4 Piece:

'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom'

Gyokuju gotei-ka Yushu houting-hua

玉樹後庭花

Foreword to the piece

Unlike the positions of O-dai hajin-raku, Toraden, and Shunno-den in the Tang music manuscripts: Jinchi-yoroku (JCYR), Sango-yōroku (SGYR), Ruisō-chiyō (RSCY), and Ko-fu/Hōshō-fu ryokan (KF/HSFRK), the position of this piece, following Shunnō-den, is certainly not determined by its length fourteen $\frac{4}{2}$ measures only. That position was perhaps determined by its historical associations, and by the fact that it is named almost at the outset in the first of two chapters devoted to The Refined Music (Gagaku/Yayue 雅樂)in the Institutes of Tang (Tang huiyao 唐會要, completed in 961). Moreover the piece is mentioned in a context likely to confer on it a certain prestige, albeit of a sinister kind. In the second mouth-organ source here utilized, Shinsen shō-teki-fu (SSSTF), however, this piece is in ninth place in the sequence of pieces that follow Shunno-den, and it is preceded by both longer and shorter pieces.

The title and its significance

The translation suggested, 'A jade tree's rear-court blossom', is not how this title later came to be understood, but reflects more closely its original, sixth-century meaning. For an explanation of its earlier significance, I am indebted to Dr Anne Birrell, who has made a particular study of Chinese verse of the Southern Dynasties in the sixth century. The poem of this title which survives (p. 3) fits clearly into the 'Palace-style Poetry' sub-genre of the Southern Dynasties (see Birrell, 1982, pp. 4ff.). She draws my attention (a)

to the frequency with which 'tree' (樹 shu or 木 mu) is used as a symbol of a wife's immobility in contrast to her travelling husband; (b) to a poem by Xu Fei 徐排 (d. AD 524) in which a peach-tree in full bloom is an image of a wife's beauty; and (c) to the use of 'jade' ($\pm yu$) as an adjective applied to jewel-like aspects of the person — skin, face, for example. 'A jade-tree', therefore, symbolizes a beautiful woman. 'Rear court' is a reference to the women's part of a house, and in this context to the living quarters of the women of the palace, in apartments opening off the Northern courtyards. 'Rear-court blossom' could be a reference to an imperial concubine or spouse, and the complete title is a metaphor for a beautiful woman, 'blooming' in her appropriate environment.

Although frequently cited in Chinese texts as a single title, Yushu houting-hua, it seems probable that there existed songs of differing, but related title; indeed, the Ci Pu 詞語 1 (1715) refers to 'the Tang Dynasty lyric', Rear-Court Blossom, and 'the Song Dynasty lyric', A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom. In later centuries (post-sixth century), 'jade tree'² could be used as a metaphor for the emperor or for the imperial palace; but, beginning already in the Tang, and fully developed by the latter half of the Ming Dynasty (in the late sixteenth century) — as noted by van Gulik (1961, p. 290) — both terms of this title had

- 1 Ci Pu or Yuzhi 御製 Ci Pu (1715), Taibei, 1964: see pp. 36 and 84.
- 2 Such trees, with flowers, stems, and leaves, of precious stones or metals - artificial Bonsai, as it were - were made formerly as costly objets de vertu.

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acquired more specific erotic significance, and the title had become improper. There is no evidence that it was felt to be obscene in the sixth century, and a distinction is to be made between the original interpretation and intent of the poem and its later 'perverted' interpretation. (For a glossary of pornographic euphemisms see the study, by Akira Ishihara and Howard Levy (1969), of a section of *The Essence of Medical Prescription*, completed in AD 984.)

History of pieces of this, or related, title

The earliest reference to this piece is probably that in the *Sui History* - the history of the dynasty that reigned from 581 to 617 (*Sui Shu* 隋書), by Wei Zheng 魏徽-the monographs (*zhi* 志) in which were completed in 656. There it is related that the 'last ruler' of the Chen Dynasty (陳; 557-87), Houzhu 後主, personal name Shubao 叔寶, made³ this tune (and others) as settings for poems written during convival gatherings that included imperial concubines, scholars, and courtiers.

