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ZOLTÁN KODÁLY

EINE VORBEDINGUNG DER VERGLEICHENDEN LIEDFORSCHUNG

Trotz gewisser Anfangsresultate der vergleichenden Liedforschung empfindet jedermann, der sich darin versucht, den Mangel musikalisch geordneter Sammlungen als grosses Hindernis. Der Forscher ist aus schlussendlich auf sein Gedächtnis angewiesen, das bekanntlich oft versagt. Die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft wäre auch nicht weit gekommen ohne alphabetisch geordnete Wörterbücher.


Auch in solchen Sammlungen wäre es leicht möglich, durch einen musikalischen Index einen Überblick der Melodien zu geben, oder wenigstens auf Varianten hinzuweisen, die inner- und ausserhalb der betreffenden Sammlung aufzufinden sind.

Doch was gesehe mit älteren Publikationen, die oft wertvolles, heute nicht mehr zugängliches Material enthalten? Es er scheinen zwar hie und da anastatische Neudrucke (wie Haupt und Schmieder, Volkslieder der Sorben 1933, oder Beljanski’s musterhaftene Neuausgaben der Sammlungen Uspin, Leun-Prateck und Tratowsky), die allerdings einen modernen Variantenindex nicht entbehren sollen. Doch alles neu herauszugeben wäre wohl unmöglich, aber auch unmöglich.
LAURENCE PICKEN

TWELVE RITUAL MELODIES OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

The total volume of medieval (eighth to fourteenth century) music surviving in China is remarkably small considering the length of the Chinese musical tradition and the constant efforts of successive dynasties since the beginning of the Christian era to maintain a faithful performance of the Confucian Rites. The chief reasons for this paucity, apart from political disturbances, are first, that music other than ritual music was rarely regarded as worthy of preservation before the beginning of the fifteenth century; secondly, the repertoire of ritual music was probably small enough to be memorised, and what was committed to paper was little more than a mnemonic of which the cognoscenti had no need. It is certain that ritual melodies underwent in performance the sort of elaboration and transformation observable at the present time in the expansion of the cantus of a Balinese gamelan-composition, or of the written parts in a Japanese gagaku-performance. There is no evidence, however, that any Chinese before Prince Chu T'ai-yü (late sixteenth century) ever compiled a full-score of the performance of a ritual melody, so that music of the Rites must have been highly sensitive to the destruction or dispersion of sets of instruments in a particular clan-shrine or temple, or to the premature decease of musicians and masters of ceremonies.

Of the music which has survived, the greater part was intended for ritual use and probably owes its preservation to that intention. Very little of this music has as yet been transcribed into staff-notation, either in the West or in China, and until recently, four ritual melodies from a set of ten by Chiang K'uei, dating from the first years of the thirteenth century and transcribed by J. H. Levi, were the only examples available in the West. The ritual tunes in Courant's famous essay:

1 Chiang K'uei: P'ai-shih Tao-chen Ko-chü, Yüeh chiu ko.
are taken from Prince Chu's treatise of the late sixteenth century, but while it may fairly be claimed that in Prince Chu's day they were reputedly ancient, they do not occur in any earlier source known to us. Prince Chu's statement, that one of the melodies is taken from the stone-engraved classics set up in 853–7, and surviving to the present in the Pei Lin (Forest of Inscriptions) at Hsai-an, is not supported by the stones. This stone-text of the Book of Songs (Shih Ching) was recently (December, 1954) examined on my behalf by Professor E. G. Pulleyblank of the University of Cambridge, who subsequently learned that Chinese musicologists have searched in vain for evidence in support of Prince Chu's claim.

There survive, however, twelve melodies for poems from the Book of Songs which may be somewhat earlier in date even than Prince Chu's unconfirmed example. The earliest text in which they occur is a post-humously printed work of the Sung philosopher Chu Hsi (1130–1200), the Li Chi Ching-chuan T'ang-chieh — the title may be paraphrased as A General Survey of Ritual. The preface to the first edition is dated 1223, but the work was reprinted on several occasions in Ming times, and again in early Ch'ing times — for example, the Lü-shih Pao-kao T'ang edition of ca. 1700, which I have consulted. These twelve melodies were also printed by Hsiung Peng-lai (1246–1323) in the Sè P'u (Large-Zither Scores), of which the earliest surviving print is that in the Yüan-lo Ta T'ien, the Ming encyclopedia, finished in 1407, of which fragments only of a single copy survive; from this it has many times been reprinted. The text in the Yüeh-yu T'ang Ts'ung-shu (1229) has been used here. The first section of this as yet unexplored source of Chinese medieval music reproduces Chu Hsi's tunes, both in pitch-pipe notation and in flute notation. Hsiung's version in the pitch-pipe notation does not indicate the octave of the fundamental or of any higher degree, though these are unambiguously indicated in the flute notation. In the transcriptions given here, it may be assumed that wherever f or g occurs, Hsiung's pitch-pipe version has f or g. A third version of the twelve melodies, ostensibly derived from Chu Hsi, occurs in the Yüeh Tien (Encyclopedia of Music) of Huang Tso, printed in 1544; a reprint of 1853 has been consulted. This also gives the tunes in pitch-pipe and flute notations. Huang Tso, however, like Chu Hsi, discriminates between f and f' and g and g'; he differs chiefly from the latter in that two of his melodies are shorter by one or more stanzas than Chu Hsi's version. In the transcriptions given here, the text followed is that of Chu Hsi, and it may be assumed that Sè P'u and Yüeh Tien agree with the transcription unless the contrary is expressly stated. In several places in Chu Hsi's text, lexicographs have been deliberately obliterated in the Lü-shih Pao-kao T'ang edition — a usual practice when blocks are worn. The gaps have been filled from Shé P'u and Yüeh Tien.

