middle seventh century are either newly identified or their biographies fleshed out considerably.

Four compilations by the Japanese Sinologue Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) derived from the two manuscripts are discussed in Chapter III. The Chapter examines Sorai's



motives when preparing the compilations, based on bibliographical and historical analysis and a critical assessment of the ideology behind Sorai's compilations.

The two appendices provide the first full transcription of the Epitaph of Chen Shuming and a list of all known manuscripts that derive from the Tōkyō and Hikone sources.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgment is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signed



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CHAPTER I

A TALE OF TWO MANUSCRIPTS: THE MAKING OF THE SCROLLS

Only two manuscripts contemporaneous to early *qin* 琴 music¹ practice are known to be extant today: One is the manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 (henceforth the Tōkyō manuscript), currently accepted by scholarship as a seventh-century scroll, its recto containing a notated version of the *qin* piece *Youlan/Yūran* 幽蘭 [Solitary Orchid];² the other is the manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633 (henceforth the Hikone manuscript). The recto of the Hikone scroll preserves a number of treatises on the fingering of early *qin* playing, while the verso contains sketches of a *saibara* 催馬樂 piece, Chinese verses and three groups of casual drawings.³ Being the oldest manuscripts on *qin* music preserved today, the Tōkyō and Hikone scrolls are essential for any exploration of ancient East Asian music.

The Tōkyō manuscript first came to music historians' attention when a woodcut facsimile of a tracing copy of it was published in 1884.⁴ Apparently representing an early stage of the

¹ In the present thesis, “early *qin* music” shall refer to *qin* playing as practiced between the third and the ninth century C.E., i.e., roughly from the Jin dynasty to the Tang period.

² *Youlan* is the Mandarin reading and *Yūran* is the pronunciation in Japanese. When multiple phoneticizations of a single set of characters are offered concurrently, the Chinese reading will be given first with the Japanese romanization to follow.

³ The verso of the scroll as understood here is identical with the verso of its first layer; a new backing layer was added at a later moment in time (for the details of the physical structure of the Hikone scroll, please see the discussion below). For the details of the notation, see Iijima Kazuhiko 飯島一彦, “Hikone-jō hakubutsukan shozō kinyōshihō shihai saibarafukō 彦根城博物館所藏《琴用指法》紙背催馬樂譜稿 [Draft *Saibara* Notations on the Recto (*sic*) of a Manuscript on the Fingering and Playing Techniques of *Qin* Music Preserved in the Hikone Castle Museum],” *Ryōjin: Kenkyū to shiryō* 梁塵: 研究と資料 13 (1995), 41-52. I am indebted to the author for sending me an e-copy of his article on December 18, 2003.

⁴ Being one item from *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書, a set of books issued with the aim of re-issuing early Chinese books that were lost in the Chinese mainland, the facsimile F2 was based on a tracing copy (F1) originally held in the collection of Ojima Hōso 小島宝素 (1797-1847). (For information on the sigla, please see Appendix B.) A Chinese bibliophile, Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839-1915), actually directed the making of the woodcut facsimile as well as its eventual publication in Tōkyō in 1884 during his sojourn in Japan from 1880 to 1884, while the editorship of the whole set of books was left to Li



qin notating system, the Tōkyō manuscript at a stroke substantially changed modern scholars' picture of early *qin* music. A great number of different attempts at deciphering the notation, involving numerous uncertainties, appeared since then,⁵ and a preliminary dating identifying the scroll as a seventh-century artifact was suggested.⁶ Nevertheless, our knowledge of this crucial source remains incomplete: no full-fledged codicological study of the original manuscript has as yet been conducted, and the origins of the Tōkyō manuscript remain shrouded in complete darkness. For instance, no historical data on any one of the figures mentioned in the preface of the piece *Youlan* could so far be uncovered, meaning that the basic question whether the preface was based on actual facts or is pure speculation is left open.

Compared with the current state of research of the Tōkyō manuscript, the level of exploration of the Hikone manuscript is even more unsatisfactory. Although several conflated copies of the Hikone manuscript compiled by the eminent scholar from the Edo period, Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), have been studied and analyzed by modern scholars,⁷ the original itself, which had been buried among the historical documents of the Ii family for several centuries, was unknown to modern scholarship until its existence was announced to the modern public by Goshima Kuniharu, curator of historical documents at Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan in 1994.⁸ Therefore, it is understandable that no full-fledged study of the exact

Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837-96), Chinese ambassador to Japan at the time.

⁵ See, e.g., Yang Zongji 楊宗稷, *Qinxue congshu* 琴學叢書 (Beijing, 1911-31); Li Ji 李濟, "Youlan 幽蘭," *Tsinghua journal of Chinese studies* 清華學報 2 (1925), 573-7; and Zha Fuxi 查阜西 (ed.), *Youlan shilu* 幽蘭實錄, vol. 1-3 (Beijing, 1954-7).

⁶ See, Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎, "Kesekichō yūran 碣石調幽蘭," *Tō shōhon* 唐鈔本, ed. Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館 (Kyōto, 1981), 171; Tomita Jun 富田淳, "Kesekichō yūran daigo ni tsuite 碣石調·幽蘭第五について," *Yūran kenkyū kokusai shinpojiumu* 幽蘭研究国際シンポジウム, ed. Tōyō kingaku kenkyūjo 東洋琴学研究所 (Tōkyō, 1999), 31-2; and Tsunoi Hiroshi 角井博, Letter to the Central Orchestra of China on October 29th, 1974. The letter is quoted in the editorial preamble to a facsimile of the original scroll; see Wenhua wenxue yishu yanjiu yuan yinyue yanjiu suo 文化部文學藝術研究院音樂研究所 and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui 北京古琴研究會 (ed.), *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成, vol. 1 (Beijing, 1980), i.

⁷ See Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, "Kinsho sandai 琴書三題 [Three Books on *Qin* Music]," *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音樂研究 2 (1942), 235-45; Wang Mengshu 汪孟舒, *Wusilan zhifa shi* 烏絲欄指法釋 [Annotations to the Fingering Manual of the Black-ruled Lines] (Beijing, 1955); Cheung Sai-bung 張世彬, "Youlan pu yanjiu 幽蘭譜研究 [A Study on *Yulan*]," *Journal of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 5 (1979), 127-66; and Kikkawa Yoshikazu 吉川良和, "Mononobe shigenori senshi ushiran shihō kansu kenkyū 物部茂卿撰次《烏絲欄指法卷子》研究 [Studies on the Black-ruled Manual Compiled by Mononobe Shigenori]," *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 94 (1984), 1-66.

⁸ Goshima Kuniharu 五島邦治, "Ike dendai shiryō no gakusho 井伊家伝来史料の楽書 [Music books among the historical



contents, the history, the date and the origins of the Hikone manuscript has been carried out to date.

Despite the lack of primary knowledge on the origins and genesis of the two scrolls, scholars allowed themselves to be tempted into a number of speculative assumptions about the two sources' relationship to one another. In 1942, Hayashi Kenzō briefly discussed manuscript A1, a tracing copy of the recto of the Hikone manuscript (at that time, presumed lost), which at the time was kept in Japanese musicologist Kikkawa Eishi's private collection.⁹ As Ogyū Sorai claimed in his *Shūfūrakushō* 秋風楽章 that the Hikone manuscript and the Tōkyō manuscript both were bestowed on the Koma family, a clan of hereditary imperial musicians, by Gomizunō-tennō (r. 1611-29), Hayashi saw the Tōkyō manuscript and Hikone manuscript as a pair of scrolls:

A sibling manuscript of *Yūranfu* (= the Tōkyō manuscript), which I ought to mention, is the manuscript *Kinshihō* 琴手法 (= the Hikone manuscript) which also seems to have been bestowed on the Koma family at the same time with *Yūranfu* by the Emperor Gomizunō. 幽蘭譜と姉妹關係をなすものとして、こゝでは是非書いてをきたいことは、幽蘭譜と共に多分同時に後水尾天皇から狛家に賜つたものかと思はれる「琴手法」と云ふ書のことである。¹⁰

Hayashi further demonstrated that the Hikone manuscript had its sources in several different Chinese treatises generated between the sixth and the seventh century, and therefore the terms of fingering did not fully parallel the terms used in the full-ideogram notation of the Tōkyō manuscript.

sources from the Ii family],” *Geinoshi kenkyū* 藝能史研究 125 (1994), 51-9. For a tentative introduction on the contents of the recto of the scroll, see Yamadera Mikiko 山寺美紀子, “Hikone-jō hakubutsukan shozō kinyōshihō: Nihon denson no shichigenkin shihōsho ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu 彦根城博物館所藏《琴用指法》：日本伝存の七弦琴手法書に関する一考察 [The Hikone Castle Museum's *Kin'yōshihō*: An old manuscript on playing techniques for the *kin*],” *Ongakugaku* 音楽学 50 (2004), 54-67.

⁹ Kikkawa Eishi 吉川英史 (1909-) is one of the most distinguished musicologists in the field of Japanese music history and organology. His major works include: *Nihon ongaku no rekishi* 日本音楽の歴史 (Ōsaka, 1965) and *Nihon ongaku no seikaku* 日本音楽の性格 (Tōkyō, 1979). Several pages of the tracing copy from Kikkawa's collection were published in the conference materials of Tōyō Ongaku Gakkai 東洋音楽學會 in 1970; see Tōyō Ongaku Gakkai, *Tōyō ongaku gakkai dai 21 kai taikai kōkai kōenkai shiryōten* 東洋音楽學會第 21 回大会公開講演会資料 (1970), 4-10. When writing his article “Youlan pu yanjiu” in 1977, Cheung Sai-bang recorded that his work was based on the microfilm of Kikkawa's copy. At that time, Kikkawa's original was already lost; see Cheung Sai-bang, “Youlan pu yanjiu,” 127.

¹⁰ Hayashi, “Kinsho sandai,” 237.



Wang Mengshu's monograph *Wusilan zhifa shi*, published in Beijing in 1955, is the most important work in Chinese in this field so far.¹¹ However, since Wang based his research on B20 and B21, both prepared by Chinese copyists from B17 sometime between the 1920s and 1940s,¹² Wang misinterpreted Hayashi's standpoint about the relationship of the two scrolls. In the preface to his book, Wang states:

(The two scrolls) were originally kept as a single scroll in Japan. ... The black-ruled manual [i.e., the presumptive original of the late copy B17 in Wang's imagination (author's note)], the second half of the original scroll *Youlan*, is an explanation of the fingering (which the piece) requires. 舊傳同一卷子寶藏於日本。.....烏絲欄為幽蘭下卷之彈法說明。¹³

Later, Hong Kong-based scholar Cheung Sai-bung developed Wang's idea to an even more speculative level. In his posthumous work, Cheung conjectured that the separation of the two scrolls happened some time after the appearance of Ogyū Sorai's conflation of the two manuscripts.¹⁴

The unsubstantiated assumption that the Tōkyō manuscript and the Hikone manuscript were originally a pair of sibling scrolls thus appeared, developed and finally became accepted among both Chinese and Japanese musicologists. Such a string of increasingly fanciful (mis-)interpretations may be taken as symptomatic, reflecting – as it were – some of the more worrisome limitations of Eastern manuscript studies to date. One of the main reasons for such problematic developments may be found in the fact that, for an extended period now, the mainstream of dating East Asian manuscripts was grounded first and foremost in calligraphic comparison. While the importance of such stylistic study is self-evident, the lack of established methodological principles in the area of calligraphic analysis of Sino-Japanese manuscripts means that it has become fundamentally a judgment based on the highly subjective connoisseurship of style.¹⁵ However, the deliberate use of similar styles in

¹¹ Wang Mengshu 汪孟舒, *Wusilan zhifa shi* 烏絲欄指法釋 [Annotations to the Fingering Manual of the Black-ruled Lines] (Beijing, 1955).

¹² For further information, see Appendix B.

¹³ See Wang, *Wusilan zhifa shi*, i. No evidence is given by Wang to support his claim of a “single scroll”.

¹⁴ Cheung, “Youlan pu yanjiu,” 128.

¹⁵ The typical examples of such kinds of connoisseurship are, for instance, *Xuanlan bian* 玄覽編 by Zhan Jingfeng 詹景鳳



different periods for various reasons such as learning and copying,¹⁶ can easily lead to serious errors of attribution.¹⁷ There are also cases where originals that have been damaged through wear have been re-copied in the same style and layout as the original.¹⁸ Thus, dating on paleographical appearances alone, while extremely common, must be approached with considerable caution.

On the other hand, the codicological analysis of manuscripts as cultural artifacts has become indispensable when examining any kind of source materials in studies of early-music manuscripts from Europe since the 1980s.¹⁹ In contrast, the importance of codicological analysis for East Asian music manuscripts has so far not been appreciated by the conventional wisdom of musicology;²⁰ as a result, no full-scale codicological study has ever been

(1519-1602) and *Tuhua jingyi shi* 圖畫精意識 by Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685-1760). They depend on categorical identification of brushworks, i.e., painted with such-and-such a texture stroke in the manner of so-and-so. For modern reprints, see Zhan Jingfeng, *Zhandongtu xuanlan bian* 詹東圖玄覽編 (Beijing, 1947) and Zhang Geng, *Tuhua jinyi shi* 圖畫精意識, *Meishu congshu* 美術叢書, vol. 86, ed. Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Deng Shi 鄧實 (Shanghai, 1928).

¹⁶ On the purpose of learning, Fong Wen has written: “*Bona fide* copying in ancient China ... was not only an honorable but also a vitally necessary form of art. It was the only way to reproduce – and by reproducing to circulate and perpetuate – treasured masterpieces of calligraphy and painting;” see Fong Wen, “The problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting,” *Artibus Asiae* 25 (1962), 95.

¹⁷ For example, the new characters created at the end of the seventh century under Empress Wu Zetian also appear in manuscripts of a much later date; see Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les caractères de l’impératrice Wu Zetian dans les manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 73 (1984), 339-54; and Michel Soymié, “Observations sur les caractères interdits en Chine,” *Journal Asiatique* 278 (1990), 377-407.

¹⁸ Such restorative work in the Sino-Japanese tradition of antique scrolls is called *quan* 全/iro-sashi 色差 [retouching]. Lots of masterpieces of the Sino-Japanese pictorial arts bear evidence of such kinds of retouching. For an English account of restorations carried out on the Song painting *The Classic of Filial Piety*, see Richard M. Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York, 1993), 165-75.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Lawrence Earp, “Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machau” (diss., Princeton University, 1983); Margaret Bent, “A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript,” *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, *Musicological Studies* 53 (Ottawa, 1990), 217-42; Edward Roesner, Nancy Regalado, and François Avril, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Complete Reproduction in Facsimile of the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146* (New York, 1990); David Fallows (ed.), *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213* (Chicago, 1995); Karl Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony* (Ottawa, 1997); and Isabella Data and Karl Kügle (ed.), *Il Codice J. II. 9: Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria* (Lucca, 1999). Jean-Pierre Drège applied the methodology of codicological studies to some of the dated Dunhuang manuscripts; see Jean-Pierre Drège, “Papiers de Dunhuang, essai d’analyse morphologique des manuscrits chinois datés,” *T’oung Pao* 67 (1981), 305-60; “Etude formelle des manuscrits de Dunhuang conservés à Taipei: datation et authenticité,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985), 477-84; “Notes codicologiques sur les manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985), 485-504; and “L’Analyse fibreuse des papiers et la datation des manuscrits de Dunhuang,” *Journal Asiatique* 274 (1986), 403-15.

²⁰ For instance, among the numerous publications on the music scrolls excavated in Dunhuang, only an account on the early *pipa* scroll - the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, pelliott chinois 3808 - offers a very brief codicological description; see Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, “Pipa pu xiejuan yuanben zhi kaocha 琵琶譜寫卷原本之考察,” *Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜, ed. Jao Tsung-I, Xianggang Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu zhongxin congkan 香港敦煌吐魯番研究中心叢刊 1 (Taipei, 1990), 23-5.



conducted of any manuscript of ancient Sino-Japanese music, including the Tōkyō manuscript and the Hikone manuscript. In the present chapter, using the toolkit of codicological analysis and grounding myself in a set of procedures that is the state of the art in the study of pre-modern sources of western provenance, I shall argue that the two scrolls were in fact written by different persons at different times.

1.1. The Tōkyō Manuscript

1.1.1. Physical Description of the Tōkyō Manuscript²¹

The Tōkyō manuscript is a hand scroll written vertically in parallel columns from right to left.²² Its present mounting came into being during a restoration carried out under the supervision of the Kyōto Museum in 1935.²³ Although the scroll does not come down to us entirely undamaged, it has been kept in the same, well-preserved state since this restoration.

When opened completely, the Tōkyō manuscript measures approximately 274 by 4,231 mm. The recto of the manuscript (paper P1) consists of ten continuous panels, with their width being 274 mm and their length ranging from 428 mm to 439 mm for full panels. The ratio of width to length is thus around 1:1.6.

Among the ten panels in total, the first and the last panel are incomplete, and therefore deserve further discussion. Compared with the standard number of 25 columns per panel as found in the Tōkyō source, the first panel, now 396 mm long and counting 23 columns,

²¹ The contents of this section are based on a set of photocopies taken by the Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan [Tōkyō National Museum] in July 1992, and my preliminary observation of the scroll during my fieldtrip to Tōkyō and Hikone in November 2004. Since the scroll was on public display during that time, it was impossible for me to examine it in full. Therefore, the following section must be considered a preliminary account that awaits confirmation pending further investigation.

²² For further reference on the terminology of mounting scrolls in China and Japan, see Robert H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (New York, 1958).

²³ Tomita, “Kessekichō yūran daigo ni tsuite,” 31.



appears to lack 2 columns. Indeed, the difference (36 mm) in length between the first panel and the average of the other eight full panels is just enough to accommodate the two hypothetically missing columns. However, the missing paper does not necessarily imply any textual loss since the formal layout of early scrolls often leaves the first two columns blank.²⁴ In the last panel, the text ends at the 21st column; however, the incompleteness of the last panel does not necessarily imply any textual loss, either.²⁵ The data of the panel size and column layout are summarized in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: The Tōkyō manuscript, panel size and column layout of the recto (P1)

Panel	Width(mm)	Length(mm)	Opening	Ending	Number of columns
PN1	274	396	1	23	24
PN2	274	434	24	48	25
PN3	274	428	49	73	25
PN4	274	434	74	98	25
PN5	274	439	99	123	25
PN6	274	42.9	124	148	25
PN7	274	433	149	173	25
PN8	274	430	174	198	25
PN9	274	429	199	223	25
PN10	274	408	224	247	24

The ruling of each panel is uniform. The writing block is marked off by drawing two parallel horizontal lines, *lanjie* 欄界, in black ink at the upper and lower margin of each panel. Each panel of the Tōkyō manuscript thus has a writing field of ca. 432 mm by ca. 234 mm with the size of the upper and the lower margins consistently remaining at ca. 20 mm, counting inward from the physical upper and lower edges of the paper. This space is again

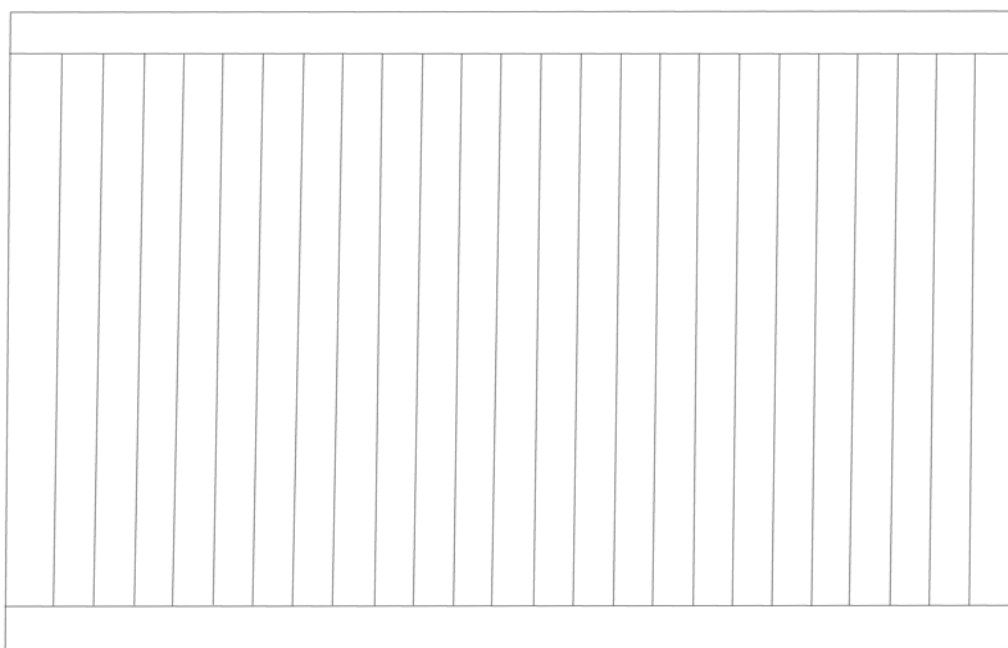
²⁴ See Shimada Kan 島田翰, *Guwen jiushu gao* 古文舊書考 (Beijing, 1903), vol. 1, fols. 22r-v.

²⁵ This discussion must remain preliminary without a consideration of the completeness of the text at the beginning and the end of the scroll, however, which will be provided in the next stage of research, i.e., the PhD dissertation.



further sub-divided into vertical columns (*hang* 行) by marking it with vertical lines, *hangjie* 行界. In each full panel, the text is thus consistently laid out in 25 columns of ca. 17 mm width (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: The Tōkyō manuscript, PN2, diagram of visible rulings



Four layers of paper can be distinguished in the scroll (P1, P2, P3 and P4). At least two layers, P1 and P4, appear to belong to the original mounting (see Figure 1.2): The writing material now forming the recto (P1) is off-white in color. Slight damage through insect holes and a few traces of water can be seen in the beginning section (light brown traces of water are visible throughout the first 13 columns of the first panel and the outer margin of the first three panels of P1; a few insect holes can be seen on each panel throughout the scroll, see Plate 1). The backing paper now found at the verso of the beginning section (P4), which actually serves as the outer “cover” when the scroll was rolled up, is worn out and displays a dark yellow and brown hue due to its long-time exposure to the air (see Plate 2), while the other sections of P4 are well preserved and in the same color as the paper of the recto is. At the upper side of the first 11 columns of the first panel of P1, there is a small area where the text on P1 was damaged and has been retouched with strokes that were written directly on its first

(old) inner backing (P2). (See Plates 1 and 2.) As evident from the completeness of the second inner backing (P3; this backing may actually consist of one or more layers of paper) at the places that P1 and P4 bear coincident damages that pertain to both sides of the scroll in its present state, it is clear that the inner backing (P3) was added during a very late restoration, the date of which cannot be determined more precisely without further study. This impression is bolstered by P3's being completely free from any insect or worm damage.

Figure 1.2: The Tōkyō manuscript, structure of the mounting (preliminary assessment)

Paper layer one (P1):	<u>Text layer one (TL1, the recto of the manuscript)</u>
Paper layer two (P2):	<u>Text layer two (TL2)</u>
Paper layer three (P3):	<u></u>
Paper layer four (P4):	<u>Text layer three (TL3, the verso of the manuscript)</u>

In formal Sino-Japanese manuscripts, the title generally appears three times in one scroll – at the outside, and the beginning and ending of the inside. The Tōkyō manuscript is a case in point. In the recto (TL1), the text begins with the full subtitle “*Jieshidiao youlan* 碣石調幽蘭 [*Youlan* in *Jieshi* mode]” together with its variant “*Yilan* 倚蘭” as *shouti* 首題, i.e., the “beginning title;” at the end of the scroll (but before the list of repertoire which is possibly the catalog of the whole *qin* anthology that the surviving scroll belonged to), the subtitle “*Jieshidiao youlan*” was repeated again with the sequence number “*Diwu* 第五 [the fifth]” as *weiti* 尾題 [end title]. On the outside of the scroll cover (TL3), both the title of the anthology and the subtitle of the scroll were written as *waiti* 外題 [outside title]: “*Qinpu*, *Qiugong chuan*, *Youlan diwu* 琴譜丘公傳 幽蘭第五 [Notated *qin* pieces, handed down from Master Qiu, the fifth: *Solitary Orchid*].”

Such kinds of arrangements – the subtitle appearing three times while the title of the anthology only appears as *waiti*, and once – were made for purely practical purposes.



Generally, every ten scrolls of one book were kept in a marked wrapper. Therefore, before readers or librarians open a scroll, the book title has already appeared in the wrapper and the outside of the scroll; it is thus not necessary to repeat the book title at the inside of a scroll. The inside subtitles appearing at the very beginning and the ending of a scroll actually serve to ensure the completeness of that part of text.

Written in vigorous and elegant calligraphy on refined pre-ruled paper and mounted in the standard mounting, the scroll clearly may be ranked as a masterpiece from the manuscript period.²⁶

1.1.2. The Scripts and Scribes of the Tōkyō Manuscript

While prior surveys claimed that the Tōkyō manuscript was all copied by one single scribe or two,²⁷ three text scripts (t1-t3) can be distinguished.²⁸ Among them, the owner of text script t1 is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the manuscript's texts. The remaining text scripts (t2 and t3) are found only in a small number of locations.

Text script t1

This is a formal, early Tang era *kai* 楷 script which is carefully aligned along the well-prepared vertical ruling of the individual sheets (Plate 1).²⁹ The number of main-text characters per column is irregular, ranging from 20 to 22. The commentary items (which are in the same script) were written immediately after the main text they refer to in the same

²⁶ The Chinese manuscript period refers to the time roughly before the tenth century; see Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscrits* (Paris, 1991).

²⁷ See, e.g., Mori Yōchiku 森立之 et al., *Keiseki hōko shi* 經籍訪古志 (Beijing, 1856), vol. 2, fols. 25r-26v, where the original scroll is viewed as the work of a Tang era scribe. See also Zha Fuxi, “Guyi congshu ben youlan pu zhong zhi ezi ji pangzhu 古逸叢書本幽蘭譜中之訛字及旁注,” *Youlan shilu*, vol. 1 (Beijing, 1954), 1-2. Zha noted that the calligraphic style of the insertions was different from that of the main text, but did not further differentiate the text script on the upper portion of the first eleven columns of PN1; see below.

²⁸ This numbering excludes the one-line colophon added to the scroll after the restoration in 1935 on P4 (TL3). See also 1.1.5, below.

²⁹ The so-called *kai* style of Chinese handwriting come to dominate calligraphy since the period around 600 C.E.; see Fu Shen, *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (Yale, 1977), 138-45.



column in smaller characters, with two vertical lines of commentary text nested within one column.

Most of the horizontal strokes in this script are slightly inclined to the upper right-hand side. When starting a stroke, there is no *nifeng* 逆鋒 following, which indicates an extremely fast writing speed, although the handwriting appears orderly as a whole. The thin, rigid strokes indicate that the brush used by the scribe was stiff.³⁰ A single black ink was used by the owner of script t1 throughout the manuscript, as is evident from the consistent shade visible throughout the script.

The owner of the Tang *kai* hand is Tōkyō Scribe A. He served as the only text scribe before the first mounting of the scroll. Plainly a skillful copyist, there is no evidence to suggest that Scribe A has taken the trouble to proofread his work in detail. Only in two places (PN7, col. 164 and PN9, col. 216; for the former one, see Plate 3) did Tōkyō Scribe A correct his writing by blotting the wrong character or strokes out with orpiment (*cihuang* 雌黃).³¹ These two instances of revision require little expertise of *qin* playing or related knowledge; they are immediate corrections of obvious copying mistakes that therefore were carried out during the writing process, rather than being the results of any proofreading.

Text script t2

The main text of Tōkyō Scribe A was revised in several places (PN2, col. 30 and col. 38, PN9, col. 204, col. 205 and col. 207; see Plates 4, 5 and 6). These revisions, written in a much smaller size at the margin of the scroll or between the columns, were carried out in a different calligraphic style, *kai-li* 楷隸, a writing-style related to both *kai* and *li*; specifically it is a mixture of the earlier clerical style *li* 隸 and the *kai* style.³² This transitional style can be further divided into several stages according to the degrees of transition visible in a particular

³⁰ For the fundamental difference in character produced by soft and stiff brushes, see van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 351-3.

³¹ At PN7, col. 164, Scribe A invalidated the eighth character of the column, an extra “five 五” and at PN9, col. 216, Scribe A deleted the three wrong strokes from the tenth character, in order to revise the character from “Zhai 齋” to “Qi 齊”.

³² For a definition of the style *li*, see Fu, *Traces of the Brush*, 55-60 and 81.



script, since the process of change is clearly marked in several stages.³³ In most of the cases in the Tōkyō manuscript, the handwriting of the text script t2 preserved the basic characteristic of *li*: emphasizing one stroke per character, even when the script was slightly cursive. This indicates the date of the scribe is no later than the early Tang period when the influence of the earlier style, *li*, remains palpable. The ink of text script t2 is black, but its color is of a lighter hue than that of t1.

The owner of the text script t2 is Tōkyō Scribe B. Scribe B's careful improvements, as reflected in his involvement with the manuscript, offer evidence of his expertise in early *qin* music. However, Tōkyō Scribe B seems to show most interest in his own interpretations of the piece: his creative impulse therefore leads to some “re-composition” of the music.³⁴

The relationship between the texts produced by the Scribe A and the Scribe B

Tōkyō Scribe A's work was revised by Tōkyō Scribe B as evident from the frequent “corrections” made by Scribe B in Scribe A's work. However, this does not indicate that the considerable amount of revisions provided by Tōkyō Scribe B is the result of his proofreading the work of Tōkyō Scribe A.³⁵ As can be deduced by the character written in text script t2 on the overlap between the PN9 and PN10, Scribe B performed most of his revisions after the mounting of the scroll; therefore, his revisions are not contemporary to the work of Scribe A, but occurred only after Scribe A's work was completed.

Furthermore, there is physical evidence in the scroll that militates against Zha's contention that Tōkyō Scribe B proofread the work of Tōkyō Scribe A with other sources at hand.³⁶ Specifically, this view is weakened by the following pieces of evidence not

³³ See Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, “Tonkō shakyō no jisugata,” *Bokubi* 墨美 97 (1960), 119.

³⁴ This observation raises numerous issues concerning the applicability of the concept of a “fixed work” in the transmission of *qin* musical texts from the Jin dynasty to the Tang period, which will be discussed in a separate paper.

³⁵ See, however, Zha, “Guyi congshu ben youlan pu zhong zhi ezi ji pangzhu,” 1-2. Zha suggests that these revisions are indeed the results of proofreading.

³⁶ “…… 第四拍之末有旁註三行，筆姿異于正文，而與上述改‘尤’為‘八’之筆姿近似。若果同出一人，則神光院之正訛及旁註又是根據另一更舊之原本矣。” See Zha, “Guyi congshu ben youlan pu zhong zhi ezi ji pangzhu,” 1.



previously considered: (1) At PN2, col. 30, Tōkyō Scribe B revised the stud number from “eight” to “nine” first, and then changed it back to the original (and correct) stud number “eight” again (Plate 5). (2) At the lower area of PN9, col. 204, an insertion by Tōkyō Scribe B was erased and an additional revision was written by the same Scribe B on that same area immediately after erasing the earlier insertion (Plate 6). It is hard to imagine that Tōkyō Scribe B carried out these repeated “corrections” with a single definitive text in hand.

The identity of Tōkyō Scribe B as reflected through the revision process may appear somewhat eccentric to the reader: Tōkyō Scribe B added his own composition into the body of the prior *qin* player’s work while scraping off the characters of the original from the scroll (PN2, col. 30, and PN9, cols. 204 and 205, for instance). Such revisions, where Tōkyō Scribe B deals with the manuscript in whatever manner he likes, reveal to us that the Tōkyō manuscript must at that time have been in the personal collection of Tōkyō Scribe B. If that is so, the manuscript we confront transmits in fact two versions of the piece *Youlan*, namely the original copied by a professional copyist (Tōkyō Scribe A) according to an unknown exemplar, and another, later version added by the early *qin* player (Tōkyō Scribe B) at a later point in time. At a certain level, the Tōkyō manuscript can thus be looked at as a sort of “recording” before the fact of the musical tastes and practices of the anonymous *qin* player, Tōkyō Scribe B.

