


I. MEANING OF THE WORD "MUSIC"

It is unfortunate that the OBG , generally believed to be the equivalent of the modern word yue (樂 "music"; see Chapter Seven, section II), is used only as a place name in OBI. A study of the meaning of this word in the Zhou classics may help us to speculate on the concept of "music" in Shang times.

In the Zhou classics, the word "yue" does not refer merely to instrumental music, but also to dance and song. The word "dance" refers mainly to dance performed in the courts and temples of the noble class, for religious, ceremonial, and entertainment purposes. Many of these dances are said to have been passed down from pre-Zhou times, and some of them describe historical events or old stories. Performance of these yue thus requires trained musicians and dancers as well as special instruments and dance properties. For these reasons, it is likely that the yue (music) of the common people was of a different nature. In the classics, the combination of courtly music, song, and dance is called either yue or gu yue ("ancient music" 古樂).

Once the Marquis of Wei asked Zi Xia (子夏), a disciple of Confucius, about "ancient music." Zi Xia explained that it is a dance involving an old story, to be performed as a group dance accompanied by stringed and wind instruments which are in turn controlled by drums. The function of such a performance is that, after watching it, "the scholars can thus discuss the dance and tell its historical background" (Yue Ji, ch. "Wei Wen Hou" 樂記 魏文侯: "君子於是語於是道古"). In other words, "ancient music" was used to transmit history and to educate generations to come. On that occasion, the Marquis of Wei admitted that when he had to dress up formally and watch the "ancient music," he felt sleepy; he preferred the "new music" (新樂), which was more enjoyable and did not involve history or education.

Of the many pieces of yue mentioned in the Zhou texts, the Da-Wu (大武 "Great Military"), said to have been composed by the second Zhou king, Wu Wang (武王), or by his brother Zhou Gong (周公), is a typical example. It consists of six sections, performed by a group of dancers holding weapons. The story describes the conquest of the Shang empire by the second Zhou king. This type of military dance (武舞), recorded in the Yue Ji (ch. "Bin Mou Gu" 樂記·賓牟賈) and other Zhou texts,¹ perhaps represents

a tradition which may go back to the neolithic era. It is possible that when tribal people killed a tiger or won a battle, they celebrated by composing and performing a dance. Non-military topics could also become the subject of a group dance. Dances to rejoice over a good harvest or over the completion of an important building are not uncommon today among tribal people who live in the mountains of south China, in Yun Nan Province. It is possible that some dances might have survived for several hundred years, though not without minor changes.

The Zhou texts frequently mention several pre-Zhou pieces of ancient music, including the shao (韶, also written 韶 and 招), said to belong to the reign of the legendary pre-Xia emperor Shun (舜); the Da-xia (大夏) of the first Xia emperor, Yu (禹); and the Hu (濩) of the first Shang king, Tang (湯). In the year 544 B.C., Ji Zha (季札), prince of the state of Wu (吳), visited the state of Lu (魯), where he was invited to see a series of performances of the ancient music mentioned above. The Zuo Zhuan records this event in detail, even including a discussion and comment by the Wu prince after each performance. The text uses the verbs "see," "watch," and "dance" (觀, 見, 舞韶), indicating that the "music" actually involved dances and was not purely instrumental music. The dancers held pipes (箛) in the non-military dances (Zuo Zhuan, 29th year of Duke Xiang). The Lun Yu records that Confucius watched the performance of shao-music in the state of Qi (齊) in about 517 B.C. (Lun Yu, ch. 7 "Shu Er" 論語述而). These accounts show that the pieces of "ancient music" were not just legendary names in Zhou texts, but were in fact performed, though one could argue that the performances might have been a later version.

In the old days things evolved slowly; old traditions might have been observed for long periods. It is possible that the pre-Zhou music was known to the Zhou people. It should be noted that at least two of the "ancient music" examples--shao and hu--are mentioned in OBI (see section V). This strengthens my belief that many happenings recorded in Zhou texts are historical events.

II. THE MUSICIANS

Since there is no definite reference to individual musicians or dancers in OBI, our knowledge of Shang musicians is necessarily incomplete and consists of inferences based on information from OBI, archaeology, and the Zhou texts.

As far as can be determined from the Zhou classics, musicians were on the lower levels of society. Even those who served as "officials" in court were regarded as servants. The fact that the word "ling" (伶) is defined as "musician" and "servant" reveals this (see discussion in Chapter Five, II.A.3). However, because of the nature of their jobs, sometimes the male musicians met with the kings so frequently that their opinions and personalities influenced the kings (Zuo Zhuan, 15th year of Duke Xiang). Basically, the position of "musician" was hereditary (Zuo Zhuan, 9th year of Duke Cheng). Musicians, some of whom were blind and many of whom were women, were often regarded as private property and could be given as gifts (Zuo Zhuan, 11th year of Duke Xiang). Because it took time to train musicians, they were not freely killed for religious purposes (like the Qiang-slaves in the Shang period). However, in the 5th century B.C. tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng, there are buried 21 young women, believed to be the musicians who played the instruments found in the same tomb (WW 1979.7:14).

Musicians seem to have been treated similarly in Shang times. In a large Shang tomb opened at Wu Guan Cun (武官村) near Xiao Tun, 24 females were found buried with musical instruments and miniature ge-halberds (a dance property--戈) in 1950 (KGXB 1951.5:1-61). The three persons found near the three bells in a Shang tomb excavated in 1953 at Da Si Kong Cun (大司空村) near Xiao Tun are also believed to be musicians (Yang 1980:22). It is unlikely that the children of the king or of nobles would have become such musicians.

In the classics the word referring to low-rank officials and servants is chen (臣). The blind musicians were called "blind chen" (Han Shi Wai Zhuan, Juan 8 盲臣). The same word is seen in OBI, for example in a divination about going to get (capture?) the dance-chen:

OBI 126 (Yi 2373)

貞

呼

取








舞臣

Divine: (Should we) order (to) get (the) dance-people?


In Chinese, the word "chen" often referred to people captured in battles who became slaves and low-rank officials of the conqueror. The verb "get" (取 :qu) often meant "to capture in war." Thus it is possible that this OBI referred to capturing skilled dancers from a neighboring tribe. It is still not known why the graph 臣, showing an eye, represents war captives. It does not seem to refer to a blind eye, because

not all chen were blind. At any rate, another term referring to dancers, 多 𠃉 ("the many 𠃉"), also contains the component "eye" in the graph:²¹

OBI 127 (Cun 1.1041)


								
(If the)	many	(?)	dance,	(it)	won't	be	followed	rain?
							(by)	

There are many OBI mentioning that these people went to battle for the Shang king (Shima:104). Unfortunately there is no equivalent for this graph-- 𠃉 --in modern words, so we do not know its exact meaning.

In Zhou texts, the word meaning "dancer" is wan, written 萬 (Zuo Zhuan, 25th year of Duke Zhao "萬者"). The pictograph for this word 萬 is , showing a

scorpion (Sun :544), and its usual borrowed meaning in Chinese is "ten thousand." However, on many late Zhou coins and seals, the graph meaning "ten thousand" is written 𠃉 (万 :wan). Scholars have wondered for two thousand years how the pictograph for scorpion could mean "dancer," and about its relationship with the graph 𠃉. Recently it was found that the late Zhou graph 𠃉 is the equivalent of the OBG "dancer" (𠃉), and the modern word 萬 that occurs in the classics is just a borrowed word.

In 1961 Qu Wan-li became perhaps the first scholar to correctly equate the OBG 𠃉 with 𠃉 (万 :wan, "dancer"), but he did not say that the graph 𠃉 shows a dancer (Qu 1961: no. 1585). In 1980, Qiu Xi-gui further confirmed this equation, but instead of thinking that the graph shows a dancer, he thought that it could also be equated with another similar late graph in the Shuo Wen dictionary, 𠃉 (:mian, "hidden," Shuo Wen, Juan 9.1:16), showing a person hiding. He remarked that the graph is interchangeable with 萬 (dancer) because of phonetic similarities (Qiu 1980:81).

In my opinion, the graph 𠃉 simply depicts a dancer, perhaps wearing a hat. OBI 128 below proves that this graph means "dancer." My evidence includes the more pictorial version of the graph, , which seems to show a person with a hat and a stick in hand (perhaps a dance property).

This graph had often been confused with a similar OBG, (老 :lao, "old man"), showing a person with long hair and a stick, implying the concept "old" (OBD:2739). However, in OBI the graphs 舞 and 舞 are not interchangeable, and in my opinion, the OBI with the graph 舞 make better sense if interpreted as referring to dancers:

OBI 128 (Qian 7.35.2)

舞	舞	舞	舞	舞	舞
貞	勿	手	多	万	舞
Divine:	(Should we)	not	tell	many	dancers
			(the)		(to)
				dance?	

The other inquiries on the same piece of bone are about rainfall. Thus the graph 舞 perhaps represents dancers

performing the rain dance. In my opinion, the graph 舞 is its simplified version.

Given these interpretations of graphs, the structure of another graph, 舞, can be explained. This graph,

meaning "to welcome and entertain spirits," shows a dancer in a building (see section IV.B).

It is possible that the Shang king performed personally on occasion. One OBI mentions that the king performed on bells for an ancestor (OBI 36, Chapter Two), and there are OBI stating that the king performed a rain dance (Shima:35). It may be argued that the statement "the king performs . . ." perhaps means that the king ordered musicians to perform. Grammatically, this understanding is possible. However, there is no evidence that the Shang kings regarded the personal performance of music and dance for religious purposes as beneath their dignity. On the contrary, this might have been considered an important symbol of being able to communicate with spirits. A famous story in the Zhou texts says that during a serious drought, the first Shang king, Tang, personally begged for rain in a ceremony (Mo Zi, ch. "Jian Ai" 墨子.兼愛).

III. FUNCTIONS OF THE DANCERS

There seems to be no OBI which definitely verifies that dancers performed for entertainment purposes. All OBI relate the performances to religious functions. In OBI, the graph 舞 can be either a noun or a verb; for example:

貞		舞	干	父	十
貞		乃	于	父	甲

Divine: (Should we) dance to (ancestor) Father Jia?

In most cases, it was used as a noun, meaning "dancer(s)." One dance they performed was the rain dance:

OBI 130 (Ning 1.115)

舞	乃	舞	于	田	父	雨
舞	乃	霧(雲)	孟	田	又(有)	雨

Should dancers rain Yu - fields, be rain?
(the) (do the) dance (at the) (and will there)

The purpose of the rain dance was to plead for rain; this is why the dance was performed in the field. The place "Yu" might have been a town, because some OBI showed that there was a "court" or "hall" (宮 = 寗 = 廳 or 廷 :ting)

and a "new room" in which the feather dance and performances of the pole drum could take place. One piece of oracle bone records four divinations:

OBI 131 (An Ming, addenda no. 11)

	乃	舞	笑	舞	父	足
(a)	乃	舞	美	奏	有	足


(If dancers have feather-performed, is proper?
the) (the) dance (the) dance it

	舞	舞	舞	父	足
(b)	舞	庸	奏	有	足

If the pole drum is performed, is it proper?