Chu Hsi states that his text derives from the Sung scholar, Chao Yen-su, who had the songs from a source dating from the K'ai-yüan period (713–744) of the T'ang dynasty. This attribution is accepted both by Hsiung and Huang. The writings of Chao — who took the degree of Chin-shih in the period 1165–1173 — were extensively used by Chu Hsi as a source of information on matters of ritual. There is no reason to doubt Chu Hsi's ascription of the transmission of the songs to Chao, but in view of the 'Golden Age' halo which hung about the K'ai-yüan period already in Sung times, the ascription of the songs to precisely that period can only be accepted with reservations.

A single melody from this set of twelve has twice been printed in recent historical surveys of Chinese music published in China. The melody to the first poem in the Book of Songs (No. 1 in the standard order of Mao) was transcribed into the common flute notation by Tuang Fei in his Chuang Yüeh Hsin-yüan (Fundamental of Chinese Music), Shanghai, 1926 (Book 2, pp. 1–3). More recently, Professor Yang Yin-liu, Head of the Institute for Musicological Research in Peking, has transcribed the same melody into staff notation in his Chuang-kuo Yin-yüeh Shih-kang (Historical Summary of Chinese Music), Shanghai, 1952. Both Tuang and Yang accept Chu Hsi's ascription of the tunes to the K'ai-yüan period.

The transcription of the tunes, so far as the relative pitch of the notes is concerned, is a simple matter because the note to which a word is sung is unambiguously shown by the name of one of the twelve pitch-pipes. In theory, the chromatic series of the pitch-pipes was generated as a cycle of pure fifths from a fundamental, reduced to the space of an octave, the thirteenth fifth yielding the (slightly sharp) 'octave'; but it seems very likely that some degree of tempering of the series was practised from early times. In any case, the complex sounds of bell-chimes and stone-chimes must surely have obscured the fine edge of intonation in the ensemble. The ritual orchestras furthermore included large zithers, and it is difficult to believe the Chinese did not use consonant octaves on these. If, moreover, heterophony was practised, as described by Moule in the last century, and as argued for the past by Prince Chu, it must have been difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between a 'chromatic octave' generated by the cycle of fifths and an equal-tempered chromatic octave. It is therefore probably legitimate

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4 Chu T'ai-yü: See in particular the volumes Hsia 'kuang Ho Yüeh P'u and Hsiang Yin Shih Yüeh P'u.

to transcribe the melodies in terms of an equal-tempered chromatic octave.

The question of the absolute pitch of the fundamental of the system is more difficult. Professor Yang has recently calculated values for the fundamental, at all periods in Chinese history, from the lengths of the standard pipes adopted by successive dynasties, and from supposed values of the standard 'foot' and 'inch' of each period. For the K'ai-yüan period of the Tang he proposes $f^*+$ as fundamental. His transcription is printed in facsimile (without acknowledgement) in Achilles Fang's introduction to Ezra Pound's version of the Shih Ching entitled The Classic Anthology.

The melodies are settings of lyrics taken from two main sections of the Book of Songs (ca. B.C. 800): from the Hao Ya (Lesser Elegances) and from the Kuo Feng (Airs of the Principalities), which latter is represented by songs from two sections only: Chou Nan (Chou State and South thereof) and Chao Nan (Chao State and South thereof). Following Waley's grouping, the themes of the songs are: Courtship (9), Marriage (7, 8, 10, 11, 12), Blessings (4, 5, 6), Welcome (1), Public Life (3), Warriors and Battles (2). For the traditional meaning of the songs, the general reader may consult Couvreur. A first attempt to translate certain of the songs without reference to their traditional interpretation was made by Granet; but it was Waley who carried through this attempt to its logical conclusion, making use of the philological researches of Simon and Karlsgren: as indicated here, he groups the songs for comparative purposes according to their social function. For all that is known about the ancient sounds of the poems, the reader is referred to Karlsgren.

The form of the lyrics is variable, but a majority exhibit a small number of stanzas (two to five) from four to eight four-word lines. The rhyme-schemes vary; but the same rhyme may occur at the end of each line throughout a stanza. On occasion the rhyme occurs on the penultimate word (see Song 4, for example); in these cases, the last words of the rhyming lines are identical. There are a few places where a reduplicative binome is rhymed, for example, in Song 8, stanza I, where ter-ter rhyme with ker-ker (sound-values from Karlsgren). In three of the poems (1, 4, 5), the lines are occasionally lengthened to six or seven words, or reduced to three or even two.

Musically the songs are of great interest. The melodies are strictly syllabic (more accurately: one-note-to-one-word), and are ascribed to two modes only, both heptatonic: hsiung-chung ch'ing kung (mode 1) and wu-i ch'ing shang (mode 2). In respect of note-series only (that is, of their relative pitches), these are Lydian on $f$, with $f'$ as final (Nos. 1–6) and Mixolydian on $f$, also with $f'$ as final (Nos. 7–12) but for two exceptions.

Though all the melodies make use of semitone steps, it is clear that the extent to which they do so varies from example to example. Some, indeed, appear to be a patchwork consisting of phrases from a purely pentatonic series mingled with others from a heptatonic series (No. 7 for example). The ritual melodies of Chiang K'uei, previously mentioned as dating from the thirteenth century, are more consistently heptatonic.

Most of the tunes show instances of the repetition of entire musical lines — particularly marked in Nos. 5 and 6. This is also observable in the tunes of Chiang K'uei.