Evidently, then, Tōkyō Scribe B was not a proofreader, as surmised by Zha,³⁷ but a musician fascinated by the possibility of “re-composing” some details of the music he had obtained. His familiarity with full-ideogram notation adds weight to the idea that Tōkyō Scribe B was active in the early Tang period when that type of notation was still in use and when a scroll such as this one was common and contemporaneous, and hence not yet so greatly valued as to prevent an owner to add his own annotations to the text.³⁸

³⁷ See above, fn 36.

³⁸ The full-ideogram notation (*wenzipu* 文字譜) is the earliest extant form of *qin* notation and the prototype of the present-day *qin* tablature. It explains pitches and finger movements through prose. Using full-ideogram notation, a compiler writes out which finger of the left hand is placed on which string in which position, and thus strictly determines the pitch and color of the sound to be produced; the right hand’s fingering and method of playing are indicated so as to determine how rhythmic notes and grace notes are to be played.



Text script t3

Text script t3 is only found in one small area, the upper portion of the first eleven columns of panel PN1, where the top layer of the paper (P1) was damaged in the course of the intervening centuries and replaced by P2 (Plates 1 and 2). Together with the loss of the writing surface, most of the text in the relevant area, some forty characters written by Tōkyō Scribe A, is lost. (However, ink residue of a few strokes is still partly visible on the second layer P2, although very faintly.) In order to supply the lost text, text script t3 was applied on the restored area in *kai* style, but written by an unpracticed hand.

The owner of this text script is Tōkyō Scribe C. Compared with the first two scribes, a much softer brush was employed. Each new stroke is accompanied by a *nifeng*. The ink of text script t3 is much darker than that used for the text scripts t1 and t2. The ink's shade – presumably a result of its relative freshness – together with the calligraphic style employed suggest quite a late date for Tōkyō Scribe C that can hardly be reckoned any earlier than the Edo period.

1.1.3. The Copying of the Tōkyō Manuscript

A reconstruction of the main stages of the copying process is possible from the evidence presented above. Such a reconstruction reveals that the copying procedure of the Tōkyō manuscript can largely be divided into three stages according to the different scribes' involvement in the copying process.

Copying began with ten sheets of fresh paper. The writing block was established by ruling upper and lower margins; this was done by drawing thin, black, horizontal lines. Then the vertical lines which divide the writing block of each sheet into 25 columns were drawn using the same brush. In the next step, the text of the professional Tang copyist Tōkyō Scribe A was entered.³⁹ The progress of Scribe A was quite smooth: his writing of the scroll was

³⁹ Of course, it is quite possible that Tōkyō Scribe A prepared the ruling himself.



probably completed within a short period of time.⁴⁰ As the repertoire list at the end of the scroll and its sequence number indicate, the Tōkyō Scribe A was very likely involved in preparing an anthology, as opposed to the single scroll now surviving, although no other remnants of this anthology have survived. The scroll received its first mounting immediately after copying was finished, presumably together with several other scrolls of the anthology.

As evident from the character in text script t2 on the overlap of PN9 and PN10 mentioned earlier, some additional text was entered after the mounting of the scroll by one of the early owners of the source or of the entire anthology it formed part (= Tōkyō Scribe B). As shown by the various “corrections” and insertions he provided (which actually improved the piece),⁴¹ Tōkyō Scribe B must have been a highly skilled early *qin* player who was endowed with deeply creative faculties; he was sufficiently skilled to re-compose the full-ideogram notation of the piece he had obtained. At several places, the player’s creative impulses developed to a stage where he actively tried to scrape off the original phrases despite the fact that they were technically correct (but apparently found by B as aesthetically wanting).

In a third stage, after quite a long period of time had elapsed, some forty characters in a small area of the beginning part of the scroll were retouched by Tōkyō Scribe C.

1.1.4. The Contents of the Tōkyō Manuscript

Informed by a preface located at the beginning of the scroll and a list of repertoire at the very end, we know that the Tōkyō manuscript is the only remnant of a much larger, early Tang-dynasty *qin* anthology: In fact, we are dealing with a seventh-century notated version of the *qin* piece *Youlan/Yūran* [Solitary Orchid] accompanied by a preface which ascribes the music to a certain Master Qiu 丘 of the sixth century, and a list of the repertory of the full

⁴⁰ A modern-day skillful scribe would require one or two days to perform similar work.

⁴¹ This point, touching the musical contents, will be addressed in the next step of my research.



anthology that the scroll belonged to.⁴² Table 1.2 offers an inventory of the contents found on the Tōkyō manuscript only.

The preface is a five-column text revealing the succession of those teaching the setting of *Youlan*, extending from *qin* Master Qiu (493-590) to Chen Shuming 陳叔明 (562-614), Prince of Yidu (for historical details, see Chapter II). The whole piece is in four sections and is set down in full-ideogram notation,⁴³ the prototype of the abbreviated-character notation that *qin* musicians continue to employ today.⁴⁴ Although various pieces from Ming and Qing handbooks (1425-1867) carry the same titles found in the repertoire list of the Tōkyō manuscript, they are in abbreviated-character notation and have been revised or even recomposed in later periods.⁴⁵ The Tōkyō source is the only witness of actual *qin* music predating the Song period;⁴⁶ it is also the only piece that survives in full-ideogram notation. Therefore, its significance for early *qin* music study can hardly be overestimated.

It is conventional in early East Asian manuscripts to place the table of contents at the very end of each scroll of a larger work after the *weiti*. A total of 59 pieces of *qin* music together with 5 short modal preludes are listed in the table found in the Tōkyō scroll. The piece *Yulan* is the fifth piece of music found in the list; its subtitle reads “*Jieshidiao: Youlan, diwu*” [Number 5: *Solitary Orchid* in *Jieshi* mode]. Therefore, the widely disseminated notion that the surviving characters codify merely the fifth section of a larger piece is not true. The table of contents also helps us gauge the *qin* repertory of the early Tang period.

⁴² For a reading of the preface in the Tōkyō manuscript, see Chapter II.

⁴³ See above, fn. 38.

⁴⁴ The abbreviated-character notation (*jianzipu* 減字譜) is the current *qin* notation. In this notation, parts of various Chinese characters are gathered into composite blocks to specify performing techniques and locations where the strings are stopped.

⁴⁵ These pieces include *Baixue* 白雪, *Youlan*, *Changqin* 長清, *Duanqin* 短清, *Changce* 長側, *Duance* 短側, *Shishangliuquan* 石上流泉, *Fengrusong* 風入松, *Wuyeti* 烏夜啼 and *Guanglingzhixi* 廣陵止息. Comparison between the version of *Youlan* preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript and all the other surviving editions from Ming and Qing handbooks reveals that these later pieces are totally different from the one in the Tōkyō source regarding pitches, rhythms, and the choreography of the hands; see, e.g., Wang Mengshu, *Wusilan zhifa shi*, fols. 55v-56r.

⁴⁶ The earliest *qin* music surviving today after *Youlan* is *Guyuan* 古怨 [Ancient Lament], composed by the Song poet Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155-1221). For studies on this piece, see, e.g., Rulan Chao Pian, *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1967), 34, 76-92 and 147-54; Lawrence E. R. Picken, “A Twelfth-Century Secular Chinese Song in Zither Tablature,” *Asia Major* 16 (1971), 102-20.



Table 1.2: The Tōkyō manuscript, inventory

Location	Scribe(s)	Contents	Commentary
1. Recto, cols. 1r-5r	A/C	Preamble of the piece	The characters on the upperside of the scroll have been retouched by Scribe C.
2. Recto, col. 6r	C	Subtitle of the scroll	The title was re-written by Scribe C.
3. Recto, cols. 7r-62r	A/C	The first section	The characters on the upperside of the first five columns have been retouched by Scribe C.
4. Recto, cols. 63r-146r	A	The second section	
5. Recto, cols. 147r-201r	A	The third section	
6. Recto, cols. 202r-229r	A	The fourth section	
7. Recto, cols. 230r-231r	A	Subtitle of the scroll and performance indication	
8. Recto, cols. 232r-244r	A	List of repertoire	The titles of the 59 pieces originally contained in the anthology, to which the Tōkyō manuscript belonged, are listed. For a comprehensive study on the lost repertoire from that list, see Wang Mengshu, <i>Wusilan zhifa shi</i> , 53r-63v.
9. Recto, col. 1v	A?	Title of the anthology and the subtitle of the scroll	
10. Recto, col. 30r	B	Repeating revision	
11. Recto, col. 38r	B	Insertion	
12. Recto, col. 204r	B	Revision	
13. Recto, col. 206r	B	Revision	
14. Recto, col. 217r	B	Insertion	
15. Verso	--	Colophon of restoration	Written in 1935.



1.1.5. The Manuscript's History: A Relative Chronology

Nothing is known at this stage about when and how the scroll made its way from China to the Japanese archipelago. The earliest trace of the Tōkyō manuscript after Scribe B finished his work on it is found at the moment when the scroll was bestowed to the Koma family by Gomizunō-tennō (1596-1680, r. 1611-29), together with *Kinyōshihō* (= the Hikone manuscript).⁴⁷ Between 1716 and 1722, the owner of the two manuscripts at that time, Koma Chikahiro 狛近寛, invited Ogyū Sorai to read and interpret the contents of the scrolls. Sorai's being given access, by comparison with his less fortunate contemporaries as reflected in *Hasegawa tōmonsho* 長谷川答問書,⁴⁸ was clearly an exceptional privilege.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Ojima Hōso 小島宝素 (1797-1847) prepared a tracing copy of the manuscript from the original.⁴⁹ At that time the original was among the personal belongings of a family in Kyōto whose name cannot be identified.⁵⁰

According to Hayashi, the Tōkyō manuscript belonged to its last private owner, the monk Wada Chiman 和田智満 (1835-1911), in 1900.⁵¹ Wada Chiman was the *shingon* 真言 sect superintendent priest of the Zuishin-in 隨心院 in Yamashina, Kyōto, and later the *jūshoku* 住職 [chief priest] of the Jinkō-in 神光院, a temple in Nishigamo, Kyōto. He was born in Settsu, a city in Ōsaka prefecture, in 1835. Besides his expertise in Sanskrit, Chiman studied painting with Mori Tessan (1775-1841) and calligraphy with Nukina Kaioku (1778-1863).⁵² Shortly after his death in 1911, the manuscript was bequeathed to Jinkō-in in accordance with

⁴⁷ See Chapter III.

⁴⁸ See Chapter III.

⁴⁹ See Mori Yōchiku, *Keiseki hōko shi*, vol. 2, fol. 25r. For future information of Ojima Hōso, see Mori Ōgai 森鷗外, *Ojima Hōso* 小島寶素, in *Mori Ōgai zenshū* 森鷗外全集, vol. 4 (Tōkyō, 1971), 287-302.

⁵⁰ See Mori Yōchiku, *Keiseki hōko shi*, vol. 2, fols. 25r-26v.

⁵¹ See Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai," 236.

⁵² For further biographical information on the monk, see Takami Kankyo 高見寛恭, "Wada Chiman oshō nenpu ko 和田智満和上年譜考(上)(下) [Chronological List of Rev. Chiman Wada, I and II]", *The Annual Bulletin of the Esoteric Buddhist Society* 密教學會報 16 (1977), 51-68 and 17-18 (1980), 49-56.



Chiman's will.⁵³

On 8 February 1912, based on the Law for Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples 古社寺保存法 (1897-1929), the manuscript was declared a National Treasure 國寶 by the Japanese government, but it still remained in the possession of the Jinkō-in.⁵⁴ In 1935, a conventional restoration of the Tōkyō manuscript was carried out under the supervision of the Kyōto Museum and the manuscript received an inscription on the verso of the scroll (TL3) that reads:

The restoration [of this manuscript] was carried out in the tenth year of Shōwa (= 1935) under the Law for the Preservation of National Treasures. 昭和十年依照國寶保存法而加修理.⁵⁵

Though the ownership at that time had already been transferred to the Onshi Hakubutsukan, Kyōto 京都市恩賜博物館 (the later Kyōto National Museum 京都国立博物館), the scroll was still housed in the Jinkō-in ca. 1941 when Fujii Seishin 藤井制心 carried out his examination of the scroll at the request of Hayashi.⁵⁶ In 1954, based on the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties 文化財保護法 (1950-now),⁵⁷ the scroll was again declared a National Treasure by Japanese government. In 1968, after at least four centuries of residence in Kyōto, the scroll was finally moved to Tōkyō, to the Tōkyō National Museum. The only attachments that are kept together with the scroll from Kyōto are the two boxes that used to hold the scroll in Chiman's Jinkō-in.⁵⁸

⁵³ See Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai," 235-6.

⁵⁴ See Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai," 236.

⁵⁵ See Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai," notes on the plate I.

⁵⁶ See Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai," 235-6.

⁵⁷ For the interrelation of the various Japanese Laws mentioned above, see Bunkazai Hogohō 50-nenshi Komon Kaigi 文化財保護法 50 年史顧問會議 (ed.), *Bunkazai hogohō gojūnenshi* 文化財保護法五十年史 (Tōkyō, 2001); and Bunkachō Bunkazaibu 文化庁文化財部 (ed.), *Bunkazai hogo kankei hōreishū* 文化財保護関係法令集 (Tōkyō, 2001).

⁵⁸ See Tomita, "Kessekichō yūran daigo ni tsuite," 31.



1.2. The Hikone Manuscript

1.2.1. Physical Description of the Hikone Manuscript

The Hikone manuscript is a hand scroll which is in a comparatively poor state of preservation and may be called visually unassuming if compared with the Tōkyō manuscript (Plate 7). In its present state, the beginning of the scroll is lost. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, as documented by its tracing copy A1,⁵⁹ only the first column of the text was incomplete. Light brown traces of water damage are visible at the upper and lower margins of the scroll. As a result of insect damage, numerous holes can be seen throughout the manuscript (Plate 8). Some of these were already present in the mid-eighteenth century as documented by tracing copy A1. Nevertheless, the Hikone manuscript promises a particularly rich yield in the event of a codicological investigation. For the source, unlike the Tōkyō manuscript, has not yet undergone modern-day restoration and therefore may offer subtle insights into the sequence of mounting and copying that the (impending) restoration, by the very nature of the process, is bound to at least partially destroy.

One codicological characteristic of the Hikone manuscript is that, maybe for the purpose of saving paper, the scroll was used a second time by adding further texts to the verso. What is really extraordinary in the case of Hikone, however, is that a new backing (paper P2) was added to the original layer (paper P1) in a later period in order to strengthen the damaged original layer and, possibly, to cover the texts copied on the verso, although those texts remain visible through the slim outer backing P2 (see Figure 1.3). Furthermore, during the above earlier reinforcement, a new panel R9 (paper P1') was attached to the ending of the original layer.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ See Appendix B.

⁶⁰ Currently, a wooden roller is connected to this panel.



Figure 1.3: The Hikone manuscript, present structure of the mounting

Paper layer one (P1):	<u>Text layer one (TL1, the recto of the manuscript)</u> Text layer two (TL2)
Paper layer two (P2):	<u>No text</u> No text (the verso of the manuscript)

In its current state, the Hikone manuscript measures approximately 300 by 4,080 mm. The recto of the manuscript consists of nine continuous panels comprising two different kinds of paper. The paper of the first eight panels (P1) is light gray and yellowed. With both sides bearing ink, those panels preserve the complete corpus of writings found in the scroll. I shall name the texts found on the recto of P1 text layer one (TL1) and the texts and drawings seen on the verso of P1 text layer two (TL2). With the average width being 300 mm and the length ranging from 548 mm to 556 mm for each of the full panels, the ratio between the width and length of these original panels is around 1: 1.85. They are made of average to low quality, thick *chu/ kōzo* 楮 paper (made from mulberry bark, *Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). A close examination of the texture of P1 shows that the fiber of the bark was not well crushed, a typical characteristic of low-grade paper manufacture (Plate 12). On the Asian continent, *chu* paper was normally used for documents and as draft paper for government offices and other commonplace work situations during the pre-Song period.⁶¹ The craft of making the thick *chu* paper (also called *tan* 檀 paper) was disseminated to Japan in the seventh century and became widespread there since then.⁶² In light of the fact that the latest contents of the Hikone manuscript are no earlier than the seventh century,⁶³ it is therefore possible that P1 was made in Japan, although China must also be considered a possible place for the paper's origin at this stage.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Fujieda Akira, "The Tunhuang Manuscript: A General Description, Part I," *Zinbun* 9 (1966), 27-8; Naitō Kenkichi 内藤乾吉, "Seiki hakken Tōdai kammonjo no kenkyū 西域發見唐代官文書の研究 [Studies on the Official Documents of the Tang Dynasty Found in Central Asia]," *Chūgoku hōsei shi kōshō* 中国法制史考證 (Tōkyō, 1963), 253-65.

⁶² See Pan Jixing 潘吉星, *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: Zaozhi yu yinshua juan* 中國科學技術史: 造紙與印刷卷 (Beijing, 1998), 516-27, especially 518-25.

⁶³ See Chapter II.



Table 1.3a: The Hikone manuscript, panel sizes of papers P1 and P1'

Sheet	Width(mm)	Length(mm)	Opening	Ending	Number of columns
R1	295	ca. 388 (550)	7 (1)	24	18 (24)
R2	299	548	25	51	27
R3	299	556	52	73	22
R4	300	550	74	97	24
R5	302	546	98	118	21
R6	298	548	119	142	23
R7	301	547	143	164	22
R8	300	193	165	171	7
R9	300	197	--	--	0

Table 1.3b: The Hikone manuscript, panel sizes of the backing paper P2

Sheet	Width (mm)	Joint Length (mm)	Length (mm)
B1	302	10	ca. 293
B2	302	10	435
B3	302	6	436
B4	302	18	434
B5	302	6	440
B6	302	7	438
B7	302	14	445
B8	302	18	447
B9	302	--	360

The length of the first panel of P1, that is panel R1, is much shorter than the average size and therefore needs further discussion. According to the eighteenth-century tracing copy A1, the length of the writing area of the first panel, which began with the title of the first treatise,



was around 550 mm. According to the same tracing copy, paper repair is visible in a small area at the beginning of R3, col. 58.

The paper of the last panel on the recto R9 is white and bears no text. Since its paper quality differs from P1, I shall call it paper layer P1'. The freshness as evident from its current physical state, and the color of this paper suggest that P1' was produced at a much later date than P1.

The current verso of the manuscript (P2) is made up of nine panels with a consistent width of 302 mm and lengths ranging from 434 mm to 447 mm for full panels. Compared with P1 and P1', P2 is much thinner and quite obviously another kind of light-yellow *chu* paper of a type which was widely used in Edo Japan.⁶⁴ If we compare the lengths of the damaged portions at the beginning of R1 and B1 (R1: 550 – 388 = 162 mm; B1: 440 - 293 = 147 mm), we find that they are close. Therefore, the following conclusion can be drawn: P2 was pasted onto P1 when the text of B1 was still mainly complete. This hypothesis is supported by the ink residue on the margins of some wormholes which was produced while the tracing copy A1 was prepared. Those places where the ink used to prepare the tracing copy is visible on both layers P1 and P2 indicate that, when the tracing copy was prepared some time no later than the mid-eighteenth century,⁶⁵ P2 had already been added. Indeed, when Sorai examined the scroll some time between 1716 and 1720, the second layer P2 was already there.⁶⁶ Therefore, as evident from the differing quality of the two papers, the lengths of the damaged portions on P1 and P2, the ink residue on P2, and Sorai's eyewitness record, the pasting of P2 can incontrovertibly be dated before 1716. The most plausible moment for the addition of the layer involving P2 may be sought in the latter half of the seventeenth century, i.e., at the beginning of the *qin* music Renaissance in Japan that was prompted by the collapse of the Ming dynasty on the Continent in 1644 and by the resulting wave of Chinese

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Pan Jixing, *Zhongguo zaozhi jishu shigao* 中國造紙技術史稿 (Beijing, 1979), 151.

⁶⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶⁶ According to his own testimony, Sorai examined the writing on the verso by reading through an existing backing. See Chapter III.



exiles and refugees that entered Japan at that time. The period around 1700 also cannot be ruled out (at least not on the basis of the physical evidence).⁶⁷ When mounting P2 onto P1, contrary to custom and good practice, the mounter did not soak and consequently separate the various panels of the original layer (P1) from each other; moreover, the mounting material (P2) he selected was very thin if compared with P1. As a result, the stress between P1 and P2 may have hastened the decline of the scroll after this mounting. What is more, the poor materials and technique used in the procedure reveal to us an apparent deficiency in the skills of the mounter.

There is no visible ruling on either side of the scroll. Though in some cases East Asian scribes are known to have “ruled” their paper either by folding it lengthwise as many times as the number of columns required, or by drawing deep grooves with a bamboo or ivory spatula, the diversity of the number of columns perpanel (21-27) in the Hikone manuscript suggests that the first scribe wrote on the fresh paper directly, i.e., without bothering to prepare any ruling at all. This suggests casual use. The writing block of the recto, accordingly, acquired a roughly-formed shape, with around 20 mm left at the upper and the lower sides of the scroll as margins.

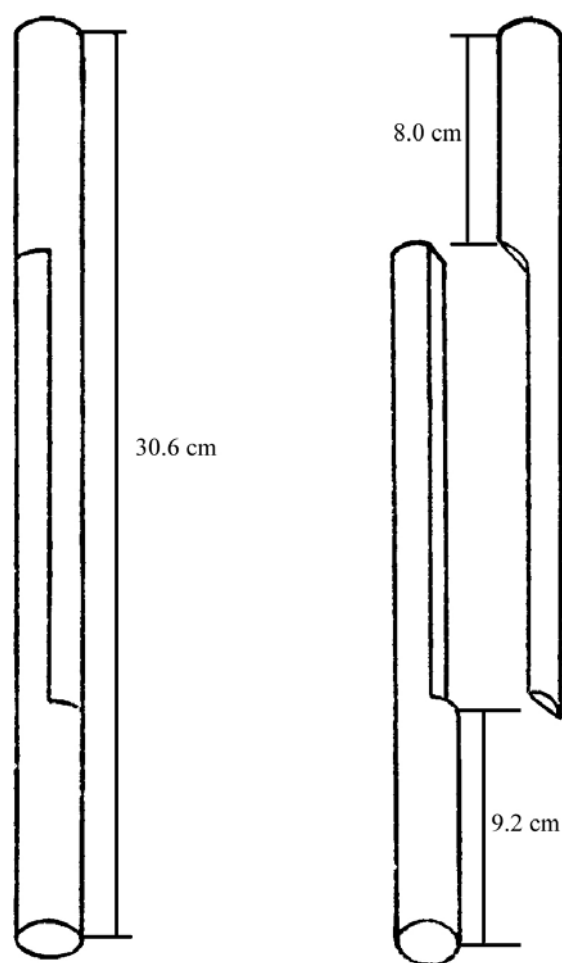
The roller (306 mm) is slightly longer than the panels’ breadth (302 mm). Probably added to the scroll together with the new backing P2, its diameter is ca. 14 mm. To guard against warping, it was made up of two separated pieces of *shan/sugi* 杉 [pine] wood (Figure 1.4).

The title of the text copied on the recto of the scroll appears only once in the surviving part of the Hikone manuscript. It was written in the last column of panel R8 as *weiti*. Due to the loss of the beginning section, it is impossible to determine whether a *shouti* [beginning title] and a *waiti* [outside title] ever existed or not.

⁶⁷ For an English-language introduction to the Renaissance of *qin* music in Japan, see Robert H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tōkyō, 1940), 197-224.



Figure 1.4: The Hikone manuscript, roller in two pieces

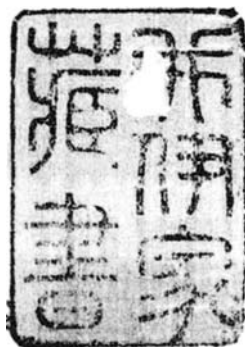


A positive-legend exlibris of the Ii family, “Ii-ke zōsho 井伊家藏書”, engraved in seal script,⁶⁸ may be found at the beginning of the recto of the surviving portion of the scroll (see Figure 1.5). A 35 by 43 mm label “Ii-ke monjo tenseki tō V633 井伊家文書典籍等 V633” was pasted on the verso of the beginning section when the Hikone-han monjo chōsadan [“Group investigating the documents of the Hikone Domain”] catalogued the Ii family’s historical documents during the years 1978-1982.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The seal appears on almost all the Ii books and was apparently affixed at a later period, when all the holdings of the Ii library at that time were given this exlibris stamp.

⁶⁹ See Hikone-han monjo chōsadan 彦根藩文書調査団 (ed.), *Hikone-han shiryōchōsa hōkokusho 5: Iike dendai tenseki tou* 彦根藩資料調査報告書 5: 井伊家伝来典籍等 (Hikone, 1985).

Figure 1.5: The Hikone manuscript, exlibris of Ii family



1.2.2. The Scripts and Scribes of the Hikone Manuscript

A total of two text scripts (s1-s2) and one drawing hand (d1) can be distinguished in the Hikone manuscript. The recto of the scroll was entirely copied in text script s1. The text script s2 and drawing hand d1 are responsible for the verso of the scroll in its entirety.

Text Script s1

Text script s1, like text script t1 and t3 in the Tōkyō source, belongs to the *kai* type of scripts (see Plate 8). The owner of text script s1 is responsible for all the entries found on the recto. As stated before, the sheets were not pre-ruled by the scribe, and the number of the characters per column is irregular. That it is on *chu* paper and lacks any ruling adds weight to the hypothesis that the scroll was produced as a personal document for this individual's private collection. Two brushes of different sizes were employed by the same scribe in order to distinguish the texts of the terms and their explanations. All the explanatory texts were written in characters smaller than the main terms written by the same scribe in the same script, and every two vertical lines of the explanations were settled in one column under the terms they explained. The majority of the text on the recto is in black ink; however, the ink-shade of the marginalia of the main text from R3, col. 55 to R4, col. 89 is red, and at two places (R3 col. 67 and the marginalia of R3 col. 68; see Plate 9) the red texts were retouched in black ink,



again by the same hand. All the red texts in the marginalia are variants compiled from another version of the monk Feng Zhibian's treatise *Qinyong shouming fa* (which will be discussed below); one complete version of Feng's work was copied as the main text of the Hikone scroll from R3, col. 66 to R4, col. 88.

The owner of text script s₁ is Hikone Scribe A. The calligraphic artistry of the scribe may be described as being at an average level, and there is no direct evidence indicating that it must belong to a non-Chinese scribe (such as a native of Japan, for instance).⁷⁰ But the aim of preparing the scroll was to serve the needs of someone interested in, or trying to learn, the *qin*, or about the *qin* - a member of the Chinese, or Sino-Japanese cultural elite, in other words. This requires that the owner of the script, Hikone Scribe A, would have had to be relatively competent in Chinese handwriting as practiced in the society where the scroll was being prepared. Thus, the contrast between the highly sophisticated contents of the scroll and the Scribe Hikone A's relative insufficiency in terms of calligraphic artistry suggests to this author that the scroll was very likely copied in Japan, where the appearance of what by continental Chinese standards would have to be deemed insufficient would be fully understandable and acceptable when viewed in light of the state of acculturation of Chinese cultural practices and knowledge in Japan that prevailed at the moment of first intensive contact between the two cultures. The flavor of the script, as elucidated from the character-structure and the stroke movements, reflects Chinese practice of the periods no later than the late Tang (828-907) and the Five dynasties (907-60) on the one hand, but no earlier than the early Tang on the other. However, if we accept the suggestion that Hikone Scribe A was a Japanese who was acculturated to Chinese practices and customs, it is possible to extend this *terminus post quem non* into the first half of the Heian period due to the delay that the transmission from the

⁷⁰ Although the *Silla kogi* 新羅古記 [The Old Record of Silla] gives us the earliest known text referring to the introduction of the *qin* into a country outside China during the Jin dynasty (265-420), this appears to have been an isolated case, and the *qin* seems to have left no mark at that early time. Not until the early twelfth century was *qin* music disseminated to Korean as a living tradition; see Mitchell Clark, "Two Histories: The *Qin* in Korea and Vietnam," *The Resonance of the Qin in the East Asian Art*, ed. Stephen Addiss (New York, 1999), 44-5; and van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 203-4. Furthermore, communication between China and Japan in the Tang period did not involve the Korean Peninsula; see Mozai Torao 茂在寅男 et al., *Kentōshi kenkyū to shiryō* 遣唐使研究と史料 (Tōkyō, 1987). The scenario that the scribe might have been Korean is therefore implausible and will not be taken into further consideration in the following.



Continent to the Islands of new calligraphic styles and fashions normally suffered.⁷¹

When writing part of the symbols from Feng's neumatic system,⁷² especially those copied in red ink, Hikone Scribe A sometimes simply traced the graphic shape in great detail instead of copying the character in the common succession of strokes. At first, Hikone Scribe A used a thinner brush to delineate the contour of the stroke, and then filled up the blank in the contour (see Plate 10). Then, the scribe used another bigger brush with diluted color to retouch the stroke in one step. This is obviously not the way that a trained user of the *qin* notating system would proceed. We may infer that the scribe was not familiar with Feng's neumatic system and had difficulties in imitating the relevant characters. On the other hand, the locations of the set of red symbols in the marginalia of the text suggests that the scribe was a person who was capable and versed enough to confront two copies of the same treatise, carry out a detailed comparison, and record the different readings of the second version in the marginalia of the first one. He therefore appears to have been well acquainted with the *qin* notating symbols. A reasonable interpretation of this contradiction between the clumsy manner with which the notational symbols are copied, and the casual way with which sophisticated variants appear here and there between the columns might be that the red marginalia already existed in Hikone Scribe A's exemplar(s) and therefore that Scribe A just imitated what he saw in his exemplar. This deduction fits well with the personality elucidated from elsewhere in the scroll: in many aspects, Hikone Scribe A was evidently a person with a deep respect for his exemplars - in some cases too deep a respect. For at R7, col.153, R5, cols. 98 and 100, etc., he copied text without becoming aware of that text's very semantic absurdity.

Text Script s2

Text script s2 on the verso of the manuscript can be assigned to the "modern cursive"

⁷¹ For a discussion of the Chinese influence on the Japanese calligraphy, see, for instance, Sakaki Bakuzan 榊莫山, *Sho no rekishi: Chūgoku to Nihon* 書の歴史: 中国と日本 (Ōsaka, 1970).

⁷² See below, Table 1.4.



script type *jincao* 今草 (see Plates 11 and 12).⁷³ Though the handwriting is fluent, structural modifications of the text script s2 give it a non-Chinese flavor that indicates that the Scribe's identity was most likely that of a Japanese sinophile. This is supported by the contents of the writings, i.e., four sketches of a piece of *saibara* based on the melody of the *tōgaku* 唐樂 original *shūfūraku* 秋風樂, and the non-Chinese flavor palpable in the two sketches of one piece of Chinese verse which is very similar to the Chinese poems composed by members of the Japanese nobility in the Nara and early Heian periods.⁷⁴

Drawing hand d1

There are three locations on the verso where casual drawings of a mountain behind a rock, a bird standing on one leg, and an incomplete drawing of the side view of two succeeding courtiers wearing long trains were produced by drawing hand d1. Among them, the way of drawing the rock and the mountains, that is, delineating the contour with the center of the brush instead of laying brush on paper at a slanting angle and producing the brush stroke *miancun* 面皴,⁷⁵ clearly represents a pre-Song (before 960) style of drawing.

Not only the brushwork suggests that the drawing hand d1 and the text script s2 belong to the same scribe, but also the interrelationship of their contents points in the same direction: the Chinese poem depicts wild geese flying in formation among a mountain landscape in autumn. Therefore, between the Chinese poem sketch 1 and Chinese poem sketch 2,⁷⁶ the scribe drew a rock and a mountain; and consequently, at the ending of the sketches, a goose standing on one leg, although the insufficiency of his skill made the bird look like a

⁷³ For a definition of the style *jincao*, see Fu, *Traces of the Brush*, 81.

⁷⁴ For the anthologies of Chinese poems composed by Japanese in the Nara and early Heian periods, see Yosano Hiroshi 与謝野寛 et al., *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (751); Ono Minemori 小野岑守 et al., *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (814); Fujiwara Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣 et al., *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (818); and Yoshimine Yasuyo 良岑安世 et al., *Keikokushū* 経国集 (827). All these anthologies can be found in Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankōkai 日本古典全集刊行会(ed.), *Nihon koten zenshū* 日本古典全集, vol.1 (Tōkyō, 1926).