		干	廷	宮	奏
(c)	(Should it be)	于	孟	官(廳廷)	奏
	at (the)		Yu -	hall	performed?
				(that it should be)	

		干	新	室	奏
(d)	(Should it be)	于	新	室	奏
	at (the)		new	room	performed?
				(that it should be)	

This graph  shows an ear under a building, signifying where the king held his court and listened to his subjects. In modern Chinese, this graph has evolved into two words: 廳 (hall, sitting room) and 廷 (court), both pronounced ting. In other words, the feather dance and pole drum mentioned in the OBI above were performed indoors. Although there is no proof that they were performed for entertainment, the fact that religious activities often became a form of recreation makes it highly possible that the king and nobles might have sat comfortably, enjoying the music and dance.

In some cultures, dancers do not play instruments, but there are OBI showing that the dancers of Shang times performed on the pole drum:

OBI 132 (Jing 4352)

舞	其	以	齊
万	其	攸(作)	庸
(The) dancers	should	perform (the)	pole drum?

Possibly some other instruments might have been played by the dancers as well. Perhaps the graph 舞 should be more broadly translated as "musicians" or "performers." There is as yet no evidence that there were blind musicians in the Shang court.

Because the Zhou Li mentions that there were official schools to train dancers and musicians in the Zhou period (Zhou Li, Juan 23, "Music Officials" 周禮樂師), scholars have searched for OBI which might refer to such a school for dancers. One OBI is often mentioned because it seems to talk about teaching the use of weapons (or military dances) to the youngsters of other tribes (Cui 1162: "其呼以多方阜小臣.....其教戒"). But that rubbing does not show all the graphs clearly, and the last three words are in another sentence; hence, there is doubt about its meaning. Fortunately, in the newly published volume of OB rubbings, there are two rubbings that clearly refer to "school" and the training of dancers. One rubbing reads:

OBI 133a (Tun Nan 60)

千	大	學	以
于	大	學	導

At (the) Grand School (should we do the sacrifice) ?

千	宮	壇	以
于	宮(廳)壇	壇	導

At (the) Hall Altar (should we do the sacrifice) ?

This OBI verifies the record in Zhou texts that the Shang people had "schools." The Meng Zi says: "The rural school (鄉校) of the Xia Dynasty was called xiao; that of the Shang Dynasty was called xu; that of the Zhou Dynasty is called yang. The metropolitan school was commonly called xue in all Three Dynasties." (Meng Zi, ch. 3, "Teng Wen Gong" part A. 孟子滕文公上: "夏曰校、殷曰序、周曰庠。學則三代共之。")

In the above OBI, the term da xue (大學 "grand school") coincides with name of Shang school seen in Zhou texts. The Li Ji says: "The xiao xue (Primary School) was situated south of the palace, on the left. The da xue (Grand School) was situated in the suburbs." (Li Ji, ch. Wang Zhi "禮記王制": "小學在公宮南之左。大學在郊。") Zheng Xuan's annotation says: "The xiao xue and da xue were schools of Shang Dynasty." (鄭玄注: "小學、大學、殷之制。")

Another rubbing shows that the training of dancers took place on Ding days, probably in the school:

卜	𠄎	口	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
卜	今日	丁	万	其	𠄎
Cracked bone, (divine:)	Today (is)	Ding (day,)	(the) dancer	should	learn?

	𠄎	來	口	𠄎	𠄎
	子	來	丁	迺	𠄎
(Or is it that)	on (the)	coming	Ding (day)	that	(they should) learn?




It is interesting to know that Zhou texts record that the training of musicians in Zhou times also started on Ding days (fourth day of the ten day cycle). The Li Ji says:

In the first month of Spring,... order the music-officials to enter the school to practice dances. ... In the second month of Spring,... on the first Ding day, order the music-officials (to enter the school) to practice dances.... On the second Ding day, again order the music-officials to enter the school to practice music.

(Li Ji, ch. "Yue Ling." Same text also seen in Lü Shi Chun Qiu, ch. "Meng Chun Ji" and ch. "Zhong Chun Ji")

孟春之月... 命樂正入學習舞。仲春之月...
上丁, 命樂正(入學)習舞... 仲丁, 又命樂正
入學習樂。 (禮記月令, 又見呂氏春秋孟春紀仲春紀)

It should be noted past scholars all agree that "to practice dance/music" in fact means to train the young musicians.

The OBG  (學 :xue, "to learn/to teach/school") shows a building (𠄎), representing a school. The upper part shows the hands (𠄎) of the teacher (?), and "X", perhaps signifying some teaching property or writing. In Zhou bronze graphs, it is written as  or  (Rong 1959:175). The former shows a student (𠄎) in the building; the latter includes the radical 攴, depicting the teacher's hand holding a stick with which to beat a lazy student. There is no way, unfortunately, to know

the exact methods of teaching in Shang times. However, the following comment from the Zhou Li, which also mentions the teacher beating lazy students, is interesting:

(The Music Teachers) are responsible for the administration of the government school (學), and teach the teenagers the beginners' dances: ribbon-dance, feather-dances (two types), yak-tail-dance, military dance, and gesture-dance, and train them to match with music and ritual. . . . On occasions of common matters, let them (practice) on the bells and drums. . . . In Spring the teenagers should enter the school . . . and practice group-dance. In Autumn, test their achievements, and let them practice singing. . . . (The Music Teachers) should watch the dancers and beat those who are lazy.

(Zhou Li, Juan 23, "Music Officials")² 周禮春官樂師

IV. THE PERFORMANCE

The several OBG referring to different kinds of performances will be discussed separately in this section. Unfortunately the exact content of the performances, including the number of dancers and instruments, is not known. The general impression, from what is described in the Zhou classics, is that the Shang and Zhou yue ("music," including music and dance) were mostly group activities. Before discussing each of the activities, two OBG-- 舞 and 舞 --should be studied.

The graph 舞, as I have pointed out in section II, should be equated with the modern word 萬 (= 万 :wan). In OBI it means "the dancers" and "to dance," and the graph simply shows a dancer with a hat. In Zhou classics, this word 舞 means "dancers," "to dance," and sometimes it even refers to a special dance. Because this modern word does not show a dancer, scholars were puzzled and disagreed as to whether the word refers to a military dance (in which the dancers held weapons and shields), or to a non-military dance (in which the dancers held feathers and pipes), or to both. In this work, this graph is not treated as the name of a dance.

The other graph, 舞, has traditionally been equated with the modern word 舞 (:wu), meaning "to dance," "a dance." In my opinion, the equation of the graph with the word is correct, but the original meaning should be "rain dance." It evolved the general meaning "to dance" because

it depicts a person dancing with feathers (采) in hand. In late Shang OBI, the radical "rain" (雨) is added to the top to clarify its function--



"采采" If we must find a graph which simply means "to dance," "采采" is perhaps the answer, as suggested by the

following OBI:

OBI 134 (Jia 1585)

	采	采	采采
	呼	万	舞
(Should we)	tell (the)	dancers (to)	dance?

Perhaps inspired by the graph meaning "dancers," Qu Wan-li suggested that the graph 采采 is a different

version of "采," which he translated as "to dance" (Qu 1961:no. 1585). This is not correct, in my opinion, because the latter refers particularly to the rain dance. I think 采采 shows three dancers, and the stroke on top



perhaps indicates the idea of "dancing in a line." An interesting picture on a neolithic pot showing five people dancing (?) is comparable to this graph:











Figure 99 -- Neolithic pot decorated with dancers (?). Unearthed at Da Tong Xian, Qing Hai Province (青海省大通縣), 1973. Dated to Ma Jia Yao Cultural Period (馬家窯文化), ca. 3000 B.C.?



(Based on WW 1978.3:pl. 1.1)

In this picture, the dancers seem to be female, each with a queue and a decorative tail. There is no way to tell the type of dance they are doing. Perhaps the OBI 采采 also simply means "dancing."


There is other evidence to show that the graph  is different from . The other fragment of the same piece of bone containing OBI 134 (catalogued as no. 1620 in Jia) divines about hunting. Typically when the king went hunting, he brought the dancers along to perform in order that the spirits would be pleased and grant him success, and so that there would not be rain. For example, one OBI says:






OBI 135 (Ku 713)

								
王	其	田		己(己)	乃	不	雨	
(The) king	will	go	(should	bring	dancers	won't	rain?	
		hunting,	he)	(the)	(so it)			

If this understanding is correct, then the graph  on this piece of bone with OBI concerning hunting should not be equated with the graph , which means rain dance (performed to plead for rain).

Other graphs referring to special kinds of performance are briefly discussed below. The word "dance" implies that music might also have been used.

A.  (宀 = 賓) :bin) To welcome spirits by dancing

This graph, which can have the added radical "foot" () --  -- has long been correctly equated with the modern word 賓 (:bin). However, the Shuo Wen dictionary was unable to give a correct explanation of its graphic structure, and scholars were all misled by the evolved meaning of this word: "guest." Many wrong interpretations resulted, but have been rejected in the OB dictionary (OBD: 2143-3153). Chen Zhi (陳直), in 1930, was the first person to point out that in OBI, the graph is a verb, meaning "to sacrifice" ("祭鬼神," OBD:2148); this is accepted by scholars. However, they have not yet given a convincing interpretation about the graphic structure.³ In my opinion, the graph shows a dancer with a hat () dancing in a building to welcome the spirits. The radical "foot" () perhaps indicates dancing, or implies the arrival of the spirit. In Zhou classics and bronzes, it is clear that dances and music were often a means of inviting the spirits, who would descend from heaven. The bronze graph meaning "spirits descended" is written  (降 :jiang, "descend"), which shows a staircase

(𠄎) and two inverted feet (𠄎), suggesting the concept of "coming down" (see the translation of bronze inscription no. 1, section VI in this chapter).

Therefore, the original meaning of this graph (𠄎) is "to welcome by dance." "Guest" and "to offer" are its evolved meanings. In the course of time, the Chinese people lost the tradition of welcoming people with dancing, and the general meaning of this word "bin" became "to welcome," often with the added radical "man" (亻) on the left (賓).

There are hundreds of OBI inquiring which ancestor the king should invite, and what instruments should be used. For example:

OBI 136 (Cun 2.611)







𠄎	王	𠄎	𠄎	中	口	𠄎	𠄎
貞	王	其	賓	中	丁	彤	𠄎(管)
Divine: (the)	king	should	welcome	(ancestor) Zhong-ding, (perform)	drumming (and)	double pipe?	



There are OBI showing that this bin ritual was associated with drums (OBI 98 in Chapter Six), ocarinas (OBI 96), the zhi-dance (𠄎 , OBI 138, 143 below), and the hu-music (灌 , OBI 153 below). Wine, human sacrifices, and other things were also offered (Shima:276).