From the nature of the verse, it might be expected that each musical phrase, corresponding to a single line — that is, to a complete sentence — would itself be complete and self-contained. It is known from Prince Chu's exposition that the lines of the stanzas were separated from each other in performance by several beats of percussion, sometimes equal to the duration of the line itself (see Courant, p. 120). This would lead us to expect that the last note of a four-note phrase would possess 'final' or at least 'subfinal' (secondary final) quality. Examination of the songs showed in fact that a limited number of degrees of the mode occur as line-finals, and that the number of stanza-finals is even more restricted. While picking out line- and stanza-finals, however, I noticed that the half-lines also tend to end on the same few degrees as the lines, so that each four-note phrase is made up of two two-note phrases. This seemed at first sight so remarkable that a detailed analysis of all the tunes in mode 1 was undertaken, setting out for each nature and frequency of the degrees that act as stanza-finals, line-finals and half-line finals. A similar enumeration was made of the various stanza-initials, line-initials and half-line initials. A complete analysis is shown for Song 2, p. 153; for the remaining songs, a summary analysis follows each transcription.

In setting out the transcriptions, the following data are given for each song: (1) A transcription into staff-notation on the basis of $f$ as fundamental. Bar-lines mark the ends of lines; double bar-lines mark the ends of stanzas. The notes are of equal duration; this is in accordance with nineteenth century practice and with that recorded by Prince Chu.

The meaning of the phrases: hsiung-chung ch'ing kung and wu-i ch'ing shang will be considered later (p. 168). For the present it will be sufficient to remind the reader that kung is the basic series in root position, while shang is the modal inversion in the second degree of the basic series.
(2) The rhyme-scheme, based on the sound-values given in Karlgren (op. cit.), is given in full only for Song 2. (3) For all the songs, notes on rhyming syllables are marked with a small circle over the note. If two different rhymes occur in the same stanza, one is marked with a dot, the other with a circle. (4) The figures in brackets above the notes refer to alternative readings given below the transcription, either from Sp P'u (SP) or Tiuch-Tien (YT). The T'ai Ch'ing-chuan T'ung-chieh is referred to as IL. The word 'flute' in brackets indicates that the reading derives from the flute-notation. Where no alternative is given, the text is attested by three versions: IL, SP (pitch-pipe and flute), YT (pitch-pipe and flute); where an alternative is given, the text is attested by two versions, one of which is that of Chu Hsi. (5) For each song, the number of repetitions of entire musical sentences is recorded as 'line-repeats'. (6) For Song 2, a complete list of steps and leaps to and from each degree of the mode is also given; (7) for all songs, the information derived from such a list is summarised in a staff-notation diagram. Arrows mark the direction of movement, and the value of the note (following von Hornbostel's notation) is proportional to its frequency of occurrence as subfinal; the final is marked by a pause-sign.12

An important point in the transcription of the songs is that (as shown in the notes to the transcriptions) the lexicograph 'tai' is occasionally used in error for 'tai' — the difference amounts to one dot, and the confusion is a common one. These words are abbreviations for the expressions ta li and tau te'ou, f− and g respectively (f being the fundamental). The error is of little significance here, since we have the flute-notation as a check; but it suggests that similar emendations would not be inappropriate in certain ritual songs of Chiang K'uei, where a strict adherence to the text would lead to a note-series that transgresses the limits defined by the nominal mode.

Song 2: 'My four steeds are weary' (Mao 162; Waley 146)

12 This diagram is only complete for Songs 2 and 10. For the others it is reduced (for ease of reproduction) to conjunct steps and the most frequent steps and leaps, these latter indicated by heavy arrows.
Song 4: 'The fish caught in the trap' (Mao 170; Waley 168)

(Example 6)

Song 3: 'Bright are the flowers' (Mao 163; Waley 290)

(Example 5)

Song 5: 'In the South there are lucky fish' (Mao 171; Waley 169)

(Example 9)

(1) YT d (2) YT a (3) SP f (flute). Line-repeats: I. 6+7; III. 6+7. The six- and seven-note lines are broken down, following the structure of the text, as follows:

II. 6 e' ab ad; II. 8 cd ed g' f'; III. 8 c'd f g'. (see p. 171).}

(Example 4)

(1) SP a (flute) (2) SP f (flute) (3) YT f (4) SP a (5) SP f (6) SP g' (flute). Line-repeats: I. 4, III. 4; II. 3, V. 1; III. 3, IV. 2. The rhyme-scheme clearly indicates six stanzas, and these are marked in all three texts. Nevertheless, the last three stanzas are combined to form a single musical unit, a 'stanza' of six lines; for the purposes of analysis, this has been treated as a single stanza. The three-note lines have been broken down as: cd f and be f.

(Example 7)

(1) SP f (flute) (2) SP d (3) IL obliterated (4) YT f (5) g' f'-end of stanza and song; this presumably arose as a contraction of the first note of stanza IV, line four, and the last three notes of stanza V, line four. Line repeats: I. 4, V. 4; II. 2+3, IV. 2+3.

(Example 8)
the same subfinals. Whereas in 1, 3, 4 and 6, the most frequent line- or half-line finals are $d$, $a$, $c$ and $f$, for 2 and 5, the most frequent are $d$, $a$, $f$ and $f$. In 4, and even more so in 6, $c$ is of greater relative weight, and in 6 challenges both $e$ and $d$ as line-final.

The commonest line-initials are $e$, $b$ and $c$, and the frequency of occurrence varies in different songs. Again, as for half-line finals, there is a greater number of degrees acting as half-line initials than as line-initials, but the frequency of occurrence of degrees other than $e$, $b$, $c$ and $g$, is low. A glance at the list of line- and half-line initials in Song 2 shows that these include the two auxiliary notes ($p'\text{en}$), $b$ and $e$, which convert the pentatonic to a heptatonic series. They also include, among the most frequently occurring initials, $c$, $g$ and $g'$. All these acts, as we shall see, in a general sense as 'leading notes' or 'passing notes' to one or other subfinal or final. What is true, with regard to initials, of Song 2, is also true of Songs 1, 3–6.