When The Last Ruler (Chen Houzhu) succeeded to the throne, he proved to be a drunken sot; when not holding court he spent much time in feasting. Greatly esteeming the pleasures of music, he sent the imperial concubines to practise the flute-[vertical notched flute] and-drum [music] of the Northern region, calling it 'Imitation of the North' or 'Variation on a Northern Style' and when merry with wine [caused them to] play it. For the Qingyue [-repertory]⁴ he also made Huangli liu, together with Yushu houting-hua, Jinchai liang bi [= bin] chui, and other pieces. Along with favourite courtiers and others he composed their song-texts. Beauties strove in mutual rivalry in an extreme of frivolity. Men and women sang together. The sound thereof was very sad [or 'Their tunes were very sad'].

及後主嗣位, 耽荒於酒, 視朝之外, 多在宴筵。尤重聲樂, 遺宮女習北方簫鼓, 謂之代北, 酒酣則奏之。又於淸樂中造黃鸝留及玉樹後庭花, 金釵兩臂垂等曲, 與幸臣等製其歌詞, 綺豔相高,極於輕薄。男女唱和其音甚哀。

Sui Shu, j. 13, Yinyue (shang), p. 309 (Zhonghua shuju edn, 1973)

The use of the word ai 'sad' calls for comment, since it would appear, at first sight, to be incompatible with the scenes of frivolity hinted at by the text. Nevertheless, the epithet is usually employed in apposition to le \Re 'happy', 'joyful'. Conceivably the sound was necessarily sad because by Confucian standards improper and indeed sinful in its context.

The Japanese handbook Kyōkunshō (KKS) (maki 3) (Nihon shisō taikei edn, 1973, p. 50) states that the piece is also called 'Golden-Hairpins Droop on Both Shoulders'

- 3 It is prudent not to give to the lexigraph zao (1) (to create, to make, to build; to prepare; to institute; to begin from) the meaning of 'to compose'. In the world of Asian music, and of East Asia in particular, it may have meant no more than 'to revise' or 'to arrange' in the sense of assigning instruments to an ensemble on a particular occasion.
- 4 Gimm 1966. For *Qingyue* see n. 1, pp. 145-7.
- 5 See later for more of these titles. See also n. 14 below.

(Kinsa ryō hi sui/Jinchai liang bi chui 金釵兩臂垂). 'Goldenhairpin' can be a concubine's name; but the text perpetuates a confusion, and the title is probably garbled. This latter title - as can be seen from the preceding translation - is a different piece, also by Chen Houzhu. It occurs in the Tongdian 'Current Records' compiled by Du You 杜佑, c. 801/803 (j. 145), and a passage from this work is cited in the prefaces to the piece in JCYR, SGYR, and RSCY, This same passage gives four titles of songs attributed to the same author: Yushu houting-hua, Tangtang, Huangli liu, and Jinchai liang bi chui (these will be translated when the Tongdian passage is examined in more detail, p. 8). However, KKS also gives two alternative titles, not so far found in Chinese sources: 'The Jade Tree Piece' (Gyokuju kyokushi/Yushu quzi 玉樹曲子), and 'The Chen Palace's Resentment on Seeing Xu Hun's poem' (Jinkyu en ken Kyo Kon shi/Chen-gong yuan jian Xu Hun shi 陳宮怨見許渾詩) This allusion has not been traced but might well refer to critical comment on Chen Houzhu and his principal concubines, in particular on Zhang Lihua 張麗華, often referred to as Zhang Guifei.

The title, both as 'A Jade Tree' and as 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom', is listed in the Jiaofangji (JFJ, completed 756 or later); but it does not appear in the Yuefu zalu (YFZL) of Duan Anjie (c. 890) (Gimm 1966). Notwithstanding the extended prefaces to this piece in the vast collectanea of Fujiwara no Moronaga (JCYR, SGYR), no performance of it in Japan is recorded in the Kokonchomonjū, nor do the prefaces themselves refer to performances or performers. Nevertheless, the Ryūmeishō (RMS) (1133), having referred explicitly to a Chinese performance in 628 (a reference without foundation however – see p. 7) states, as regards the Japanese Court: 'Therefore it is played at the January Court-Banquet' ('Shikareba Shōgatsu Sechie ni kore o sōsu' しかれば正月節會に是を奏す).