In some OBI the graph for bin precedes the graph (日) or (月), which could mean "in the day" and "in the night" respectively (it is also possible that these two graphs each refer to a specific ritual). For example:


OBI 137 (Ren 1836)

𠄎	王	𠄎	日	𠄎
𠄎(惟)	王	賓	日	𠄎
Should (the)	king	welcome (the spirits)	in the day? (and)	perform zhi-dance?

					
貞	王	賓	夕	亡	禍
Divine:	king	welcomes	in the night,	no	disaster?
(If the)		(the spirits)	(will there be)		

However, it is also possible that in these OBI, the graphs  and  mean "the sun" and "the moon" respectively.⁴ That the sun was greeted is also seen in the classics. For instance, the Shang Shu says: "(The king sent his subjects to) respectfully welcome the rising sun" (Shang Shu, ch. 1, "Yao Dian" 尚書堯典: "賓賓出日"). It is important to note that the verb used in OBI and the classics is the same word "賓" "to welcome."






B.  (舞 :wu, = 雩 :yu) Rain dance, to perform rain dance

This graph has long been correctly equated with the modern word 舞 (:wu), which loosely means "dance" and "to dance" in the classics. In 1965, Li Xiao-ding observed that in OBI this graph, showing a dancer holding feathers, refers only to the rain dance (OBD:1927). Feathers are the special property used in rain dances (Zhou Li, Juan 12, "Dancer" 周禮春官舞師), thus Wang Xiang's remark that the object held is a cow tail is not correct (OBD:1927). Probably this graph came to mean simply "to dance"; thus in late Shang OBI, the radical "rain" had to be added to the top, to clarify the dance's function in the rain ritual  (Shima :36). There is no direct equivalent for this new version in modern Chinese, but there is an indirect equivalent-- 雩, which keeps the radical "rain" on top, but replaces the dancer with the phonetic element "予". The pronunciation becomes yu, and the meaning is "rain dance."

With the creation of this later word "yu," the word wu (舞) in Zhou classics and bronze inscriptions dropped its original meaning ("rain dance") and evolved the more general meaning, "(to) dance."

The following OBI shows that this graph is used as a noun:

OBI 139 (Yi 7233)

						
翌	丁	卯	奏	舞	有	雨
Next	Ding-mao	perform	rain dance,	(will	be	rain?
	(day)			there)		

Besides performing this dance for ancestors, the Shang people often performed it for the spirits of River and Mountain:

OBI 140 (Cui 51)

𠄎	日	人	川	山	岳	人(從)	雨
今日	舞	河	罪(運)	岳	人(從)	雨	
Today	perform	(for)	and	Mountain,	moderate	rain?	
	rain dance	River		(there	will be)		

* 人 besides meaning moderate (從-順) can also mean "to follow", thus this phrase can be translated as "will rain follow?"

Some OBI show that this rain dance was performed in the fields (see OBI 130). It is not known what instruments were used. There seems to be only one fragmentary OBI in which this dance appears in the same sentence with the graph for "pole drum" (鼗, Jing 452; see OBI 86 in Chapter Four).

In Zhou times, when this dance was performed for God, many instruments were used (Li Ji, ch. 6, "Yue Ling." 禮記月令: 大雩帝用盛樂). However, when performed for other spirits, there were only "songs and dances," and the performers sighed "to plead for rain" (ibid., Zheng's annotation. 鄭注: "雩吁嗟求雨祭也。...凡他雩歌舞而已。").

C. 美 (美 :mei) Feather dance

This graph, also written 美, 美, and 美 (Sun:183), has long been correctly equated with the modern word 美 (:mei). In the classics, this word means "beautiful," "beauty," "beautiful people," "good," and "delicious." The Shuo Wen defines it as "delicious," and claims that the upper part of the Zhou graph 美 shows a goat (羊,

front view of the goat's head), and the lower part "大" means "big" (Shuo Wen, Juan 4.1.35 "甘也从羊大"). Misled by this, some scholars in this century still thought that the OBG 美 showed a goat head on top (OBD:1323; Zhou 1975:

2414). Wang Xian-tang seems to have been the first person to point out that the graph shows a man putting decorative feathers on his head (Zhou 1975:2411 王獻唐); Li Xiao-ding also remarked that "it seems to show a person decorated with feathers on the head, hence the meaning 'beautiful'" (OBD:1323).

In my opinion, the graph indeed shows a person with decorative feathers on the head. There is no way to tell the sex of the person. The graph's original meaning, as seen

in OBI, is "feather dance," and the meanings "beautiful," "delicious," etc. are evolved meanings.

The following OBI clearly shows that the graph refers to a dance:

OBI 141 (Nan Ming 683)

丌	美	美	美	有	足
万	重(惟)	美	美	有	足
(If dancers	have	feather	performed,	is it	proper?
the)	(the)	dance			

One OBI shows that the pole drum could be used with this dance:

OBI 142 (Cui 282)

美	小	乙	美	美	用
重(惟)	小	乙	作	美	用
Should	(ancestor)	perform	feather	(the)	used?
it be to	Xiao-yi	(the)	dance?	pole drum	
	(that we)		(and have)		

Besides the pole drum, bells and flags were also involved (see OBI 2 in Chapter Two). This dance was sometimes performed in an exorcism; see OBI 150 below.

The details of the Shang feather dance are not known. To help us imagine how feather dancers might have appeared, the decorations on some ancient bronze drums are included here. These drums belonged to the tribal people who lived in the Yun Nan Province in south China. Some tribes living there nowadays still perform similar dances.

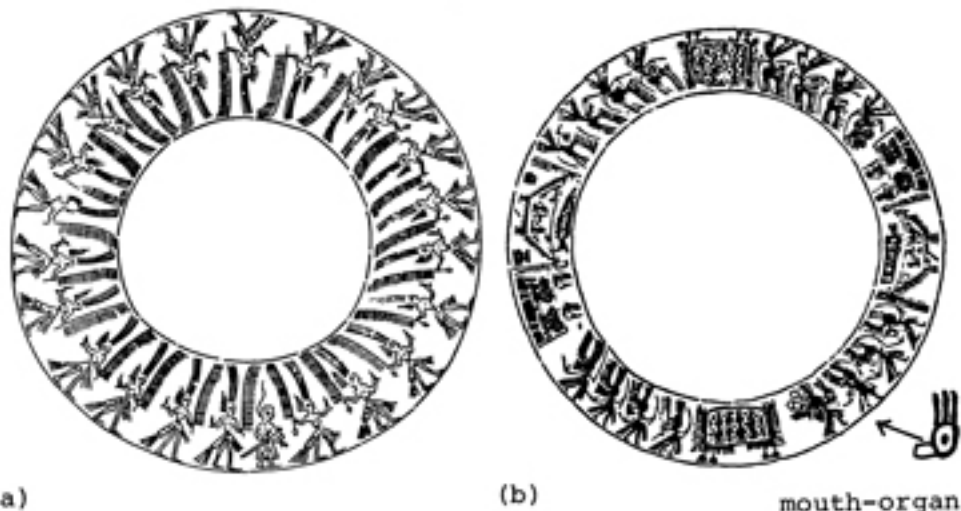


Figure 100 -- (a) Drum decoration showing feather dance of ancient tribal people in southern China. Bronze drum unearthed at Jin Ning, Yun Nan Province (雲南省.晉寧). Ca. 5th-2nd century B.C.?

(b) Drum decoration showing military dance of ancient tribal people in southern China. Bronze drum unearthed at Kai Hua, Yun Nan Province (雲南省.開化). After 3rd century A.D.

(From WW 1974.1:53, figures 1 and 2)

It should be noted that I am not suggesting that the dances of the Yun Nan tribes are exactly like the military and non-military dances of the Shang and Zhou people. These pictures are included because of the similarities in decoration and dance properties. The following figure, which shows a cow tied to a long flag pole (?), reminds us of the OBI which mention flags (旗 and 竿 ; see OBI 2 in

Chapter Two) and cattle offerings in connection with musical activities (OBI 66 and 82 in Chapter Four):



Figure 101 -- Drum decorations showing some dancers with feathers (?) on their heads, and a cow tied to a long pole. Bronze drum unearthed at Guang Nan, Yun Nan Province (雲南省廣南). Ca. 5th century B.C.?

(From WW 1974.1:53, figure 4)

D. 𠄎 or 𠄎 (𠄎 :zhi) Dance with a flute and a ge-halberd

This graph, which is written 𠄎 in bronze inscriptions (Rong 1959:645), has long been correctly equated with the modern word 𠄎 (:zhi). However, the original meaning of this word had already been lost by the late Zhou period, so that the Shuo Wen dictionary could only say: "𠄎 :

meaning is lost. It consists of the components ge-halberd (𠄎 -- 𠄎 -- 𠄎) and note (音)" (Shuo Wen, Juan 12.2:41. "𠄎从戈从音"). In this century, many scholars tried to interpret this graph by tracing its borrowed or evolved meaning, "yellow," and by examining other modern words which contain it as a component. Their opinions have been rejected by the editor of the OB dictionary (OBD:3787).⁵

In my opinion, the graph shows a ge-halberd (𠄎) and a vertical flute (𠄎 = 𠄎 :yan; see Chapter Six, II), the two properties held by dancers in military and non-military group dances. I think it does not refer to a specific dance, but rather that it simply means "group dance." In this work, I have tentatively translated it as "(to perform the) zhi-dance." In Zhou times, different dances acquired specific names; this may have been the reason why the graph lost its meaning. However, the meanings of later words containing this graph as a component still reveal a relationship with group dances. For example, the word 𠄎 (:zhi) means "splendid," "numerous," and "prosperous"; and

幟 (:zhi) means "flags," which were often present in group dances and ritual activities.

Many Zhou texts show that ge-halberds were held in group dances. For example, the Li Ji says: "In Spring and Summer, learn to dance with shields and ge-halberd. In Autumn and Winter, learn to dance with feathers and pipes" (Li Ji, ch. 8, "Wen Wang Shi Zi" 禮記.文王世子: "春夏學干戈.秋冬學羽籥"). For the type of pipe held, see Chapter Six (III.A). Besides the ge-halberd, other weapons were also held, probably whichever ones were used in combat. This may be why it was said that group dances were not only performances but a means of "military training" (Zuo Zhuan, 28th year of Duke Zhuang. 左傳.莊公28年: "(萬舞)習戎備也."). In some cases, specially made properties were used; for example, "red shields and jade axes" were used in the "da-xia," a group dance said to have been composed in the Xia period (Gong Yang Zhuan, 25th year of Duke Zhao. 公羊傳.昭公25年: "朱干玉戚.以舞大夏"). In a large Shang tomb opened at Wu Guan Cun, 24 females were found buried with their musical instruments and miniature ge-halberds (KGXB 1951.5:61).

The following decoration from a late Zhou drum, showing a dancer holding a shield and an axe (?), might perhaps help to explain Shang dances with weapons:



Figure 102 -- Drum decoration showing a dancer in a military dance team. Bronze drum unearthed at Jin Ning, Yun Nan Province (雲南省晉寧). Ca. 5th-2nd century B.C.