When the half-line structure of 'initial' and 'final' was detected, lists were made of all half-lines in each song. These showed that the number of two-note motifs actually used was far smaller than the possible maximum. Accordingly, for each of Songs 1–6, a list was prepared of the various possible steps or leaps to or from each note throughout the note-series. An example of such an analysis is given in full for Song 2. The movement in each case is from left to right; brackets indicate that the movement occurs only between four-note or two-note phrases, never within a two-note phrase. For the Songs 1–6, the results of this analysis are shown in staff-notation diagrams. Although the diagrams are never identical, there is a common pattern of permitted steps and leaps:

For conjunct movement, this diagram is valid for all six songs, save that the step 5 to $a$ is reversible in Song 1. For leaps, the diagram is valid for at least five songs, but not necessarily for the same five for each leap. It shows the essential dynamic structure of mode 1. Clearly, $f'$, $d$, $a$ and $f$, are focal points towards which movement occurs; while $g'$, $e$, $c$, $b$ and $g$ are points to be quitted, sometimes in a specific direction only. These are the 'finals' and 'initials' isolated by the analysis of half-lines.

A distinction between line-initials and line-finals was established by Levi\textsuperscript{14} in his analysis of certain purely pentatonic, and in part

\textsuperscript{14} Levi op. cit. p. 120.
melismatic, ts'a melodies of the nineteenth century. In the pentatonic series: c d f g a c d, for example, he showed that when d is final, c and d alternate as line-finals; while the line-initials in a nine-line song are:

<table>
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<th>THIRD</th>
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<tr>
<td>direct</td>
<td>conjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjunct</td>
<td>disjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contrary</td>
<td>conjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
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<td>disjunct</td>
<td>disjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
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<tr>
<td>contrary</td>
<td>conjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disjunct</td>
<td>direct</td>
<td>contrary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His attention was first directed to the 'harmonic relationship' between line-initials and line-finals by Prince Chu's remarks in the Yüeh-lu ch'üan shu (1593); but since all combinations of the degrees of the pentatonic series are harmonious in the Chinese case (c. f. the beneficial harmony of tinkling jade pieces tuned to the pentatonic series and hung at the girdle12), what is important is surely the distinction between line-initials and line-finals, rather than their 'harmonious relationship.' We shall return to Chinese rules for composition later.

Leaving now the detailed structure of the mode, it is convenient to consider the types of melodic movement deducible from Songs 1-6. In classical western contrapuntal melody — as to some extent in Turco-Arabic melody — the melodic line is controlled by prohibition of leaps of augmented or diminished intervals, of sevenths or of ninths, or of direct conjunct movement following a leap, etc. The musical line of the four-note phrases of these T'ang melodies is evidently not controlled by this sort of prohibition (phrases of other lengths will be dealt with subsequently). It might be supposed that the leaps arise from gross corruption of the text (they could not arise from simple graphic confusion of similar characters); but against the view that they are spurious is the fact that such leaps also occur in the flute-versions of the Sê P'ei and Yüeh Chien, as well as in the ritual tunes of Chiang K'uei. If we analyse the movement from note to note in the four-note phrases in terms of the nature of the steps — whether conjunct or disjunct — and the direction of movement in relation to previous movement — whether direct or contrary — the unexpected fact emerges that, with two or three exceptions only, every logical alternative is realised. This does not mean that all possible groups of four-notes from the note-series are used; but that the movement of the musical line at any point does not depend on the nature of the previous movement or its direction as such. Whether the second of the three steps in a four-note phrase is conjunct and contrary, for instance, is unrelated to whether the first step is disjunct; and this is true for the third step as well. At each point, all possibilities of movement are open; and which movement actually occurs depends on factors other than the character of previous movements as defined by the criteria: conjunct or disjunct; direct or contrary. The evidence for this assertion can best be presented as a table; in this, the terms 'direct' or 'contrary' are used with respect to the immediately preceding step, and 'conjunct' implies a step of a minor or major second. Each type of movement is illustrated by the individual song-lists listed in the column on the extreme right. The

12 Li Chi 9, 'Yu Tao' (Sê P'ei Yao edition: folio 9 v.)
examples have been taken in the first place from Song 2, each line of which finds its appropriate place in the table. Illustrations of other types of movement are taken from the rest of the songs, and no attempt has been made to find more than a single example of each type of movement. The reference to a given line is in the form of three numerals: 6. II. 2 indicates the second stanza (II) of Song 6, and the second line (2) of that stanza.

The three types of movement which do not occur are shown by the asterisks in the last column. The first (conjugat, conjunct direct, disjunct direct), though not occurring in the twelve songs, is exemplified by the opening of the second stanza of the 'Hymn to the Ancestors' transcribed by Courant from Prince Chu. As we shall see, there is good reason for its not occurring in the songs of Chu Hsi. The absence of the second and third types (conjugat, disjunct direct, disjunct direct; disjunct, disjunct direct, disjunct direct) can also be plausibly explained.

What determines the fixed compass of these twelve songs? In the light of the ten songs of Chiang K‘uei, which display three modes in several different keys, but which fall, all ten, within the compass of a minor tenth (= 16 semitone degrees), the answer is undoubtedly that the compass is that of the standard bell- or stone-chime of sixteen pieces. According to the Sheng-men Yüeh-chih (1766) — the handbook of ritual musical instruments, dance, etc., issued at the shrine of Confucius — the arrangement of the chime was as follows: 17

\[
\begin{align*}
&c\# \ d\# \ e\# \ f\#
\end{align*}
\]

For the Lydian note-series on f, g' will be the upper limit of the mode possible within the compass of the chime (f being the lowest note of the chime). The limitation suggests that other features of the song-melodies may derive from their conception primarily in terms of a chime of fixed range. In particular, the markedly non-ideal character of the melodic line strongly suggests that the melodies are primarily instrumental compositions. As Bose writes of the 'Hymn to Confucius', the melodies exhibit 'die strenge Kahlheit einer rein spekulativen Melodik, das Anserste an Künstlichkeit und Naturferne'.