⁷⁵ For an illustrated introduction of the various kinds of brush strokes used by the Chinese ancient masters, see, for instance, the facsimile of *Jieziyuan huanzhuān* 芥子園畫傳 with the text translated from the Chinese and edited by Mai-Mai Sze, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Princeton, 1977), 127-218.

⁷⁶ See Table 1.4, below.



long-legged “parrot” or an “egret” to Iijima (see Plates 11 and 12).⁷⁷

The owner of the text script s2 and drawing hand d1 is Hikone Scribe B. Compared with the black ink used by Hikone Scribe A, the ink used by Hikone Scribe B is of lighter shade. From the above evidence and the morphology of the *saibara* sketches, it is reasonable to suggest that this scribe was a Japanese sinophile who lived during the first half of the Heian period.⁷⁸

1.2.3. The Copying of the Hikone Manuscript

Two principal copying stages can be distinguished in the Hikone manuscript.

Starting with eight sheets of blank paper, Hikone Scribe A began the writing process without ruling the fresh sheets. During the copying process, Hikone Scribe A scraped the first character of R3, col. 58; as a result, a hole (ca. 10 by 15 mm) was left at the beginning of the column where, in the original text, the term ought to be “*juan* 蠲”.⁷⁹ After that, the scroll was pasted together and a small piece of paper glued over the hole from the back of the scroll. However, nothing was written on it. No codicological evidence is available to distinguish any breaks in the writing process.⁸⁰ The sequence of the treatises is inconsistent and shows a lack of planning. Different versions of one treatise appear several times in succession in the various sections of the scroll, and one version of a treatise might be located in the marginalia of another treatise. Most notably, it is puzzling indeed that the Hikone Scribe A recopied the same text of Zhao Yeli thrice without chronological gaps between the copying stages.

⁷⁷ See Iijima, “Hikone-jō hakubutsukan shozō kinyōshihō shihai saibarafukō,” 46.

⁷⁸ A study of the *saibara* sketches will be provided in the next stage of research devoted to the contents of the manuscript.

⁷⁹ This is based on comparisons with two complete versions of Zhao Yeli’s treatise *Tanqin youshou fa*; see Table 1.4, below.

⁸⁰ However, the interrelationship of the locations of the various treatises reveals to us an outline of the exemplar(s) that Hikone Scribe A employed in the copying. Using this additional evidence, the copying process can be divided into different stages according to the various exemplars the scribe copied from one after another. Details on this will be provided in the next stage of research devoted to the contents of the manuscript, but a very brief account is given here for readers’ convenience.



Therefore, an immediate explanation is needed.

The first two treatises transmitted in the Hikone manuscript are Chen Zhongru's *Qinyong zhifa* and Zhao Yeli's *Tanqin youshou fa*. Zhao's text was merely marked as "another version" without any title or ascription. As we know from the inventory of the Hikone scroll (see below, Table 1.4), this incomplete version of Zhao's treatise comes before the other two complete versions in the manuscript, therefore, "another version" here only can be read as "another piece [of the treatise]".⁸¹ It seems that someone carried out a comparison between the two different treatises of Chen and Zhao and documented the differences after copying Chen's in its complete form. The other two complete versions of Zhao's treatise reveal to us that the terms that were discarded from the first version of Zhao's *Tanqin youshou fa* in the Hikone scroll are exactly those that have been interpreted in Chen's treatise.⁸² And, considering Hikone Scribe A's lack of experience with *qin* music, as mentioned earlier, such kind of comparison is not likely to have been carried out by the scribe himself but, rather, was probably contained in the exemplar already. Therefore, the following deduction can be drawn: the first exemplar of the Hikone Scribe A (i.e., Hikone Exemplar A) contains at least Chen Zhongru's *Qinyong zhifa*, and the incomplete version of Zhao's treatise.

Furthermore, as proposed earlier, the red marginalia were in all likelihood copied directly from Hikone Scribe A's exemplar(s). These marginalia settled in an area from col. 55 (the middle of the first version Zhao Yeli's *Tanqin youshou fa*) to col. 89 (the ending of the first version of Monk Feng Zhibian's *Qinyong shouming fa*). After col. 90, i.e., the beginning of the second version of Zhao's treatise, no red marginalia can be found. We might thus regard col. 90 as the beginning of another stage of copying based on a new exemplar (i.e., Hikone Exemplar B). Therefore, according to the locations of the red marginalia, a second deduction can be made: the first version of Zhao's *Tanqin youshou fa*, the first version of Monk Zhibian's *Qinyong shouming fa* and the red marginalia were all copied from the same

⁸¹ Here, the Chinese word “*ben*” in the original may be understood as a noun which refers to “an edition, a version” as well as a numerical classifier whose exact counterpart does not exist in English.

⁸² All the three versions of Zhao's treatise *Tanqin youshou fa* are not completely identical to each other. They are different versions of the same text.



exemplar.

To combine the above two deductions, Hikone exemplar A thus contained Chen Zhongru's *Qinyong zhifa*, the first version of Zhao's *Tanqin youshou fa* and the two versions of Feng Zhibian's *Qinyong shouming fa*, i.e., entries 1 to 4 in the Inventory of the Hikone manuscript. Considering the *Private Notes* attached to the second version of Zhao's treatise, Hikone Exemplar B must have contained at least the second version of Zhao's *Tanqin youshou fa* and its *Private Notes* (entries 5 to 6 in the Inventory). The original of the text of the last treatise copied in the Hikone scroll may have been found in Hikone Exemplar B, too, or, equally possible, in a third exemplar distinguished from the prior two.

The copying process of Hikone Scribe A thus becomes understandable. What the Hikone Scribe A has done is to copy all the two or three exemplars one after another without any chronological gaps.⁸³

Next, Hikone Scribe B used the verso of the scroll as his draft paper to compose a *saibara* music piece four times over, and a piece of Chinese poem “yan si shu hang shu” twice following the *saibara* sketches. Among these drafts, the music sketches require some further explanation here. *Saibara* is a genre of Japanese music: its Heian creators wrote Japanese lyrics to pre-existing melodies borrowed from the *tōgaku* 唐樂 and *komagaku* 高麗樂 repertoires.⁸⁴ The sketches in the Hikone manuscript, based on the *tōgaku* melody *Shūfūraku* 秋風樂 [The Autumn Wind] in *banjiki* mode, are clearly a work in progress: Hikone scribe B rearranged the Japanese lyric written in cursive style into the ready-made flute notation of *Shūfūraku* four times (the last time, copying only the song text). The composition of the lyric carried out by Hikone scribe B remains incomplete, since, instead of adding a new name for the *saibara* piece, the only title appearing in the four sketches is that of the *tōgaku* original, i.e., “*Shūfūraku*”. Therefore, it is reasonable to state that these are actually sketches as

⁸³ This interpretation is also supported by the bibliographic clues found in the catalogue of the Japanese Imperial Library of that period. A detailed bibliographic exploration of early Sino-Japanese records will be offered in the next stage of research.

⁸⁴ See Elizabeth J. Markham, *Saibara: Japanese Court Songs of the Heian Period* (Cambridge, 1983).



opposed to copies of complete works.⁸⁵

Next to the two sketches of the Chinese poem, two casual drawings, i.e., “a mountain behind a rock” and “a goose standing on one leg”, were added by Hikone Scribe B during the composing process. This is elucidated from the continuity of the brushwork and the light black ink used for all these four entries. The relationship between their meanings, as mentioned earlier, also supports this interpretation. The third casual drawing, i.e., the incomplete drawing of the side view of two succeeding courtiers, was delineated over the *saibara* sketches two and three. Some of the ink employed by Hikone Scribe B bled through onto the recto of the scroll because of the application of an overly diluted ink. All the works of Hikone Scribe B were entered into the scroll after the pasting of the various panels of paper layer P1, since these texts were written across the joints of the sheets.

1.2.4. The Contents of the Hikone Manuscript

The contents of the Hikone manuscript are totally different from that of the Tōkyō manuscript. Unlike the Tōkyō manuscript, which is the only remnant of a larger *qin* music collection, the recto of the Hikone manuscript contains several independent treatises on early *qin* music. Among them, six versions of three treatises can be distinguished.

The verso of P1 in turn preserves four sketches of a piece of *saibara* based on the melody of the *tōgaku* 唐樂 original *shūfūraku* 秋風樂, two sketches of a Chinese poem, and three groups of casual drawings of a side view of two succeeding courtiers, a mountain behind a rock, and a goose standing on one leg. Table 1.4 is an inventory of the contents found on both the recto and verso of the manuscript. Although the manuscript at present begins at R1, col. 6 only, the first five columns are preserved in the eighteenth-century tracing copy A1; therefore, these opening columns are also included in the inventory.

⁸⁵ Further details will be offered in the next stage of research on the contents of the manuscript.



Table 1.4: The Hikone manuscript, inventory

Location	Scribe	Contents	Genre	Author	Commentary
1. cols. 1-48	A	[<i>Qin</i>] <i>yong zhifa</i> 琴用指法 [The Finger Techniques of <i>Qin</i>]	<i>qin</i>	Chen Zhongru	The first five columns are missing in the manuscript in its present state.
2. cols. 49-65	A	[<i>Tanqin youshou fa</i>] 彈琴右手法 [<i>Qin</i> Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand]	<i>qin</i>	Zhao Yeli	Incomplete version of entries 5 and 7 entitled as "another piece of [treatise]".
3. cols. 66-89	A	<i>Qinyong shouming fa</i> 琴用手名法 [The Terminology of <i>Qin</i> Playing]	<i>qin</i>	Feng Zhibian	
4. cols. 55-89	A	[<i>Qinyong shouming fa</i>] 琴用手名法 [The Terminology of <i>Qin</i> Playing]	<i>qin</i>	Feng Zhibian	Another incomplete variant version of entry 3, written in red ink as marginalia.
5. cols. 90-127	A	<i>Tanqin youshou fa</i> 彈琴右手法 [<i>Qin</i> Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand]	<i>qin</i>	Zhao Yeli	
6. cols. 128-135	A	<i>Siji</i> 私記 [Private Notes]	<i>qin</i>	?	Supplements to entry 5 compiled by Zhao Yeli's pupil(s).
7. cols. 136-171	A	<i>Tanqin youshou fa</i> 彈琴右手法 [<i>Qin</i> Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand]	<i>qin</i>	Zhao Yeli	
8. Verso	B	[<i>Saibara</i> , sketch 1]	<i>saibara</i>	Hikone Scribe B	A sketch of flute music and its accompanying Japanese lyric.
9. Verso	B	[<i>Saibara</i> , sketch 2]	<i>saibara</i>	Hikone Scribe B	The second sketch of entry 8 with revisions.
10. Verso	B	[<i>Saibara</i> , sketch 3]	<i>saibara</i>	Hikone Scribe B	The third sketch of entry 8 with revisions and the title of the original <i>tōgaku</i> melody.
11. Verso	B	[Chinese poem, sketch 1]	—	Hikone Scribe B	



Table 1.4: The Hikone manuscript, inventory (cont.)

Location	Scribe	Contents	Genre	Author	Commentary
12. Verso	B	[<i>Saibara</i> , sketch 4]	<i>saibara</i>	Hikone Scribe B	The fourth sketch of entry 8, containing the Japanese lyric only.
13. Verso	B	[Chinese poem, sketch 2]	—	Hikone Scribe B	The second sketch of entry 11 with revisions.
14. Verso	B	[Drawing 1]	—	—	Incomplete drawing of the side view of two succeeding courtiers wearing long trains.
15. Verso	B	[Drawing 2]	—	—	A mountain behind a rock.
16. Verso	B	[Drawing 3]	—	—	A goose standing on one leg.

1.2.5. The Manuscript's History: A Relative Chronology

Like in the case of the Tōkyō source, the verifiable trail of the Hikone manuscript begins with the moment when it was bestowed on the Koma family by Gomizunō-tennō (r. 1611-29).⁸⁶ In the wake of Sorai's examination of the two scrolls some time between 1716 and 1720,⁸⁷ the Hikone manuscript surfaced again in the middle of the eighteenth century when tracing copy A1 was prepared,⁸⁸ and in the late eighteenth century when another (incomplete) copy of the scroll was produced, providing evidence that the scroll was at that time circulating among Edo-period *qin* players.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ See Chapter III.

⁸⁷ See Chapter III.

⁸⁸ According to the exlibris on the upper right side of its first folio, this copy was made for Fujiwara Tunemasa 藤原常雅 (active 1720-1760), a sinophile and second minister (*udaijin* 右大臣) of the Imperial Court. See Appendix B.

⁸⁹ This copy is the second part of *Yūrankyoku* 幽蘭曲 (D2), a manuscript now kept in the private collection of Kishibe



Next, the manuscript appears among the holdings of the Ii family. Until the Meiji period, the Ii family collection was divided between two separate places: The Hikone-jō on the shores of Lake Biwa (Shiga prefecture), and the family palace in Edo (= Tōkyō). With no archival record that directly mentions the scroll uncovered so far in the surviving documents of the Ii family archive, it is impossible to determine with certainty how the scroll came into the possession of the Ii family. However, earlier studies already suggested that the Hikone manuscript, as one of the paramount music-related treasures among the former Ii family library, was acquired by the music-loving twelfth daimyō of Hikone, Ii Naoaki 井伊直亮 (1794-1850), who was the lord and owner of Hikone-jō during the years 1815-1850. If so, the two *qin* scrolls now in Tōkyō and Hikone were separated no later than the early nineteenth century. This scenario, though not self-evident, is supported by the Ii collection. At present, this vast collection includes 9 *qin* and 26 *qin* music books.⁹⁰ Furthermore, among the archival records that have been examined by myself there are documents, including such manuscripts as Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V321, V551 and a description in Naoaki's hand attached to a pre-Qing instrument from the former collection of Kinoshita Katsutoshi 木下勝俊 (1569-1649), that clearly record that Naoaki himself was a *qin* amateur, and that *qin* performers frequently were invited as private guests in the castle under his regime. Last but not least, Naoaki's private studio was called “*Zhang qin guan* 張琴館 [*Qin*-playing Cabinet]”.

The scroll was moved to its current repository in the 1990s, when the Hikone Castle Museum's current building was constructed on the former site of the original household quarters of the Hikone daimyō. Soon thereafter ownership of the whole Ii collection was transferred to the city government of Hikone in 1994.

Shigeo 岸邊成雄. According to its colophon, the relevant section was written by the Edo *qin* player Hoshino Shinnohan 星野進之半, a contemporary of Urakami Gyokudō 浦上玉堂 (1745-1820); see Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴士物語 (Tōkyō, 2000), 12, 169-172, 384-5.

⁹⁰ These numbers are based on the primary data provided in the reports of the census of the Ii family holdings which was performed when the collection was passed on from private ownership to ownership by the City of Hikone which in turn now owns and administers the Hikone Castle Museum; see Hikone-han monjo chōsadan (ed.), *Hikone-han shiryōchōsa hōkokusho 5: like dendai tenseki tou*, 318-74; and Kikkawa Eishi, “Ii-ke gakkai korekushon no gaiyō 井伊家楽器コレクションの概要,” *Kikan hōgaku* 季刊邦楽 18 (1979), 78-82. For further information on these manuscripts and instruments, see Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan 彦根城博物館(ed.), *Nihon no gakki* 日本の楽器 (Hikone, 1996).



1.3. Conclusion

With the two previous sections devoted to individual codicological examinations of the two manuscripts, we may now compare the two as follows.

First of all, the materials of the two scrolls are totally different. As mentioned above, the original layer of the Tōkyō manuscript is made up of ten sheets of refined paper. The size of each complete sheet is 274 mm by ca. 435 mm (in the ratio of 1: 1.6), while the average size of the eight sheets of thick paper of the original layer of the Hikone manuscript is 300 mm by ca. 555 mm. (in the ratio of 1: 1.85). These differences alone are sufficient to demonstrate that the two manuscripts cannot be two parts of a single original scroll. The contrasts in paper thickness and paper quality strengthen this observation.

Secondly, the two scrolls' layouts are not the same. The majority of the early Sino-Japanese manuscripts, though different in their contents and written down over a period of more than one thousand years, are in hand scroll form, a format which was in use even before paper (as opposed to wooden and bamboo writing tablets) was invented as a writing material, and which remained so until printed books became dominant in Song. However, due to their different functions, such manuscripts' physical characteristics show a great deal of diversity. One of the criteria by which this diversity may be gauged is the level of formality that attaches to a given scroll, with the Nara *Sūtra Konkōmyō Saishōōkyō* copied in gold on purple paper at a point of extreme formality, and the Dunhuang Buddhist gospel manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, peliot chinois 3808 written on the verso of a discarded *pipa* notation at the opposite end of the spectrum. The two scrolls of early *qin* music discussed above may serve to illustrate this polarity. Each sheet of the Tōkyō manuscript was laid out in 25 columns perpanel, while the Hikone manuscript is not pre-ruled at all, identifying the Tōkyō scroll as a formal manuscript, the Hikone one as an informal type of source.



Third, the identities of the various scribes involved in the copying process of the two scrolls reveal significant differences. As discussed, Tōkyō Scribe A was an early-Tang professional copyist without any specific knowledge of *qin* playing, while Tōkyō Scribe B appears to have been a Tang dynasty *qin* player. The very late Tōkyō Scribe C was Japanese and active during the last half of the Edo period. These three are responsible for the copying and retouching of the Tōkyō manuscript. In contrast, Hikone Scribe A, the copyist of the recto of the Hikone manuscript, may perhaps best be described as a Japanese active no later than the early Heian period, who probably came into contact with some Chinese exemplar(s) stored in Japan and decided to make a personal copy of some *qin*-related texts that interested him. Hikone Scribe B clearly appears as a Heian-period Japanese sinophile who was responsible for the notating of the *saibara* piece and for drafting the various versions of the Chinese poem found on the verso of the scroll as well as the drawings related to the poem copied next to them. Considering the evidence presented, it is nothing more than reasonable to state that the Tōkyō manuscript was produced in Tang China, while the Hikone manuscript was in all likelihood written in Japan during the Nara or early Heian period.

Fourth, the contents of the scrolls show us that they cannot be different portions of a single, larger compilation. The Tōkyō manuscript is a part of a well-edited *qin* music anthology which was completed in China during the early Tang period; what Tōkyō Scribe A found himself confronted with was the standard version of a fixed text. On the other hand, the copying process of the Hikone manuscript reveals a very different picture: Hikone Scribe A did not engage in overall planning when copying the three practical treatises, but set out to work with the casual enthusiasm typical of the excited musical amateur (or sinophile). Therefore, different versions of one treatise from two/three exemplars could appear several times in succession in the various sections of the scroll, and one version of a treatise might be located in the marginalia of another treatise. Also worth noting here is that numerous errors existed in his exemplars.

Last but not least, the above exploration retraced the history of the two manuscripts since their being bestowed on the Koma family by Gomizunō-tennō (1596-1680, r. 1611-29). The



insights revealed by our exploration help us understand how and why the erroneous assumption that the two manuscripts once belonged to a single original could appear and be developed. Because the two scrolls document *qin* music of roughly the same period, any earlier understanding of them, not least in light of the paucity of surviving early *qin* sources, was perforce interdependent. This trend was reinforced by the fact that the two scrolls had been kept together for a long period of time during the Edo period and had been studied by Sorai concurrently. The manifold connections between the two sources, as far as their relatively recent reception history in Edo-period Japan is particularly concerned, necessarily led researchers into some spurious directions. The long-time loss of the Hikone manuscript added another element of speculation to the established wisdom and, of course, made a thorough comparison between the two sources impossible.

Considering the evidence presented, it seems reasonable to regard the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts as two entirely separate, independent sources devoted to different aspects of early *qin* music. With the Tōkyō manuscript, we have a Chinese scroll that formed part of a larger *qin* music anthology that made its way from Tang China to Japan, probably in the eighth century. The recto of the Hikone scroll may be described as a Chinese manuscript “made in Japan”, reflecting the practice of the *qin* playing on the Continent from the sixth to the early seventh century and at the same time offering us a fascinating glimpse into the early stages of the reception of Chinese culture in Japan during the Nara and early Heian periods.



碣石山蘭序一名倚蘭

丘公明會稽人也果未隱於九疑山妙絕楚調於幽
蘭一曲尤精精絕以其聲微而志遠而不堪授人以陳
積明三事受宜都王封明隨開皇十年於丹陽縣卒

五九十七無子傳之其聲遂簡耳

幽蘭第五

耶卧中指主半寸許案高食指中指雙拳宮商中
指急下与构候下十三下一寸許住末商起食指散緩半
扶宮商八指挑商又半扶宮商縱容下無名於十三外一
寸許案角於商角即作兩半扶挾挑聲一句緩起
中指當十即案商緩散歷羽徵無名打商食指挑微
一句大指當八案商無名打商食指散挑羽無名當十一

Plate 1: The Tōkyō manuscript, PN1, cols. 1-12



Plate 2: The Tōkyō manuscript, titles at the beginning and outside



Plate 3: The Tōkyō manuscript, PN7, col. 164

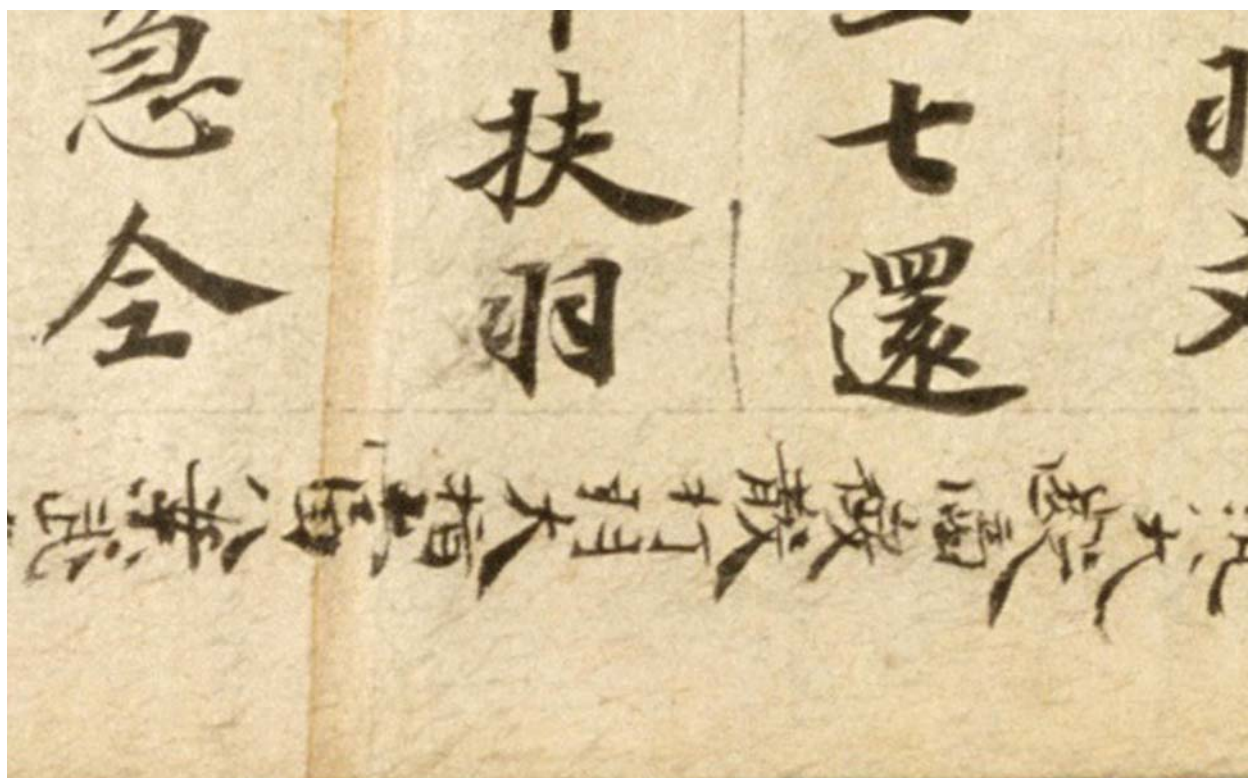


Plate 4: The Tōkyō manuscript, joint of PN9 and PN10

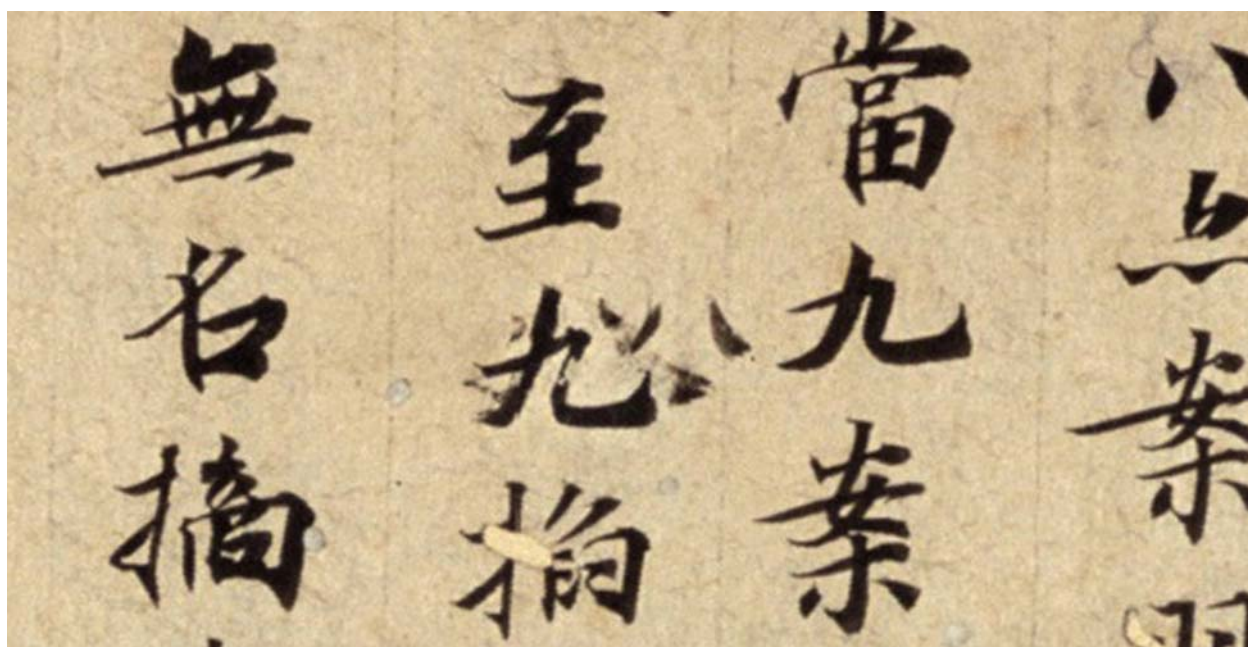


Plate 5: The Tōkyō manuscript, PN2, col. 30

即蠲角徵大指當十一索徵蠲角徵 五度蠲之 大指隨蠲
 上至十縮索徵羽應羽徵前後齧宮徵 初緩後急 拍之
 食拍汎八無名打徵無名汎九食指挑武應霞汎九疾
 全扶文武挑武應食拍汎八無名打文手汎十九前後齧
 羽武舉大指無名不動無名打文大相汎九於文武羽半扶疾
 齧宮羽 一句 霞汎九食打羽無名打商散挑羽應無名汎十一無名
 打宮大拍汎九挑羽應 一句 食指汎八無名打徵無名汎
 十挑文應仍摩武無名汎十一食指打文無名汎十二
 全扶文武即挑武應手汎十二十三前後齧羽武無名
 當暗徵無名便打文 一句暗徵 仰汎十二却轉武文食
 指仍歷至徵緩全扶角徵無名節打角疾全扶徵羽
 手汎十一十二食指掌羽文仰汎十二半扶徵羽間拘
 角徵手汎十一中指掌徵羽霞汎十作前挑間拘轉