(From WW 1974.1:54, figure 5)

I have not been able to find ancient pictures showing dancers holding pipes. The decoration on a bronze drum found in Kai Hua, Yun Nan Province (雲南省開化), included as Figure 100b above, shows a dancer holding a mouth-organ while other dancers seem to hold weapons. A detail is shown here:



Figure 103 -- Drum decoration showing dancers in a military dance. The dancer of the left holds a mouth-organ.

(From WW 1980.8:87, figure 4)

The following is one of the several dozen typical OBI relating this dance to ancestors (as listed in Shima: 334):

OBI 143 (Cui 211)

𠄎	五	𠄎	大	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
貞	王	賓	大	戍	戠	立
Divine:	king	welcome	(ancestor)	perform	No	disaster?
(should			Da-mu,	zhi-dance?		
the)			(and)			

If we compare this example with other OBI which mention "welcome ancestor," followed by performance on musical instruments (e.g., "double pipe" in OBI 136), it is obvious that this graph also refers to a performance. There are OBI relating this graph with the graph 𠄎, I have tentatively translated them as "welcome in the day, perform the zhi-dance" (OBI 138). Other OBI say:

OBI 144 (Cui 55)

𠄎		𠄎		𠄎
貞		日		戠
(a) Divine:	(To the)	sun, (should we)		perform
	(or:) In the day,			zhi-dance . . . ?

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| | 日 | 日 | 𠂔 | 𠂔 |
| | 貞 | 日 | 侑 | 𠂔 |
- (b) Divine: (To the) sun, perform zhi-dance . . . ?
(or:) In the day,

However, the graph "𠂔" (also written "𠂔"), which I translate as "to perform," often means "to have" or "there is" in OBI. Thus some scholars claimed that 𠂔 might mean red or yellow colour. Guo Mo-ruo, in 1937, thought that the graph 𠂔 might have been borrowed for 食 (食, "to eat") because their pronunciations (zhi and chi respectively) are similar, and because the Chinese people thought that the sun or the moon had been eaten by something (in an eclipse). Thus Guo translated OBI 144 (Cui 55) as:

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|------|
| | 日 | 日 | 𠂔 |
| | 貞 | 日 | 𠂔(食) |
- (a) Divine: (Will there be a) solar eclipse?

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--------|
| | 日 | 日 | 𠂔 |
| | 貞 | 日 | 有 𠂔(食) |
- (b) Divine: (Will the) sun have (an) eclipse?

According to Guo's reading, OBI mentioning this graph "𠂔" with the graph "𠂔" (Tun Nan 726: "𠂔 𠂔 𠂔") can be understood as referring to a lunar eclipse. Many scholars have accepted Guo's interpretation. Recently a scholar, misled by Guo, collected the OBI containing this graph which he believes refers to solar eclipses; he used a computer to calculate the possible dates of eclipses which occurred between 1259 and 1080 B.C., hoping that the 446 dates he listed might help to clarify the chronology of the Shang Dynasty.⁶ However, the ancient people should have known that eclipses do not occur every month. Why should the Shang people have worried about eclipses so frequently? According to my interpretation, the graph under consideration simply refers to group dances, so it is unlikely that the OBI containing the graph can help to determine Shang chronology. In fact, there is another graph which refers to eclipses: 食 (食:chi, "to eat"). This graph

shows a platter with piled up food (食), and a cover on top (爰), hence the meaning. One OBI says:

OBI 145 (Yi 1959 + 1115 = Bing 59)

爰	夕	月	出	食
之(之)	夕	月	出	食
This	night	(the) moon	had (an)	eclipse

Several similar OBI referring to lunar and solar eclipses are listed in Shima (:398), and scholars all agree that these are records about eclipses. It should be noted that these OBI only record that there was an eclipse, and they do not ask whether there will be an eclipse. This is reasonable, because eclipses are not a frequent phenomenon that people must anticipate.

There are other OBI with syntax similar to OBI 144, which helps to show that my reading is more reliable than Guo's. For example:

OBI 146 (Jia 747)

貞	大乙	𠄎	一	𠄎
貞	大乙	𠄎	一	𠄎
Divine:	(To ancestor)	perform	one	pair of
	Da-yi	zhi-dance?		cattle?
		(and offer)		

𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎(弗)	𠄎	𠄎
Don't	perform	zhi-dance?

In this OBI, the graph meaning "don't" (𠄎) clearly shows that what follows must be a verb ("to perform"). The following OBI, in which the graph 𠄎 is preceded by the graph 𠄎 ("should we"), also supports my reasoning:

OBI 147 (Qian 4.4.4)

𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
其	𠄎	𠄎
Should we	perform	(to the) sun?
	zhi-dance	(or:) in the day?

And if this reasoning is correct, then other OBI involving this graph can be translated easily:

OBI 148 (Cui 252)

翌	辛	巳	侑	戠	干	且	辛
Next	Xin-si (day,	perform	zhi-dance	to	(ancestor)	Zu-xin?	
	should we)						

The following OBI which mentions dancers may perhaps settle the question:

OBI 149 (Yan 644)

貞	万	勿	延	戠
Divine:	(The)	should	perform	zhi-dance?
	dancers	not		

The opinion of Chen Meng-jia that the graph means "sun spots" (Chen 1956:240) should be rejected because it ignores the syntax of many related OBI. In fact there are OBI divining about "日 又 戠" (Tun Nan 726). Obviously this cannot be translated as "(will the) moon have sun spots?" This OBI perhaps means: "(To the) moon (should we) perform the zhi-dance?" or "In the night, perform zhi-dance?"⁴

E. = (區 = 樞 = 驅 :qu or ou) Exorcism, to exorcize

Traditionally, Chinese people believed that evil spirits and ghosts like to lurk in buildings and by new graves. It was, therefore, necessary to perform exorcisms at certain times of the year. I think the OBI and refer to this religious rite. The building is represented by either 門 (門 :men, "door") or 門 (門 :mian, "house"). A hand holds a weapon (手 or 手) to hit a "↓," symbol of evil. This "↓" has evolved, in my opinion, into two modern words: 它 (↓ = ↑ = 它 = 蛇 :she), meaning "snake," and 九 (↓ = ↑ = 九 :jiu), meaning "ghost," both

of which symbolize evil spirits.⁷ I believe that the OBG 𪔐 and 𪔑 should be equated with the modern words 𪔒

(= 搥 = 驅 :qu or ou), meaning "to hit," "to chase away evil." In the modern versions, the door or house is no longer included, but the radical 攴 (hand holding a weapon) or 扌 (hand) is still seen. In the Zhou Li, this modern word 𪔒 is the verb particularly meaning "to

chase away evil" (Juan 31, "Square Mask" 周禮司馬方相氏: "𪔒渡"). The OBG 𪔑 has also evolved into the modern word 完

(:gui), used as a noun meaning "evil in the building" (Shuo Wen, Juan 7.2:14. "姦: 內完").

In the past, the graph 𪔒 has been incorrectly split into two graphs 𪔓 and 𪔔 (Shima:30), making it

unintelligible. In fact, it is one graph. The following OBI shows that the pole drum and the feather dance were also employed in the exorcistic rites:

OBI 150 (Nan Ming 684)

𪔓	𪔔	𪔕	𪔒	𪔖	𪔗	𪔘
其	奏	庸	𪔒(𪔓)	美	有	足
If	perform	pole	(the)	feather	is it	proper?
(we)	(the)	drum	exorcism	dance,		
			(and the)			

OBI 151 (Tun Nan 3004)

𪔓	𪔒
其	𪔒(𪔓)
Should we	exorcize?

These two are the only OBI I have found containing the graph 𪔒, and the second one clearly shows that it can be used as a verb. There is one OBI which clearly mentions an exorcism in the bedroom, using the graph 𪔒:

OBI 152 (Qian 6.16.1)

𪔓	𪔔	𪔕	𪔖	𪔗
貞	來	丁亥	寤(𪔒)	寤
Divine:	coming	Ding-hai (day,	exorcise (in the)	bedroom?
(On the)		should we)		(or temple)

The second half of this OBI (which I omitted) mentions that 10 cows and other items were offered, showing that the ritual might have involved many people. Two other fragmentary OBI containing this graph have also been omitted (Shima:245).

In Zhou texts, this ritual is called gu-nuo or nuo (驅傩, 傩), meaning "(to) dispel evils." In this practice, a priest with eyes painted gold and wearing a bear hat jumped about in the building, pretending to hit the evil spirits with his weapon (Zhou Li, Juan 31, "Square Mask" 周禮.司馬.方相氏. The priest was accompanied by followers, and there was music and dance. Such exorcisms are still performed in the villages of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China (before 1949). Though older people still call it nuo, young people more loosely call it "chase-ghost" (驅鬼) or "jump-god" (跳神). As can be expected, the priest may have become a Buddhist monk or a Taoist priest, and the performance has become an enjoyable event for the children.

In the dynastic histories there are descriptions of how this nuo ritual was performed in successive ages. The following quotation shows how it was performed in the palace during the Han Dynasty⁸:

The Big-nuo is also called evil-dispelling. In this ceremony, one hundred and twenty boys aged between ten and twelve were chosen from the palace, all dressed in black and wearing a red turban, each holding a large clapper drum. The priest "Square Mask" had his eyes painted in gold. He was dressed in a black gown and red trousers, and wore a hat in the shape of a bear. He held a ge-halberd and a shield, (and was assisted by twelve people disguised as) twelve beasts wearing furs and horns, . . . to chase the fierce ghosts in the palace. . . . They performed the "Square Mask and Twelve Beast" dance, shouted and looked everywhere in the palace three times. Then they held torches and sent the evil spirits out the front gate . . . and threw the torches into the Luo River.

(Hou Han Shu, Ji no. 5, "Monograph on Ceremonies" B) 後漢書志第五禮儀志中

The details of the nuo ritual may have changed over the course of time. However, it can be seen that drums, dances, and weapons were essential to the exorcism. There

is no direct mention of the mask and the bear skin in OBI, but it is possible that the Shang priest did use these objects.⁹ I think the nuo ritual might have been representing the legendary war between the Yellow Emperor and the monster Chi-you. In other words, the war has become a symbol of the good conquering the bad, apt for use in an exorcism.

It is said that at the time of the Yellow Emperor, whose clan name was "The Bear" (有熊氏), a wicked leader (or monster) of a tribe, Chi-you (蚩尤; observe the "snake"--↑--in the lower part of the first graph), rose in rebellion. The Yellow Emperor led the other "beasts" (other tribes, the clan names of which were animals) to fight Chi-you, eventually killing him (Shi Ji, Juan 1, "Wu Di Ben Ji" 史記. 五帝本紀).