If now we approach the construction of such a song-melody from the composer's point of view, the seeming complexity of analysis vanishes. The rules for the composer as revealed by analysis are few and simple. His stanz-final may be the final or the octave above the final; his stanz-final may be the octave of the final, but in his last stanza must be the final itself. In a four-note phrase he has on the whole to respect the 'final' qualities of f, d, a and f, and the fugitive or leading note properties of g', e, c, b and g. In stanzas of a large number of lines, or in songs of a large number of stanzas, an 'initial' may occasionally occur in half-line final position, approached from a 'final' (c. f. 2. IV. 5).

The 'impossible' movements already referred to are: (1) conjugat, conjunct direct, disjunct direct; such a movement is impossible with the dynamics shown in Example 13, where a.g and g' are not reversible. But Prince Chu's example (Courant, p. 114) shows that this movement could occur in other variants of mode 1. (2) conjunct, disjunct direct, disjunct direct; here too there is no point in the series (Example 13) at which such a movement can begin and end without disturbing the 'initial' and 'final' relationships. Finally, (3) disjunct, disjunct direct, disjunct direct; this again is impossible in this mode; but in Chiang K‘uei's Sixth Song such a movement occurs.

We can now see the major restraints which impose order on the seeming freedom of movement suggested by the Table. Movement in a four-note phrase can occur in any of the logical alternatives shown in the Table provided only that, in each half-line, movement occurs from an 'initial' to a 'final' according to the permitted movements summarised in Example 13.

Although with three exceptions all types of movement are possible, it is clear from the analysis of Song 2, shown in the Table, that some patterns are used more frequently than others, presumably because they offer a larger number of melodic alternatives. They are, in particular, the oscillatory types of movement with mutually compensating contrary leaps, such as: conjunct, disjunct contrary, conjunct direct or contrary; and disjunct, disjunct contrary, conjunct direct or contrary.

The analysis thus far has proceeded without reference to any previously recognised type of modal structure, or to the modal functions recognised by the Chinese themselves. We may begin with the function of the two pien, indicated by the term pién itself. The fourth degree of the basic Lydian series is pién chih, 'becoming chih', that is, leading to the fifth degree; while the seventh degree is pién kung, 'becoming kung', that is, leading to the octave of the fundamental. The question whether the Chinese basic note-series was anciently heptatonic or pentatonic has been hotly disputed — by the Chinese themselves as early as the sixth century A. D. As Courant has pointed out24, the fact that the names for the fourth and seventh degrees are not distinct (as are those of the other degrees) in itself suggests that the pién were acquired later. The observed tendency for the degrees b and c in Songs 1—6 to 'resolve' on e or a, or f or d, respectively, accords with the view of them as 'leading' or 'passing' notes, though their observed resolution either by ascent

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17 Courant op. cit. p. 190.
18 Sheng-men Yüeh-chih, folio 6 r°.
two places before kung, the fundamental of the yü. Accordingly, the observed conspicuous role of the sixth as line- and half-line final in the T'ang melodies here receives verbal authority. According to Han Pang-ch'i in the T'ang, there existed a tradition that the initial of every mode in Chou times was the sixth of the basic note-series.

These references will not on this occasion be pursued further. They are given only to show the extent to which the observed structure of the six tunes in mode 1 accords with principles stated in Chinese texts, for which illustrative material from sources earlier than the sixteenth century has hitherto been lacking. The avoidance of the fifth degree as melody-initial agrees with the pien-like use of c; a similar avoidance of g would be in accordance with the tradition of Chou, for this is the nefast shang degree. Combining the citations, it is clear that there is textual support for much of the observed dynamic structure: there is, however, no textual support thus far for the observed detailed line-structure, with alternation of initial and 'final'.

Turning now to the modal functions as revealed in Songs 7 to 12 inclusive, it is evident that they differ from those of mode 1.

Song 7: “Fair, fair”, cry the ospreys’ (Mao 1; Waley 87)
Song 8: 'How the cloth-plant spreads' (Mao 2; Waley 112)

Song 9: 'Thick grows the cocklebur' (Mao 3; Waley 40)

Song 10: 'Now the magpie had a nest' (Mao 12; Waley 89)

Song 11: 'See, she gathers white aster' (Mao 13; Waley 98)

(1) SP 'ta' for 't'ea'; (2) YT omits this stanza. Line-repeats: I. 4, IV. 2; II. 2, III. 2.

The six-note lines are broken down as bed ead; aga fga; and the five-note lines as g'c def', f'c def'.

(1) YT d (2) II obliterated; YT bb (3) II, f a g obliterated (4) II obliterated (5) 'ta', but flute confirms 't'ea' (6) f' (flute). Line-repeats: I. 2, II. 6; II. 4, III. 3.

(1) SP 'ta' for 't'ea'. Line-repeats: I. 2, III. 1. Stanza-finals: f'/ f'. Line-finals: 5e 1f 1g 1a 1f'. Half-line finals: 5c 2f 2g 1g 1a 1d. Stanzas-initials: f f f'. Line-initials: 3f'/ 2c 1g 1e 1b' 1f'. Half-line initials: 6d 2g 1a 1b 1c 1e.

(1) YT a; this melody is hexatonic. Line-repeats: I. 3, III. 3.
Songs 9, 10 and 12, show clear dominance of e as subfinal; in Song 11, c is less important than a and d, which are of about equal importance. In Song 8, the most frequent line-finals are g and a, while in Song 7, d is the most important subfinal. The mode evidently embraces a number of rāga-like variants.