Plate 6: The Tōkyō manuscript, PN9, cols. 200-212



Plate 7: The Hikone manuscript, rolled up

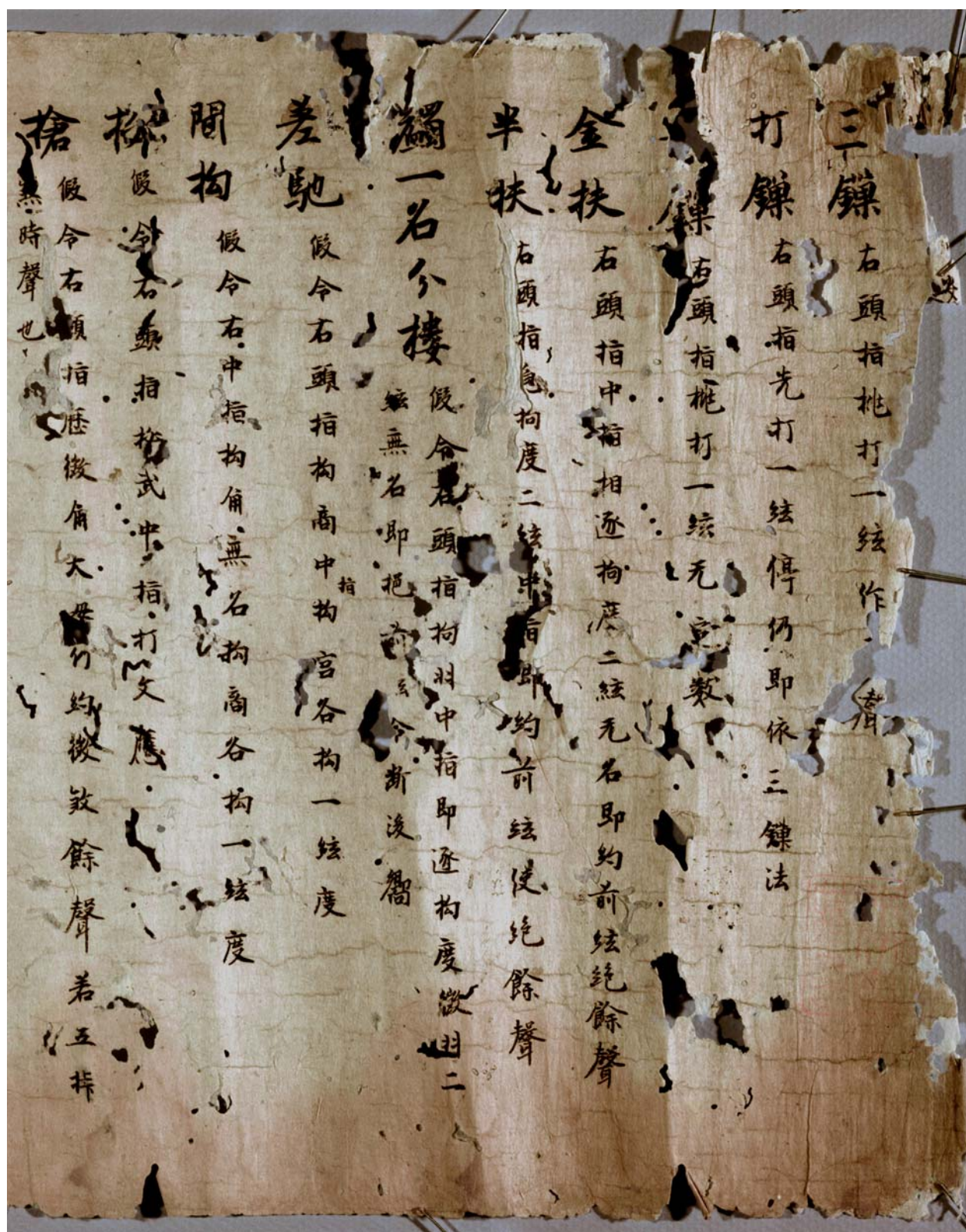


Plate 8: The Hikone manuscript, R1, cols. 7-16

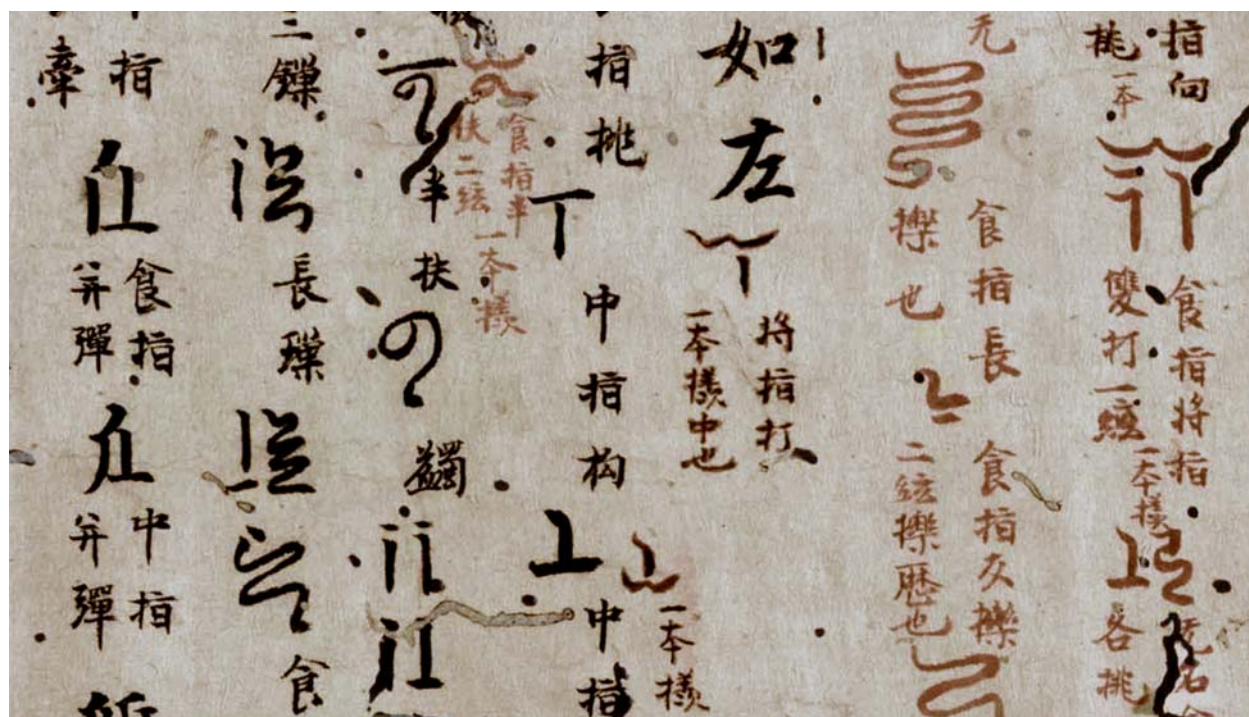


Plate 9: The Hikone manuscript, details of R3

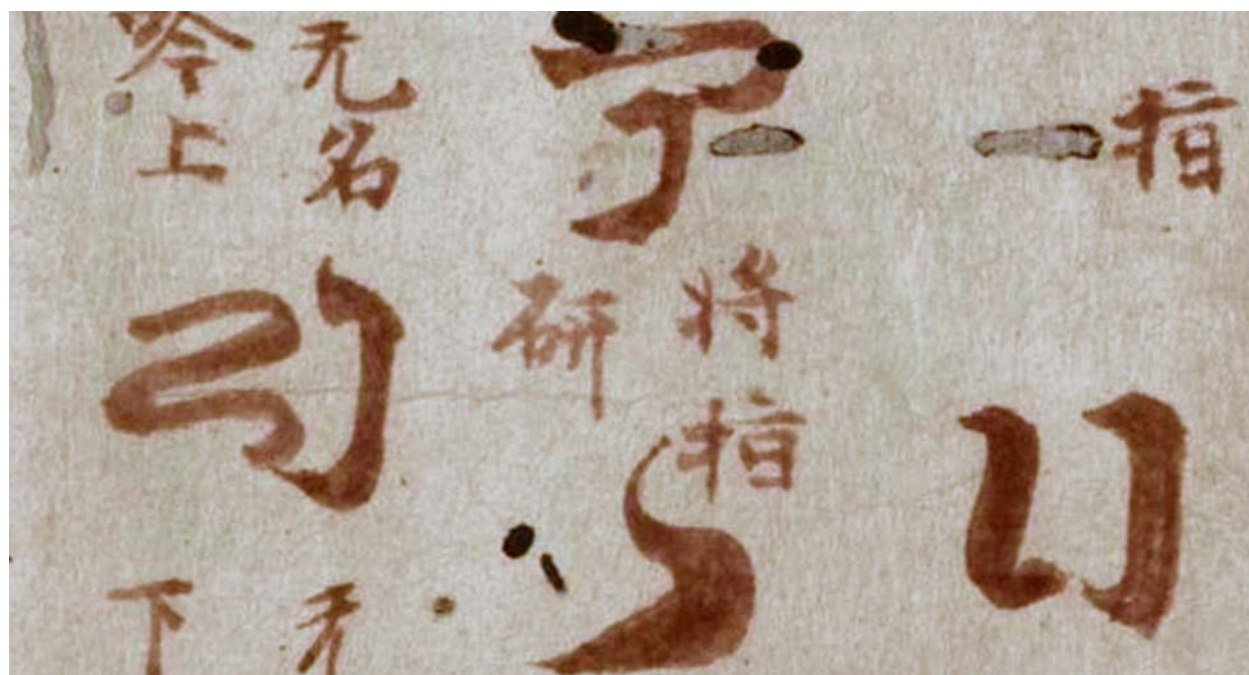


Plate 10: The Hikone manuscript, details of R4

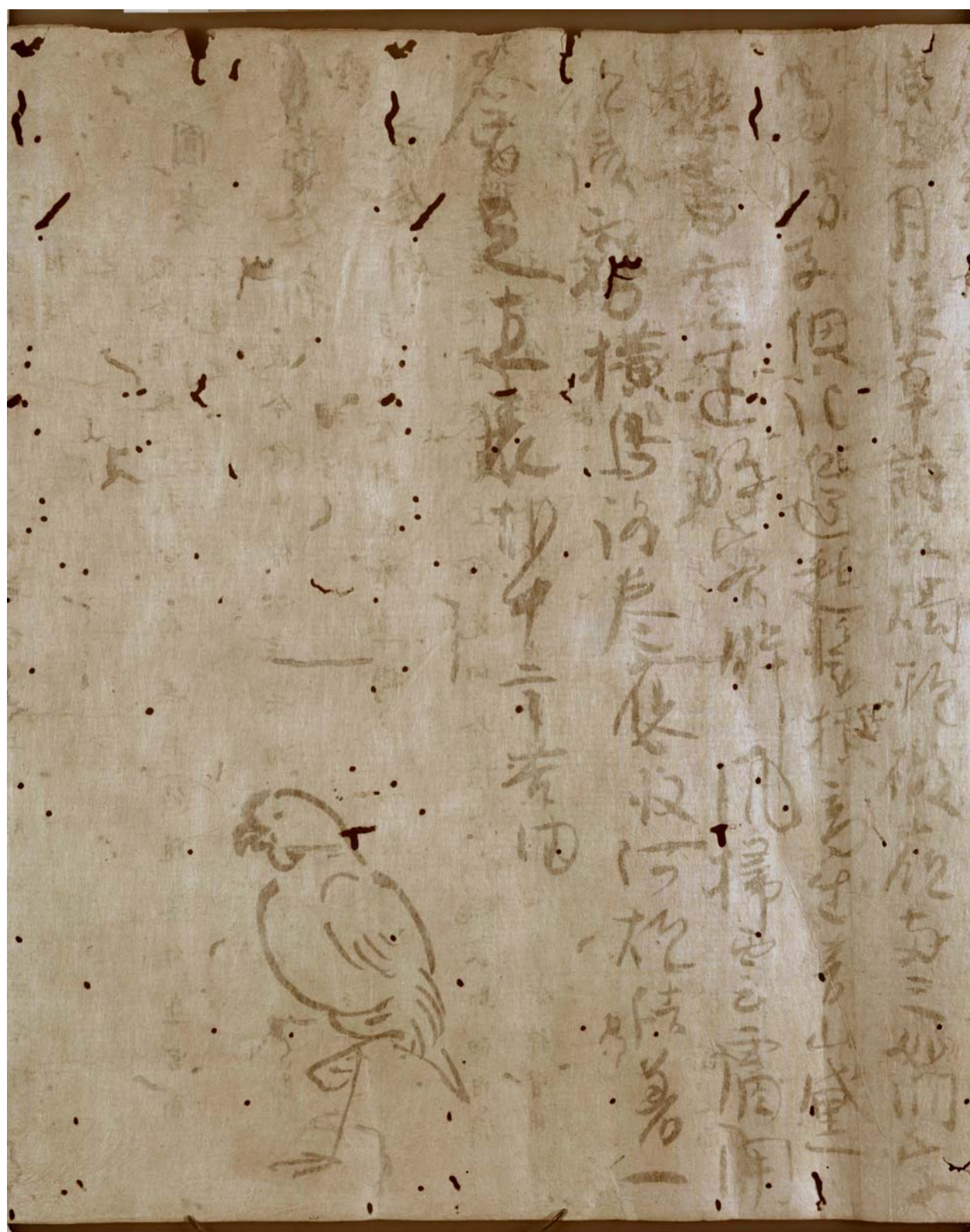


Plate 11: The Hikone manuscript, verso



Plate 12: The Hikone manuscript, verso, taking the back light

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF THE TEXTS IN THE TŌKYŌ AND HIKONE MANUSCRIPTS, AND THEIR AUTHORS

Readers might question the necessity to carry out the following chapter-length historical criticism on the origins of the texts copied in the Tōkyō and Hikone scrolls since most of the contents of the two manuscripts have been known to researchers for more than a century through the dissemination of their tracing copies, woodcuts and Sorai's compilations. After the endeavors of generations of Chinese and Japanese scholars, both sinologists and musicologists, little room may seem left for further research. On the other hand, the results of the research conducted so far appear somewhat meager: Previous scholarship has identified only two authors from one manuscript, with the total amount of biographical materials available for each author comprising less than one hundred characters altogether per person.⁹¹ If we want, however, to seriously consider further investigations into the history of the two scrolls by using the dates of the possible texts as *termini ante quem non* for the copying, a critical historical account devoted to the transmission of *qin* lore and teaching, and to the biographies of the authors and subsequent compilers of the specific texts copied in the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts becomes indispensable.

⁹¹ For the most up-to-date historical exploration on the preface of the Tōkyō manuscript, see Wu Ye 吳葉, "Cong qinqu dahujia xiaohujia shitan han tang shiqi beifang shaoshuminzu yindiao 從琴曲《大胡笳》《小胡笳》試探漢唐時期北方少數民族音調," *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 中國音樂學 75 (2004), 35; and Wu Wenguang 吳文光, "Jieshidiao youlan yanjiu zhi guankui 《碣石調幽蘭》研究之管窺," *Yüan kenkyū kokusai shinpojiumu* 幽蘭研究國際シンポジウム, ed. Tōyō kingaku kenkyūjo 東洋琴学研究所 (Tōkyō, 1999), 13-20. For modern scholarship on Zhao Yeli, one of the contributors of the texts preserved in the Hikone manuscript, see, e.g., Xu Jian 許健, *Qinshi chubian* 琴史初編 (Beijing, 1982), 54-5.



2.1. The Tōkyō Manuscript

There are two crucial misunderstandings concerning the origins of the text preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript. One misunderstanding, which I have already mentioned in the preceding chapter, is that the scroll was assumed to be the fifth section of a larger piece called *Youlan*. The fact is, rather, that it is the fifth and complete piece of a larger anthology, now lost. Another misunderstanding arises from the misreading of the preface of the piece *Youlan* as transmitted in the Tōkyō manuscript. Before discussing this matter in detail, let us begin by reading the preface itself.

Table 2.1: The Tōkyō manuscript, translation of the preface (Note: Characters retouched are framed by borders. Each square represents a missing character in the manuscript.)

col. 1 碣石調幽蘭序 一名倚蘭

Preface of *Solitary Orchid* (also known as *Yilan*) in *jieshi* mode

col. 2 丘公字子明，會稽人也。梁末隱於九疑山。妙絕楚調。於幽

Master Qiu, whose courtesy name was Ming,⁹² was a native of Kuaiji.⁹³ Towards the end of the Liang dynasty (502-557), Qiu led a hermit life on Mount Jiuyi.⁹⁴ Qiu specialized in *chu* melodies, and was especially renowned for his interpretation of the piece *Solitary*

col. 3 蘭一曲，尤特精絕。以其聲微而志遠，而不堪授人。以陳

Orchid. Because of the tune's subtleties and its profundity, Qiu seldom taught the piece to his disciples.

⁹² In Chinese culture, traditionally a male adult has at least two alternative names by which he is known, in addition to his personal name *ming* 名. One is his *zi* 字, a courtesy name by which a person is addressed by his friends; another is his *hao* 號, a poetic extra name chosen by the person himself. Chinese Buddhist and Taoist monks are usually identified by their monastic names, and their surnames are often dropped.

⁹³ Kuaiji 會稽 was then the name of an area in south China. Nowadays, this area roughly covers part of the following provinces: Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian; see Map 2.1.

⁹⁴ Jiuyi 九疑 is the name of a famous mountain in Hunan province; see Map 2.1.



col. 4 禎明三年，授宜都王叔明。隨開皇十年，於丹陽縣卒。

In the third year of Zenming of the Chen dynasty (= 589), he taught the piece to Shuming, Prince of Yidu. [Master Qiu] died in the tenth year of Kaihuang of the Sui dynasty (= 590) in Danyang prefecture,⁹⁵

col. 5 口年九十七。無子傳之，其聲遂簡耳。

at the age of ninety-seven. Qiu had no son to whom to hand down his music. Therefore, the piece [i.e., *Solitary Orchid*] has never become a popular one.

In the above translation, I translated the five characters “宜都王叔明” in col. 4 as “Shuming, Prince of Yidu” instead of the prior reading “a certain Wang Shuming, from Yidu.”⁹⁶ The diversity between the two is due to a difference in interpreting the third character *wang* 王, which I read as a title rather than a surname. When consulting *Chenshu* 陳書 [The Book of the Chen Dynasty], it quickly becomes clear that the character in its historical context ought indeed to be interpreted as “Shuming, Prince of Yidu”, since there is a short biography for precisely such a prince of the Chen dynasty (557-589) in *Chenshu*.⁹⁷ The corresponding passages in *Nanshi* 南史 [The History of the Southern Dynasties], which is based on *The Book of the Chen Dynasty*, yield almost exactly the same texts.⁹⁸ In fact, Sorai had noticed this point and wrote briefly on it in his *Kingakutaiishō* 琴學大意抄 [An Outline of *Qin* Studies]. However, this part of *Kingakutaiishō* never entered general dissemination: among the 23 surviving manuscript copies of *Kingakutaiishō*; only manuscript C12 kept in Hikone included this section.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Danyang is a small area near the city of Nanjing; see Map 2.1.

⁹⁶ See, for instance, Xu, *Qinshi chubian*, 44.

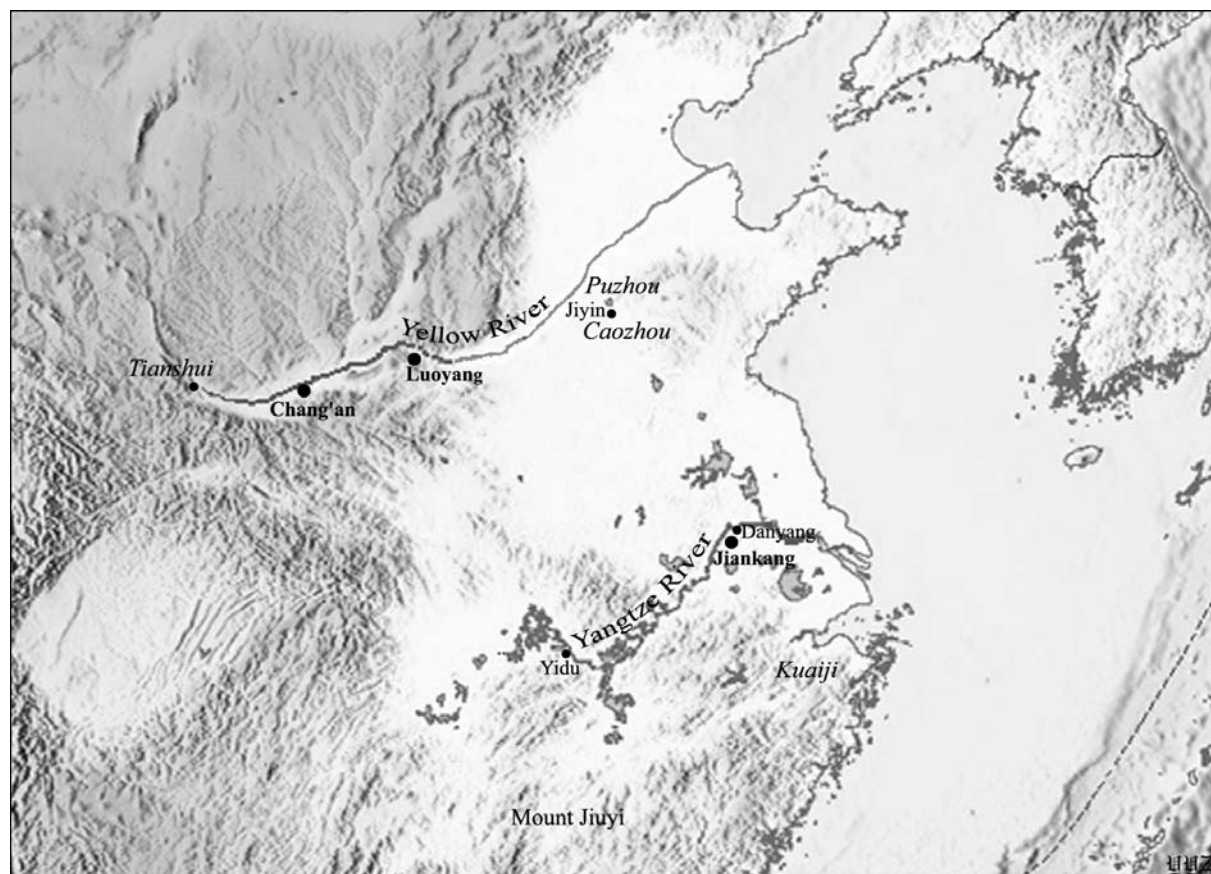
⁹⁷ See Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Chenshu*, *Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 edition (hereafter “SKQS edition” in the footnotes), vol. 28, fol. 15r.

⁹⁸ See Li Yansho 李延壽, *Nanshi*, SKQS edition, vol. 65, fols. 19v-20r. The Southern dynasties refer to the four succeeding dynasties in Southern China during the Division between the North and South (420-589): Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557) and Chen (557-589). The compilation of *Nanshi* is based on the four official histories of these Southern dynasties.

⁹⁹ For information on the sigla, please see Appendix B.



Map 2.1: Geographical locations of places pertinent to the texts preserved in the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts



In this context, the Epitaph of Prince Yidu, excavated in Henan province in 1936, is worthy of mention. It has been neglected by prior scholarship since no transcription has been provided up to now. A reading of the Epitaph will not only correct a mistake regarding Prince Yidu's date of birth found in the official histories of Chen and Northern dynasties, but also shed light on his life after the fall of the Chen dynasty.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ A transcription of the text of the Epitaph is provided in Appendix A. On a separate occasion, I will conduct a full-scale assessment of this new source and an investigation of the teaching tradition involving Chen Shuming.

2.2. The Hikone Manuscript

The most frequently copied treatise among those transmitted in the Hikone manuscript is the *Tanqin youshou fa* 彈琴右手法 [*Qin* Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand], written by Zhao Yeli 趙耶利 (561-636 or 564-639, see below). Since three different versions of the treatise survive in the various sections of the Hikone manuscript, it may be hypothesized that the scribe had in front of him several exemplars of the *Tanqin youshou fa*,¹⁰¹ an observation which in turn would corroborate the assumption that this treatise enjoyed a fairly high level of popularity among *qin* players of the seventh to the ninth century. The widespread dissemination of the treatise, to some extent, also confirms the importance of its author. In the following section, a critical appraisal of the historical data available about the life of Zhao will therefore be given. Subsequently, similar attention will be given to the other authors who contributed texts to the Hikone manuscript.

2.2.1. Zhao Yeli (561-636 or 564-639)

A critical translation of two sets of ascriptions

Although Zhao's treatise appears three times in the Hikone manuscript, only the last two versions bear an ascription. The two sets of ascriptions (col. 88 and col. 128 form one set, and col. 136 another; see below) carry the same meaning and can be translated as follows:

Table 2.2: The Hikone manuscript: two sets of ascriptions attached to Zhao Yeli's treatise (Note: Two different sizes of Chinese characters are used within each ascriptive passage in the Hikone source. In my transcription, phrases originally in smaller characters are written in parentheses.)

col. 88	彈琴右手法	合廿六法 耶利師撰
	<i>Qin Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand</i>	Twenty-six patterns in total.
	(written by Master Yeli)	

¹⁰¹ See Chapter I.



col. 128 私記

Private notes

col. 136 彈琴右手法 私記且爲立名未必皆爲古稱 五不及道士趙耶利師撰

Qin Fingering Techniques for the Right Hand ([These are] private notes and the terms are named by myself, therefore, not all of them match the traditional nomenclature.) Written by Master Zhao Yeli, the Taoist monk Wubuji.

Zhao's three biographies

Three brief biographies of this distinguished early Tang musician have survived: an anonymous account originally contained in a certain *Yuezhuàn* 樂纂 [A Compilation of Music Literature] (henceforth biography A);¹⁰² an official biography in *Tangshū yuezhi* 唐書樂志 [The Music Monograph in the History of Tang] (henceforth biography B);¹⁰³ and, third, a biography in *Qinshi* 琴史 [History of the *Qin*] (henceforth biography C), written in 1084 by Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039-98). The first two works have been lost, but remnants of Zhao's biographies A and B survive in various quotations in a few early Song sources, to which we shall turn shortly. The third biography is not only well preserved in several historical editions, but also quoted in *Yongle qinshū jicheng* 永樂琴書集成 [Comprehensive Collection of Treatises on the *Qin* That Survived to the Yongle Reign] and *Qinshū daquan* 琴書大全 [Compendium of Treatises on the *Qin*].¹⁰⁴ Only the third biography has so far been examined by *qin* historians. Since the three biographies contain contradictions as well as similarities, when compared with each other, it is worthwhile to examine them in detail. They therefore will be translated in full in this chapter. In the ensuing discussion, I shall try to further our understanding of Zhao's life by comparing the three biographies and by cross-checking them with other historical data.

¹⁰² No dating or provenance is available for this literary work; see below.

¹⁰³ The book only exists in remnants. No dating or provenance is available for this work; see below.

¹⁰⁴ *Yongle qinshū jicheng* is a manuscript prepared in the Ming dynasty by the order of Emperor Yongle (r. 1403-24). The *Qinshū daquan* is a woodblock print produced around 1590. For their interrelationships, see Zhao Huier 趙慧兒, "Cong mingdai wenxian zhong zhuisu yongle qinshū jicheng de lishi 從明代文獻中追溯《永樂琴書集成》的歷史," *Zhongguo yinyue xue* 中國音樂學 57 (1999), 5-16.



The citation of biography A in the Song encyclopedic compilation *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [Imperial Reader of the Taiping Reign] is abbreviated simply as “*Yuezuan* 樂纂 [A Compilation of Music Literature]”. There are three works from either the Tang or Song dynasty that are entitled or abbreviated as “*Yuezuan*”. Thus, an inquiry determining the identity of the original source of biography A is needed before we can proceed any further. The first candidate for identification is the *Gujin yuezuan* 古今樂纂 [A Compilation of Ancient and Contemporary Music Literature], a monograph quoted by Xu Jing’an 徐景安 in his *Yueshu* 樂書 [Book on Music]. Xu’s status as an official in charge of intonation and tuning matters at the Tang court implies that this *Gujin yuezuan* must have been completed during or before the Tang period.¹⁰⁵ The second book named *Yuezuan* was written by a Song author, Li Zong’e 李宗諤, is dated 1005 and survives only in remnants.¹⁰⁶ Third, a book under the same title as *Gujin yuezuan*, but compiled by He Wenguang 何文廣 in the year 1035, also survives only in remnants.¹⁰⁷ The two latter items were compiled after the completion of *Taiping yulan* (983), and it is therefore impossible that they could have been cited in the *Taiping yulan*. As a result, the *Gujin yuezuan* which provided Zhao’s biography must have been the first item in the above list, i.e., the Tang monograph. The translation given below is based on the text of *Taiping yulan* as provided in the facsimile of a Southern Song woodblock edition printed in Sichuan:

The *Yuezuan* (= *Gujin yuezuan*) states: the hermit-scholar Zhao Yeli, a native of Tianshui,¹⁰⁸ lived in the early Tang period. Having mastered the lore of the *qin*, he was highly regarded throughout the whole empire, from the Emperor to all the virtuous nobles. [At the time, there existed] fifteen or so old [*qin*] pieces in erroneous notation. [Zhao] removed the vulgarities [from these pieces] and made all of them rejoin [the repertoire of] elegance. Not a single blemish that does not comply with the ancient style had a place [in Zhao’s edition]. [His] two [other] works included, [in separate entities,] a

¹⁰⁵ See Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 et al., *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, SKQS edition, vol. 1, fol. 16v.

¹⁰⁶ For the bibliographical information, see Zhou Qingyun 周慶雲, *Qinshu biele* 琴書別錄 (1915), vol. 1, fols. 13r-v.

¹⁰⁷ For the bibliographical information, see Zhou, *Qinshu biele*, vol.1, fols. 15r-v.

¹⁰⁸ A hermit-scholar (= *jushi* 居士) is a scholar who does not work as a civil servant, the usual career of the literati in feudal China. Tianshui is now a town of Gansu province; see Map 2.1.



treatise on the symbology of fingering and a compilation of five pieces in *hujia* mode. Three of his pupils were leading contemporary masters. In the tenth year of the Zhen'guan era (636), [Zhao] died in Cao at the age of seventy-six.¹⁰⁹ [His] pupils included Song Xiaozhen and Gongsun Chang. Over the course of several hundreds of years, [Zhao's tradition was] handed down to a certain Ma via [Gongsun] Chang.¹¹⁰ 樂纂曰：趙耶利居士，唐初天水人也。以琴道見重海內，帝王賢貴靡不欽風。舊錯謬十五餘弄，皆削凡歸雅，無一微玷不合於古。述執法象及胡笳五弄譜兩卷。弟子達者三人，並當代翹楚。貞觀十年終於曹，壽七十六。弟子宋孝臻、公孫常，數百年內常傳於馬氏。¹¹¹

Biography B is preserved in three Song sources: *Taiping yulan*, *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 [Precious Treasures of the Record Bureau] and *Shilei fu zhu* 事類賦注 [Annotations on *Classified Anthology of Poems*].¹¹² However, the last two versions, compared with the text found in *Taiping yulan*, were apparently abbreviated by the compilers. At the very least, they are far from complete if compared with the text in *Taiping yulan*. In the following discussion, we will therefore focus only on the *Taiping yulan* version. According to *Taiping yulan*, the original text was included in the *Music Monograph* of *Tangshu* 唐書 [The History of Tang].¹¹³ However, the text does not appear in any surviving versions of *Jiu tangshu* 舊唐書 [The Old Official History of Tang] (945), let alone *Xin tangshu* 新唐書 [The New Official History of Tang], completed in 1060, which, of course, could not have been cited in *Taiping yulan* (983) on chronological grounds.

This situation, bewildering as it may seem, is however not a special case. The originals of

¹⁰⁹ That is seventy-five years old in the western system, as in ancient China, the calculation was that one was born at the age of one. Cao, also named Caozhou, is an area in modern Shandong province; see Map 2.1.

¹¹⁰ The last sentence implies that biography A was written at least 200 years after Zhao's death, i.e., no earlier than the mid to late ninth century.

¹¹¹ See Li Fang 李昉 et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, (Beijing, 1998), vol. 579, fol. 8r. All the *Taiping yulan* excerpts in this thesis are taken from this facsimile edition of a Southern Song woodblock version. There are later editions, such as the *SKQS* edition prepared in Qing and its model, the Ming metal movable type edition prepared by the Rao family during the Longqing era (1567-72). However, apparent errata are much more frequent in these later editions. For instance, in these later editions, “將傳” in the current quote is printed as “常傳”; and “俊決” in the next *Taiping yulan* quote is printed as “俊快”. These later editions are therefore not considered in this thesis.

¹¹² The text of biography B in *Shilei fu zhu* was taken over in full by another Ming monograph, *Shishuo xinyu bu* 世說新語補, compiled by He Liangjun 何良俊.

¹¹³ In contrast, the *Shilei fu zhu* merely mentions the biography as being quoted from *Tangshu*, but without pointing out to which section of the *Music Monograph* it belongs. *Cefu yuangui* never indicates its sources at all.



a great many citations in *Taiping yulan* which were claimed to be quoted from *Tangshu* cannot in fact be found in the surviving versions of either the *Old Official History of Tang* or the *New Official History of Tang*.¹¹⁴ The modern historian Cen Zhongmian states that the *Tangshu* referred to here is the lost *National History of Tang* 唐書 compiled by the early Tang historians Wu Jing, Wei Shu, and Liu Fang, among others.¹¹⁵ If so, this would imply a much earlier date for biography B, as it would have to pre-date the collapse of Tang in 907. The following bibliographical explanation from the Song imperial library catalogue *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 [General Catalogue in Honor of Literature], which traces the compilation process of the hypothetical lost *Tangshu* in some details, may help us find out the real author:

At the very beginning, Wu Jing (670-749) compiled the history of Tang, covering the years from the very beginning to the Kaiyuan era (713-741) in some 110 volumes. Later, Wei Shu revised Wu's work. ... [Wei's version,] in the form of a collection of chronicles, annals, and biographies, amounted to 112 volumes. After the Zhide era (756-758) and the Qianyuan era (758-760), the official historian Yu Xiulie added a two-volume imperial biography for Emperor Suzong (r. 756-762). The official historian Linghu Huan and his colleagues updated the history without changing the total number of volumes. Now the book contains 130 volumes, 16 of which were produced by anonymous compilers. 初，吳兢撰唐史。自創業訖于開元，凡一百一十卷。述因兢舊本，更加筆削，……為紀志列傳一百一十二卷。至德乾元以後，史官于休烈又增肅宗紀二卷。而史官令狐峘等復于紀志傳後隨篇增緝而不加卷帙。今書一百三十卷，其十六卷未詳撰人名氏。¹¹⁶

According to biography B and C, Zhao Yeli died in the first half of the seventh century. Therefore, biography B was very likely included in the first 110 volumes compiled by Wu Jing and revised by Wei Shu in the early half of the eighth century. Here follows the translation of biography B. As mentioned, this version is preserved in *Taiping yulan* as part of the *Tangshu* remnants:

¹¹⁴ Previous historians held different views on these citations. Some of them, such as Liu Wenqi 劉文淇 (1789-1854) and Cen Jian'gong 岑建功 (?-1848), believed that they are texts originally included in the *Old Official History of Tang* but missing from texts of the surviving versions. If so, biography B would have had to be completed in or before 945.

¹¹⁵ See Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, "Jiu tangshu yiwen bian 舊唐書逸文辨," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 12 (1947), 27-33.

¹¹⁶ See Wang, *Chongwen zongmu*, SKQS edition, vol. 3, fols. 5v-6r.