It seems possible that in the exorcism, the priest wearing the bear skin represents the Yellow Emperor, the snake refers to Chi-you, and the twelve-beasts in the Han text represent the tribes which helped the Yellow Emperor. The "Square Mask and Twelve Beast Dance," therefore, may symbolize the war between the Yellow Emperor and Chi-you.²⁰ Moreover, the importance of drums in an exorcism is also related to this story. Many Zhou texts mention that the Yellow Emperor made some powerful drums. For example, one book says: "On the Liu Bo Mountain . . . there was a beast . . . with a voice like thunder. It is called Kui. The Yellow Emperor caught it and used its skin for drum-heads . . . When struck with the bone of the god of Thunder, it could be heard for five hundred miles, and conquered the whole country."¹⁰ The Zhou texts do not mention that these drums were used for fighting Chi-you. However, there is an oral tradition which says that the Yellow Emperor had nine wars with Chi-you, and could not win. Eventually, he made 80 Kui-drums with which he frightened and killed Chi-you. This story, recorded in later books such as Huang Di Nei Jing (黃帝內經) and the Yun Ji Qi

Qian (雲笈七籤) by Zhang Jun-fang 張君房, 10th century A.D.), perhaps explains the belief that drums represent something bright and powerful, and have control over demons which hide in dark and dirty corners (like the snake). In fact, in the Zhou texts, the drum was acquired a spiritual personality, hence its spiritual power. For instance, the Shang Hai Jing says: "The son of the Zhong Mountain was called Drum, with the head of a man but the body of a dragon" (Ch. "Xi Shan." 山海經. 西山經: "鐘山. 箕子曰鼓. 箕狀如人面而龍身").

The above interpretation concerning exorcisms, if correct, helps us to understand two problematic OBG, 𧈧 and 𧈩. The graph 𧈧, showing a foot (𧈧) and a snake (𧈧), has been incorrectly equated with the modern word 𧈧 (:ta, "snake"), which does not show the foot. Scholars thought that the additional foot implied harm caused by being bitten by a snake (OBD:3933). Thus the very popular short inquiry which concludes OBI-- 𧈧 --is often translated as "(Will there be) no harm?" The second graph 𧈩 has been correctly equated with the modern word 𧈩 (:you), meaning "fault," "strange thing (in the bad sense)," and "demon"; but no one can say convincingly what it shows (OBD:4229). Scholars usually translate the short inquiry which often concludes OBI-- 𧈩 --as "(will there be) no fault?"

These two translations are quite correct semantically. However, I think the two graphs 𧈧 and 𧈩 originally represented the name of the wicked monster Chi-you (蚩尤). In other words, the first graph should be equated with the modern word 蚩 (:chi). Probably the name of this wicked person/monster had been split into two graphs, representing "harm" and "evil thing" in the Shang period.

V. "ANCIENT MUSIC" 樂.古樂

Of the many names of yue (樂 "ancient music") mentioned in Zhou texts, only two have been found in OBI, namely, the hu (𧈧 = 𧈧) and the shao (音召).¹¹

This coincides with what is reported in the Mo Zi and the Xun Zi, which say that these two pieces were the "ancient music" actually performed by the Shang people (Mo Zi, ch. "San Bian" 墨子.三辯; Xun Zi, ch. "Ru Xiao" 荀子.儒效). They are briefly introduced below.

A. 𧈧 (𧈧 = 𧈧 :hu) The hu-music

In 1914, Luo Zhen-yu first equated the OBG 𧈧 with the modern word 𧈧, the name of a piece of "ancient music"

said to have been composed by the first Shang king, Tang (OBD:3345), but he did not give a detailed explanation. In 1934, Wu Qi-chang further confirmed this equation; quoting OBI to show that the graph refers to that piece of ancient music (Wu 1934:no. 21). However, it is not known what instruments and dances were involved.

The name of this piece of ancient music, hu, occurs in many Zhou texts, showing that after the Zhou conquered the Shang, they took over this music as well. For instance, the Zhou Li says: ". . . perform the Great-hu for ancestors" (Juan 22, "Da Si Yue." 周禮.春官.

大司樂"舞大瀼以享先妣"). It is not known why the graph contains the components "bird" (𪇑) and "water" (氵). In some classics, the word is written

護. For example, the Mo Zi says: "King Tang adopted music of the past kings, and made a new piece called hu (護). He also rearranged the jiu-zhou (=shao music with nine sections)" (墨子.三辯:"湯因先王之樂,又自作樂.命曰護.又脩九招.").

In Chinese, the word 護 can also mean "to protect," therefore some scholars thought that the music described how the Shang king protected the people (Gong Yang Zhuan, 5th year of Duke Yin). I think this explanation is not correct. The added radical "言" means "vertical flute" (Chapter Six, II), probably indicating that the flute was used in this performance. In the Guang Ya (dictionary), the name of this piece of music is written "音護"

with the radical "note" added on the left (ch. "Shi Gu," part 4. 廣雅.釋詁四).



The following is a typical OBI relating the graph to ancestors:

𪇑:

OBI 153 (Qian 1.3.5)

𪇑	王	宀	人	彡	匕	文
貞	王	賓	大乙	瀼	亡	尤
Divine:	king	welcome	(ancestor)	perform	No	demon?
(Should			Da-yi,	(the)		
the)			(and)	hu-music?		

In this OBI, Da-yi is another name for King Tang, said to be the composer of the piece of music. It may be argued that the graph 𪇑: perhaps simply represents a bird killed as an offering, with the dots representing drops of blood. However, this graph is not seen in association with other blood sacrifices. The syntax of the OBI is similar to other OBI referring to performance of instruments or dances (e.g., OBI 136, 143). It is, therefore, likely that this OBI also refers to a performance, though other translations are not impossible.

B.  ,  (召 = 音召 :shao) The shao-music

Among the many "legendary" pieces of "ancient music" mentioned in the Zhou classics, the shao (音召) is considered the most excellent, perhaps because it ostensibly belonged to the reign of Shun (舜), said to be an upright emperor of the pre-Xia period. In about 517 B.C., Confucius saw a shao performance in the state of Qi. He was so moved by this music, which he believed to have come from the time of Shun, that he "did not know the taste of meat for three months" (Lun Yu, Ch. 7, "Shu Er." 論語述而: "子在齊聞韶三月不知肉味曰不圖爲樂之至於斯也"). He commented: "I did not expect that music could reach such perfection!" No source mentions that shao-music described a story, but it is agreed that it included music and dance.


In the classics, the modern word for shao can be written in many ways, namely 音召 or 韶 (:shao), 召 or 招 (:zhao), 磬 or 鞀 (:tao), but the first is most common (see Chapter Four, IV.B). For two thousand years, scholars have been wondering why one name can be written so many ways. One explanation is that this is simply a "borrowing" of words, since all the words contain the component 召 (:zhao).








This observation is not to the point. I think the words 召 and 招 are the older forms which evolved from OBG and bronze graphs (see below), while the others are later versions created in the Zhou period, with radicals added to indicate the music background of the words. For example, in the word 音召, there is the component 音 ("note from vertical flute"; see Chapter Six, II); in 韶 is the component 糸 ("string," implying a stringed instrument; see Chapter Seven, II); in 磬 is the component 石



("qing"; see Chapter Three, I); and in 鞀 is the component









革 ("hide" used for making drum heads; this word 鞀 itself also means "clapper drum"). Moreover, this music is called xiao-shao (簫韶, Shang Shu, ch. "Yi Zhi."


尚書·益稷篇), meaning "panpipe-shao." Perhaps there were many instruments used in this music, thus causing the different words for its name. In my opinion, shao was a great tribal musical feast; this is why these words, while representing the name of a piece of music, all contain a common component (:zhao), meaning "to invite to a feast," "to serve with food, wine, and music."




These words are not pictographs; rather, each is mainly a combination of the component  and another semantic radical. In other words, if this music is mentioned in OBI, it might be represented by still other graphs.



There is one OBG which also contains the component  : , also written ,  (Shima:359), and written  or  in bronze inscriptions (Rong 1959:50). Scholars admit that  is a simplified form, but no one has given a convincing interpretation of these graphs.

In 1930 Guo Mo-ruo said that in the graph , the lower part shows a wine bottle on a cushion () , and that the graph is a proper name (OBD:361). In 1965, Li Xiao-ding stated further that in OBI it is used only as a place name. Scholars offered many strange interpretations for the same graph in bronze inscriptions. The editor of the bronze graph dictionary, after examining these interpretations, could conclude only that the lower part shows the wine bottle on a cushion, but commented that the graphic value of the upper part "cannot be understood" (Zhou 1975:576-590; "終莫明也").

I think the upper part depicts two hands ", " (a mouth or a food vessel) and a "." This " " might show a knife, ( :dao, "knife"; observe the similarity in pronunciation of dao and zhao), used to cut meat. Or it might show a spoon ( =  :bi, "spoon," "short knife"). It might represent both, because some spoons with sharp edges could be used as knives. The whole graph perhaps implied using wine and food to serve guests, hence its meaning "to invite," "to serve with food, wine, and music" (see also my interpretation of the OBG , in Chapter

Two, II.B, OBI 57. This graph perhaps means serving food in connection with music on wind instruments). In ancient court feasts, and also in tribal feasts, there were often music and dance. This graph  probably represents a particular great tribal feast with music, and this might be why it evolved into the name of a piece of music--shao. Bronze inscription no. 1 below clearly mentions serving meat along with performing music in this shao-performance.




However, in OBI this graph  is always used as a place name, while the graph referring to a performance is written  or  (Shima 390, 359). It is tempting to


think that they are different versions of the same graph, but there is no OBI showing that  and  are interchangeable, nor is there an OBI proving that the complicated graph refers to the shao-music. Fortunately, evidence has been found recently.

In my 1980 trip to China, I visited the Shanghai museum, where I was shown two Zhou earthenware ocarinas bearing the following inscription¹²: (rubblings found in Luo 1916a:vol.2.1, and in Yang 1980:plates 23-24)

			
令	作	音	嘏

(The king) ordered (to) make (this) shao-music ocarina


This verifies that the complicated graph in fact referred to shao-music. Thus it seems safe to say that the two graphs,  and , are its simplified versions, if we admit that in OBI these two graphs in fact refer to the shao-music (or the zhao-feast with musical performances). Shao and zhao probably had the same pronunciation, close to dao or tao, in Shang times (see note 10 in Chapter Four). My interpretation of this complicated graph is supported by a statement in the Lu Shi Chun Qiu in which the word  (:zhao) refers to "feast with music":

Nowadays when people invite () guests, after they have drunk enough, they enjoy songs and dances, with performances on the se-zither and the mouth-organ.

(Lu Shi Chun Qiu, Juan 25, ch. "Fen Zhi")

今召客者. 酒酣. 歌舞. 鼓瑟. 吹笙
(召氏春秋. 分職)





Now we may perhaps understand why Confucius was unaware of the taste of meat after he heard the shao-music. Probably he was served meat as part of the musical feast. The music made the meat taste so good that when he got home, his own food tasted plain without that music, hence the strange saying in the Lun Yu.

Below are some of the OBI in which the graph  is preceded by the verb "to perform," showing that it refers to music, and specifically, I believe, to the ancient music/feast shao:

OBI 154 (Fu 11.69)


		
其	奏	音
Should we	perform (the)	<u>shao</u> . . . ?





OBI 155 (Xu 5.14.1)

			
貞	今	奏	音
Divine:	This	(month? day? should we)	perform (the)	<u>shao</u> ?