However, an upper marginal gloss in a manuscript (in Kyōto University Library) of the Sango-Chūroku 三五中錄 makes specific and particular reference to the various Sections, such as reinforces the idea that the piece was at one time a suite consisting of a number of 'movements'. The passage reads: 'According to oral tradition, the sixth Section is called "The Rainbow-Skirt Section"; the seventh Section is called "The Feather-Robe Section" 有口傳六帖

謂之霓裳帖七帖謂之羽衣帖. (The substance of this gloss also appears in KKS.)

This passage is not the only evidence in support of the view that the piece may once have consisted of more than one Section; there is evidence from Chinese sources. The Ci Pu (already mentioned) refers (in the commentary) to 'the Broaching of "Rear-Court Flower" '後庭花破子: and the commentary adds: 'regarding the difference between the Tang lyric "Rear-Court Flower" and the Song lyric "A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom", this was: that that which was called the Broaching [in the one] was the Entering Broaching [in the other], on account of its many notes' 與唐詞後庭花宋詞玉樹後庭花所謂破子者以其繁聲入破也. Without attempting to explain what that might signify in musical terms, this statement too implies that the piece may once have had a suite-like structure of several movements. It is evident, however, that the Ci Pu is referring to pieces of the same, or related title, but of the Tang and Song dynasties, not to the piece by Chen Houzhu. Of the song-texts quoted in Ci Pu, none have relevance to Chen Houzhu, and the texts by Mao and Sun in particular, there cited, are not even in regular verse - as is Chen Houzhu's lyric – but are heterometric verse of the type known as ci 詞. It would seem that, as so often happened in China, the title evoked resonances that continued to interest poets long after the days of Chen Houzhu. In indicating a possible suite-like structure, the Ci Pu referred not to the ruler's song, but to compositions of more or less the same title, popular in succeeding dynasties. This is also implied by the variation in mode and key reported in this same passage, namely, Xianlu-diao 仙呂調 (Church Dorian on F) and Yize-yu 夷則羽 (also Dorian on F), and Shuang-diao 雙調 (Mixolydian on F), if it is assumed that the fundamental of the modal system was C. Since, however, the mode-key $S\overline{o}j\overline{o}$ in $T\overline{o}gaku$ ($S\overline{o}j\overline{o} = Shuang-diao$) is Mixolydian on G, it is probable that the Tang fundamental was a tone higher, namely, D. The mode-key of Yushu houting-hua, as we have it, is of course (p. 12) Mixolydian on D (Chinese Yue-diao).

The fact that the upper marginal gloss in the Sango-chūroku equates two Sections of 'Jade Tree' with the suite Nishang yuyi 霓裳羽衣 'Rainbow - Skirts and Feather-Robes' — the ballet that made so great an impression on the Tang poet, Bo Juyi 白居易 (Waley 1949), when he witnessed a palace performance in 808 or 809 — is of the greatest interest and importance. Extensive accounts of this ballet-suite survive in the late seventeenth-century Gagaku-handbook Gakkaroku (GKRK), for example, but no score of any part of this work, in any one of the five tablatures, survives in any manuscript so far seen in Japan. This is the more remarkable since Haku Rakuten, as Bo Juyi (Letian 樂天) is known in Japan, was, and is, so popular a Tang poet for Japanese readers.

That there may indeed have existed some connection between 'Jade Tree' and 'Rainbow-Skirts...' is perhaps also suggested by the list of suites (daqu) in the Jiaofangji, where the former title immediately precedes that latter.