The Music Monograph in The History of Tang states: Master Zhao, courtesy name Yeli, was from Tianshui. He was a musician during the Sui dynasty (581-618).¹¹⁷ At the beginning of the Zhen'guan period of Tang (627-649), Zhao came to the Capital (= Chang'an) alone. He immediately entered *Qinyuan*,¹¹⁸ and was regarded as equal to Master Ji Kang (223-262).¹¹⁹ Zhao's family had lived in Cao for generations, therefore, [subsequent governors] let [Zhao change his place of origin from Tianshui to] Cao prefecture [in conjunction with his fame as] a *qin* player. [The handbooks that contain] the five pieces revised by Zhao Yeli are all kept in Cao. His style was passed on to a certain Sima of Pu prefecture, and thus the lore of *qin* has not yet declined.¹²⁰ The Master (= Zhao Yeli) said, "The sound of the Wu [school of *qin* music] is clear and sweet like that of the broad flow of a long river, [characterized by its] continuousness and long decays, suggesting the lofty personality of national heroes. But the sound of the Shu [school of *qin* music] is vigorous and quick like that of a lapping wave or a sudden thunder, representing yet another contemporary fashion." 唐書樂志曰：趙師，字耶利，天水人也。在隋為知音；至唐貞觀初，獨步上京，遽入琴苑，疇之嵇氏。累代居曹，遂令曹郡琴者。所修五弄，具列於曹。妙傳濮州司馬氏，琴道不墜於地也。師云：吳聲清宛，若長江廣流，縣縣徐逝，有國士之風；蜀聲躁急，若擊浪奔雷，亦一時俊決也。¹²¹

Zhu Changwen, a Northern Song literatus, compiled the last biography of Zhao (biography C) in his *Qinshi* 琴史 [History of the *Qin*]. This work bears a much later date (1084) than the former two Tang biographies. Before going into further details, let us translate biography C:

Zhao Yeli was from Jiyin of Cao.¹²² Out of admiration for Taoism, [he] took refuge in seclusion. [Zhao's] mastery of the *qin* was unrivalled. Prominent personages of his time therefore respected him and called him Master Zhao. His rectified [edition] of fifty or so erroneous [*qin*] pieces, having made [these works] rejoin [the repertoire of] elegance [by] removing their vulgarities, was handed down in handbooks. [He] often said, "The sound of the Wu [school of *qin* music] is clear and sweet like that of the broad flow of a long river, [characterized by its] continuousness and long decays, suggesting the lofty

¹¹⁷ In the other two versions of biography B (i.e., the *Cefu yuangui* version and *Shilei fu zhu* version mentioned above), the text of this sentence is merely "[He was] good at *qin* playing."

¹¹⁸ *Qinyuan* is deliberately not translated here. The term may refer to a particular imperial establishment into which *qin* musicians were recruited, or to the field of *qin* playing in general. In the context of this citation, it is unclear to which definition the term refers. A detailed discussion of the first definition will be presented after biography C is introduced.

¹¹⁹ Ji Kang, an important thinker and *qin* player of the Wei-Jin era (220-420).

¹²⁰ The text "immediately entered *Qinyuan*...the lore of *qin* has not yet declined." is omitted by the other two editions.

¹²¹ See *Taiping yulan*, vol. 579, fol. 8v.

¹²² Jiyin is the capital of Cao; see Map 2.1.



personality of national heroes. The sound of the Shu [school of *qin* music] is vigorous and quick like that of a surging wave or a sudden thunder, representing yet another contemporary style.” He also said, “[When the] flesh and nail [of a finger] simultaneously pluck [a *qin* string], the sound is warm and sleek. The sound of [a] pure-nail [stroke] is sad and shrill; while that of [a] pure-flesh [stroke] is blunt and dull.” [The Master] once taught the son of the magistrate of his hometown *qin* [playing], and therefore he compiled two scrolls of notation for such a purpose, which survive to this day. The prefacer [of the two scrolls of notation] praised Yeli [and] stated, “At an early age already, [Zhao was] clever and bright, and had mastery of most the arts and crafts. After the age of fifteen, [he became] self-taught. [Zhao could remember] whatever text without [reading it] twice. [He] lived a simple life and did nothing to contradict [the guidance of] the Tao. His calligraphy grasps the thesis of Zhong [You (151-230)] and Zhang [Zhi (?-ca.192)]; his *qin* artistry is comparable with Ma [Rong (79-166)] and Cai [Yong (133-92)].”¹²³ In the thirteenth year of Zhen’guan (636), [Zhao Yeli] died in Cao at the age of seventy-six. There is no evidence to show that Zhao Yeli had been recruited [into any official institution] when Emperor Wen rejuvenated music.¹²⁴ [I believe that] this is due to [Zhao’s] indifference to fame. It is said that Cai Yong composed *Youchuan*, *Lüshui*, *Youju*, *Zuochou* and *Qiusi*.¹²⁵ [These works] were passed on to Shan Yang,¹²⁶ head of the imperial scribe office. [Then,] after seventeen generations, [they] were handed down to Yeli. Yeli imparted them to a certain Ma of Pu prefecture,¹²⁷ and thereafter to Song Xiaozhen. [When] Xiaozhen died, the Master’s tradition became extinct. 趙耶利，曹州濟陰人。慕道自隱，能琴無雙，當世賢達，莫不高之，謂之趙師。所正錯謬五十餘弄，削俗歸雅，傳之譜錄。每云：吳聲清婉，若長江廣流，綿延徐逝，有國士之風；蜀聲躁急，若激浪奔雷，亦一時之俊。又言：肉甲相和，取聲溫潤；純甲其音傷慘；純肉其聲傷鈍。嘗以琴誨邑宰之子，遂作譜兩卷以遺之，今傳焉。其序者稱耶利云：弱年穎悟，藝業多通；束髮自修，行無二遇；清虛自處，非道不行；筆妙窮乎鐘、張；琴道方乎馬、蔡。貞觀十三年卒於曹，年七十六。當文皇興樂之時，而耶利不見收擢，蓋不求聞達故也。或云：蔡邕撰遊春、淶水、幽居、坐愁、秋思，以傳太史令單颺；自颺十七傳而至耶利；耶利傳濮人馬氏，又傳宋孝臻；孝臻亡，師資遂絕。¹²⁸

Reading these three biographies against each other might help us clarify some of the facts

¹²³ Here, the Ma may refer to Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 180-117 B.C.) instead of Ma Rong.

¹²⁴ Emperor Wen refers to Li Shimin, r. 626-49, the second emperor of Tang.

¹²⁵ For the biography of Cai Yong, see Zhu, *Qinshi*, *SKQS* edition, vol. 3, fols. 11v-14r. For a description of the five pieces in a western language, see Georges Goormaghtigh, *L'art du Qin: deux textes d'esthétique musicale chinoise* (Brussels, 1990), 39-40.

¹²⁶ For further information about Shan Yang 單颺, see Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou hanshu* 後漢書, *SKQS* edition, vol. 112b, fols. 5r-v.

¹²⁷ Pu, also named Puzhou, is adjacent to Cao; see Map 2.1.

¹²⁸ Edition: Wang Mengshu, *Lepu qinshi jiao* 樂圃琴史校 (Beijing, 1959), vol. 4, fols. 8r-v. I am indebt to H. S. Shum for lending me his mimeographed copy in September 2004.



about Zhao's life. A case in point is the *qin* master's origin. But before I continue my argument, I need to introduce yet another Song source in which Zhao's origin is alluded to in a subtle way:

When Xue Deyin was born, someone sent [his family] a *qin*. Its inscription reads: "De yin," under which another five characters say: "Tianshui, Zhao Yeli." Therefore, [Xue's] nickname was Tianshui, and his given name Deyin. 薛德音生時，有人送琴。銘曰：德音。下又有五字，曰：天水趙耶利。故小字天水，名德音。¹²⁹

Here, the author, Yu Ruming, documented the record of a contemporary owner of one of the instruments built by Master Zhao from Tianshui. Biography A tells us that Zhao was from Tianshui too, while biography C states that he was from Jiyin of Cao. Scholars collating the biography A and the above text by Yu Ruming may conclude that biography C might be unreliable at this point. The full story about Zhao's origin, however, is revealed in biography B: "Zhao's family had lived in Cao for generations, therefore, [subsequent governors] let [Zhao change his place of origin from Tianshui to] Cao prefecture." Zhao, therefore, was actually born in Cao; Tianshui on the other hand is the place where his ancestors had lived. And, Zhao thus represents the *qin* tradition of Northeast China rather than that of the Northwest (see Map 2.1). When Zhu Changwen, the author of biography C, reorganized the source materials at his disposal, as shown above in the case of Zhao's origin, the motives behind his moves remain opaque to us. Nevertheless, that Zhu produced a different kind of history is not the whole point. The conflicting accounts on whether Zhao had been recruited in any official institute in the Zhen'guan era or not, which may possibly have been the turning point of Zhao's life, require further scrutiny.

As a native of Cao, Zhao came to the capital Chang'an in his sixties and died in Cao at the age of seventy-five. Though most of Zhao's works would have been completed before his move to the capital, it is only during his residence in Chang'an that he achieved national fame.

¹²⁹ Yu Ruming 虞汝明, *Guqin shu* 古琴疏, in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329 - ca. 1412) (ed.), *Shuo fu* 說郛, SKQS edition, vol. 100, fol. 40r. Xue Deyin's being a famous man of letters in the Daye era (605-17) indicates that this happened before Zhao's trip to Chang'an, i.e., when his name was still largely unknown. Tao Zongyi also mentions Zhao as a distinguished *qin* maker in Sui (581-618); see Tao Zongyi, *Zhui geng lu* 輟耕錄, SKQS edition, vol. 29, fol. 17r.



Compiled by the official historians of Tang, biography B highlights the time of Zhao's trip, which occurred at the beginning of the Zhen'guan period (627-49) of Tang. This was probably done purposefully in order to bolster the reputation of the new regime by comparing the Master's renown in Tang with his life in seclusion in Sui (581-618). However, without the availability of any historical records, the *Qinyuan* 琴苑 mentioned in biography B would hardly have referred to any formal official institution.¹³⁰ Though a system to select and support qualified *qin* players within the Imperial Court had been formed as early as the Daye period (605-17) of Sui,¹³¹ there is no evidence that the system was continued by the Tang court immediately after the Li family (whose dynastic name was to be Tang) occupied the throne. Only at the beginning of Emperor Xuanzong's reign (ca. 713), the *Hanlin yuan* 翰林院, a new institute designed to gather the literati as well as specialists in various kind of arts such as calligraphy, painting, *qin* and *go* playing, magic, etc., was founded.¹³² However, when Zhao came to Chang'an, this new mechanism had not yet been founded, while the old system of Sui had been totally destroyed. Therefore, historical documents called him a Taoist, a hermit-scholar, or Master Zhao, and the Hikone manuscript designates him as "Master" and "the Taoist Wubuji". Indeed, none of these appellations suggest the possibility that he ever obtained any official court position.

Needless to say, the old hermit's trip to Chang'an was very likely taken only after careful consideration. Both biographies A and C record that Zhao achieved fame among political leaders and virtuous nobles. It therefore seems that the Taoist monk's stay in the capital

¹³⁰ See above, fn. 118.

¹³¹ See *Yongle qinshu jicheng*, vol. 4, 1579.

¹³² For the record dating from the first month of the thirteenth year of Tianbao era (= 754), see *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, SKQS edition, vol. 217, fol. 2r. All the institute members were called *Shizhao* 侍詔 [official-in-waiting], or *Hanlin gongfeng*. The concurrence of the existence of two kinds of persons in the *Hanlin yuan* - the literati serving as a private secretariat for the official communications of the Emperor, and the artists embellishing the emperor's personal life - continued for twenty-six years. In 738, Emperor Xuanzong built another institute named *Xueshi yuan* 學士院 [Royal Academy] specifically to support men-of-letters, and changed their titles to *Hanlin xueshi* instead (see *Xin tangshu*, vol. 51, the first volume of the *Baiguan zhi* 百官志 [Monograph on the Official Titles]), while the second kind of (artistic) membership remained in the *Hanlin yuan*. From 713 to 1644, this system of artist patronage continued through the Song, Yuan (?) and Ming. Being a *Hanlin shizhao* became the national acknowledgement of artists. Both *Hanlin shizhao* and *Hanlin xueshi* in Tang are merely nominal titles without any rank; only by obtaining an actual official post could an annual salary be drawn from the government. That is the reason why Chen Zhuo 陳拙, a late Tang *qin* professional, was entitled as "*Canjun* 參軍" [Administrator]; see *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, *Chunzhuang shuyuan* 椿莊書院 edition, vol. 4, fol. 1r. His actual official post was "*Jingzhao hucao* 京兆戶曹" [Local Administrator for Residents and Residency of the Capital]; see Zhu, *Qinshi*, vol. 4, fol. 33r.



involved frequent and regular dealings with the aristocracy, a fact to which the unusual inclusion of his biography in the imperial history itself also attests. But it appears groundless to claim that Zhao had obtained an official position in Chang'an. It is equally, if not more, unwarranted to praise Zhao's utter aloofness from politics and material pursuits. When Zhu Changwen read Zhao's not being recruited to any official institution as a result of the master's "indifference to fame", such an interpretation, I believe, tells us more about Zhu's own imaginary self and his evident "hermitcomplex." In short, it is well worth reminding ourselves on this occasion that it may well be the identity of the biographers and not the actual life of the *qin* master that influenced these texts most.

2.2.2. Feng Zhibian (active 605-45)

Regarding the third contributor to the texts on the recto of the Hikone manuscript, and author of the treatise *Qinyong shouming fa* 琴用手名法 [The Terminology of *Qin* Playing], we are faced with an extreme lack of historical data – to previous scholars, nothing of even minor importance was known about Feng Zhibian besides the very data emerging from the colophon of his treatise in the Hikone manuscript itself. In 1961, when preparing his tracing copy of A2, Wang Mengshu wrote his comments on the three authors of the texts at the end of his tracing copy, in which, with regard to Feng, he states: "The Sui court's Imperial Temple priest Zhibian is only mentioned here, no record [on him can be found] elsewhere." Hayashi (1942), Cheung (1974, 1979), Kikkawa (1983, 1984, 2003), Wang Dexun (1998) and Yamadera (2004) were also unable to present any further factual information about him. Since Feng's special neumatic system was not preserved in any other surviving Sino-Japanese source, Hayashi even questioned the authenticity of the treatise and suggested that it might be a spurious work of Japanese provenance instead of a genuine Chinese one.¹³³ In order to demonstrate the reliability of the neumatic system as well as its Chinese origins, further historical evidence on this mysterious monk will be provided after giving a translation of the

¹³³ See Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, "Kinsho sandai 琴書三題," *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音樂研究 2 (1942), 237.



colophon.

A Critical Translation of the Colophon

Though no physical details indicate that the colophon is incomplete, the evidence of its structure suggests that this is nevertheless the case. Beside the first sentence written in prose style which attributed the treatise to the monk Zhibian, the rest of the colophon is clearly a piece of Chinese stanzaic poetry (*gāthā*).¹³⁴ Such kind of stanzaic poetry has an even number of lines with a fixed number of characters per line (mostly four or five). The characters at the end of line one, two, four and so on, are supposed to be in the same rhyme-class. However, that the stanza in the Hikone manuscript contains five lines in total indicates a loss of an odd number of lines from the original. Considering the fact that in each column Hikone Scribe A set poetic lines one after another continuously without any break (i.e., line one and two of the stanza were settled in col. 84, and the last three lines in col. 85), a hypothesis can be formulated: Between the current col. 84 and col. 85, one more column consisting three poetic lines might have been included in the original stanza. Here is my tentative translation of the colophon:

Table 2.3: The Hikone manuscript, reconstruction and translation of the colophon of Feng Zhibian's *Qinyong shouming fa* (Note: The rhyming characters are circled. Underlined characters are conjectural and are missing in the Hikone manuscript.)

col. 83: 大随内道场僧冯 智辨法師

Feng Zhibian, Priest of the Imperial Temple of the Sui court (581-618)

col. 84: 之所製也。不受师^所，必可^斟。

created this [notating system]. [The stanza reads:]

For places [that one] has not learnt about directly from [his/her] master,
it should be possible to deliberate [and work them out through the notation].

¹³⁴ *Gāthā*, originally a kind of poetry written in Buddhist chant style or rhymed prose used by followers of the Enlightened One to explain the Buddhist dogmas; see Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (Tōkyō, 1954-8), 434 and 4173.



missing: □□□□, □□□□。□□□□。

.....
.....
.....

col. 85: 非为指(南)。此本大贵, 幸勿慢(傳)。

[therefore, this] is not a manual.

[For] such a precious text,

pray do not disseminate [it] casually.¹³⁵

Feng's Artistry as a Calligrapher

No record on this monk can be found in the annals of early Chinese Buddhism. Therefore, the earliest new source I can introduce is a postscript found at the end of a Tang dynasty tracing copy of *Shiqi tie* 十七帖, a group of calligraphies written by Master Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379).¹³⁶ The postscript was written by the Tang official-calligrapher Zhong Shaojing 鍾紹京 (659-742) in the early eighth century.¹³⁷

The model-writing *Shiqi tie* in cursive style is a genuine autograph by [Wang] Youjun (= Wang Xizhi) of the Jin dynasty. [The original calligraphy] was donated to the Emperor by Pei Ye in the Zhen'guan era (627-649).¹³⁸ The monk Zhibian who mastered the skill to prepare tracing copies of handwritings was ordered to copy [the calligraphy donated by Pei Ye] by imperial decree of Emperor Taizong. [When the project was completed,] the emperor bestowed on Zhibian a copy [of his work] personally, in order to let it be disseminated among the "human world." For a long period of time after Zhibian had died, this copy was passed on to succeeding monks. The monk Tanfang cherished it very much, and had never shown [Zhibian's tracing copy] light-heartedly to anyone. When I (= Zhong Shaojing) heard about that, I requested him to let me see it in private and finally

¹³⁵ Such a kind of sentence emphasizing that the text was a secret teaching accompanying the oral guidance from elder masters is quite popular among the colophons compiled during the Chinese manuscript period.

¹³⁶ For a biography of Wang Xizhi, see, e.g., Morino Shigeo 森野繁夫, *Ō Gishi den* 王羲之伝 (Tōkyō, 1988).

¹³⁷ This postscript was dated by the fact that Zhong Shaojing called himself as director of the Imperial Secretariat of the Tang, Duke of the Yue realm at the end of the text. According to his biography, Zhong had held this position since 710 and changed to another position soon after that; see Liu Xu 劉昉 et al., *Jiu tangshu*, SKQS edition, vol. 97, fols. 4v-5v.

¹³⁸ Nothing more is known on Pei Ye beside this. In the Dali era of Tang, there is another Pei Ye who prepared the calligraphy for a stone carving in 779; see Chen Si 陳思 (active 1225-1264), *Baoke congbian* 寶刻叢編, SKQS edition, vol. 15, fol. 36v.



achieved this goal by clever stratagems. Taizong called it “*Shiqi tie* [Calligraphy Model: Seventeen]” because the scroll begun with the characters “*Shiqi ri* [The seventeenth day]”. Actually, the scroll contains a total of twenty-five pieces of handwriting models, one hundred and twenty columns and one thousand one hundred and twenty-four characters. 十七帖草書，晉右軍真蹟。貞觀中，裴業進上。太宗詔下，使能搨書僧智辨撫之。親賜智辨一本，將令出外使人間流傳之。從此本出之後，年深智辨既沒，其本遂入法海。僧曇昉極寶之，不輕出。余知之，遂竊就昉求之，出萬計方獲。太宗以草書卷頭有十七日，以此呼之十七帖。其下實有廿五帖，一百二十行，一千一百二十四字。

Noted by Zhong Shaojing, director of the Imperial Secretariat of Tang, Duke of the Yue realm. 鍾紹京記，唐中書令封越公。¹³⁹

The process how the text of Zhong’s postscript was handed down to us is complex. In order to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings, a brief introduction is needed. Wang Xizhi, the original writer of the calligraphy from which Zhibian’s tracing copy was taken, is the greatest calligrapher in Chinese history. And it is Emperor Taizong, an enthusiastic follower of Wang’s art who developed a mania for collecting Wang’s handwritings, who brought the worship of Wang to its culmination. In Emperor Taizong’s collection, *Shiqi tie* was a scroll consisting of a group of letters written by Wang Xizhi from the year 347 to 361 to his friend Zhoufu, the district magistrate of Yizhou.¹⁴⁰ To make copies of Wang Xizhi’s calligraphy, Taizong had them carefully traced and then carved on stones. Engraving the calligraphy on stone or wood, from which copies could be rubbed, enabled many the people, who were under normal circumstances denied a look at Wang’s originals and their tracing copies, to obtain a relatively precise facsimile.¹⁴¹ Therefore, various tracing copies of the scroll as well as its stone carvings were prepared since the Tang dynasty. Among them, Zhibian’s tracing copy with Zhong Shaojing’s postscript was also engraved for further dissemination.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ See Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-704), *Jiangcun xiaoxai lu* 江村銷夏錄, SKQS edition, vol.1, fols. 57r-58v.

¹⁴⁰ For a Tang account of the original scroll *Shiqi tie*, see Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄, SKQS edition, vol. 10, fols. 1r-v.

¹⁴¹ A rubbing is an imprint on paper taken from an inscription or picture incised in stone, wood, jade or some other material, made by spreading the paper over the surface one wishes to reproduce and then applying ink to it; the design will then appear in white on a black ground. For a description of the method used to prepare rubbings in China and Japan, see van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, 87-90. For the various stone carvings and woodcuts of Wang’s calligraphy, see, e.g., Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎, *Ō Gishi o chūshin to suru hōjō no kenkyū* 王羲之を中心とする法帖の研究 (Tōkyō, 1960).

¹⁴² See Huang Bosi, *Dongguan yulun* 東觀餘論, SKQS edition, vol.2, fols. 26r-27r.



Till Song, the appearance of various stone carvings of the calligraphy pieces written by Wang Xizhi brought about the birth of a special discipline of calligraphy, *tiexue* 帖學, a research area analyzing the style of Wang Xizhi and exploring the interrelationship among the various stone carvings of Wang's handwriting and their exemplars, i.e., tracing copies of Wang's originals and rubbings from other stone printings. In the spring of 1112, Huang Bosi 黃伯思 (1079-1118), a connoisseur of *tiexue*, wrote his certificate of authentication at the end of a scroll of rubbings of Wang Xizhi's *Shiqi tie*. In the certificate, Huang quoted the postscript of the Tang connoisseur Zhong Shaojing.¹⁴³ Therefore, although Zhibian's tracing copy and Zhong's postscript were lost as well as their stone carvings and all the rubbings taken from them, Zhong's text survives today.¹⁴⁴ But the original certificate prepared by Huang himself in 1112 has long been lost also. My citation given above is drawn from the text as preserved in a late seventeen-century record of pictorial artifacts, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村銷夏錄. It is worth noting that even the compiler of *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* had never seen Huang's original. Instead, his record is in turn based on a manuscript copy prepared by the late Yuan calligrapher Yu He 俞和 (1307-1382).¹⁴⁵

Zhong's postscript discloses to us the most important information about Zhibian. Unlike Zhao Yeli's fame, which was entirely based on his accomplishments in *qin* playing, our priest was well known and appreciated by the emperor by virtue of his calligraphy. Here, skeptical readers may question the authenticity of the *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* edition; I therefore would like to present another new source that will further strengthen the record concerning the monk's proficiency in calligraphy. This information is provided by a Song anthology of inscriptions, *Jinshi lu* 金石錄, where its author, Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081-1129), noted

¹⁴³ See Huang, *Dongguan yulun*, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ The earliest surviving rubbing of *Shiqi tie* is believed to be taken from a Song stone carving; see Wang Yuchi 王玉池, "Shiqi tie zai wang xizhi shuji zhong de diwei he zhongyao banben pingshu 《十七帖》在王羲之書跡中的地位 and 重要版本述評," *Zhongguo beitie yu shufa guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* 中國碑帖與書法國際研討會論文集, ed. You Xuehua 游學華 and Chen Juan'an 陳娟安 (Hong Kong, 2001), 15-26.

¹⁴⁵ For further information on this calligrapher, see Feng Fang 豐坊 (1484-1562), *Shujue* 書訣, in *Meishu congshu* 美術叢書, ed. Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Deng Shi 鄧實 (Shanghai, 1928).



the following:

[The biographical sketch engraved on] the tombstone of Jiang Que, Tang's governor of Qinzhou, was compiled by Yu Zhining and copied by the monk Zhibian in the formal *kai* style of script [for engraving]. [The tombstone was] built in the tenth month of the nineteenth year of the Zhen'guan era (= 645). 秦州都督姜確碑：于志寧撰，釋智辨正書，貞觀十九年十月。¹⁴⁶

Based on the above record, the compilers of *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜, a compilation of writings on calligraphy and pictorial arts completed in 1708, conjectured that Monk Zhibian had been active merely under the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 627-50).¹⁴⁷ Now, based on the Hikone manuscript, we know that the monk had begun to build a new notating system of the *qin* in Sui (581-618), something Zhibian accomplished at least one decade earlier than his imperial tracing job.

To conclude, the creator of the neumatic notation, the Buddhist monk Zhibian, whose surname was Feng, was active in a period that almost fully covered the Daye period of Sui (605-618) and the Zhenguan period of Tang (627-649), coinciding with the lifetime of the professional *qin* player Zhao Yeli. The monk passed away some time after 645,¹⁴⁸ at least a few years later than Zhao's death of 636/639.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, Zhibian had a connection with the rulers of both Sui and Tang and was famous for his calligraphy. Under the Sui regime, he was a priest of the Imperial Temple, and in the Zhen'guan period of Tang he prepared a few facsimiles of Wang Xizhi's autograph by imperial order, and received one copy bestowed back on him from the emperor.

¹⁴⁶ See Zhao Mingcheng, *Jinshi lu*, Song dynasty *Longshu junzhai* edition 宋龍舒郡齋本, vol.3, fol. 11v.

¹⁴⁷ See Sun Yueban 孫岳頒 et al. (ed.), *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜, *SKQS* edition, vol.30, fol. 35r.

¹⁴⁸ Otherwise, it was impossible for Zhibian to copy the biographical sketch for the engraving of tombstone of Jiang Que in 645, see above.

¹⁴⁹ See Zhao Yeli's biographies B and C above.



2.2.3. Chen Zhongru (active around 519)

Reconstruction of the ascription

Unfortunately, the very beginning of the Hikone manuscript, which probably contained crucial information to date the source, such as the title and the author of the first treatise, the original label of the scroll on the verso, etc., is now lost. However, the eighteen-century tracing copy A1 - fortunately for us - preserves fragments of the first column and the complete text of the next five. The text of the first column is as follows:

Table 2.4: The Hikone manuscript, reconstruction of the first column

1.	□用指法	□□□□□□右光祿□□□ 仲儒撰
2.	□用指法	□魏□□□軍右光祿大夫陳 仲儒撰
3.	琴用指法	大魏□□將軍右光祿大夫陳 仲儒撰
4.1.	琴用指法	大魏驃騎將軍右光祿大夫陳 仲儒撰
4.2.	琴用指法	大魏車騎將軍右光祿大夫陳 仲儒撰
4.3.	琴用指法	大魏 衛將軍右光祿大夫陳 仲儒撰

1 : The original text without reading the incomplete characters

2 : A tentative reading of the incomplete characters

3 : A tentative reconstruction

4.1 - 4.3: The three possibilities of the complete original text

My tentative reconstruction of the first four characters is based on the title that appears at the end of the Hikone manuscript and the title on the book cover of A1. The reconstruction of the first two indefinite characters of Chen's military title – the seventh to the tenth character in col. 1 – was performed according to the parallels between his personal rank and military position, which had come into form in Northern Wei (386-534) when the evolution of civil sinecures was rapidly advancing since the governors conferred civil sinecures indiscriminately on the military. In this case, it is possible to reconstruct Chen's military



position by enquiring the counterparts of his civil sinecure – “*You guanglu dafu* 右光祿大夫”, the thirdhighest rank in the civil sinecure system. According to the official rank system of Northern Wei, the possible military counterparts are the following three: Cavalry General 驃騎將軍, Chariots General 車騎將軍 and General of the Guards 衛將軍.¹⁵⁰ Hence, the three possibilities of the damaged column listed in 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 of Table 2.4 above.

Compared with the abundance of biographical materials on Zhao and the scarcity of data regarding the Buddhist monk Zhibian, the material concerning Chen Zhongru, the author of *Qinyong zhifa* 琴用指法 [The Finger Techniques of the *Qin*], the first treatise copied in the Hikone manuscript, is relatively clear and not particularly controversial. All the relevant records, including those found in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 vol. 149, *Tongdian* 通典 vol. 142 and vol. 143, *Tongzhi* 通志 vol. 50, *Lidai mingchen zouyi* 歷代名臣奏議 vol. 127 as well as his biography in Zhu Changwen’s *Qinshi*, are based on the same primary source, i.e., *The Music Monograph* from *Weishu* 魏書 [The Book of Wei]. Compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 in 554, this primary source documents an imperial hearing on music affairs held in the capital of Northern Wei in spring 519:

To go back to the very beginning, Chen Zhongru, who was very familiar with musical affairs, came back to this country (= the state of the Northern Wei dynasty) from the south of the River Yangtze (= the territory of the Liang dynasty). He memorialized the emperor (= Yuan Yu, r. 515-28; the second of the five succeeding titles of his reign is Shen’gui) to standardize the tuning of all eight classes of musical instruments by building a monochord according to the design of Jing Fang (77 B.C. – 37 B.C.). In the summer of the second year of the Shen’gui era (519), Zhongru answered an enquiry of the officer in charge. ... He said: “... during my residence in the south of the River, I became interested in *qin* [playing], and read Sima Biao’s *Official History of the Northern Han*, which documents the data of Jing Fang’s monochord clearly... If one has grasped the mechanism of the monochord, one can tell the difference of pitches; if one is good at *qin* studies, one can understand the significance of the modal system. [If we] adjust the musical instruments’ tuning in accordance with these two principles, music will be harmonious...” 先是。有陳仲儒者自江南歸國。頗閒樂事。請依京房。立准以調八音。神龜二年夏。有司問狀。仲儒言。..... 但仲儒在江左之日。頗授琴文。嘗覽

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., Yan Buke 閻步克, *Yueshi yu shiguan: chuantong zhengzhi wenhua yu zhengzhi zhidu lunji* 乐师与史官: 传统政治文化与政治制度论集 (Beijing, 2001); Yan Buke, *Pinwei yu zhiwei: Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao guanjie zhidu yanjiu* 品位与职位: 秦汉魏晋南北朝官阶制度研究 (Beijing, 2002).



司馬彪所撰續漢書。見京房准術。成數昂然。……若聞准意。則辨五聲清濁之韻。若善琴術。則知五調調音之體。參此二途。以均樂器。則自然應和……¹⁵¹

However, Chen's memorial was not put into practice at all. Among the palace attendants, there was an official, Xiao Baoyin 蕭寶夤 (485/6-530), who had fled from south of the River Yangtze, and disagreed with Chen's plan.¹⁵² Being the sixth son of Xiao Luan 蕭鸞, Emperor of the Qi (479-502) in southern China, Xiao Baoyin fled to the Northern Wei when the Qi court was conquered by Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464-549), the founder of the Liang dynasty (502-557) and a distinguished *qin* amateur. Apparently, Xiao Baoyin did not like Chen Zhongru, the young man who came from his enemy's home country. Therefore, Xiao Baoyin memorialized the throne in person:

The way to adjust the tuning and mode of bronze bells and stone chime has seldom been grasped since the ancient times. True, Chen Zhongru roughly understood the relevant literature and he has spoken much about them. But Chen himself also admitted the facts that [the idea as to use the monochord and *qin* theory to adjust the tuning] came from his own calculations and that he did not succeed any teaching [on these affairs] in person. Furthermore, he comments that the old instruments are not in competent state any more, and only by building new instruments can the music be harmonious. [Chen's plan] is spiritually contrary to the essential principle of "maintaining the announced orders and utilizing the established appliances." Chen holds his own ideas and wants to start construction work light-mindedly. Therefore, my humble opinion is that the proposal is not suitable for approval. 金石律呂，制度調均，中古已來鮮或通曉。仲儒雖粗述書文，頗有所說，而學不師授，云出己心；又言舊器不任，必須更造，然後克諧。上違成敕用舊之旨，輒持己心，輕欲制作。臣竊思量，不合依許。¹⁵³

Therefore, Yuan Yu, emperor of the Northern Wei, dropped Chen's idea, approving Xiao's suggestion instead:

Musical and ritual affairs are impossible to be understood by common people. Follow [what is suggested in] Xiao's memorial. 禮樂之事，蓋非常人所明。可如所奏。¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ The following passage of Chen's memorial goes on to matters of music theory; therefore, it is not presented and translated here. For the complete text of the memorial, see Wei Shou, *Weishu*, SKQS edition, vol. 109, fols. 11v-12r.

¹⁵² For a biography of Xiao Baoyin, see, e.g., Wei, *Weishu*, vol. 59, fols. 8v-26r.