The occurrence of the same notes as sub finals in both groups — with the exception of Song 8 — is surely very remarkable, since in the shang-mode (that is, the modal inversion commencing on the second degree of a Lydian series) the position of the auxiliaries (pien) ought theoretically to be different. Instead of the kung series: first degree, second, third, pien, fifth, sixth, pien, first degree (8va); that is, on f, for example:

\[ f \quad g \quad a \quad b \quad (= \text{pien}) \quad c \quad d \quad e \quad (= \text{pien}) \quad f \]

the series runs: second degree, third, pien, fifth, sixth, pien, first (8va), second (8va). For the shang-mode on wu-i (c) this is:

\[ c^b \quad f \quad g \quad a \quad (= \text{pien}) \quad b^b \quad c \quad d \quad (= \text{pien}) \quad e^c \quad f \]

The observed dynamics are not at all what would be expected: a and d (by analogy with the kung-mode) should be initials (since they are the pien), not subinals; while b and c might be expected to act as subinals. Clearly in spite of being classified as shang, this mode is merely a variant of kung in which both pien are flatted (b and e). The true pien (a and d) are not treated as pien — except to some extent in Song 10, where d sometimes resolves on c; but the example is very short and is largely pentatonic.

When writing in the shang-mode then, the composer’s practice — judging by these six examples — was to treat d and e as if they were pien, ignoring the auxiliary nature of a and d, and forgetting that e is the upper octave of the fundamental of the entire wu-i system, and f merely the modal final.

All this would seem to suggest that by the time these tunes were composed the significance of the old classification of the modes, with its complete set of modal inversions, had been forgotten. The names shang and kung define note-series; if they ever implied those changes in dynamics which the inversion of the pentatonic series would lead us to expect, these implications have been obliterated. Mode 1 and mode 2 are nothing more than two versions of the kung-mode with different auxiliaries. But if the earlier modal system seems to be in decay, there can be no question that heptatonic construction is incompletely assimilated, as shown by the long stretches of purely pentatonic writing in the twelve songs. It would seem a point of great importance then, that as late as (or later than) the eighth century A. D., and in spite of intercourse with India and Central Asia, the auxiliary degrees are used with such indifference.

Although the pentatonic skeletons of the kung and shang modes are identical, once b, e, b and e are removed (e. g. p. 160), there is nevertheless a profound difference between the two — apart from the flattening of b and e — for shang tends to break into conjunct tetradecah and pentachord (Song 10), and kung does not. This behaviour may be related to the persistent dominant role of the sixth degree of the basic series in all modes of any given system, implied in the passage from the Ts Ch’ing Hui Tien already cited (p. 162); for c is the sixth degree (yū) of the basic series starting on e; but it must also be pointed out that the basic note-series of heptatonic shang approximates to the descending form of the Persian mode rast (in the ascending form the seventh is sharpened); kung, on the other hand is without parallel in the Perso-Turco-Arabic system. Is it possible that an original structural similarity — namely, the role of the fifth above the initial as dominant — in shang and rast, led to a re-inforcement of the popularity of shang, because foreign melodies in rast (or a rast-like mode) could be assimilated, owing to their affinities with shang?

The Lydian note-series of heptatonic kung, on the other hand,
occurs in classical and medieval Indian music; for example, the ga modes as defined in the Nāyikabhidrā (first centuries A.D.) and in the Saṅgīti Rasāravā of Śāṅgadeva (thirteenth century). Groset's account of the constitutive elements of the jātis (the lakāhanas) reads like a summary, using Indian technical terms, of the analysis of the Tāngetic melodies presented here; in particular the Indian discrimination of initial, final, medial-phrase-finals and sub-finals, and the recognition of a group of tonic-initials, some or all of which can act as subsidiary finals, suggests that the technique of melodic composition in eighth-century China may have been influenced by ideas still potent in thirteenth-century India. The greater richness of the Indian vocabulary (as compared with the Chinese) in terms for functional elements of melody, suggests that the analysis (and the technique of composition) may be Indian rather than Chinese in origin.

On the other hand, if—as seems reasonable—the basic Chinese pentatonic series is to be thought of as an assembly of overlapping three-note (tritone) structures, certain degrees of the series are likely to retain the character of passing notes, and we need not appeal to an Indian model for the basic dynamics of the Chinese pentatonic modes.

It has been shown that a common modal dynamic unites the six kung-melodies (and to some extent the six shàng-melodies as well), so that we can define the Chinese kung-mode, for example, just as we can define a Turkish or Arabic maqam or an Indian rāga. Moreover, these Chinese modes share yet another characteristic with maqam and rāga, namely, the recurrence of entire phrases (four-note phrases in this instance) in different songs in the same mode. Thus in the kung-tunes, the following four-note phrases occur in two or more different songs: b a c d (3. IV. 2) (4. III. 3, IV. 2) (5. II. 2); j g f a (2. V. 1) (6. IV. 1) (4. VI. 1) (5. IV. 1, III. 3); b c b a (3. I. 3) (4. II. 3) (6. III. 5, V. 5); a b a b (2. I. 1) (3. II. 1) (6. II. 1); c d g f (II. 8, II. 2) (2. III. 5) (6. II. 6, III. 2, IV. 4); e f g f (2. V. 5) (3. III. 4) (6. V. 2); f d b a (I. I. 1) (5. II. 1). (No attempt has been made to record all the occurrences of a given phrase or even all phrases recurring in this way.)

In the shàng-melodies, the following phrases occur in two or more songs: a; again the list is not necessarily complete: f d e f (8. I. 6) (7. III. 4); f e d c (7. IV. 1) (9. II. 10) (10. I. 2, III. 1); f d e f (11. I. 4) (12. III. 4); b c e g (8. I. 5) (9. I. 3) (10. I. 3); f e d c (7. I. 1, II. 1, III. 1) (II. 1); a b b c d (7. IV. 3) (8. III. 4).