In one OBI the verb used is "to set up instruments," which also implies "to perform" (see Chapter Two, I.B):


OBI 156 (Yi Cun 413)

				
其	置	韶	于	方
Should we	set up instruments	(and perform) <u>shao</u> -music	at (the)	shrine, (and)

			
侑	百	羌	卯
sacrifice	one hundred	Qiang-slaves (and)	kill (cattle?) .











One OBI seems to show that the pole drum was used in this music:

OBI 157 (Cui 518)

					
韶	庸	中	于	其	衣
(Should we perform)	<u>shao</u> -music (and)	at (place name)?...	Should we	perform	yi-sacrifice ?

There are OBI that also mention the pole-drum and the yi-sacrifice (Jia 131, see OBI 164), or the shao and the yi-sacrifice (Hou 1.31.1). The following OBI mentioning shao and pole-drum should not be neglected:

OBI 158 (Xu 3.35.10)

				
				
Divine:	Today	hold	feast	<u>shao</u> -music?
	(should we)	(a)	(with)	


OBI 159 (Jing 3176)


			
			
Divine:	Today	hold	(a performance of) pole drum?
	(should we)		

(For the interpretation of the graphs meaning "to hold" and "feast" in the OBI above, see Chapter Two, II.B.)

The correct reading of these OBI in turn helps us to translate a late Shang bronze inscription which also mentions this graph, the pole drum, and the serving of meat-sacrifice:

Bronze 1 (Xue Shi, Juan 2, "Ji You Yi vessel" 己酉彝)

				
				
(on the day)	Ji-you, . . .	served	meat	at (the)
				
<u>Shao</u> -hall ¹²	performed	pole drum . . .		

In the Zhou classics, the adjective "great" (大) is often added to the shao-music (Zhou Li, Juan 22, "Da Si Yue" 周禮大司樂). Correspondingly, there is an OBI which shows the graph "great" preceding the graph , thus

additionally confirming my opinion that the graph refers to the shao-music. For example:

OBI 160 (Jing 3422)

貞	于	翌	乙未	大	韶
Divine:	On	next	Yi-wei (day,	Great	<u>shao</u> ?
			should we		
			perform the)		

It may be argued that graphically can simply be understood as "wine offering," because the graph shows a wine bottle carried by two hands. However, with so much evidence available, it seems highly probably that my interpretation is correct.

VI. FUNCTION OF PERFORMANCES

In this section, we are talking only about the musical performances of the ruling class, because the oracle bone inscriptions basically document the royal family, and the unearthed instruments belonged mainly to the Shang nobles.

In the OBI cited earlier, it can be seen that music and dance were used chiefly in religious and military activities. No OBI has been discovered which definitely mentions the use of musical performances as entertainment for living persons. However, we cannot conclude that in Shang times musical activities were restricted to those uses. Things which did not need to be divined will naturally not be recorded in OBI.

Theoretically, in the pre-dynastic period, when there was no "government," and when people lived in small tribes, it was reasonable that people would make simple instruments and play for their own pleasure. Perhaps it was during the Shang (or even as early as the Xia) dynasty when the use of certain items, including musical instruments, was restricted to the ruling class. Musical instruments and sacrificial vessels had become the symbols of a country. The Shang and Zhou rulers believed (or wished their people to believe) that the king was the son of Heaven. Thus it was the king who could communicate, by making sacrifices, with God. It was said that when the last Shang king became increasingly wicked, his officials "took the (king's) sacrificial vessels and musical instruments and fled to the Zhou state" (Shi Ji, Juan 3, "History of Yin" 史記殷本紀: "殷之太師少師乃持其祭器樂器奔周"); the Shang empire collapsed soon after.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find strict limits concerning the use of instruments. The Mo Zi says that sets of bells were only to be used by nobles; wind instruments and stringed instruments were to be used by scholars and officials; farmers were to restrict their music-making to striking their earthenware pots (Mo Zi, ch. "San Bian" 墨子三辯). This represents the general situation in

the Zhou period, and it is possible that in Shang times the distinction between the ruling class and the common people was similar.

In many cultures, musical instruments and performances originally intended for religious purposes eventually became a kind of entertainment. It is possible that the Shang nobles sometimes watched the religious performances, treating them as recreational activities. In Zhou classics, there are legendary records saying that the Xia kings Qi (啓), Jie (桀), and the last Shang king used the performances incorrectly. Instead of using them to please God, they pleased themselves, resulting in God's anger and their punishment.¹³ These accusations, on one hand, represent an old concept that music should only be played for God and the ancestors. On the other hand, they imply that some Xia and Shang kings perhaps did regard music activities as entertainment. The Xun Zi points out: "Those (kings) who care more for music than ruling the country do not really know what is music. . . . They will eventually get killed and lose their country" (Ch. "Wang Ba" 荀子王霸: "急逐樂而緩治國者,非知樂者也。...必至於身死國亡然後止也"). Similar opinions are common in the classics of the Confucian school. This explains why the first Shang king was judged to be a good king: he "stayed away from recreational music and women" (Shang Shu, ch. "Zhong Hui Zhi Gao" 尚書仲虺之誥: "惟王不邇聲色").

Because God was to be pleased with music and offerings, a ruler who did not sacrifice was no longer worthy of his position. One excuse for the first Shang king to attack the neighboring state, Ge (葛), was that the leader of Ge did not make sacrifices to God and mistreated the people he sent to help.¹⁴ It is understandable, therefore, that the Shang kings were very religious.

Traditionally, the last king of a dynasty was described as a wicked leader who merely entertained himself with music and hunting. This misbehavior was one reason for replacing his house with a new dynasty; the wicked king had "lost the mandate of Heaven" (失天命). The last Shang king, for instance, was accused of having "drunk too much

wine and enjoyed improper music, and had too many women. . . . He ordered his musician Juan to compose new immoral music and erotic dances, and held degenerate performances. . . ."15 Whether this is true or not, it illustrates the old concept that music should be under moral control, and performed in the name of God.

Needless to say, besides performances held to please the supreme beings, many performances were held for the benefit of the king, e.g., pleading for rain for his fields, making sure that he would have a successful hunt, curing his physical illnesses, and dispelling evil spirits from his buildings.

The OBI cited in this work do not give detailed records of any religious musical performance. A problematic inscription on an early Zhou bronze dated to the reign of the second Zhou king is translated here to give supplementary information. It reveals that the king was to serve God with music, that spirits would descend to enjoy the offering, and that the ancestors would stay in Heaven with God. These were also beliefs of the Shang people, and thus this inscription can help us to understand some aspects of music and religion of the Shang people.¹⁶

BRONZE 2 (Guo 1957:1 -- "Tian Wang Gui" vessel 天亡簋)

(2)	才	王	又	大	豐
乙	亥	王	又(侑)	大	豐

(a) (On the day Yi)-hai, (the) king performed (the) large-drum. (or: large rite)

王 凡 三 才

王 凡(汎)* 三 方(舫)

(b) (The) king sailed three double-boats.

王	祀	于	天	室	降
王	祀	于	天	室	降

(c) (The) king sacrificed in (the) Heavenly-room; (spirits) descended.

* The graph 凡 could be equated with the modern word 汎 (汎: fang), translated as "to sail." However, it makes better sense if equated with the modern word 海 (= 般 = 盤: pan), meaning "to take one's pleasure boating," see note no. 16.

天 亡 又(佑) 王 衣 祀 于

 (d) Tian-wang assisted (the) held sacrifice to (the)

 (a person) king, Yi-

王 不 887 考 文 王 事 喜 上帝

 king's very bright late Wen-wang, served pleased God.

 father, (and)

文 王 德 才(在) 上 不 881 王 作

 (e) Wen-wang highness in Heaven, very bright king performed

 (his) (was) (as our)

音(笙) 王 不 羽 王 作 庸

 mouth-organ; (our) very diligent king performed pole drum . . .

丁 丑 王 鄉(饗) 大 俎

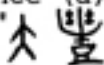
 (f) (On the day) Ding-chou, (the) served (a) large meat-offering...

 king

For the past hundred years, scholars have had problems understanding this inscription, because they did not know that three problematic graphs refer to musical instruments. These are (豐 :feng, "large-drum"), (=音=笙 :sheng, "mouth-organ"), and (庸 :yong, "pole drum"). Even the

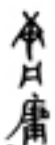
most recent study by Sun Zhi-chu made no breakthrough because he still missed these (and other) graphs (Sun Zhi-chu 1980: 166-180). Scholars dared not imagine that the Zhou king would personally perform on instruments. I think that such performances for religious purposes would in no way have affected the king's dignity. On the contrary, it demonstrated and confirmed his position as son of Heaven.

In sentence (a) of this inscription, I have translated the term "人豐" as "large-drum." The following



OBI also shows that the large-drum and the pole drum were used in one ritual.

OBI 161 (Nan Ming 549)



(Should we) perform (on the) large-drum (and the) pole drum?

However, there is a possibility that in this case the term should read 大豐 (:da li), meaning "large rite." The



reason is that by the early Zhou period, the graph representing the large-drum (豐) had evolved into two modern

words: 豐 (:feng, "large-drum") and 豐 (=禮 :li, "rite").

In this inscription, both translations make good sense. Grammatically, the translation "large rite" is better, because if the reference is to a drum, the word-by-word translation would be "large large-drum," an unlikely wording. In any case, both meanings--large-drum and rite--come from the graph for large-drum, which was used to conduct a ritual (see Chapter Four, III).

Sentence (b) was traditionally translated as "The king sacrificed (凡) to the three directions (方)" or "The king sailed (凡 = 汎) to the three directions (in a pool)" (Sun Zhi-chu 1980:170-171). However, the graph 方, besides meaning "direction," also means "double-boat" (Shuo Wen, Juan 8.2:6. "方:併船也").¹⁶ I think it means "The king sailed three boats." My evidence comes from another early Zhou bronze inscription which clearly mentions that the king performed the large-drum (or, large rite) on a boat, and a noble followed in another boat, in the bi-yong (壁龕 "artificial royal pool"):¹⁷

BRONZE 3 (Guo 1957:20 -- "Mai Cun" vessel 麥尊)



(a) In (the) bi-yong (the) rode on boat, performed large-drum.
 (pool), king (a) (or: large rite)

王 射
王 射

大 大

鳥
龍

禽
禽

(b) (The) king shot (arrows), abundantly caught birds(or animals).

侯 乘 于 赤 旂 舟 從
↑
豐

(c) (The) marquis, riding on (a) red-flag boat, accompanied.

This verifies my translation and explains why the king rode three boats--probably he had many subjects accompanying him. The "shooting," besides being a recreational activity, was one of the many rites (accompanied by sacrifices) mentioned in Zhou classics. This Mai-cun inscription perhaps shows that the term "大豐" in both bronze

大 豐

inscriptions 2 and 3 should be read as "large rite." The bi-yong was a pool with an island on which were buildings for sacrifices and also the royal school. Birds and animals (牲) were kept there for the king's ritual shooting and were used as his offering to God. One Zhou poem also describes the king enjoying the music played on bells and drums by blind musicians at the bi-yong (Shi Jing, section "Da Ya," poem no. 242, "Ling Tai." 詩經大雅靈台).