In the Gakukō mokuroku 樂考目錄 'Index of music investigated' (GKR, maki 32), 'A Jade Tree' precedes an account of 'Golden-hairpin's two arms hanging down', (better emended to 'Golden hairpins droop on both temples', see n. 14), and this in turn is immediately followed by a lengthy essay on 'Rainbow-Skirts...'. The 'Golden-Hairpin...' entry mentions the tradition (see previously) reported in the Honpo kyoku-fu 本邦曲譜 'Musical scores of national pieces' (GKR, maki 32), that 'Golden-Hairpin...' as well as 'Rainbow-Skirts...' were different titles for 'A Jade Tree'. GKR also quotes two lines of five monosyllabic Chinese words, ostensibly from the lyric of Gyokuju gotei-ka, prefaced by the statement: 'Its words state (其辭曰): "Jade Tree's Rear-Court Flower: The flower may bloom, but will not last for ever"(玉樹後庭花·花開不復久)'. This couplet is also cited in the Song 宋 Yuefu shiji (YFSJ) 樂府 詩集 (j. 47, p. 680 in the Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1979). The verse-structure, in lines of five syllables, is evidently not that of Chen Houzhu's complete lyric.

Regarding transmission of the piece to Japan, GKR maki 31 in the Honpogaku-setsu 本邦樂說 , p. 920, quotes a statement⁶ from Taigenshō 體源鈔 (TGS) to the effect that it was brought by Fujiwara no Sadatoshi (Fascicle 1, p. 13), and that he himself received the piece from his piba/biwa teacher, the 85-year-old Lian Chengwu 廉承武 (Wolpert 1977). (Sadatoshi is also credited with the personal importation of the piece next to be examined in this fascicle, Katen, p. 20.)

The two-line quotation already translated is said (in YFSJ) to be taken from a lost work, the Wu Xing zhi 五行志 Annals of the Five Elements, perhaps related to the Wu Xing dayi 五行大意 The General Idea of the Five Elements. The latter is believed to have been completed about 600, during the Sui Dynasty, and the comment that follows the couplet indicates that, even at that early date, texts relating to the 'jade tree' were given an ominous interpretation: 'Contemporaries felt the song to be prophetic: this was an omen that he would not long survive' 時人以歌讚此其不久兆也.

Chen Houzhu's own lyric (if as such it may be accepted) is at first sight in no way ominous.

Fair sky, fragrant grove, face lofty bower.

Freshly adorned, captivating disposition, apt to topple cities. Silhouetted against a door-leaf, perfect charm perversely holds back,

Then, leaving the curtain, holds a pose, smiling a welcome. Bewitching face – as a flower holds dew!

A jade tree in its season lights the rear court.⁷

- 6 Careful study of the article on *Gyokuju gotei-ka* in the Nihon koten zenshū ednof the *Taigensh*ō (3 三本 (下)), pp. 292-303, has not disclosed this statement. It is of interest, however, that *Taigensh*ō also quotes the *Huiyao* text with the same variants as the prefaces in the manuscripts.
- 7 This translation of Chen Houzhu's lyric is based on a literal version made for me by Dr Anne Birrell, 6 November 1981, with suggestions made by Mr Elling Eide in a letter dated 22 June 1982. A translation by Professor J. A. Frodsham is to be found in his book: An Anthology of Chinese Verse (Oxford, 1967), p. 198.

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> > Yuefu shiji, di 2 ce, j. 47, pp. 680-1 (Zhonghua shuju edn, 1979)

It was, surely, the licentious extravagance of Chen Houzhu's way of life, and his undignified taking refuge in a well, along with his two favourite concubines, when his palace was attacked (if indeed the incident was not invented), that led to the piece being considered ominously symptomatic of decline. (See, for example, the account of his conduct, downfall, and subsequent protection by Wen-di of Sui, in Wright 1978.)

The most extended discussion of 'A Jade Tree' and its possible influence is that in the *Tang huiyao*, already mentioned (p. 1). The thirty-second chapter of that work as we now have it, in the recension by Wang Pu of 961 (the second year of the Song Dynasty), includes a Section in two parts on 'The Refined Music' *Yayue/Gagaku'* 雅樂上下 8. The prefaces to the piece in JCYR, SGYR, RSCY, and the account in KKS, all quote (from the beginning of the section) a continuous passage amounting to 280 lexigraphs.

At six points in this same passage all the citations in the Japanese sources differ from the Chinese text as it now stands, and the possibility exists that these same sources are quoting from an earlier version of the text, perhaps from that presented to the throne in China in 801 — the *Huiyao* of Su Mien 蘇星. In support of this view, various manuscripts of JCYR, and the account in KKS, head the passage 'Kaiyō /Huiyao', while SGYR and RSCY have 'Tō-kaiyō /Tang huiyao'. (For further discussion, see later, p. 8.)