It is striking to see how frequently, both in kung and shàng, the same phrase is used in the same position in the stanza in different songs. In one and the same song this is also true to a large extent (see the lists of line-repeats following each song). For example, the same four-

note phrase may tend to recur in initial, or medial or final position in a stanza. Thus, j g f a and f e d c are initial lines in three out of four occurrences; f d e f is final in both its appearances; b a c d is medial in three out of four occurrences, and so on.

I have suggested that the shàng-mode was in effect only a variant of kung with two different auxiliaries. This view is supported by the fact that a number of musical four-note phrases are common to kung and shàng tunes, as shown here: j a g f (6. I. 1, 6. II. 2) (5. III. 4) (7. I. 2) (12. I. 4) (9. I. 4, III. 2); f a g a (11. I. 3) (12. I. 1) (8. II. 4, III. 3); j a c d (3. II. 1) (9. I. 1) (5. IV. 4); c a g f (8. III. 3) (2. II. 5) (10. II. 2) (12. III. 2); c a c d (3. I. 2) (7. V. 2) (9. I. 2); f e d f (5. III. 4) (7. I. 4) (10. I. 4).

An important implication of these three lists of 'stock' phrases is that both kung and shàng tend to use purely pentatonic stock phrases in modal positions—that is, neither as initial line, nor as final line of the last stanza. The stock initial and final phrases in use in both modes tend to include the functional auxiliaries, and are therefore characteristic of the particular mode. This generalisation applies to the stock phrases, not to the structures of the ritual melodies in general. The sequence and relative frequency of purely pentatonic phrases, and of phrases with auxiliaries, varies from stanza to stanza and from song to song. A song such as No. 11 with twelve four-note phrases is purely pentatonic save for two final phrases; while Song 2, with twenty-five four-note phrases, exhibits one or other auxiliary in all but six of these. In general, the modal dynamics of mode 1 show less variation in the six songs than do those of mode 2.

From a passage in the Music Section of Chu Hsi's works, it is evident that he could make no sense of the description: huang-chung ch'ing kung, defining mode and key. If the description were huang-chung kung, there would be no difficulty; this would be the usual formula indicating that the mode is the kung-mode of the system whose fundamental is the pitch-pipe huang-chung (f). Huang-chung defines the key and kung the mode. Now the expression huang-chung ch'ing normally means the octave of huang-chung—the note given by a pipe of half the length. And Chu Hsi reads huang-chung ch'ing kung as: 'the octave of huang-chung acts as kung (huang-chung ch'ing wei kung). But this seems to him preposterous, because in his view the modal final, kung, must be at the bottom of the note series; if its octave were allowed to take precedence there would be confusion in the social order! He does not refer, however, to the description of mode 2: wu-i ch'ing shàng, which should be read (if he is right about the first) as: 'the octave of wu-i acts as shàng'. But such a reading is explicitly contradicted by the note-series of this group of songs, unambiguously defined by the pitch-

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27 Bose op. cit. pp. 110, 111.
pipe notation. The note-series is that of a shang-mode; and uu-i (e') is not shang (the final) but the fundamental of the system. Shang is in fact huang-chung (1).

I conclude that Chu Hsi's reading is wrong, and that ch'ing-kung and ch'ing-shang are specified variants of the kung and shang modes. The tunes themselves show that the final degrees, kung and shang respectively, are indeed 'ch'ing', for they occur at the top of the modal series in ten out of the twelve songs. The fact that Chu Hsi did not recognize ch'ing-kung and ch'ing-shang as modal variants seems to me to increase the probability that these songs are indeed of pre-Sung date.

The existence of the set of six melodies in ch'ing-shang is of great interest in view of the literary associations of what has usually been thought of as the 'upper shang-mode'. In an open letter to me, published in the Pei-p'ing Ch'ing-shih Jih-pao, October 29th, 1947, Professor Yin Fu-lu recognizes five different meanings of the term ch'ing-shang. They are: (1) A shang-mode transposed up a semitone. The term ch'ing-shang (as well as ch'ing-chih, chih being the fifth degree) occurs already in Han Fei Tzu (third century B. C.) [Transposition is not implied by this text, however (L. E. R. P.).] (2) A type of music evoking a nostalgic ('autumnal') emotional response. This is suggested by seasonal correlation in the Yenching section of the Li Chi (ca. third century B. C.) and also by the passage from Han Fei Tzu already mentioned. (8) A class of melodies, recognized from Han times onwards, for a chamber-ensemble of strings and wind and in three modes: p'ing tiao, ch'ing tiao and sh tiao. (4) A particular mode of this set of three, namely ch'ing tiao, in which shang was 'dominant'. (5) A general term in Sui and Tang times for old tunes in use in the Music Bureau (Yech-ju) under the Southern Dynasties (i.e. Sung, Liang etc.) as used in the Music Section of the T'ang Tien (early ninth century). In the light of the ritual melodies preserved by Chu Hsi, it would seem probable that a sixth meaning can be added to Yin's list; that at some time prior to the twelfth century, ch'ing-shang was the name for a mode on the second degree of a Lydian note-series with the final at the top of the mode. That is to say, the qualifying 'ch'ing' does not refer, as has been supposed, to the tessitura, but to the upper position of the final in the note-series. This implies a special modal dynamic and suggests that at one time there must have been something of the sort of modal structure which Middle Eastern and Indian peoples have today.