¹⁵³ See Wei, *Weishu*, vol. 109, fols. 15r-v.

¹⁵⁴ See Wei, *Weishu*, vol. 109, fol. 15v.



Nevertheless, Xiao Baoyin did not remain an obstacle to Chen Zhongru for too long: eight years after, in 527, Xiao Baoyin finally rebelled against the Northern Wei court in Chang'an and lost his head three years later.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, it was possible for Chen Zhongru to obtain his civil sinecure and military title in his later years, as mentioned earlier in this section.

¹⁵⁵ See Wei, *Weishu*, vol. 59, fols. 8v-26r.



CHAPTER III

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDIES

Before the Hikone manuscript was rediscovered in 1994,¹⁵⁶ scholarship on its Chinese performing treatises, *Qinyong zhifa*, *Qinyong shouming fa*, *Tanqin youshou fa*, was necessarily based on the works of the Japanese scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728).¹⁵⁷ Each of Sorai's *qin*-related works, *Yūranfushō* 幽蘭譜抄 [The Score of *Yūran*] (henceforth *YRFS*), *Yūrankyoku* 幽蘭曲 [The Melody of *Yūran*] (henceforth *YRK*), *Kingakutaiishō* 琴學大意抄 [An Outline of *Qin* Studies] (henceforth *KGTIS*) and *Shūfūrakushō* 秋風樂章 [The Verses of *Shūfūroku*] (henceforth *SRFS*), in one way or another involves either part of the texts or the history of the Tōkyō and the Hikone manuscripts, and until now none of these four treatises by Sorai appeared in print. A bibliographical and historical analysis of Sorai's writings on *qin* music, and a critical assessment of the ideology behind them, is therefore called for.

3.1. Sorai's Compilations

Let us begin with a glance at the contents of the relevant works by Sorai. Transmitting most of the texts found on the recto of the Tōkyō manuscript and the recto of the Hikone manuscript, Sorai's four-chapter book *YRFS* should be introduced first.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ See Goshima Kuniharu 五島邦治, "Ike dendai shiryō no gakusho 井伊家伝来史料の楽書 [Music Books Among the Historical Sources from the Ii Family]," *Geinoshi kenkyū* 藝能史研究 125 (1994), 51-9.

¹⁵⁷ For the main efforts based on Sorai's compilation, see, e.g., Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, "Kinsho sandai 琴書三題 [Three Books on *Qin* Music]," *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音楽研究 2 (1942), 235-45; Wang Mengshu 汪孟舒, *Wusilan zhifa shi* 烏絲欄指法釋 [Annotations to the Fingering Manual of the Black-Ruled Lines] (Beijing, 1955); Cheung Sai-bung 張世彬, "Yulan pu yanjiu 幽蘭譜研究 [A Study on *Yulan*]," *Journal of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 5 (1979), 127-66; and Kikkawa Yoshikazu 吉川良和, "Mononobe shigenori senshi ushiran shihō kansu kenkyū 物部茂卿撰次《烏絲欄指法卷子》研究 [Studies on the Black-ruled Manual Compiled by Mononobe Shigenori]," *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 94 (1984), 1-66.

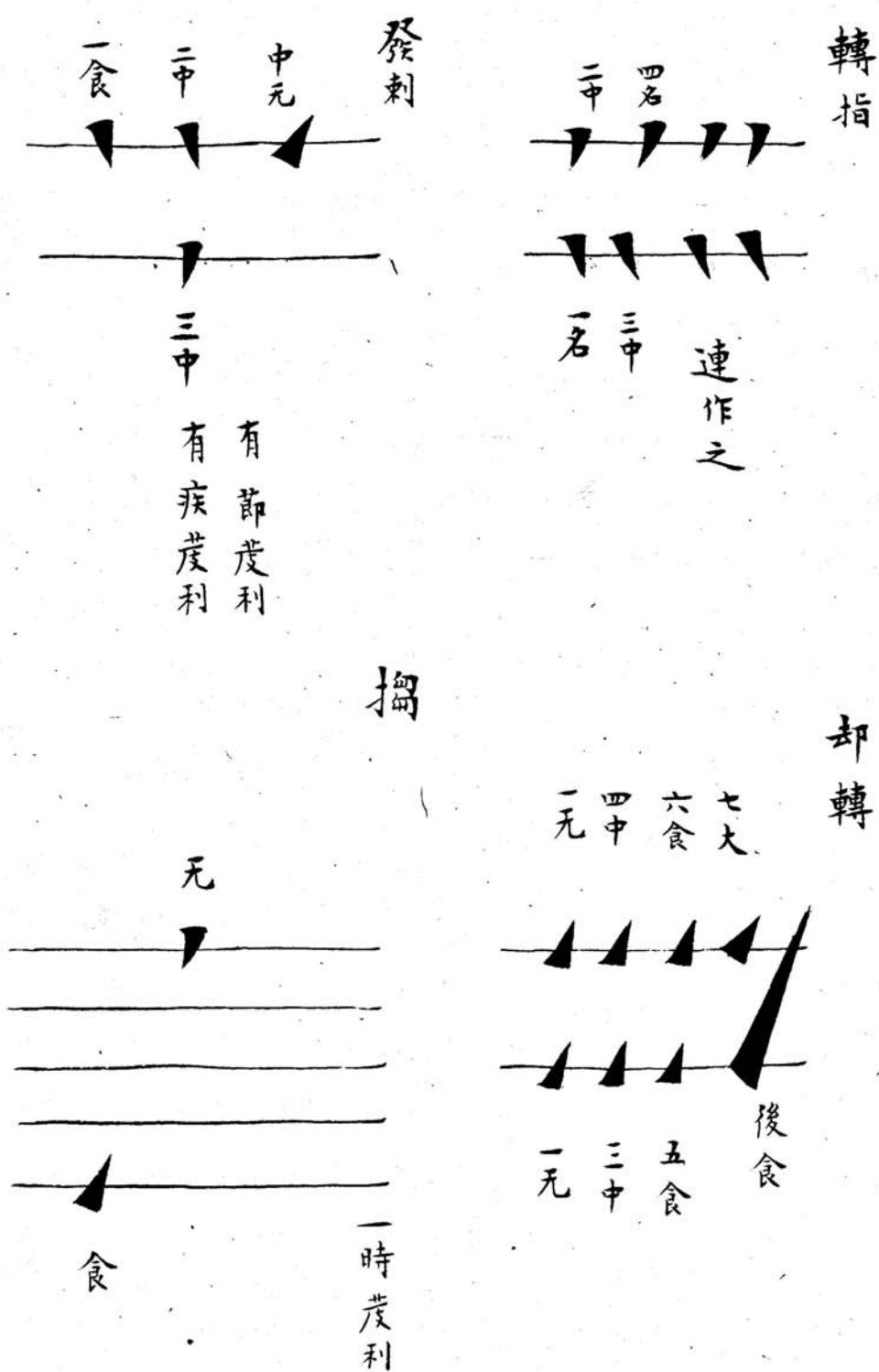
¹⁵⁸ All the manuscript copies of *YRFS* (B1-B22) are listed in Appendix B.



Figure 3.1a: YRFS, manuscript copy B2, fol. 1r

石譜
 序一名倚蘭
 公子明會稽人也梁末隱於九疑山妙絕
 特精絕以其聲微而志遠而不堪授人
 以視禎明三季授宜都王恭明隋開皇十年於丹陽
 縣卒時年九十七無子傳之其聲遂簡耳
 幽蘭第五
 耶臥中指十上半寸許案商食指中指雙牽官商中
 指急下與拘俱下十三下一寸許住末商起食指散
 緩半扶官商食指挑商又半扶官商縱容下無名於
 十三外一寸許案商角拘商角即作兩半扶挾挑

Figure 3.1b: *YRFS*, manuscript copy B21, fol. 14r



Chapter one of *YRFS* is identical to the complete text of the Tōkyō manuscript with red vertical lines added by Sorai on the side of the columns. The function of these lines is to distinguish the instructions for the two hands from the full-ideogram notation that is hard to understand: If the texts are the instructions for the left hand, then the line will be drawn on the left side of the column, and vice versa for the instructions for the right (see Figure 3.1a). The second chapter is a conflation of the three treatises preserved on the recto of the Hikone manuscript, while the third and fourth chapters provide 33 illustrations for the *qin* playing techniques mentioned in Sorai's chapter two produced by Sorai himself (see Figure 3.1b),¹⁵⁹ together with his suggestions for the tuning required for the piece *Yūran*. *YRFS* therefore became a primary source for Japanese literati with interests in exploring early *qin* music from the early eighteenth century onward until the present day.

The compilation of *YRFS* made possible a second stage of Sorai's works that concerned the Tōkyō manuscript: *YRK*.¹⁶⁰ *YRK* sets the Chinese poem *Yilan/Iran* 猗蘭¹⁶¹ to the full-ideogram *qin* notation of *Youlan/Yūran*, with red horizontal lines separating the left hand playing instructions from those for the right, and with red characters – Japanese *lülü* 律呂 notation – notating the absolute pitches on the right side of each column (see Figure 3.2). Although the two surviving copies only bear an inscription from the proofreader “Monokan *kōsei* 物觀校正 [proofread by Monokan]”,¹⁶² we may reasonably surmise that *YRK* was compiled by Sorai, since within the circle of both Ogyū brothers, no evidence can be found showing any other person with sufficient philological ability to read both the full-ideogram

¹⁵⁹ Modern scholars often confused the identity of the set of illustrations. They believed these illustrations to be ancient works instead of Sorai's tentative drawings that were based on his own understanding of the source. See, for instance, Wang Mengshu, *Wusilan zhifa shi*, fols. 43v-52v.

¹⁶⁰ The two manuscript copies of *YRK* (D1-D2) are listed in Appendix B.

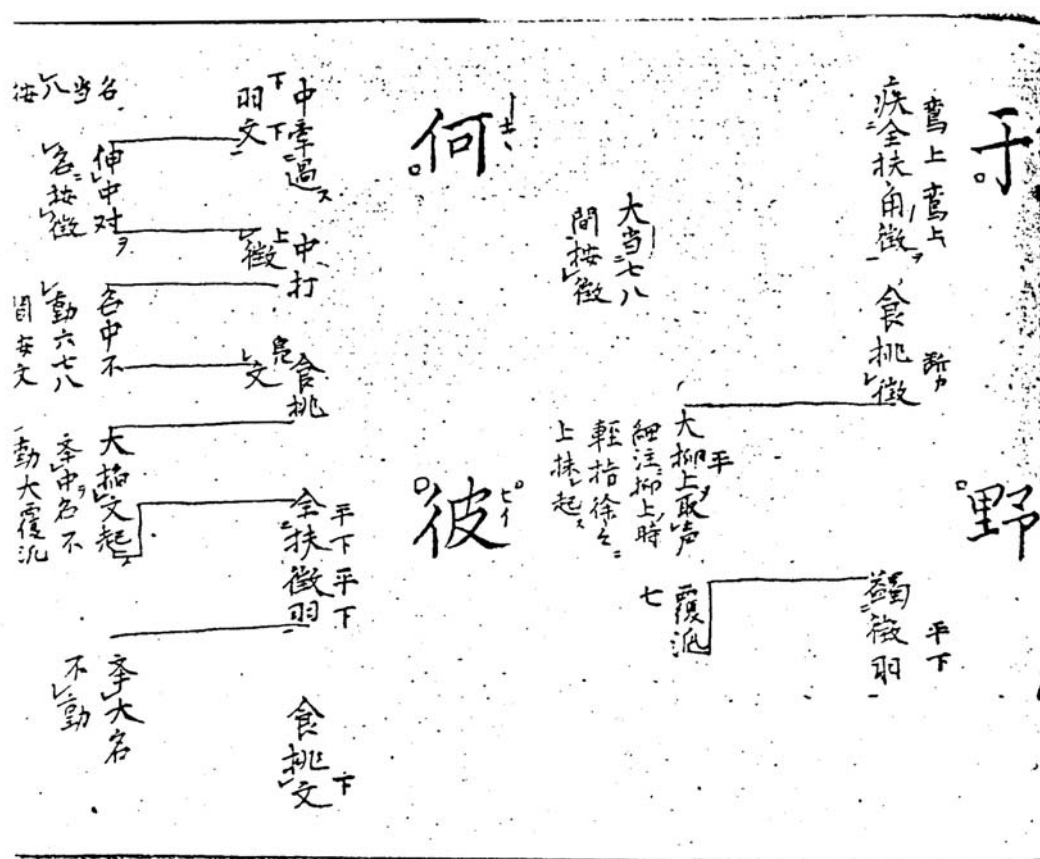
¹⁶¹ *Yilan/Iran* is a poem referring to a composition by Confucius as preserved in the *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, an anthology of lyrics from the pre-Qin era to the late Tang period. See Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (active 1264-1269), *Yuefu shiji*, SKQS edition, vol. 58, fols. 3r-v.

¹⁶² Monokan is the same person as Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北溪 (also known as Ogyū Kan 荻生觀, ca. 1673-1754), Sorai's brother; see Hiraishi Naoaki 平石直昭, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō* 荻生徂徠年譜考 (Tōkyō, 1984), 28. For further information on the two manuscript copies of *YRK*, see Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴土物語 (Tōkyō, 2000), 381-4; and Hieda Hirō 稗田浩雄, “Ogyū sorai no kasseki yūran kenkyū ryakujutsu 荻生徂徠の「碣石調幽蘭」研究略述,” *Yūran kenkyū kokusai shinpojiumu* 幽蘭研究国際シンポジウム, ed. Tōyō kingaku kenkyūjo 東洋琴学研究所 (Tōkyō, 1999), 37-8.



qin notation and have enough theoretical skill to use the *lülü* notation at the same time. Moreover, the contents of *YRK* fit well with Sorai's statements in *YRFS* and *KGTIG*.¹⁶³ Finally, if Ogyū Hokkei were the author of *YRK*, it is very unlikely that his name would appear at the end of one of his own books as a proofreader.

Figure 3.2: *YRK*, manuscript copy D2, fol. 9v



KGTIS is a short pamphlet which is easily overlooked and has suffered precisely such a fate in most previous scholarship.¹⁶⁴ Made up of merely 17 sections (in the popular version),¹⁶⁵ *KGTIS* is devoted to the following aspects on *qin* music: Origin and history

¹⁶³ See *YRFS*, "Table of Contents"; and *KGTIS*, entry 9.

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript copies of *KGTIS* (C1-C23) are listed in Appendix B.

¹⁶⁵ There is an extra section in C12, one of the two manuscript copies of *KGTIS* currently housed in Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan. That section is an explanation of the preface and the notation of the first section of the piece *Yūran*. Since parts of the Hikone-jō collection came from the Koma family's library, and the copy C12 bears the exlibris of Ii Naoaki on the first folio, the version transmitted in C12 may derive directly from an autograph sent to the Koma by Sorai.

(sections 1-3), organological terminology and great makers (sections 4-8), temperament (sections 9-10), fingering and notation (sections 11-15), the reason why the *qin* tradition was broken in Japan (section 16) and its tuning (section 17, this section is an annex added by Sorai at a later stage). *KGTIS* is by and large an introductory treatise in the Japanese language prepared for non-literati musicians. Most of the material upon which *KGTIS* was based are quite common and still available today, for instance, *Taigu zhengyin qin jing* 太古正音琴經 [The Classics of the *Qin*: Proper Music from the Ancients], a Ming dynasty treatise compiled by Zhang Daming 張大命,¹⁶⁶ the *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 by Murasaki Shikibu (b. 978),¹⁶⁷ *Tongdian* 通典,¹⁶⁸ and Sorai's own work *YRFS*.

Apart from these three works devoted to *qin* music, Sorai also compiled *SFRS*, a work which is based on and discusses the *saibara* sketches found on the verso of the Hikone manuscript.¹⁶⁹ All the three existing copies of *SFRS* have a short Chinese preamble ascribed to Sorai and a *biwa* tablature transcribed from the *saibara* sketches. But only one version of the three copies, wrongly entitled “*Irankinpu* 倚蘭琴譜”, contains the conflation of the original flute notation and Japanese lyrics mentioned by Sorai in his preamble to *SFRS*:

I wrote down [what I can see from the verso] and read it [I] transcribed [the music] from the flute tablature to that of the *biwa* in order to enable players to sing the song at the same time. 寫而讀之。.....換笛以琵琶便歌者。¹⁷⁰

After Sorai's death in 1728, Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭, one of his disciples and the chief editor of his collected-works edition *Soraishū* 徂徠集, compiled a bibliography of Sorai's

¹⁶⁶ *Taigu zhengyin qinjing* is the sibling work of another music collection: *Taigu zhengyin qinpu* 太古正音琴譜 [An Anthology of the *Qin*: Proper Music from the Ancients] by the same author. The two monographs were printed together in, or shortly after, 1611. For more bibliographical information, see Wang Shixiang 王世襄, *Qinshu jieti* 琴書解題 (unpublished draft, 1950s).

¹⁶⁷ See *KGTIS*, entry 13, “The Right-hand Playing Techniques.”

¹⁶⁸ *Tongdian* is an eighth-century Chinese encyclopedia written by Du You 杜佑 (753-812). For the quotation from *Tongdian*, see *KGTIS*, entry 1, “The Origin of the *Qin*.”

¹⁶⁹ All the manuscript copies of *SFRS* (E1-E3) are listed in Appendix B.

¹⁷⁰ All quotations from *SFRS* given in this chapter are based on the readings found in copy E1.



writings,¹⁷¹ in which he lists 36 works written or compiled by Sorai. In this bibliography, Hattori divided these works into the following five categories:

1) Works that have already been published 已刊者; 2) works that are complete or even were published, but were discarded by the author in his later years 刊後自廢者; 3) works that are complete, but were kept unpublished by Sorai 秘而不傳者; 4) works that are incomplete 構起端而未定者; 5) works that have been written for distraction at one time or another 一時戲作者.

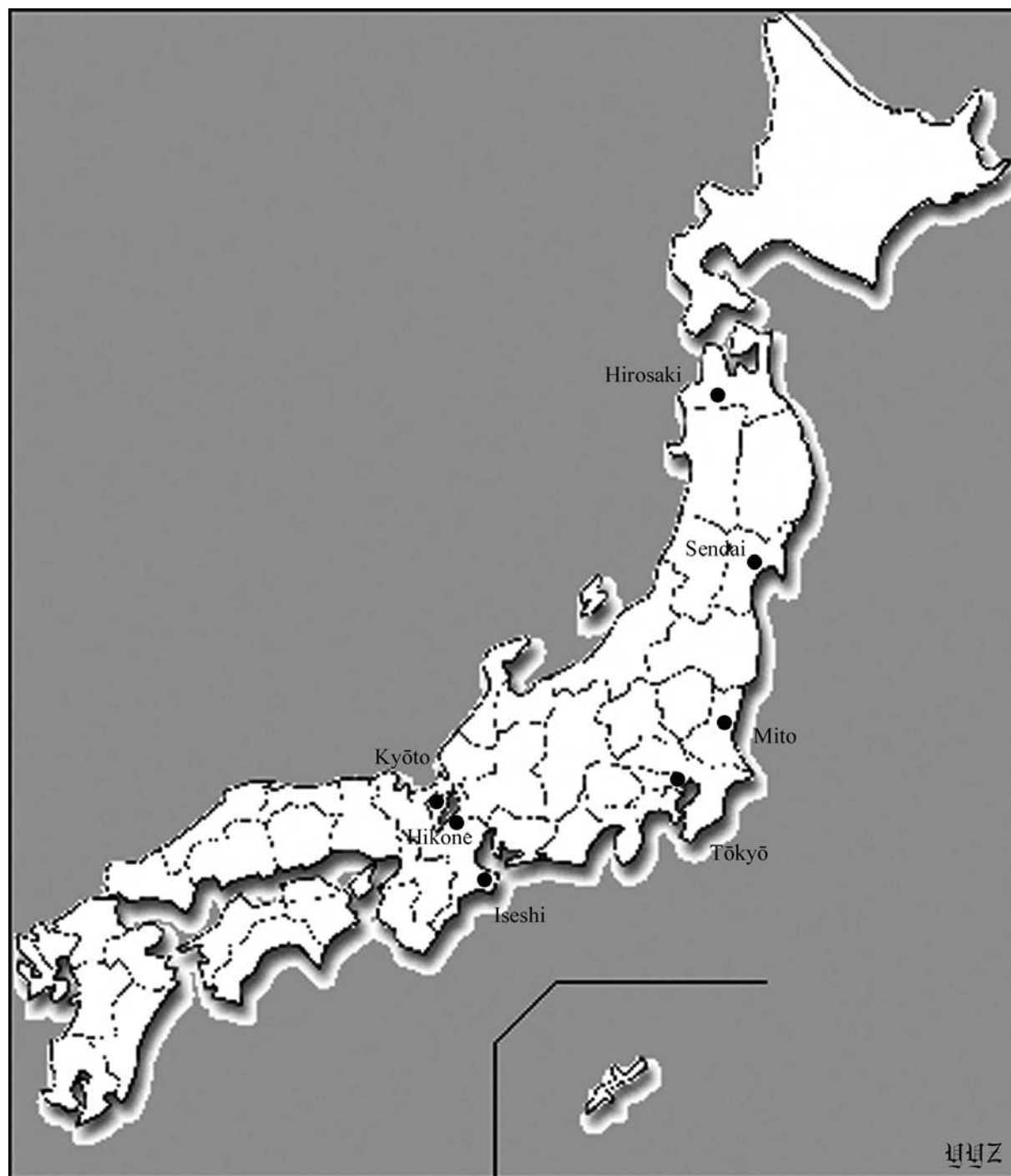
YRFS and *KGTIS*, Sorai's works on the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts, were classified in the last category, together with his informal essays and miscellanies. The other two works on *qin* music, *YRK* and *SFRS*, were excluded completely from Hattori's list. Hattori's view of the unpublished treatises, as reflected in his taxonomy, was evidently that they were of low value, considering them short essays on a relatively unimportant topic. Therefore, despite their being distinguished in their own way, as we shall see in a moment, these works never got printed.

A survey of the surviving copies of these “minor” works may reveal them to us in a different light. All surviving manuscript copies of *YRFS* and *KGTIS* known to me are listed in Appendix B. A total of 22 copies of *YRFS* survive today. Among them, 15 copies (B1-B15) are currently preserved in Japan; three belong to the former collection of Yang Shoujing (B17-B19) and are now located in Taipei; three later Chinese copies (B20-B22), made from one of Yang's copies, are kept in Beijing; and the library of Leiden University also has a copy (B16) of Japanese origin that previously belonged to Robert H. van Gulik. For *KGTIS*, a total of 23 copies are listed. Among them, 21 copies (C1-C21) are presently kept in Japan; and 2 copies (C22-C23), which were sent to Zha Fuxi from Japan in the 1950s in two separate stages, are now kept in Beijing, China.

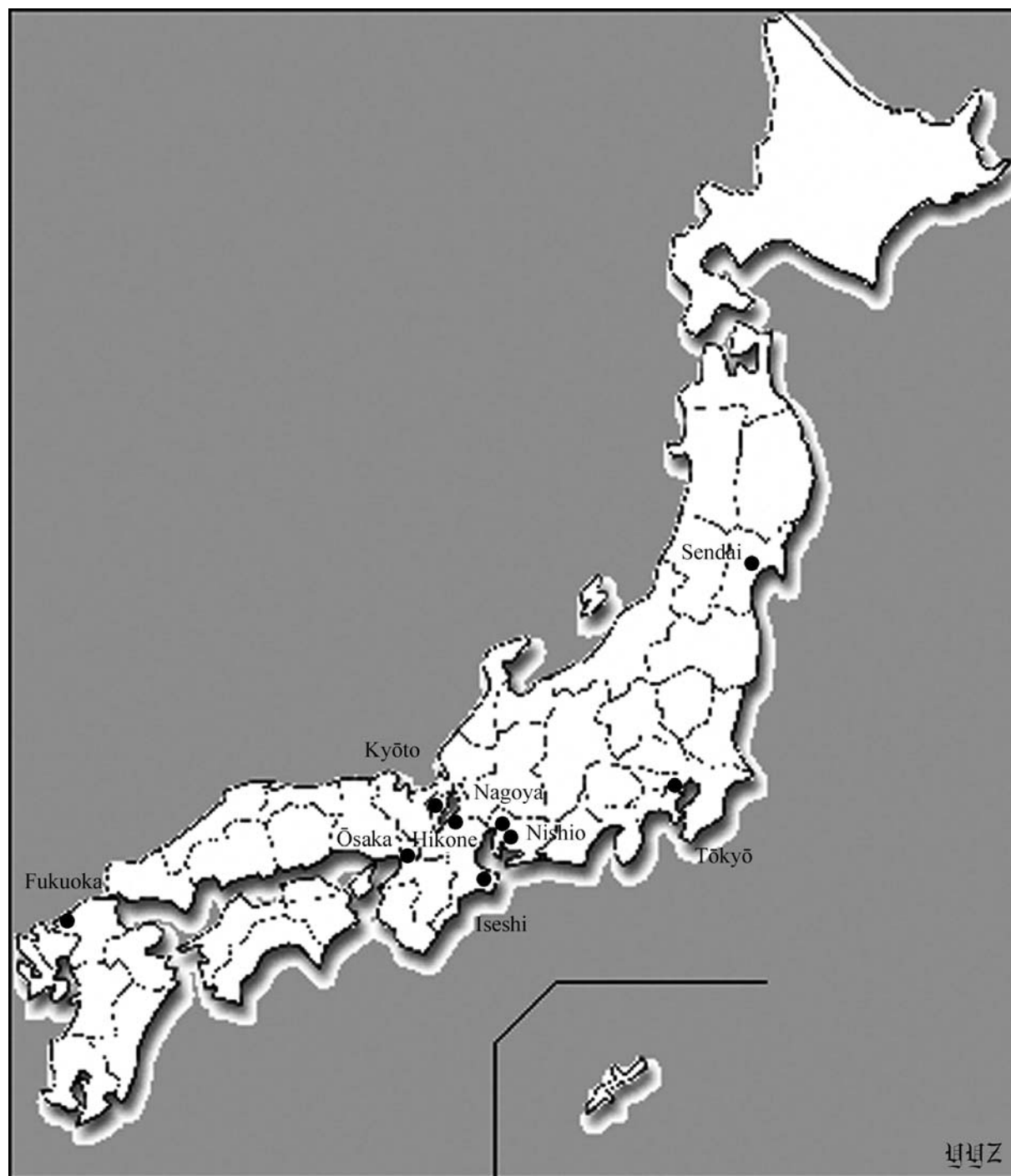
¹⁷¹ *Butsufūshi chojutsu shomoku-ki* 物夫子著述書目記 [The Bibliography of Master Sorai's Writings]. See *Nankaku sensei bunshu* 南郭先生文集, Part. 4, vol. 6, fols. 3v-8r. My quotation of *Nankaku sensei bunshu* is based on *Kinsei juka bunshū shūsei* 近世儒家文集集成 7, a facsimile of the woodblock edition originally published in the Edo period and now kept in National Diet Library of Japan 國立國會圖書館 with an introduction by Hino Tatsuo 日野龍夫 (Tōkyō, 1985). Another printed version is available in Rai Tsutomu 賴惟勤, *Sorai gakuha* 徂徠學派 (Tōkyō, 1972). For a transcription of the bibliography into English, see Olof G. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai: a Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 19 (Lund, 1973), 108-10. Beside the bibliography, another list encompassing twelve additional works entitled *Butsufūshi chojutsu shomoku-hoki* 物夫子著述書目補記 [The Complementary Bibliography of Master Sorai's Writings] may be found in *Shinsui sōsho* 澗水叢書, vol. 4, compiled by Usami Shinsui 宇佐美澗水. Usami was another pupil of Sorai; see Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai*, 108.



Map 3.1: The location sites of the surviving copies of *YRFS* in Japan



Map 3.2: The location sites of the surviving copies of *KGTIS* in Japan



If one marks the locations of these copies, most of which were prepared in the Edo period, on a map of Japan (see Maps 3.1 and 3.2), we find that, although *YRFS* and *KGTIS* were never printed, the two works were nonetheless widely disseminated in Japan, from a northernmost point at Hirosaki to the southern city of Fukuoka.¹⁷² Therefore, we may to a certain extent wonder whether Hattori's evaluation of the importance of Sorai's works on the two scrolls fully reflects their actual importance, at least as far as their relevance to the community of literati interested in *qin* playing is concerned. Before arriving at our own judgment on whether these works were written merely for Sorai's personal amusement, however, we shall first turn our attention to their compilation. The information uncovered by such an analysis should generate the materials needed in order to permit us to flesh out our understanding of Sorai's intentions.

3.2. Dating the Compilation Process

A few clues for the dating of Sorai's compilations from the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts are given by Sorai himself. Among *YRFS*, *YRK*, *KGTIS* and *SFRS*, only *KGTIS* has a passage which reads "On the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the tenth year of Kyōhō (= 1722)". To further reconstruct the genesis and dating of these works, it will be necessary to investigate how exactly Sorai came into contact with his two source manuscripts.

Sorai first mentioned the Tōkyō manuscript in a prefatory remark to one of his *zekku* [four-verse poems]:

Irie Jakusui 入江若水(= 江子徹, 1671-?) had already moved to Heian (= Kyōto). His desire to come to the east (i.e., to Edo), though mentioned in his letters several times, had not been put into action so far. This four-section *zekku* was meant to urge him [to act upon his wish]. [The poem was written] at the time when I acquired a score of the old melody *Iran* 猗蘭 (= *Yūran*, the Tōkyō manuscript)¹⁷³. 江子徹已移居平安。書來欲東

¹⁷² In light of the rate of loss of manuscripts copied since the Edo period in Japan, and the patterns of accumulation of rare books since the building of modern libraries in Japan, the original dissemination of these copies may be expected to have been even wider than can be seen from their present locations.

¹⁷³ Sorai refers to the beginning title of the Tōkyō manuscript "*Youlan/Yūran* in *jieshi* mode." A variant reading of the name



者屢已而不果也。絕句四章促之。時予得猗蘭古曲。¹⁷⁴

According to the biographic information provided by Hino Tatsuo,¹⁷⁵ Irie Jakusui moved to Kyōto in the first year of Kyōhō (1716). If so, Sorai's contact with the Tōkyō manuscript must have occurred either in or after that year. It is worth mentioning that Sorai, in a first tendentious act of falsification, consistently named the *qin* piece *Yilan /Iran* 猗蘭, a title commonly referred to a composition by Confucius,¹⁷⁶ instead of *Youlan/Yūran* 幽蘭 or the title variant given in the Tōkyō manuscript *Yilan/Iran* 倚蘭, in order to highlight the authentic quality of the Tōkyō manuscript. Later on as well, Sorai referred to the Tōkyō manuscript as *Iran* 猗蘭 in all his correspondences. A description of his examination of the scroll appears in his fourth letter to Yabu Shin'an 藪震庵 (1689-1744),¹⁷⁷ in late spring of 1720:

[I] have paid Koma Chikahiro 狛近寛 a visit. The *qin* scroll [entitled] *Iran* is owned by his family. I borrowed and read it. [It was] compiled by the Chinese during the Sui dynasty (581-618), while the handwriting belongs to the pre-Kanmu era [(? – 781)]. 嘗訪諸狛近寛。渠家有猗蘭琴譜。予借而覽之。乃隋人作。桓武以前筆跡。¹⁷⁸

Here, Sorai seems to imply that the Tōkyō manuscript is a Japanese transcription of a Chinese original. And he places, though indirectly, the copying of the Tōkyō manuscript within what is now known as the Nara period (710-94),¹⁷⁹ when the Imperial Court in Japan

of the same piece in that manuscript is "*Yilan/Iran* 倚蘭"; see Chapter I, above. But this does not necessarily mean that Sorai himself stuck to the text thoroughly, for the original *Yi/I* in the Tōkyō manuscript is "倚" instead of the character "猗" Sorai used; see below.

¹⁷⁴ See Ogyū Sorai, *Soraishu* 徂徠集 (henceforth *SRS*), vol. 6, fols. 5r-v. A facsimile is provided in *Sorai shu; Sorai shu shui* 徂徠集 徂徠集拾遺 (Tōkyō, 1985), which reproduces the Tanimura 谷村 edition of the *Sorai shu* dated 1740, and the manuscript copy of the *Sorai shu shui* kept in the Tōkyō Toritsu Chuo Toshokan 東京都立中央圖書館, with an introduction provided by Hiraishi Naoaki.