It is possible that the Shang people had a bi-yong, as shown by the OBG yong: 𠄎 (𠄎佳 = 雍). This graph shows the radical "water" (氵, implying a pool), "口" (perhaps referring to the pool or to the island), and "鳥" (bird). In OBI this graph is a place name. But no OBI records what rituals were performed by the Shang kings at their bi-yong (Shima:232).

Sentence (c) in inscription no. 2 above is usually translated as "The king descended from the Heavenly-room after he sacrificed" (Sun Zhi-chu 1980:173). I think "descend" (降) refers to the coming of the spirits to the sacrifice. There are many Zhou texts which verify my reading. For example:

(In a sacrifice) display the offerings, prepare the sacrificial vessels, set up the qin and se zithers, guan-double-pipe, qing, bells, and drums, elaborate the prayers, to invite the descent (降) of God and the ancestors.

(Li Ji, ch. 9, "Li yun" 禮記禮運)¹⁸

One line in a Zhou poem reads: "Brightly the spirits descended!" (Chu Ci, ch. "Jiu Ge." 楚辭·九歌: "靈皇皇兮既降"). Similar use of the word "descend" is seen in OBI:

OBI 162 (Bing 26)

Next	Yi-si	(should we)	(to ancestor)	Divine:	(Will spirit)
(day)	You-sacrifice	Zu-yi ?		descend ?	

The graphs and in sentence (e) of bronze inscription no. 2 were originally not understood. I think they refer to the mouth-organ and the pole-drum. In this inscription, the graph for "mouth-organ" is not pictorial. It is a borrowed word—observe the same phonetic element in its upper part and in the lower part of the modern word for mouth-organ, . That the mouth-organ was particularly played with the pole-drum is also seen in the Shang Shu (ch. "Yi Zhi" 尚書·益稷), and the Shi Jing.¹⁹

The Yi-sacrifice mentioned in sentence d is a major sacrifice often seen in OBI (Shima:258). In OBI, the Yi-sacrifice is also mentioned with the large-drum and the pole-drum , as part of sacrifices held for the late father of the king. For example, one large turtle shell contains the following OBI:

OBI 163 (Jia 3918. The order of OBI follows Qu Wan-li.)

Divine:	(Should we perform the) Yi-sacrifice ?					
Divine:	king's	Father-Jia,		sacrifice,	perform the	
(To the)	(should we)	(and)		large-drum ?		

The graph that Qu translated as "sacrifice" is not clear on the rubbing. For an alternative reading of this OBI, see OBI no. 77 in chapter four.




Divine:	not perform the		Divine:	not	perform the
(Should we)	large-drum ?		(Should we)	perform the	feather-dance ?














Divine: Should (the) pole-drum (be) used? Hugely Auspicious?

These OBI show that the graphs ,  and  on the bronze might also refer to musical events. One OBI cited above (no. 157, Cui 518) mentions the shao-music, pole-drum, and the yi-sacrifice. Another OBI divining about the use of pole-drum and the yi-sacrifice merits attention too:




OBI 164 (Jia 131)

Divine: To-day (should we perform) pole-drum yi-sacrifice?
(and the)

In a religious rite, there were many priests, musicians, and assistants. The fact that only the king is particularly mentioned strongly indicates the concept that the king was directly responsible to God, the source of the mandate for his rule. Taking these bronze inscriptions as clues, it can be inferred that when the OBI say "The king welcomed (spirits) and performed . . ." (see OBI 136, 143), it is highly possible that the Shang king personally handled the performances, to fulfill his functions as king.

VII. CONCLUSION

In Zhou texts, the word  (:yue, "music") generally refers to a combination of instrumental music, song, and dance. Many pieces of "ancient music" ( ) said to have been passed down from pre-Zhou times, were performed in the Zhou court. These performances usually depicted a historical event through a group dance. In a military dance, the dancers held shields and weapons; in a non-military dance, they held feathers, flutes, and other properties. The performances of "ancient music" in Zhou times were ceremonial and educational. It is believed that the musical culture of the Zhou people might have been similar to that of the Shang.

In the Zhou classics, it can be seen that the musicians who served the nobles were at the lower levels of society. Many male musicians were blind; there were many female musicians. Their positions were sometimes hereditary, and musicians, like instruments, could be given as gifts, or even buried so that they could continue to serve the dead

nobles. Details about Shang musicians are not known. Possibly they led the same poor life as Zhou musicians.

In OBI the dancers were called "dance low-rank officials (or dance war-captives)", written 舞臣 (舞臣) or "dancers" 舞 (= 万 = 萬 :wan). Their tasks were to dance and play instruments during religious rites. There seems to have been a school (學 = 學 :xue) for the training of dancers.

There were several noteworthy types of performance. The graph 賓 (賓 :bin) depicts a person dancing under a building, welcoming the spirits. It was often the king who performed this. The graph 舞 (舞 :wu) shows a dancer with feathers in each hand. In my opinion, this graph refers to the rain dance in particular. In later times, it evolved the general meanings, "dance" and "to dance."

The graph 美 (美 :mei), showing a dancer decorated with feathers on the head, refers to a feather dance. This dance was performed to please the ancestors as well as to exorcise demons.

The graph 戠 (戠 :zhi), traditionally thought to refer to eclipses, perhaps refers to "group dance." In my opinion, the graph includes the components 戠 (ge-halberd) and 竹 (vertical flute), which were common properties used in military and non-military group dances respectively, hence the meaning.

The graphs 閼 or 閼 (閼 = 樞 :qu or ou), in my opinion, refer to an exorcistic rite called qu-nuo or nuo in the classics (閼 儺, 儺). In this ritual, a priest wearing a mask and a bear skin pretended to hit the evil spirits in a building. He was assisted by other dancers and musicians; the drum was emphasized in this ritual. The graph depicts a hand holding a weapon (扌 or 扌) hitting a " 九 " (= 它 = 九, "snake") symbolizing the demon, in a building (represented by the door 門 or the component 冂). This exorcism seems to have represented the war between the legendary Yellow Emperor and the wicked leader (or monster) Chi-you (蚩尤 = 蚩尤).

The drum was essential in this ritual because it was believed to have control over demons.

Of the many pieces of "ancient music" mentioned in Zhou texts, at least two, the hu (𩇛: = 濩) and the shao (𩇛 = 韶), seem to be 濩 recorded in OBI. In my opinion, the shao originally was a musical tribal feast.

As far as can be seen in OBI and archaeology, most musical instruments were confined to the ruling class. In Shang times, musical instruments had become symbols of kingship. One task of the king was to serve God and other spirits with music. There was a belief that music (and dance) should only be performed in the name of God, while recreational performances were considered improper. The kings who used music improperly would suffer the anger and punishment of God, perhaps even causing the replacement of their houses with new dynasties, because they had "lost the mandate of Heaven" through their misdeeds.

However, religious performances apparently did evolve into forms of entertainment. In fact, one accusation made about the last Shang king was that he enjoyed immoral music and erotic dances.

NOTES

1. Lun Yu (ch. "Ba Yi" 論語.八佾: "武盡善矣"); Zhou Li (Juan 23, section "Music Teachers" 周禮.春官.樂師: "干舞," and Juan 12, section "Dance Teacher" 周禮.地師.舞師: "掌教兵舞"); Zuo Zhuan (29th year of Duke Xiang 左傳.襄公 29年: "又作武").
2. Original text in Zhou Li: 周禮.春官.樂師: "掌國學之政,以教國子小舞。凡舞,有帗舞,有羽舞,有皇舞,有旄舞,有干舞,有人舞。教樂儀。……凡國之小事用樂者,令奏鐘鼓。……春入學。……合舞。秋頒學合聲。……(小胥)巡舞列,而撻其怠慢者。"
3. Because scholars at first mistook 介 as a noun meaning "guest," there were many wrong interpretations. For example, Wang Guo-wei (王國維) thought 介 shows a house, the person (人) beneath it being the guest.

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Guo Mo-ruo thought the graph shows a spoon (勺) hung under the roof (宀) as a religious practice.

葉玉森

Ye Yu-sen thought the version (宀) shows the host under the roof greeting the guest, who is represented by the "foot"-- 屮 (OBD:2143-2150). Fang Jun-yi (方濬益) thought the bronze graph (宀) shows a person (guest) making a respectful bow. When it was determined that the graph is used as a verb, Guo Mo-ruo explained that in the version (宀), the foot (屮) represents someone leading the way for a guest, represented by the person under the roof (OBD:2150).

4. Originally there were general rules governing the use of the graph 日 or 𠄎 (with an added stroke), determining whether it meant "the moon," "month," or "in the night." But there are exceptions which cause confusion. Judging from syntax, it is more likely that the graphs mean "in the day" and "in the night." People who insist on translating the graph 𠄎 (also written 𠄎) as "to have" will translate the OBG following it as nouns. Thus the OBI "日又𠄎" would be translated: "(Will the) sun have an eclipse (or:sun spots/red clour)?" (See OBI 144.) When this OBI is followed by an inquiry such as "should we report to ancestor . . . ?" (其告于... Shima:335), people tend to think more in this direction. But I think this is a misunderstanding. The graph 𠄎 (or 𠄎) can mean "to perform" (see Chapter Two, I.E); thus, the OBI "日又𠄎" might mean "in the day perform zhi-dance?" (see OBI 144-148). Also, it is not correct to assume that what was reported in the "report" ritual must necessarily be the event mentioned in the OBI preceding the "report" ritual.










5. For example, Ding Shan (丁山) thought the component 𠄎 in 𠄎 shows fire and smoke. Shu Shi-cheng (束世澂) thought 𠄎 depicts a ploughshare (OBD:3785-3786).

6. Zhang Pei-yu: "Jia Gu Wen Ri Yue Shi Ji Shi Di Zheng Li Yan Jiu" (Research of records of solar and lunar eclipses in oracle bone inscriptions), published in Tian Wen Xue Bao, vol. 16, no. 2, 1975:210-224.


張培儒 "甲骨文日月食紀事的整理研究" 天文學



報. 16 卷 2 期. This article has been quoted in an article by Chang Kwang-chih, who thinks it provides new information on Shang history (Chang K.C.: "Three New Materials for the Shang Dynasty," JK, vol. 50, part 4, 1969:741-765. 張光直 "商史新料三則"








史語所集刊 50 本. 4 分).