It is sometimes held that the nostalgic quality of shang melodies cannot have resided in musical attributes, but was due to cosmological associations. This may well be; but it is plain that the ch'ing-shang mode possessed a peculiar dynamic, as well as a characteristic note-series; and it is difficult to believe that the musical quality of the rising final cadence, for example, had nothing to do with the literary associations of ch'ing-shang during so many centuries. Moreover, there would seem to be no reason why all modes should not occur in 'ch'ing' forms; we have already noted ch'ing-chih from Han Fei Tzu, and the Songs exhibit kung as well as shang with upper finals.

The fact that no less than three of the shang modes were thus in the mode adds weight to the view that they are indeed music of the T'ang dynasty. For cosmological reasons, the shang-mode was not inimical to the T'ang dynasty, as it had been to the Chou, and a certain Chao Shen-yen is reported to have expressed the view in 720 A. D. that the shang-mode should be added to those used in the great sacrifices.

Hsiung Peng-lai, writing in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, also gives the modes of the twelve songs as: huang-chung kung and uu-i shang, as if (like Chu Hsi) he no longer was the significance of ch'ing, though he adds a note to the effect that the old score gives the mode as huang-chung ch'ing kung and uu-i ch'ing shang.

It has been shown that the note-to-note movement within the four-note phrases, each corresponding to a four-word line, consists of a twice-repeated movement from 'initial' to 'final'. This segmentation of the phrases is surely linked with the tendency of the four-word lines of the Chinese text to split up into meaningful binomes or two-word phrases. Without embarking on full discussion of the matter, it is fair to say that the first member of such a word-pair carries a different psychological weight from the second in that, in the most general sense, it qualifies the second member. In lines of five, six or seven words, the placing of the words on initial or final degrees seems again to be related to the meaningful articulation of the text. As a single example, we may take the last line of the third stanza of Song 1. The text in Kuo-yu, with commas to mark natural breaks, runs: 1 yen lo, chia pin, chih hsin. The notes are: c d f e d g f'. If commas are inserted in accordance with the meaning, the initial-to-final movement is preserved: c d f, e d, g f'.

On several occasions, it has been suggested that the fitness of music for words, so stressed in ancient China, was related in some way to the inherent melodic accent (tone) of each word of the text. There is no evidence that the tones played any part in the construction of the ancient verses of the Shih Ching, however; nor is it easy to see how a one-note-to-one-word melody could be related to the tonal structure of the language, inasmuch as the 'tone' is not merely a pitch but a neume—a melodic accent. On the other hand, an unexpectedly close parallel exists between the structure of the four-word lines and the

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29 Bose op. cit. p. 122.
31 Levis op. cit. Chapter III, p. 47.
32 Bose op. cit. p. 32 et seq.
articulation of the musical phrases corresponding to each line of the verse; the dynamics of the individual melodic phrases would seem to be immediately related to the tendency of the verse to break into binomial units. While it must be remembered that the four notes constitute a line and not a bar, there would seem nevertheless to be a sense in which this unit of four is a measure with ‘good’ and ‘bad’ beats. May not the excellence of ancient Chinese song have resided in the psychological matching of the text with the movement of tension and relaxation in the melody? In order to establish this point, however, a more detailed study of the correlation of text and music in the earliest sources would be necessary.

The principles of melodic composition as they emerge from this analysis of the twelve songs may now be summarised as follows: (1) The first line of the first stanza must begin on the final or its octave. (2) The last line of the last stanza must end on the final; medial stanzas may end on the octave of the final. (3) For variety, stanzas may begin alternately on the final or its octave. (4) Within a stanza, the line-finals will be chosen from the first, third, fifth, sixth or eighth degrees. These are also the most frequent half-line finals; but in one or other of the six ch'ing-kung songs all notes of the series may occasionally act as subfinals, though some do so but rarely. (5) The frequency of use of the various line-finals varies. While first and eighth degrees are relegated for the most part to initial and final lines, the third, fifth and sixth may occur with equal frequency or the sixth or third may dominate. There is no evidence here that the Chinese distinguished between the different resultant rūgas. (6) The most frequent initials in medial or final lines are the fifth, fourth and seventh degrees in ch'ing kung, or fifth, eighth and first degrees in ch'ing-shang. With descending frequency, all notes of the series can act as initials. (7) Each four-word line (one note to each word) includes two phrases of two notes. Each of these phrases involves movement between an ‘initial’ and a ‘final’ — ascending or descending, conjunct or disjunct; there is no instance of a repeated note. (8) Subject to the movement within two two-note phrases of a four-note line being (in general) from a note of the ‘initial’ group to one of the ‘final’ group, the musical line in medial phrases is restricted only by the compass of the standard bell- or stone-chime of sixteen semitone degrees. (9) Repetition, independent of the text, of entire musical lines, often in the same position in different stanzas, helps to give coherence to the melody. (10) In ch'ing-kung as in ch'ing-shang there are certain characteristic melodic formulae which can be used in any melody in that mode. (11) The notes of the melody never transgress the note-series of the nominal mode.

In view of this highly organised and largely instrumentally conceived structure, these melodies can as little be claimed as ‘folk’ songs as their verses can be as ‘folk’ poetry. Nevertheless, analysis reveals certain features which may surely be regarded as echoes of a very ancient musical tradition, held with great tenacity. For example, in spite of the note-series being heptatonic, the modal structure is basically pentatonic. Furthermore, in both ch'ing-kung and ch'ing shang there is a tendency for the sixth degree of the basic series to act as dominant; this is in accordance with a tradition associated with the Chou dynasty. Again, melodies nominally in the shang-mode tend to revert to the kung-mode with the same initial; this might be expected in view of the great popularity of the kung-mode in China. Lastly, the four-note phrases are surely a very ancient feature, shared with certain syllabic folksongs of Japan and Indo-China, and with the majestic bases of Indonesian gamelan-compositions. They may be regarded as a manifestation of that standard quaternary rhythm so typical of Chinese melody, and as such they embody an ancient folk trait.

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34 Bose op. cit. p. 86.