¹⁷⁵ See Hino Tatsuo 日野龍夫, "Irie Jakusui ten shiryō 入江若水伝資料." in Ōtani Tokuzō 大谷篤藏 (ed.), *Kinsei Ōsaka Geibun sōdan* 近世大阪芸文叢談 (1973), 193; also Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 103.

¹⁷⁶ See the introduction of *YRK*, above.

¹⁷⁷ Yabu Shin'an (1689-1744) was a Neo-Confucian *hanshi* 藩士 [feudal retainer] from Kumamoto.

¹⁷⁸ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 23, fol. 10r.

¹⁷⁹ Accepting as the end of the Nara period and the beginning of the Early Heian period (794-897) the date of the Imperial Command of Emperor Kammu, given in 793, that a new capital be built, the future Heian Kyō (= Kyōto). It is certain that knowledge of Chinese, i.e., the ability to speak and write the language, was prevalent among the nobility and officials throughout the Nara period as well as at the beginning of the Heian period. Chinese was used predominantly for all official documents and for some literary purposes. By the end of the tenth century, on the other hand, Chinese was effectively a dead



was highly influenced by Chinese culture. Since the owner of the scroll, the imperial musician Koma Chikahiro, died in the year 1720,¹⁸⁰ Sorai's visit must have occurred some time between 1716 and 1720.

In Sorai's time, gaining access to sources such as the Tōkyō manuscript was often difficult for curious scholars, as reported in *Hasegawa Tōmonsho* 長谷川答問書:

I have seen the *qin* scroll *Iran*. If Koma Chikahiro belongs to the clan of the hereditary musicians in the Southern Capital (= Nara), it will be possible to request from them the favor of being allowed to have a copy [of the manuscript] prepared. It is impossible to borrow it presently since the musician's family keeps it strictly to themselves. 猗蘭琴譜私モ見申度。狛近寛南都乐家ノ同姓ナレバ。写ニテモ可レ有レ之ト前方手スジノ人々タノミヲキ候得共。今ニ得取出シ不レ申候。只乐家ハ物ヲ秘スルモノニゴザ候。¹⁸¹

Thus Sorai's free access to the Tōkyō manuscript was a fairly special privilege not usually granted his contemporaries. Given such exceptional consideration, we may wonder what the purpose of the owner might have been in granting Sorai such a favor. These intentions were reported – presumably by Sorai's brother, Ogyū Hokkei – in *Ogyūkō* 荻生考,¹⁸² and are supported by Sorai's own narration in the preface of *SFRS*:

Tsuji Chikahiro 辻近寛(= Koma Chikahiro), the hereditary musician from the Capital (= Kyōto), keeps the manuscripts *Iran* (= the Tōkyō manuscript) and *Yōshihō* (= the Hikone manuscript, as we shall see in a moment), which were bestowed on the family by Gomizunō-tennō (1596-680, r. 1611-29), in separate scrolls. [He] let me read and explain [their contents] in Japanese. 京師伶工辻伯州家藏。後水尾院所賜猗蘭琴譜及用指法各一卷。使余閱之且為和解。¹⁸³

language in Japan.

¹⁸⁰ See Mikami Keibun 三上景文, *Chikakaden* 地下家伝, as quoted in Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 315. For further information of the Koma family, see Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 312-6.

¹⁸¹ The author of *Hasegawa tōmonsho* 長谷川答問書 is unknown. According to Hayashi, it was completed during the period 1744-63; see Hayashi, "Kinsho sandai", 236.

¹⁸² *Ogyūkō*, presumed to be written by Ogyū Hokkei (= Ogyū Kan), is one item in vol. 58 of *Meika sōsho* 名家叢書, a 78-volume manuscript kept in the National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館. For a facsimile of this work, see Ogyū Kan et al., *Meika sōsho*, ed. Kansai Daigaku 関西大学, Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo shiryō shūkan 12-1-3 関西大学東西学術研究所資料集刊 12-1-3 (Suita, 1981-2).

¹⁸³ See the manuscript copy of *SFRS*, E1, fol. 1r. It is difficult to imagine, though not absolutely impossible, for the hereditary musicians of the Koma family to have been able to read Chinese. Even if so, in order to read the full-ideogram



Evidently, the contents of the scrolls had puzzled the Koma family for decades, since the notating system these ancient sources employed had no similarity with contemporary *qin* tablatures. Their curiosity about the two enigmatic presents from the emperor finally led Koma Chikahiro to open his door to Sorai, a nationally famous scholar of Chinese philology. And, as we noticed in the above quotation, Sorai mentions another manuscript that was also given to the Koma by Gomizunō. It was the Hikone manuscript, as demonstrated by Sorai's own description of the second scroll found in *SFRS*:

[When we] raised the scroll against the sunlight, we could find a *waka*-like prose text accompanying the flute notation [visible] through the backing.¹⁸⁴ [When I] copied and read it [i.e., what I could see on the verso], [I found] it is the score of *Shūfūraku*. The *waka*-like prose is its old lyrics. 而譜卷襯裏照日視之。徹透有字如和歌。旁注笛譜。寫而讀之。即秋風樂也。如和歌者。即古樂章也。¹⁸⁵

The *Ogyūkō* provides exactly the same details.¹⁸⁶ The physical characteristics of the scroll documented in these two descriptions from the early eighteenth century fit the Hikone manuscript exceedingly well; however, none of our two informants pointed out which scroll, *Iran* or *Yōshihō*, he was describing. Fortunately, *Narubeshi* 南留別志, yet another essay by Sorai, offers an even more detailed account, pointing out that through the surface of the scroll on the fingering and playing technique of the *qin*, which had been provided to Sorai by the Tsuji (= Koma) family, readers could see the flute notation of *Shūfūraku*.¹⁸⁷ That is exactly what we, too, can see when we look at the Hikone manuscript.

notation of the Tōkyō manuscript, both knowledge in Chinese philology and skill in consulting Chinese *qin* handbooks are required. Therefore, Koma Chikahiro probably hoped that Sorai would provide glosses in Japanese for the texts preserved in the two scrolls. It would appear that Sorai's efforts to comply with this request might be identified with the *KGTIS* mentioned earlier.

¹⁸⁴ For the definition of *waka*, see Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保 (ed.), *Waka bungaku jiten* 和歌文学辞典 (Tōkyō, 1982).

¹⁸⁵ See manuscript copy of *SFRS*, E1, fol. 1r.

¹⁸⁶ “辻伯耆カ家ニ、後水尾天皇ヨリ賜リタル琴譜アリ。伯耆會得セズ、惣右衛門ニ見スル。右琴譜ノウテウチトヤランニ、反古ノ如キモノアリ。スカシテ見レハ、和歌ノ辞ニテ、傍ニ笛ノ譜ヲ付タリ。……” See Ogyū Kan, *Ogyūkō*, in *Meika sōsho*, vol.58, fols. 10r-v.

¹⁸⁷ “近家が見せたみ琴手法のうちに、文字のやうなみ物の、すきて見ゆみをよみて見ぬに、催馬樂のやうなみ物なり。催馬樂にてもなり。笛の手のつけたみを考ふれば、秋風樂なり。古はいづれの樂にも、かくあたらしく詞をつけたりと覺ゆ。茂卿がぬすみうかゞへみたあらざらましかば、其家の人もえしみまじ。” See Ogyū Sorai, *Narubeshi*, in *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshūbu* (ed.), *Nihon zuihitsu taisei (Dai ni ki)* 日本随筆大成 (第2期), vol. 8 (Tōkyō, 1928-9), 17.



After Koma Chikahiro's death, Sorai built a good relationship with Koma Chikatō 狛近任 (1676-1757), the foster child and successor of Koma Chikahiro who as a result controlled access to the Koma music library. Based on the date given in the ascription of *KGTIS*,¹⁸⁸ Sorai completed his second work on *qin* music, *KGTIS*, which is dedicated to the Koma family, in 1722. If so, the compilation of *YRFS* and *YRK* can be placed between 1716 and 1722, since *KGTIS* (1722) cites *YRFS* frequently while *YRFS* has never refers to *KGTIS* at all.

Unlike the “popular” works *YRFS* and *KGTIS*, *SFRS* was neglected for a long period of time after the moment it was mentioned by Sorai's brother Ogyū Hokkei.¹⁸⁹ As we have already seen, the two catalogs made by Sorai's pupils (deliberately or by oversight) excluded this work, and only three surviving copies are known today.

Sorai believed that the song texts preserved in the Hikone manuscript were *waka*. Therefore, he states in *SFRS*:

[I] begin to realize that most of the lyrics for the old melodies are *waka*. According to ancient history, even women and children could sing the [*gagaku*] songs, but if the song texts were in Chinese, who could understand [their meanings]? 始知古樂歌章皆用和歌。考之古史。婦兒輩猶善樂。若以華夏詩聲。孰不為侏離舛舌哉。

Sorai's opinion expressed here, i.e., that the ancient lyrics provided for the music imported from the continent were in Japanese, is contrary to the view he expressed in his fourth letter to Yabu Shin'an 藪震庵 in 1720, in which he states:

Nowadays, the music [referring to the *tōgaku* repertoire] is not comprehensible to most people. This is because of no other reason but that the lyrics have not been transmitted, which is in turn due to the fact that Chinese pronunciation is not easy to our Japanese tongues. 今人聞樂多是惘然。是无它故，乃其辭不傳故也。其辭所以不傳之故，乃華音不便于倭口耳。¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ See *KGTIS*, at the end of section 16: “On the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the tenth year of Kyōhō (= 1722).”

¹⁸⁹ See Ogyū Kan, *Ogyūkō*, in *Meika sōsho*, vol. 58, fols. 10r-v.

¹⁹⁰ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 23, fols. 8r-v. For the date of the letter see Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 120 and 222-6.



The contradiction between these two statements suggests that the writing of *SFRS*, in which he not only expressed the view that Japanese lyrics must have accompanied the “old melodies”, but also considered such an arrangement as a restoration of an old, broken tradition, most likely happened some time after the writing of the letter quoted just now. In fact, the shift in his attitude towards Japanese lyrics occurred rather late in Sorai’s life. In his thirty-fourth letter to Honda Tadamune, Lord of Iyo, Sorai still invited Honda to write a lyric for the *tōgaku* piece *Kanshū* 甘州, and what he sought was a Chinese poem, rather than a specimen of *waka*.¹⁹¹ Written sometime after 1724,¹⁹² the letter thus reveals that *SFRS* was written between 1724 and probably 1727, since Sorai died of an illness in the first month of 1728.¹⁹³ If so, the compilation of *SFRS* was most likely carried out in 1727, when Sorai revised the *biwa* repertoire by order of the *bakufu*.¹⁹⁴

The preceding discussion traced chronological aspects of the compilation process of Sorai’s four *qin*-related works through his encounter with the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts. Sorai died early in 1728 at the age of only sixty-three. The editing and reading of the two manuscripts thus could be regarded as Sorai’s most important project in his last years in the Kyōhō era which, as we shall see later, revolutionized the studies of early *qin* music. A relative chronology of the above historical exploration is provided below.

¹⁹¹ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 20, fol. 14r.

¹⁹² The date of the letter is unknown. According to Hiraishi, Sorai’s thirty-second letter to Lord of Iyo was written in 1724; see Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 145 and 239-42.

¹⁹³ See Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 166-7.

¹⁹⁴ See Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 164.



Table 3.1: The compilations of Sorai's *qin*-related works: Chronology of events

1716 – 1720	Sorai examines the Tōkyō manuscript in the house of Koma Chikahiro and borrows the Hikone manuscript from the Koma family.
30. XII. 1720	Koma Chikahiro dies.
1716 – 4. IV. 1722	Sorai compiles <i>YRFS</i> and <i>YRK</i> based on the texts preserved in the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts.
28. IV. 1722	Sorai completes the writing of the main text of <i>KGTIS</i> and dedicates it to the Koma family.
1724 – 1727	Sorai writes <i>SFRS</i> based on the flute sketches on the verso of the first layer of the Hikone manuscript.
19. I. 1728	Sorai dies.

3.3. Sorai's Editorial Principles

To further refine our enquiry into Sorai's compilations (now mainly concerning the *YRFS*) and, more specifically, to trace the nature and degree of modification of the texts produced through his editing in the eighteenth century, we must now explore the methods of Sorai's textual criticism in more detail. What kind of text was built by Sorai, and how did Sorai build it based on his sources, the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts?

The art of “editing” as practiced by Sorai is best visible by analyzing the second chapter of *YRFS*, a conflation of passages from the treatises preserved in the Hikone manuscript, and this chapter therefore will be investigated in detail in the following discussion. It is apparent that Sorai reorganized the various treatises from the Hikone source with the aim of elucidating the contents of the Tōkyō manuscript; however, this is not the whole point. By rearranging the texts concerned without acknowledging the authors of the originals, his compilation gives the



impression that the Hikone manuscript is merely an explanation of the full-ideogram notation of the Tōkyō manuscript, and as a result, Sorai's compilation carefully conceals the identity of these texts as Chinese works composed between the Northern Wei and early Tang periods. An enquiry towards the principles applied in his editing, focusing on situations when different explanations of given terms appear concurrently in the Hikone manuscript, will flesh out our assessment.¹⁹⁵

Sorai's "editing" is, in most cases, a kind of combinatory process. He combines similar interpretations of the same term drawn from various treatises, no matter whether the source texts are composed by Zhao or Chen. Therefore, Sorai not only reduced the differences of the texts within a certain treatise, but also the variants among several totally different works. Entries where this phenomenon can be observed are: R1, 9-10, 15-6, 20, 22, 25, 36-7, 45, 57-8. An example may be seen in the entry for the right hand playing technique *cusan* 齧三 (R45; the text of *YRFS* quoted here is based on B16, the manuscript CH-1542 in the van Gulik collection, Leiden University, The Netherlands).

Table 3.2: Textual correspondence between the Hikone manuscript and *YRFS*, the fingering *cusan*

Sec. 2, Hikone:	假令大指約徵 无名打宫 食指挑角	前後為齧 一時為撮
Sec. 4, Hikone:	假令大指約徵 无名打宫 食指挑角	前後為齧 一時為撮
Sec. 6, Hikone:	假令大指約徵 无名打宫	合攏角前後為笠 一時為撮
<i>YRFS</i> :	假令大指約徵 无名打宫 食指挑 商	合攏有前後為齧 一時為撮

If the explanations given in the treatises show considerable diversity amongst one another, on the other hand, Sorai sometimes preserves them all. These apply to entries R8, 21, 23, 29. An example may be seen in the entry for the right-hand playing technique *jian'gou* 間拘 (R8).

¹⁹⁵ In the case of terms of fingering that have one single explanation in the Hikone manuscript, though these may appear in different treatises for several times, Sorai preserves the explanation in full in *YRFS*. These entries are: R4-5, 7, 11-4, 17, 24, 26, 31-3, 35, 39, 43-4, 53, 55-6; L59-60, 62-7, 69-83, 98-101. For the terms that find no explanation at all in the original texts preserved in the Hikone manuscript, Sorai only writes down the terms themselves. These entries are: R6, 18-9, 27, 30, 48-52; L61, 68, 84-97.



Table 3.3: Textual correspondence between the Hikone manuscript and *YRFS*, the fingering *jian'gou*

Sec. 1, Hikone:	假令右中指拘角 無名拘商 各拘一絃度
<i>YRFS</i> 1:	假令右中指拘角 無名拘商 各拘一絃度
Sec. 4, Hikone:	假令食指案商上 中案宮上 食先拘商 中即打宮
Sec. 6, Hikone:	假令食指案商上 中案宮上 食先拘商 中即打宮
<i>YRFS</i> 2:	假令食指案商上 中案宮上 食先拘商 中即打宮

At other times, Sorai arbitrarily privileges one text without taking into account any of the others. Two sub-categories may be distinguished here. First, he simply sticks to one treatise without considering the other treatises at all. The only two cases are the entries for *zhai* 摘 (entry R3) and *tiao* 挑 (entry R2), where he retains the text in the treatise of Chen (Sec. 1 in the inventory, see Table 1.4) without considering the interpretation offered in the treatise written by Zhao (Sec. 2, 5 and 7 in the inventory, see Table 1.4). Second, he sticks to a single version of a treatise, without considering the interpretations offered by the variant versions of the same treatise. The entries where such a situation prevails are: R 28, 34, 38, 40, 41-2, 46-7, 54.

As an Edo-period man-of-letters whose conceptual repertoire did not make a significant distinction (as one would today) between errors and variants, Sorai's editing art is inclined towards building one stable, simple, regular and standard reading of the definitions of the terms that appear in various texts without providing any citations. He therefore created *new* text rather than making a *textus receptus* available to readers. This is very different from the situation discussed in Chapter I, when the early Heian-period Japanese copyist whom we have called Hikone Scribe A, preparing the recto of the Hikone manuscript, confronted the alterity of his exemplars, not only carefully preserving the ascriptions of each works but also documenting different versions one after another with caution. But why, then, did Sorai “neglect” to acknowledge the contributors of the Hikone manuscript and emphasized the identity of the music preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript as (purportedly) composed by Confucius instead? Why did Japanese sinophile literati in different eras hold such widely



different viewpoints on their sources?

3.4. Japonifying the *Qin*

As we have seen, Sorai's editing, which deliberately manipulates the facts, is an emotional and ideological force to be reckoned with. His underlying political agenda is reflected in *KGTIS*, where he states:

The reason that we are able to rebuild a *qin* tradition now is because of the surviving of the score *Yūran*, which provides us with details on the fingering, playing techniques and tuning of the *qin*. ... However, those who grasp music always lack language skills; meanwhile, those who grasp language trifle with music. Furthermore, some of them [i.e., of those who grasp language,] are infected by various sectarian views, and some others by *mappō* theory.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, [I alone] have to plot the restoration [of *qin* playing]. Alas, it is lamentable that, though all the other classical arts were revived through the one-hundred-year peace, a Renaissance of the *qin* is still far from visible at the moment. 今琴ヲ再興セント思ヒ玉ヘラン人ハ。幸ニ残ル幽蘭ノ譜ニ。如何様ナルウタヒモノヲ付ケテ。琴ノ手ヲヨクヒキ覺ユ。琴ノ律ニ通貫シ。..... 樂ニ達セル人ハ文字ニ疎リ。文字ニ深キ者ハ。樂ヲ好マズ。好メトモ学流ニ違アリテ。末ノ世ノ説ニ惑ツ。古ニ復ルコトケレハニヤ。今太平百年ニ及ヒラ。諸ノ道興レトモ。琴ノユハ沙汰スル人ノキカ悲シクラ。¹⁹⁷

This lament on the “decline of the *qin*” appears strange within the context of the Japanese *qin*-music Renaissance of the seventeenth century, headed by the Chinese-born *zen* priest Tōkō Shin-etsu 東皋心越 (1639 – 1695),¹⁹⁸ the main propagator of Japanese *qin* music in the early Edo period. Therefore, most of the *naiden* 内傳 [“inner tradition”] players did not agree

¹⁹⁶ *Mappō* (sanskrit. *Saddharma-vipralopa*) here refers to *Mappōji*, the period of the last and decadent *Dharma*, one of the three periods after the historical Buddha's demise: (1) In the period of the true *Dharma*, lasting 500 (or, according to other views, 1,000) years, the Buddha's teaching is properly practiced and enlightenment can be attained; (2) in the period of the semblance of *Dharma*, lasting 1,000 (or, as some say, 500) years, the teaching is practiced, but enlightenment is no longer possible; (3) in the period of the last, decadent *Dharma*, lasting 10,000 years, only the teaching exists. For further information, see Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (Tōkyō, 1954 – 8), 4747.

¹⁹⁷ The quotations from *KGTIS* in this chapter are based on the texts in C18.

¹⁹⁸ Tōkō Shin-etsu 東皋心越 came to Japan as a refugee, fleeing the troubles that marked the later years of the Ming dynasty. For further information, see Robert H. van Gulik, *The Lore of Chinese Lute*, Appendix IV, 197-224, in particular 204-8; also van Gulik, *Mingmuo yiseng donggao chanshi jikan* 明末义僧东皋禅师集刊 (Chongqing, 1944). For a penetrating exploration of the political causes behind Tōkō's flight, see Xie Xiaoping 謝孝苹, *Leichao wencun* 雷巢文存 (Beijing, 1999), 1003-55.



with Sorai's statement.¹⁹⁹ Matsui Ren 松井廉 (1857-1926), a distinguished Japanese *qin* player of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, reviewed *KGTIS* in 1917 as follows:

The seventh year of Kyōhō (1722) is exactly the time when the compilation of *Tōkō-kinfu* had just been completed,²⁰⁰ and the playing style of Tōkō Shin-etsu came to its apotheosis. Nonetheless, the manual [= *KGTIS*] regrets the decline of the art of the *qin*, without mentioning Shin-etsu at all. Based on treatises about tuning and the score of *Yūran*, Sorai's teaching intends to slander the contemporary playing, calling it out of tune; by claiming that the melodies of the Ming-dynasty Chinese *qin* pieces were as short as children's ballads, he defames the repertoire of Tōkō. Even in such a minor skill [as *qin* playing], Sorai did not like to follow anyone else. Is he deservedly regarded as a hero? 按享保七年，東皋琴譜正成，心越彈法最盛之時也。然而此書仍歎琴道不興，一言不及心越。專據樂律于幽蘭譜立說，蓋誹當時彈法不協樂律也。其曰明代琴譜音節短促如兒謠，詆心越調也。此一小技猶不欲從人後，如此亦豪傑哉？²⁰¹

Indeed, just as he suppressed the Chinese contributors of the Hikone manuscript, none of Sorai's writings mention Tōkō Shin-etsu. Therefore, van Gulik, the founder of the Japanese *qin* historiography and a Tōkō specialist, doubted whether Sorai was even able to play at all.²⁰²

All the traditional speculations and conjectures on Sorai's musical studies as exemplified above, however, oversimplify the real significance of Sorai's motivation. Throughout his whole life, none of his musical studies were carried out purely for academic purposes, neither in 1710-11, when he concentrated on *gagaku* and the writing of *Gakusho*, a book on music theory, nor during the Kyōhō era (1717-28), when he became absorbed in *qin* music and prepared *YRFS*, *YRK*, *KGTIS* and *SFRS*. At this stage, we must therefore take a glance at Sorai's philosophical sources and explore the political thoughts that germinated in his writings on music.

¹⁹⁹ Here I follow van Gulik who divided the Japanese *qin* players into *naiden*, the lineage of Japanese players headed by the Buddhist cleric Tōkō, and *genden* [the "outer tradition"], the players who learnt *qin* from Chinese laymen.

²⁰⁰ Matsui Ren refers to the version edited by Sugiura Kinzen in the Hōei period (1704-10).

²⁰¹ See Matsui Ren, *Ikikin* 談琴, manuscript copy prepared by Luo Fubao, uncataloged item in the Zha Fuxi collection, Central Conservatory of Music, Beijing.

²⁰² See van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 204, fn. 4.



The mainstream of mid-Tokugawa ideology is Neo-Confucian philosophy, an outgrowth of Confucian philosophy. This ideology had developed in China and was given its final form by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), the leading thinker of the Song dynasty (960-1279). Although mainly Confucian, Neo-Confucianism was characterized by a new comprehensiveness and an idealism that was believed to be borrowed from Buddhism and Taoism.²⁰³ The fact that the practical stress was laid on the virtues of rightness and loyalty, with the concomitant requirement that a person kept to his proper station and rank in society, made Neo-Confucian philosophy ideal for any power group aiming at establishing stable social systems in East Asia. Thus it soon became the ideology by which later Chinese dynasties, that is the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911), ruled. By the late sixteenth century, Neo-Confucian thought also became the state ideology of the Tokugawa regime.

Born in 1666, Ogyū Sorai started his career as an ambitious Confucian philologist. By a stroke of fortune, he got the chance to serve in the Yanagisawa 柳澤 House, one of the families that rose to prominence in Genroku Japan (1688-1704). The Yanagisawa played an important role in Sorai's life, too.²⁰⁴ Sorai conceded the priority of Neo-Confucian philosophy for a long period of time. In his *Ken'en zuihitsu* 護園随筆, which was published in 1714, he still attacked Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705), the leader of *Kogigakuha* 古義學派 [the “Ancient-Interpretation School”],²⁰⁵ by polemically stating, for example, that Jinsai goes as far as regarding Zhu Xi as non-benevolent which was enough for the writer to have little regard for Jinsai's character, and so forth. However, only three years later, in 1717, Sorai

²⁰³ See Araki Kengo 荒木見悟, *Chūgoku shingaku no kodō to bukyō* 中國心學の鼓動と佛教 (Fukuoka, 1995); and Rainer Hoffmann, *Neokonfuzianer und Sinobuddhisten: Drei Studien zur Entstehung der Lixue-Philosophie in der späten Tang-Dynastie* (Freiburg, 1997).

²⁰⁴ In Sorai's time this family rose from obscurity to daimyō status though the efforts of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳澤吉保 (1658-1714). He became the favorite of Shōgun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 while Tsunayoshi was still daimyō of Tatebayashi. After Tsunayoshi had become shōgun in 1680, Yoshiyasu occupied the positions of *sobayōnin* 側用人 [Chamberlain] and *rōjū* 老中 [Senior Counselor]. However, after the death of Tsunayoshi in 1709, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu had to retire immediately. For further details, see Shioda Michio 塩田道夫, *Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu no shōgai: Genroku jidai no shuyaku no sugao* 柳沢吉保の生涯: 元禄時代の主役のすがた (Tōkyō, 1975).

²⁰⁵ *Kogigakuha* is a school whose basic tenet is the return to the original Confucian texts inasmuch possible. For the reasons behind Sorai's attacks, see Noguchi Takehiko 野口武彦, *Edojin no rekishi ishiki* 江戸人の歴史意識 (Tōkyō, 1987), 233-69.



published *Bendō* 辨道, a work in which he completely abandoned Neo-Confucian thought and began to build his own coterie, *Ken'engakuha* 護園學派 [“Ken'en School”].²⁰⁶ Former researchers therefore believed that the critical reversal of Sorai's philosophical views occurred quite late, i.e., in the year 1717, when he was fifty. Furthermore, based on the famous three-stage division of Sorai's life,²⁰⁷ most previous scholarship speculated that throughout the whole period from 1709 to 1716 Sorai single-mindedly propounded *kobunji* 古文辭 [“archaic literary style”] theory in prose and poetry and still adhered to Neo-Confucianism in the field of philosophy.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, no matter how fancifully the account of his intellectual conversion may be imagined, the fact remains that, as for any consciousness, such a move was not an easy one. Sorai himself described the “special grace of Heaven” to his colleagues and friends several times, e.g., in his epistle of 1720 to an old friend, Tanaka Shōgo 田中省吾,²⁰⁹ where he states:

You know well that I prize archaic literary style. These days, since I am retired and have nothing else to do, I am reading the Six Classics. I came to realize that the ancient Chinese writing language is not the same as its contemporary form. After studying [the ancient language] of the Classics by referring also to other works [dating from] before the Qin (221 B.C.-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-220 C.E.) periods, I have come to notice the fallacies of the Song Confucians. They interpreted the ancient texts according to their contemporary use, and therefore it is no wonder that they have long prowled in a labyrinth of Neo-Confucian philosophy. 不佞好古文辭足下所知也。近來閒居無事。輒取六經以讀之。稍稍之古言不與今言同也。乃遍采秦漢以上古言以求之。而後悟宋儒之妄焉。宋儒皆以今言視古言。宜其舊沒理窟。²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Ken'en is the studio of Sorai. *Ken'enha* and *Kogigakuha* both share an anti-Neo-Confucian agenda and are viewed as sub-branches of the so called *Kogakuha* 古學派 [“School of Ancient Learning”]. For further details, see, for instance, Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Riben de guxue ji yangmingxue* 日本的古學及陽明學 (Shanghai, 1962). Nevertheless, conflating the two schools neglects the fundamental differences between Jinsai and Sorai and will therefore not be applied in my narrative.

²⁰⁷ The first stage is from his childhood up to the age of forty, as a philologist; the second period is in his forties from the Hōei (1705-11) to the Shōtoku era (1711-16), when he was mainly a member of the literati; and the third period extends from his fifties to his death at sixty-three in the Kyōhō era. See Yoshikawa Kojiro 吉川幸次郎, *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga* (Tōkyō, 1983), 90-1.

²⁰⁸ See Yoshikawa, *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga*, 139-218; Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai*, 98-104.

²⁰⁹ Tanaka Seigo 田中桐江 (1668-1742), style name Shōgo, is a scholar official.

²¹⁰ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 22, fol. 5v. Similar statements may be seen, for instance, in the letter to Yamagata Shūnan 山県周南 (= 県次公, 1687-1752) in 1720; see Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, 400-1.



The study of ancient Chinese works, as Sorai states frequently, was nevertheless a purely accidental event, inspired by his first reading of two Ming dynasty literati: Li Panlong 李攀龍 (1514-70) and Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-90).²¹¹ Li and Wang, being men of letters, had confined their views to literature; therefore, their contribution to Sorai's change from a highly sinicized Confucian into a proto-nationalist must have been of limited importance. Accordingly, we shall need to broaden our inquiry by comparing Sorai's philosophical writings with his work in other fields, e.g., his writings on music.

Before Sorai engaged with the two *qin* scrolls, i.e., the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts, he had already written a number of treatises on music. From spring of 1710 to 1711, he had totally concentrated on sources of ancient Chinese music. In 1711, in his third letter to Irie Jakusui, he writes that his study resulted in a work on music entitled *Gakusho* 樂書 [The Book of Music].²¹² The principal thrust of this monograph, as evidenced from Sorai's words in his ninth letter to Irie Jakusui of 1714, three years before the “critical point” of 1717, was determining the identity of Japanese music.²¹³ His ambitious conclusion, namely that the orthodox versions of Chinese music survived only in Japan, is rich indeed in political meanings. For the first time in history, it was suggested that the Way of the Ancestral Kings could only be found in Japan.

²¹¹ Both Li and Wang are prolific poets and writers of the Ming dynasty and dominant figures in Chinese literature of the late sixteenth century. Wang originally became involved with a literary circle led by Li Panlong which stressed the importance of modeling their work after masterpieces of the past. Together with five other scholars, Li and Wang led a Classical Revival Movement on Chinese literature. After Li's death in 1570, Wang himself dominated the literary world for another 20 years. During these years, Wang's own writings eventually moved away from such conservative ideals, becoming more eclectic and open to Buddhist and Taoist influences. It seems that Sorai never became aware that although Wang Shizhen had claimed “the best prose was only written in Qin (221-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-220 C.E.), while the best poems were composed in the high Tang period (ca. 705-781) only”, Wang in his later years revised this view dramatically. In his *Yanzhou sibu xugao* 弇州四部續稿 [Supplementary Drafts by Wang Shizhen], vol. 41, Wang goes as far as stating: “Do not merely judge [the value of] a writer by the era he lives in; do not merely judge [the value of] a composition by its writer, and do not merely judge [the value of] a sentence by the idea of the whole composition.” Ironically, till 1721 would Sorai have had the chance to read *Yanzhou sibu xugao*; see Naoaki, *Nenpuko*, 131; and Yoshikawa, *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga*, 142-3.

²¹² See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 26, fol. 11v. This letter was written in 1711; see Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 75 and 79. A part of this work, which has not survived in its entirety, may be the extant *Gakuritsukō* 樂律考 [A Study on Temperament] and *Gakuseihen* 樂制篇 [A Study on Musical Systems]. My research in these matters is based on a printout of microfiches of the manuscript CH-1542 in the van Gulik collection, Leiden University, The Netherlands. However, my observations lead me to believe that some portions of the contents of these two works were added to an earlier text corpus at a much later point in time, which indicates that Sorai worked with considerable care to revise his draft, and worked on it (perhaps intermittently) over a long period of time. This suspicion is strengthened by Nankaku's bibliography, where these two works are described as “also very secret, not allowed to be published.” For a different idea, see Tao Demin 陶德民, *Nihon kangaku shisoshi ronko: Sorai, nakamoto oyobi kindai* 日本漢學思想史論考: 徂徠・仲基および近代 (Suita, 1999), 49-68.