7. In OBG, the pictorial shape for a genuine snake is  or  (Shima:244 , ). When an OBG signifies evil spirits, it is written  (in ) or  (in ). The latter version () in my opinion, evolved into the modern word 九 (:jiu; observe that its pronunciation in old dialects, such as Cantonese, rhymes with the word meaning "to exorcize"--gou and ou respectively). My interpretation explains why the modern word 九, the evolved or borrowed meaning of which is "nine," is interchangeable with the modern word "ghost" (鬼 :gui). For example, Duke 鬼 (Li Ji, ch. 14, "Ming Tang Wei" 禮記.明堂位"鬼侯") is written Duke 九 in Shi Ji (Juan 3, "History of Yin" 史記.殷本紀"九侯"). Many modern words containing the element 九 still show the same pronunciation as the word "ghost." For example, 究 (:gui, "evil spirit in a building") and 軌 (:gui).
8. Original text: "大雩謂之逐疫。其儀。選中黃門子弟年十歲以上。十二歲以下。百二十人。爲僮子。皆赤幘。皂製。執大鼓。方相氏。黃金四目。蒙熊皮。玄衣朱裳。執戈揚盾。十二獸。有(笛)衣毛角。……以逐惡鬼于禁中。……因作(方相與十二獸)儀。嚙呼。周偏前後者三過。持炬火送疫出端門。……傳火棄維水中。"
(後漢書.志第五.禮儀志.中)

The sentence 方相氏黃金四目蒙熊皮 should not be translated as "The priest put on a bronze mask with four eyes, and wore the fur of a bear." In classical Chinese, the word 蒙 means "to put on a hat." Thus the sentence originally meant: "The priest wore a hat in the shape of a bear head (showing the bear's ears, eyes, nose, etc.), and the four eyes (of the bear and the priest) were painted with golden colour."

9. There is a belief that the OBG  depicts a person wearing a mask, and that it should be equated with the modern word 鬼 (= 俱 :qi), meaning "mask used in exorcism." However, in OBI this graph is a place name (Shima:40), and it does not show four eyes. There is no evidence that it represents such a mask.
10. Shan Hai Jing, ch. "Da Fang Dong Jin" 山海經.大荒東經: "流波山……其上有獸。……其聲如雷。其名曰夔。黃帝得之。以其皮爲鼓。楹以雷獸之骨。聲聞五百里。以威天下。"
11. It is possible that the graph 𩇛 (管 :guan, "double pipe"), if equated with the modern word 龠 (:yue, "double pipe"), perhaps refers to another piece of ancient music, yue (龠), attributed to the Xia period. See Chapter Six, section III, and note 3.

12. In the ocarina inscription, the graph  no doubt refers to the shao-music. However, in OBI it often represents a place (Shima: 359) or a hall (Hou 1.12.1; Shima: 273 "Shao-hall"). This hall is also seen on a late Shang bronze: "... served to (ancestor) Wen-Wu-Di-Yi a meat-sacrifice, in the great Shao-hall." (Shang Zhou Jin Wen Lu I, ed. by Yu Xing-wu, 1957:275.2 于省吾. 商周金文錄遺 275.2. 卣其卣: "尊文武帝乙俎在盞大廟(庭廷).")
- This shows that in Bronze no.1 (cited after OBI 159), the graph  should also be taken as the Shao-hall, though the graph for "hall" is omitted. The place name and hall name Shao might have been named after the shao-music. Perhaps the musical event was usually performed there, hence the name.
13. For King Qi, see Mo Zi (ch. Fei Yue, Part 1. 墨子. 非樂上). For King Jie, see Shang Shu (ch. Wu Zi Zhi Ge. 尚書. 五子之歌), and Guan Zi (ch. Qing Zhong. 管子. 輕重). For King Zhou, see Shi Ji (Juan 3, "Yin Ben Ji." 史記. 殷本紀).
14. Meng Zi (ch. Teng Wen Gong, part B. 孟子. 滕文公下).
15. Shi Ji (Juan 3, "Yin Ben Ji." 史記. 殷本紀. "(紂王)好酒淫樂, 嬖於婦人..... 使師涓作新聲, 北里之舞, 靡靡之樂.....")
16. Interpretations of the problematic graphs on this bronze by other scholars are scattered in many books. Recently, Sun Zhi-chu quoted and re-examined these interpretations, adding personal comments (Sun Zhi-chu 1980:166-180). My interpretations, where different, are explained in the text of this chapter. Some notes about my translation are given here.

In line b, the graph  has often been thought to show a sail (帆) pictorially, thus it was equated with the modern word 凡, and believed to have been used for a similar word 汎 (:fan), meaning "to float, to sail." This reading is not impossible, and it makes sense by translating the line as "the king sailed three double-boats." However, I have another interpretation for this graph . It seems that in OBI  is the pictograph of a boat, differing slightly from another OBG  (舟:zhou, "boat"), a narrow boat used for crossing rivers. The graph  might, in fact, show a bigger, wider boat used for recreation: fang 方. 舫, "double-boat" or "jointed-boat." It is not clear whether this name fang indeed refers to two boats jointed side by side, or that the boat was just a boat of double width. At least it should be a larger boat suitable for group activities. In OBI, the graph  is often used for the modern words 盤 or 般 (:pan. For example, the name of the 19th Shang king, Pan Geng, is written 盤庚 in classics, but written 般庚 (般庚) or just 般 in OBI (Shima:533). Thus  could be directly be read as 般 or 盤. The Er Ya defines 般 (=盤) as "to enjoy" (ch. Shi Gu, part A. 爾雅. 釋詁上 "般:樂也"). In Zhou texts, these two words 盤 and 般 could be written 泮 (Guan Zi, ch. Xiao Wen. 管子. 小問: "泮極迎曰," 尹注: "泮古盤字."). The use of the radicals "water" (氵) and "boat" (舟) in these occurrences clearly shows

that these words refer particularly to "take one's pleasure boating." Therefore, the sentence in line b simply means "the king took his pleasure riding three double-boats." More than one boat could be involved in boating activity of Zhou nobles is seen in Bronze inscription no. 3 which says that the king rode in one boat while a noble followed him in another. Similarly, the citation from Shuo Yuan (see note 17) also mentions "a line of double-boats." (說苑善說: "水游則連方舟." 水游即舟楫盤楫)

There are OBI which seem to support my reading:

Jing 1724

王	𠂔	𠂔
王	舟(楫)	若(若)

(If the) king (goes) boating, will it be fine?

This OBI is from a bone fragment; but even if there are graphs missing, the divination still seems to concern boating. That is why I have equated the graph 𠂔 with the modern word 舟. Another OBI seems to show two boats:

Qian 6.2.4

𠂔	來	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔
貞	來	辛	巳	其	旬(旬)	舟

Divine: (On the) coming Xin-si (day), should (we) go boating?

In this OBI, the graph 𠂔 seems to show two boats in the river. Perhaps "𠂔" simply represents the "double-boat."

In sentence d, the second graph in the phrase "𠂔喜二來" is traditionally translated as 饗 (:xi, "wine and food"), or as 饗 (:xi, "to sacrifice"). Thus the phrase will read "served food to God" or "served sacrifice to God" respectively. However, I think the graph can simply be equated with the modern word 喜 (:xi, "to please"). Hence my translation, "served and pleased God." For comparison, see a similar line in the Zhou poem "Wen-wang": "昭事上帝" (Shi Jing, section "Da Ya," poem no. 235. 詩經大雅·文王).

In sentence f, the last graph 𠂔 depicts pieces of meat (𠂔) on a "chopping board" (which might have a stand). In Zhou texts and bronze inscriptions, this graph refers to a ritual at which meat was served, hence my reading "feast." Scholars have argued about whether this graph should be equated with the modern word 炙 (:zhu, "chopping board with cooked meat") or with 宜 (:yi, "cooked meat"). This argument, in fact, is not necessary. In my opinion, both modern words may have evolved from the same graph, sharing the same meaning "to serve with meat." Though their present pronunciations are different, their archaic pronunciations were similar or the same originally (see reconstruction of archaic pronunciation in Zhou 1979:no.260 and 1937).

17. Besides this inscription, there are many Zhou and Han texts proving that the word 方 (:fang) means not only "direction" and "square," but also "double-boat" or "square boat/large boat" (the latter are evolved meanings--when two boats are put side by side, they look like a square or a large boat). The reason for putting two boats together is to make them safer, so that they are not easily overturned by wind and waves. For example, the Han Shi Wai Zhuan says: "(If) not using the double boat (or, not putting two boats together), and avoiding the wind, (no one) can cross that river" (Juan 3. 韓詩外傳卷三: "不方舟,不避風,不可渡也"). The statement in the Shuo Yuan, which also mentions playing music on the double boat, is comparable to the bronze inscription:

(The noble Meng Chang Jun's luxurious life includes) riding on a line of double-boats decorated with flags, playing drum and wind instruments while sailing on a deep gulf. (Shuo Yuan, Juan, 11, "Shan Shuo")

(孟嘗君)水游則連方舟,載羽旗,歎吹乎不測之淵。(說苑.善說)

This indicates that the ancient practice of sacrificing and playing music on double boats to please the spirits had become a form of entertainment by the late Zhou period.

18. Original text: 禮記.禮運: "陳其犧牲,備其鼎俎,列其琴瑟,管磬鐘鼓.....以降上神,與其先祖."
19. An ensemble of mouth-organ and drum is seen in a Zhou poem: "With the yue-dance, there is mouth-organ and drum" (Shi Jing, section Xiao-ya, poem no. 220. 詩經.小雅.鳧之初筵: "龠舞笙鼓"). Also in the Shang Shu, there is the statement: "笙鏞以間," which can be translated as: "play the mouth-organ and pole drum one after another" (Shang Shu, ch. "Yi Zhi"). The second word 鏞, with the radical "metal" (金) on the left, means "large bell." However, I have pointed out that in many classics, this word originally might have been 庸 (without the radical "metal"), meaning "pole drum" (see my discussion in Chapter Four, V.B).

20. No scholar has convincingly explain why the Japanese noh drama is called noh (能). I believe that this name (not the story in the drama) is related to the Chinese exorcism nuo (傩). In the noh-drama, masks and ghosts are featured, while in the exorcism the ghosts are frightened by the priest wearing a bear hat (in Zhou times) or a mask (in later times). It is interesting to note that there are animal masks with golden eyes in the noh-drama. On the other hand, the priest in the exorcism was said to have four golden eyes—two of his, and two of the bear hat/mask. The modern word 能 (:neng, "able," "strong") is the original form of the word 熊 (:xióng, "bear"). "Able" and "strong" are probably evolved meaning, as the bear was considered a strong animal. In Zhou texts the strong guards of the king are called "bear-like people" (Shang Shu, ch. "Kang Wang Zhi Gao." 尚書·康王之誥: "則亦有熊羆之士."). Probably the word 能 in noh-drama refers to the bear hat used in the nuo exorcism. In fact, some operas that evolved from the nuo exorcism mask dances are still called nuo-drama (傩戲), for example, in Gui Lin, Guang Xi Province (廣西·桂林). For more discussion on these terms, see the last part of note 1 in chapter nine.
21. No scholar has succeeded in finding a modern equivalent for this graph 𩇛, though it is known that it refers to a class of people. It is possible that this graph refers to the people whose job was to perform rain dance, and the radical "rain" (雨) signifies their job. My evidence is that the radical "rain" has been added to the graph "rain dance" for similar reason: 夬—夬 (舞—舞 = 雲).