²¹³ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 26, fol. 11v. The original text reads: “The music of Chou (1066-256 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-220 C.E.) only exists in our East (= Japan).”



Examining Sorai's words as found in his work *Ken'en zuihitsu* of 1714, which is generally believed to offer evidence of his earlier thoughts, we find that he expressed almost the same ideas on musical orthodoxy as in the later *qin*-related texts. His aim, as early as 1714, was to demonstrate that Japanese classical music (mainly *tōgaku*) preserved the music of Han-dynasty (206 B.C.-220 C.E.) China; and to establish relationships between ancient Chinese and contemporary Japanese works, he made his personal conjectures on the morphology of ancient Chinese music the premise of his discussion, and then combed through a number of Chinese historical data to prove that Chinese music as preserved on the Continent had been contaminated by importing "barbarous elements" since the Tang period.

Therefore, to some extent, we may now come to understand the reasons why Sorai concealed the Chinese contributors of the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts. Unfortunately for them, they were active in the Southern and Northern dynasties (386-589), the Sui (581-618) and the Tang (618-906) era, all periods that are too late to support Sorai's premise that the Japanese had inherited the music of a China no later than the Han period (206 B.C.-220 C.E.). It is the same intention that directed him to set the lyric *Yilan*, a poem that is ascribed to Confucius (551 B.C.-479 C.E.), to the melody *Yūran* preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript. In Sorai's eyes, the verses of the pre-Qin "Sage Master" represented the cultural orthodoxy. Now, if someone wanted to dismiss these moves as merely reflecting the stubbornness of a highly idealistic restorationist, Sorai's indifference to and slander against the *qin* playing of his contemporaries, on which his knowledge of that kind of music was by necessity based completely, will destroy that illusion immediately. For all of Sorai's carefully crafted demonstrations and unspoken assumptions served solely to underpin the notion that the Japanese inherited true cultural orthodoxy from China, and in order to convince his audience of that point of view he built a system that totally collapsed any difference of space and time while being perfectly self-contained in itself.²¹⁴ The same demagogic model was later applied

²¹⁴ However, this very premise, due to lack of evidence, became the weakest part of his argument and therefore was frequently attacked by his critics. See, e.g., Tominaga Nakamoto 富永仲基 (1715-46), *Gakuritsukō* 楽律考 [A Study on Temperament], an account of music theory bearing the same title as Sorai's. For a facsimile edition of the manuscript kept in Kansai Daigaku 関西大学, see Tominaga Nakamoto, *Gakuritsukō* (Suita, 1958).



again and again in Sorai's attacks on Neo-Confucianism.

In fact, the seeds of Sorai's philosophical transformation were sown much earlier. It is worth noting that before turning into an anti-Neoconfucian, Sorai, in 1704, wrote to Jinsai,²¹⁵ expressing his great respect and admiration, and stating that if Jinsai did not help him, he would have to turn to the ancients on his own.²¹⁶ This proved a premonition of the subsequent evolution of his views on history.²¹⁷ In his letter to Andō Seian 安藤省庵 (1622-1701),²¹⁸ Sorai apparently told the truth:

When I was young, I already found that the understanding of the Song Confucians did not coincide with the Six Classics. Nevertheless, I had to make my living as a Confucian scholar and accept their opinion; otherwise, I could not have met the requirements of the time. Therefore, I prevaricated now and then, with my standpoint shifting back and forth. When examining myself at midnight, I feel so unsatisfied [with myself]. What I have said in [*Ken'en*] *zuihitsu* [to support Chinese Neo-Confucianism] are exactly those prevarications. 蓋不佞少小時已覺宋儒之說與六經有不合者。然已業儒，非此則無以施時。故仁口任意，左支右吾。中宵自省，心甚不安焉。隨筆所云，乃其左支右吾之言。²¹⁹

Therefore, Sorai's so-called philosophical transformation is actually a well-prepared conceptualization of previously full-fledged political thoughts, which were formed in his thirties (i.e., the first decade of the 1700s). Before conceptualizing his thoughts in philosophy, he had already applied his ideas in his writings on music for several years. The unspoken agenda behind his writings on music was to test the waters by applying these revolutionary theories to something that his fellow literati would consider less important, trying to gauge their reaction.

²¹⁵ Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁齋 was the leader of the "Ancient-Interpretation School;" see above, fn. 205.

²¹⁶ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 27, fols. 9r-10r. For an English translation of this important letter, see Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai*, 85-6.

²¹⁷ Jinsai's refusal to answer the letter led Sorai to attack him in *Ken'en zuihitsu*. See Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai*, 87.

²¹⁸ Andō Seian was a humble and steadfast follower of the Ming refugee and Confucian scholar, Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600-82).

²¹⁹ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 28, fol. 6r.



To abandon the influence of contemporary China and achieve the superiority associated with “cultural orthodoxy,” Sorai built a connection between contemporary Japan and ancient China. With the morphology of ancient Chinese music purely based on Sorai’s subjective interpretations of the Hikone and Tōkyō manuscripts, the Japonification of *qin* music was thus carried out through the so-called restoration of ancient Chinese music in Japan.

The evidence of the two scrolls, together with Sorai’s story on reading the works of the Ming literati Li and Wang, are frequently mentioned in Sorai’s persuasive letters. In his correspondence with the Neo-Confucianist Yabu Shin’an in 1720,²²⁰ he purposely states in a lighter tone of speech:

The notation [of the Tōkyō manuscript] is entirely different from the Ming handbooks; therefore, [I] found that the ancient music is lost in China but has survived in our country. To play according to the score is easy as well. 其譜于明朝琴譜大異。乃知古樂中華失傳而我邦有之。按其譜而鼓琴亦容易耳。²²¹

Such words left a sharp impression on Yabu Shin’an. Yabu wrote later:

Butsu fūshi (= Sorai) is the most distinguished scholar in the East [Japan]..... His interpretation of the Way is different from anything I have ever heard; therefore, I wrote to him... He replied wholeheartedly without any reservation. I don’t know how to deal with him! 牛門物子，其關內之一人乎！……但其論道異于吾所聞也。予頃投書云……渠答書又竭盡所蘊，無所回避。予未知所以處之也。²²²

Sorai was highlighting the difference between early *qin* music and that of the eighteenth century. There are quite a few such comments in *KGTIS*. Among them, from the organological perspective, he states:

The length of the classical *qin* differs in various historical periods. The length indicated in the notation of *Yūran* is much shorter than today’s.The Ming Chinese *qin* playing often makes the strings thinner and lowers the tuning according to the mode of the piece;

²²⁰ For an introduction of Yabu Shin’an, see above fn. 177.

²²¹ See Ogyū Sorai, *SRS*, vol. 23, fol. 10r.

²²² See Yabu Shin’an, *Shin’an ikō* 慎菴遺稿, vol. 6, quoted in Hiraishi, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 214-5.



therefore, the sound is soft. This is because they believe that only the soft sound is Elegant Music. Such a view is a conjecture held by thoughtless people. In our country, there are still a few ancient *qin* kept in the Southern Capital (= Nara); if we make replicas of them and play them, we could obtain the sound of the ancient *qin*. 古今ノ名琴。長短サマザマアリト見ヘタリ。幽蘭ノ譜ヲ考レバ。コトノ外ニ短キヤウナリ。……明朝ノ琴ハ。多リハ奏調ニシラフルニヨクラ。弦細ク。シカモ緩シキ。故其ヒキ微音ナリ。微音ナルヲ雅楽ナリト覚コルハ。道理ヲ知ラサルモノ。料簡ナリ。吾邦古代ノ琴。南都ナニアルヘシ。其寸法ヲ用ヒラ。弦ノフトサナト。琴相应ニコシラヘ。調ヘ試シタランニハ。古ノ琴ノ音自然ト知ラルヘキナリ。²²³

Sorai thus suggested building replicas by directly copying the ancient instruments kept in Nara, and to produce strings that suit that kind of *qin*. His suggestions were carried out in practice in the late eighteenth century by, among others, Suzuki Ran-en 鈴木蘭園 (1741-1790),²²⁴ Tōzai Yūki 橋南谿 (1754-1806)²²⁵ and Uragami Gyokudō 浦上玉堂 (1745-1820).²²⁶

In 1768, Suzuki heard that the Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 in Nara preserved an early Tang dynasty *qin*, which is believed to have been made by the most famous *qin* maker family of Tang China, the Lei.²²⁷ Suzuki traveled there immediately in order to measure the instrument and make a draft of it for the purpose of building a replica. His efforts resulted in a small report, *Raikinki* 雷琴記 [Report on the *Qin* Made by the Lei Family], and several replicated instruments. In the preface of this report, he quoted Sorai's suggestion about making replicas of the ancient *qin* kept in Nara and stated that he himself also subscribed to this idea.²²⁸

²²³ See *KGTIS*, entry 5 “The Technical Names of Various Parts of the *Qin*” and entry 10, “The Positions of the Thirteen Markers of the *Qin*.”

²²⁴ Ran-en, the leading proponent of building the replicas, also called Minamoto Ryū 源龍, was a doctor of Chinese medicine in Kyōto. He learned the *qin* under the *zen* priest Shimpō and published a small edition of the *Tōkō kinfu* 東皋琴譜 [Qin Handbook of Tōkō] before having his *Kingaku keimō* 琴學啓蒙 [A *Qin* Primer] engraved. For further information, see, for instance, Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 204-7, and 301.

²²⁵ See Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 48, 177 and 222, for information on Tōzai Yūki.

²²⁶ See Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 19-44, 94-101 and 224-7 for information on Uragami Gyokudō.

²²⁷ See Martin Gimm, “Historische Bemerkungen zur chinesischen Instrumentenbaukunst der T'ang, I and II,” *Oriens Extremus* XVII (1970), 9-38, and XVIII (1971), 123-33, for a discussion of the Lei clan of *qin* makers.

²²⁸ For a modern Japanese translation of *Raikinki*, see Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 204-6. For a woodcut illustration of a 1784 replica built by Suzuki after the model of the Tang *qin* preserved in the Hōryūji, see Murai Kinzan 村井琴山 (1733-815), *Kinzan kinroku* 琴山琴録 (1806), fol. 8. For a recent survey of the historical replicas of this instrument in Japan, see *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 220-6.



In *KGTIS*, Sorai also pointed out other ways to culturally appropriate *qin* music. Among them, the most influential one is the “*gagaku*-ization” of the *qin* repertoire, which was subsequently carried out by Uragami Gyokudō in the late eighteenth century.²²⁹ His *Gyokudō kinpu goshu* 玉堂琴譜後集 (see Figure 3.3) was intended as a model to enable performing the *saibara* repertoire, a subgenre of Japanese *gagaku*, with accompaniment by the *qin*. Sorai’s conscious efforts to give *qin* music a more Japanese character are also clearly reflected in Gyokudō’s manuscript. Based on the ancient Japanese folksong genre *saibara*, the three-column notation documented not only the *qin* tablature, but also the Japanese lyrics and the *koto* tablature from the twelfth-century Japanese anthology *Jinchi yōroku* 仁智要錄.

Figure 3.3: *Gyokudō kinpu goshu*, fol. 1r



²²⁹ Stephen Addiss, *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters: The Arts of Urugami Gyokudō* (Honolulu, 1987); Stephen Addiss (ed.), *The Resonance of the Qin in East Asian Art* (New York, 1999); also Stephen Addiss, "Uragami Gyokudō: The Complete Literati Artist" (diss., The University of Michigan, 1977). I am indebted to Professor Stephen Addiss for sending me a copy of *Gyokudō kinpu goshu* on November 25, 2003.

To conclude, the musical studies of Sorai were not intended for academic purposes alone. Rather, these works were rich in political meanings, for the conceptualization of Sorai's political agenda resulted in the cultural appropriation of *qin* music into Japan. As we know, the importation of *qin* music was in fact the product of the Nara nobility's enthusiasm for Chinese culture; the recontextualization of the Tōkyō and the Hikone manuscripts and the ensuing localization of Japanese *qin* music, on the other hand, were enabled by the proto-nationalism of mid-Edo literati. Such a dramatic change emblematically reflects the functional shift of Japanese sinology during the early eighteenth century.²³⁰

²³⁰ For further insights on this, see, for instance, Sakai Naoki 酒井直樹, *Voices of the Past: the Status of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse* (Ithaca, 1992); and Sun Ge 孫歌, "Ribei hanxue de linjiedian 日本“漢學”的臨界點," *Shijie hanxue* 世界漢學 1 (1998), 46-63.



APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE EPITAPH

Appendix A provides the transcription of the Epitaph of Chen Shuming which was buried on the 28th day of the 1st month of the lunar calendar in 615 and was excavated in Beiyangao village, Luoyang, Henan Province on the 29th day of the 7th month of the lunar calendar in 1936.²³¹ The Epitaph is currently kept in the Museum of Shaanxi Province in Luoyang. The stone is 635mm in length and 645 mm in width.²³² Rubbings of the Epitaph were published in 1956 and 1991,²³³ however, a transcription is offered here for the first time.

1 隋故禮部侍郎通議大夫陳府君之墓誌銘

君諱叔明，字慈尚，吳興長城人也。出自帝舜之後，胡公滿食采于陳，因而賜姓，源與穎川同。祖漢太丘長實之支子鈞徙家長城。若夫三君比駕，遠映德星；二子連環，高談旦月。汝穎人物，許洛名流。世蘊奇偉，時標秀傑。金山鵝響，岳峻不褻；銅柱

5 魚遊，淵澄無底。應東南之王氣，拯淮海之橫流。三后在天，四帝丕緒。君前陳武皇

帝之孫，孝宣皇帝之第六子。太建七年，策封宜都郡王，時年十二。潤漸天潢，表河

房之宿；華分日口，拂扶陽之景。君共第四兄長沙王叔賢同產。宣皇帝命貴妃袁氏

養之。禮貫群蕃，恩深諸子。八年，授宣惠將軍。九年，授衛尉卿。其年改授智武將軍。

十年，出授東揚州刺史，將軍如故。十二年，進授散騎常侍、南徐州刺史。十三年，授

10 使持節、都督、吳興太守。十四年，加誠武將軍。至德元年，徵授侍內秘書監。二年，改

²³¹ Guo Yutang 郭玉堂, *Luoyang chutu shike shi di ji* 洛陽出土石刻時地記 (Luoyang, 1939). For a new facsimile of Guo's book with criticism and introduction by Kegasawa Yasunori 氣賀澤保規, see *Fukoku rakuyō shutsudo sekkoku jichiki* 復刻洛陽出土石刻時地記 (Tōkyō, 2002).

²³² The date is based on *Luoyang shi wen wu guan li ju* 洛陽市文物管理局 and *Luoyang shi wen wu gong zuo dui* 洛陽市文物工作隊(ed.), *Luoyang chutu muzhi mulu* 洛陽出土墓志目錄 (Beijing, 2001), 59.

²³³ See Zhao Wanli 趙萬里, *Han wei nanbeichao muzhi jishi* 漢魏南北朝墓誌集釋 (Beijing, 1956), vol. 11, fol. 118, illustration 609; and Chen Chang'an 陳長安 (ed.), *Sui tang wudai muzhi huibian*, *Luoyang juan* 隋唐五代墓誌匯編•洛陽卷 (Tianjin, 1991), 132.



- 授侍內左衛將軍。三年，授內書令。真明元年，冊拜司空公。上爵曲阜，地擬應韓。近衛鉤陳，寄深王傅。畿輔北門之要，粉榆東戶之重。豐珥左右，徽章內外。陟六符而聳轡，歷三階而振策。真明三年，百六運拒，庚子數終。與青蓋而同入，渡滄江而不反。東陵廢侯，空想種瓜之地；南冠繫者，徒操懷土之音。曹志亡國之餘，特降收採。
- 15 張錫歸朝已後，方蒙召見。大業二年，散官未廢。 詔授正五品朝散大夫。四年，兼鴻臚少卿。六年，守禮部侍郎。七年，東巡檢校右御衛虎賁郎將。八年，授朝散大夫。其年，以臨遼勳，例授通議大夫。尋攝判吏部侍郎事。九年，檢校左屯衛鷹揚郎將。卿寺增輝，郎曹切務。越遼嘯而陞侍，奉旌門而轂立。大業七年，凱旋西旆，禮畢東轅。其年十二月廿七日還屆洛川，奄然暴殞。終於河南縣思順里之宅。春秋五十
- 20 三。荏苒波瀾，儵忽泉夜。未輟罇酒，便嗟古今。君幼稟純孝，早尚風格。容止可觀，折旋有度。新知久要，不絕賓筵。秋夕春朝，無棄光景。達生達命，善始善終。以十一年正月廿八日辛酉，卜兆于雒陽縣安山里鳳臺原。永恨他鄉，徒感蘇韶之夢；長悲異縣，豈恤孫嘉之言。敬勒玄陰，式傳不朽。
- 高口鵝嶺，清雪龍淵。鬱盤鎮地，映徹浮天。神區靈府，咸聖登賢。命世五百，膺期一
- 25 千。帝口愛子，皇華龍季。魏植名隆，漢蒼親懿。疆宇繼別，麾幢出莅。戎衛禁闈，邇言近侍。時謝運住，遷播飄淪。淮海墟厲，關河若辛。東箭去越，南冠入秦。楚出晉用，剋國取人。既收其實，靡棄其珍。紱冕右寺，簪纓仙閣。廷棘連叢，階蘭竝握。貔貅戍旆，鷺隼軍幕。三渡碣門，再陪沙朔。長策始振，奔曦遽落。晷景未移，音容如昨。望鄉望國，悲故悲新。朱楊咽吹，素柳徐輪。交蛇竈壤，結蟻埋塵。魚脂豈曙，馬鬣徒春。幽扃
- 30 有勒，盛德無泯。 陳太建十年，娶仁威將軍、黃門郎、駙馬都尉到郁第二女為妃。口大業元年，先口，今便同塋。



APPENDIX B

MANUSCRIPTS DERIVED FROM THE TŌKYŌ AND HIKONE SOURCES

Appendix B offers sigla and information on the locations of all known manuscripts derived from the Hikone and Tōkyō scrolls. Brief descriptions are added wherever information about their date, copyists and provenance is available.

The full titles of the works cited in abridged form are:

- Abe Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一. *Chugoku hōshoshi (Zōteiban)* 中國訪書志 (增訂版). Tōkyō, 1976.
- ChY Cheung Sai-bung 張世彬. “Youlan pu yanjiu 幽蘭譜研究.” *Journal of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 5 (1979), 127-66.
- ChZ Cheung Sai-bung. *Zhongguo yinyue shi lunshu gao* 中國音樂史論述稿. Hong Kong, 1974-5.
- FukuK Fukushima Kazuo 福島和夫. *Kingaku shiryōten kaidai mokuroku* 琴樂資料展解題目錄. Tōkyō, 1988.
- GG Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院. *Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* 國立故宮博物院善本舊籍總目. Taipei, 1983.
- GH He Chengyi 何澄一. *Gugong suo cang guanhaitang shumu* 故宮所藏觀海堂書目. Beijing, 1932.
- GulikC Joyce Y. T. Wu and John T. Ma. *Van Gulik Collection: Chinese Books on Microfiche, Part 3, Music and Music Books*. Leiden, 1991.
- HayaK Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三. “Kinsho sandai 琴書三題.” *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音樂研究 2 (1942), 235-45.



- HiedaS Hieda Hirō 稗田浩雄, “Ogyū sorai no kasseki yūran kenkyū ryakujutsu 荻生徂徠の「碣石調幽蘭」研究略述.” *Yūran kenkyū kokusai shinpojiumu* 幽蘭研究国際シンポジウム. Ed. Tōyō kingaku kenkyūjo 東洋琴学研究所. Tōkyō, 1999, 33-41.
- Hikone Hikone-han monjo chōsadan 彦根藩文書調査団 (ed.). *Hikone-han shiryōchōsa hōkokusho 5: Iike dendai tenseki tou* 彦根藩資料調査報告書 5: 井伊家伝来典籍等. Hikone, 1985.
- JingūB Kogakkan Kenkyūkai 皇學館館友會. *Jingū Bunko tosho mokuroku* 神宮文庫圖書目錄. Uji Yamada, 1907.
- KikkawaC Kikkawa Yoshikazu 吉川良和. *Chūgoku ongaku to geinō: himoji bunka no tankyū* 中国音楽と芸能: 非文字文化の探究. Tōkyō, 2003.
- KikkawaK Kikkawa Yoshikazu. “Mononobe shigenori kingaku shotan 物部茂卿琴学初探.” *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 92 (1983), 11-47.
- KikkawaU Kikkawa Yoshikazu. “Mononobe shigenori senshi ushiran shihō kansu kenkyū 物部茂卿撰次《烏絲欄指法卷子》研究.” *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 94 (1984), 1-66.
- KishiE Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄. *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴士物語. Tōkyō, 2000.
- KishiT Kishibe Shigeo et al. “Tayasu tokugawa-ke zō gakusho mokuroku 田安德川家藏樂書目錄” *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音楽研究 41&42 (1977), 57-138.
- KokuB Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 國文學研究資料館. *Kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* 古典籍總合目錄. Tōkyō, 1990.
- KokuS Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店. *Kokusho sōmokuroku (Hoteiban)* 國書總目錄 (補訂版). Tōkyō, 1989-91.
- MitaniA Mitani Yōko 三谷陽子. *Higashi Ajia kin-koto no kenkyū* 東アジア琴箏の研究. Tōkyō, 1980.
- Mori Mori Yōchiku 森立之 et al. *Keiseki hōko shi* 經籍訪古志. Beijing, 1856.
- NagaY Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也. “You seigo nihon hōshokou (I) 楊惺吾日本訪書考 (上).” *Shoshigaku* 書誌學 7 (1936), 128-144.



- Seika Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫. *Seikadō Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku* 靜嘉堂文庫國書分類目錄. Tōkyō, 1929.
- Shoryō Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内廳書陵部. *Wa-kan tosho bunrui mokuroku (Zōka 1)* 和漢圖書分類目錄(增加 1). Tōkyō, 1968. Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫. *Sonkeikaku Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku* 尊經閣文庫國書分類目錄. Tōkyō, 1939.
- Sonkei Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫. *Sonkeikaku Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku* 尊經閣文庫國書分類目錄. Tōkyō, 1939.
- TaoN Tao Demin 陶德民. *Nihon kangaku shisōshi ronkō: Sorai, Nakamoto oyobi kindai* 日本漢學思想史論考: 徂徠・仲基および近代. Suita, 1999.
- TOG Tōyō Ongaku Gakkai 東洋音樂學會. *Tōyō ongaku gakkai dai 21 kai taikai kōkai kōenkai shiryōten* 東洋音樂學會第 21 回大会公開講演會資料. 1970.
- WangK Wang Dexun 王德埏, *Zhongguo yuequ kaogu xue lilun yu shijian* 中國樂曲考古學理論與實踐. Guiyang, 1998.
- WangW Wang Mengshu 汪孟舒. *Wusilan zhifa shi* 烏絲欄指法釋. Beijing, 1955.
- Yama Yamadera Mikiko 山寺美紀子. “Hikone-jō hakubutsukan shozō kinyōshihō: Nihon denshon no shichigenkin shihōsho ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu 彦根城博物館所藏《琴用指法》: 日本伝存の七弦琴手法書に関する一考察.” *Ongakugaku* 音楽学 50 (2004), 54-67.



1. A tracing copy and a woodcut of the manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
F1	Lost	碣石調幽蘭第五	late Edo	Ojima Hōso 小島宝素 (1797-1847)	Former collection of Ojima Hōso	Mori Vol. 2, fols. 25r-26v.
F2	The National Library of China 中國國家圖書館 (Beijing), National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 (Tōkyō), etc.	碣石調幽蘭第五	1884	Woodcut facsimile of F1		NagaY 141.

2. Tracing copies of the manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
A1	Private Collection of Kikkawa Eishi 吉川英史 (lost)	琴用指法	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Fujiwara Tunemasa 藤原常雅 (<i>udaijin</i> of the court, active 1720-60)	HayaK 237. TOG 4-10. ChY 127-128. ChZ 398-404. KikkawaU 1-66. Yama 60-61.
A2	Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 (current location unknown)	琴用指法	1941	Hayashi Kenzō		ChY 135-141. MitaniA 108. Yama 60-61.
A3	Zha Fuxi Collection, Library of the Central Conservatory of Music 中央音樂學院圖書館 查阜西特藏 (Beijing)	琴用指法	1950-60s		Former collection of Zha Fuxi 查阜西 (1895-1976)	Examined by myself in August 2003.
A4	Private Collection of Wang Shixiang 王世襄 (Beijing)	琴用指法	1961	Wang Mengshu 汪孟舒	Former collection of Wang Mengshu	Examined by myself in 2002.



3. Surviving manuscript copies of *YRFS*

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
B1	National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭譜		Japanese	Former collection of Imaizumi Yusaku 今泉雄作 (1850-1931).	KokuS Vol. 7, 847. KikkawaU 2-66. KikkawaC 87-89. Yama 58.
B2	National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館 (Tōkyō)	碣石調幽蘭	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Kodama Kūkū 兒玉 空空 (1735-1812) and Tayasu Munetake 田安宗武 (1715-1771)	KishiT 125.
B3	Tamagawa University 玉川大学 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭譜		Japanese		KokuB Vol. 2, 436.
B4	Faculty of Music, Tōkyō National University of Fine Arts and Music 東京芸術大 学音楽学部図書館 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭譜		Japanese		Call no. W768.121O-3. KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B5	Faculty of Music, Tōkyō National University of Fine Arts and Music (Tōkyō) Mukyukai Shinshū	幽蘭譜		Japanese		Call no. W768.121O-1. KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B6	Library 無窮會神習文 庫 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭譜		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B7	Sonkeikaku Library 尊経閣文庫 (Tōkyō)	碣石調幽蘭	Edo	Japanese		
B8	Private Collection of Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄 (Tōkyō)	碣石調幽蘭		Japanese		KishiE 385-388.
B9	Hirosaki University Library 弘前大学図書 館 (Hirosaki)	幽蘭譜		Japanese	Former collection of Mikami Dōjun 三上道順	KokuB Vol. 2, 436.



3. Surviving manuscript copies of *YRFS* (cont.)

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
B10	The Kano Collection, Tōhoku University Library 東北大学図書 館狩野文庫 (Sendai)	幽蘭譜		Japanese	Former collection of Kano Kokichi 狩野 亨吉 (1865-1942)	KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B11	The Kano Collection, Tōhoku University Library (Sendai)	碣石調幽蘭		Japanese	Former collection of Kano Kokichi	KokuS Vol. 3, 88.
B12	Rokujizō Temple 六地藏寺 (Mito)	幽蘭譜		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B13	Jingū Library 神宮文庫 (Ise)	幽蘭譜	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Haruki Kankō 春木 煥光	KokuS Vol. 7, 847. Yama, 58.
B14	Yomei Library 陽明文庫 (Kyōto)	碣石調幽蘭	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Konoe Iehisa 近衛 家久 (1687-1737)	KokuS Vol. 3, 88.
B15	Private Collection of Hanetsuka Hiroaki 羽塚啓明 (current location unknown)	幽蘭譜		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 7, 847.
B16	Leiden University (Leiden)	碣石調幽蘭		Japanese	Former collection of Robert H. van Gulik (1910-1967)	GulikC, Microfiche no. 113.
B17	National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物 院 (Taipei)	碣石調幽蘭	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Mori Yōchiku 森立 之 (1807-1885) and Yang Shuojing 楊守 敬 (1839-1915)	GG Vol.2, 779. GH Vol.4, Buyi 補遺, fol. 1r. Abe 97-98. WangW fol. 64r. NagaY, 141.
B18	National Palace Museum (Taipei)	碣石調幽蘭		Japanese	Former collection of Yang Shuojing	GG Vol.2, 779. GH Vol.4, Buyi, fol. 1r. Abe 98.



3. Surviving manuscript copies of *YRFS* (cont.)

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
B19	National Palace Museum (Taipei)	琴譜			Former collection of Yang Shuoqing	GG Vol.2, 779. Abe 98.
B20	The National Library of China 中國國家圖書館 (Beijing)	烏絲欄琴譜	1920-30s	Prepared by the National Library of Peking		WangW fol. 64r. Examined by myself in 2001.
B21	The Music Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Arts 文化藝術研究院音樂研究所 (Beijing)	烏絲欄琴譜	1920-40s	Zheng Yingsun 鄭穎荪		WangW fol. 64r. Examined by myself in August 2003.
B22	The Music Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Arts (Beijing)	烏絲欄琴譜 指法	1950-60s	Chinese		Examined by myself in August 2003.



4. Surviving manuscript copies of *KGTIS*

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
C1	National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese	Former collection of Imaizumi Yusaku 今泉 雄作 (1850-1931)	KokuS Vol. 2, 581. KikkawaK 12-45. KikkawaU 3.
C2	National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C3	Achieve and Mausolea Department, Imperial Household Agency 宮内廳書陵部 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		Shoryō 107.
C4	National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Tayasu Munetake 田安 宗武 (1715-1771)	Call no. 15-514. Yama 63. KishiT 128.
C5	Keiō University, Shidō Library 慶応義塾大学 斯道文庫 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C6	Mukyukai Shinshū Library 無窮會神習文 庫 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C7	Faculty of Music, Tōkyō National University of Fine Arts and Music 東 京芸術大学音楽学部図 書館 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C8	Tōkyō National Museum 東京博物館 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄	Edo	Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C9	Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno College 上野学園日本 音楽資料室 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		FukuK 19.



4. Surviving manuscript copies of *KGTIS* (cont.)

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
C10	Seikadō Library 靜嘉堂 文庫 (Tōkyō)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581. Seika 107.
C11	Hikone Castle Museum 彦根城博物館 (Hikone)	琴學大意抄	Edo	Japanese		Call no. V323. Hikone, 357
C12	Hikone Castle Museum (Hikone)	琴學大意抄 乾坤	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Ii Naoaki 井伊直亮 (1794-1850)	Call no. V329. Hikone, 357
C13	The Kano Collection, Tōhoku University Library 東北大学図書 館狩野文庫 (Sendai)	琴學大意抄		Japanese	Former collection of Kano Kokichi 狩野亨 吉(1865-1942)	KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C14	Yomei Library 陽明文庫 (Kyōto)	琴學大意抄	Edo	Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C15	Nishio City Library, Iwase Library 西尾市立 図書館岩瀬文庫 (Nishio)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C16	Tsuruma Central Library 鶴舞中央図書館 (Nagoya)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C17	Hōsa Library 蓬左文庫 (Nagoya)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C18	Ōsaka Prefectural Library 大阪府立圖書館 (Ōsaka)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581. TaoN 44, 64-7, 131.
C19	Jingū Library 神宮文庫 (Ise)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581. JingūB 150



4. Surviving manuscript copies of *KGTIS* (cont.)

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
C20	Kyūshū University 九州大学 (Fukuoka)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C21	Private Collection of Hanetsuka Hiroaki 羽塚啓明 (current location unknown)	琴學大意抄		Japanese		KokuS Vol. 2, 581.
C22	Zha Fuxi Collection, Library of the Central Conservatory of Music 中央音樂學院圖書館查 阜西特藏 (Beijing)	琴學大意抄		Japanese	Former collection of Zha Fuxi 查阜西 (1895-1976)	Uncatalogued item examined by myself in August 2003.
C23	Zha Fuxi Collection, Library of the Central Conservatory of Music (Beijing)	琴學大意抄	1910	Tanabe Hisao 田辺尚雄	Former collection of Zha Fuxi	Uncatalogued item examined by myself in August 2003.



5. Surviving manuscript copies of *YRK*

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
D1	National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭曲	Edo	Japanese	Former collection of Tayasu Munetake 田安宗 武 (1715-1771)	HiedaS 37-38. KishiT 69.
D2	Private Collection of Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄 (Tōkyō)	幽蘭曲	Edo	Japanese		KishiE 381-384.

6. Surviving manuscript copies of *SFRS*

	Location	Title	Date	Copyist	Provenance	Commentary
E1	Faculty of Music, Tōkyō National University of Fine Arts and Music 東京芸術大 学音楽学部図書館 (Tōkyō)	秋風楽章		Japanese		
E2	National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館 (Tōkyō)	秋風楽章		Japanese		
E3	Jingū Library 神宮文庫 (Ise)	倚蘭琴譜		Japanese		JingūB 151. Yama 65



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