The content of the passage quoted was evidently of the greatest importance in determining Japanese views on the nature of the borrowed repertory of *Togaku*. This becomes particularly clear in the light of an extended paraphrase of the passage (in Heian Japanese) in the earliest of the Gagakuhandbooks, RMS (1133). Because of the great significance of this passage, it is proposed to remove the discussion of it from the translation of prefaces to the piece (p. 9.), and to translate it here in its entirety. The Chinese text is given, following the translation. Furthermore, on lines below this text, corresponding to the versions in JCYR (K = Kyoto; P = Palace), SGYR, RSCY, and KKS, areshown lexical differences between the Chinese text of 961 and the Japanese quotations. It is plain that all Japanese sources, regardless of date, are quoting the same version of the text, and this differs from that of the Chinese Tang huivao.

8 Zhonghua shuju edn,in the Guoxue jiben congshu, Peking, 1955; see pp. 588, 589. The entire chapter occupies pp. 588-621. Some account of the various recensions of the Huiyao ('a classified digest of official documents') will be found in an essay by Professor E.G. Pulleyblank (1960).

Huiyao states: Gaozu [566-635] abdicated [on 3. 9th month. 626; he had reigned from 618-26]. Because he had had to give much attention to military and state affairs, he had not yet had leisure to correct and re-create the Song-Treasury [Yuefu 樂府]. The old texts of the Sui Dynasty were still used. Not until the tenth day of the first month of the ninth year of Wude [626] did he command the Vice-President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Zu Xiaosun, to put to rights the 'Refined Music'. On the tenth day of the six month of the second year of Zhenguan [628] the music, having been completed, was played. Taizong = the Emperor] addressed the officials in attendance, saying: With regard to the making of Rites and Music: concerning this the Saints established their teaching by following external things, regarding them as restraining and regulating. How can it be that the rise and fall of good social order stems from this? The Grand Censor, Du Yan, said in reply: The rise and fall of former ages truly derived from music. When Chen was about to perish, there was 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom'; when Qi was about to perish, there was the piece 'The Companion'. Passers-by who heard them all grieved with silent tears. This is what is called 'a tune apt to bring about the downfall of a state'. Looked at in this light, it would seem that this was caused by music.

Taizong said: Not so. That musical sounds stir man is a natural principle. Therefore, when those who are happy hear them, they are then pleased; when those who are mournful listen to them, they are then sad. The feelings of sadness and pleasure have their being in man's mind; they are not from music. It is simply that, when a government is about to perish, its people will always be suffering; so they are stirred in their suffering minds and hence, hearing them [= musical sounds] they are, accordingly, saddened. How indeed should the grief and bitterness of musical sounds be able to compel those who are happy to be sad? At present, regarding the pieces: 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' and 'The Companion', their notes are all preserved. If we should cause them to be played for you, we know you would certainly not be saddened.

The Assistant of the Right in the Department of State Affairs, Wei Zheng, approached, saying: The ancients declared: ⁹ 'Ritual, ritual; Is it no more than presents of jade and silk? Music, music! Is it no more than bells and drums?' Music is located in man's harmony; it is not located in the harmony of notes (or in tunes).

The Emperor approved.

高祖受禪。軍國多務。未遑改創樂府。尚用隋氏 (1) 舊文。武德九年正月十日。始命太常少卿祖孝孫。 大 JCYR (K) 大 JCYR (P) 至 至 大 SGYR RSCY 至 大 至. 大 KKS 考正雅樂。至真觀二年六月十日。樂成奏之。 JCYR (K) JCYR (P) SGYR RSCY KKS

9 The passage is from the Analects and is put into the mouth of Confucius himself. See Waley 1938 (1945, 1949), Book XVII, 11, p. 212.

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太宗謂侍臣曰。禮樂之作。蓋主人緣物設教。以
             (3) (4)
        爲撙節。治之隆替。豈此之由。御史大夫杜淹 對
JCYR (K)
             理 興
             理治興
JCYR (P)
             理興
SGYR
             理之興
RSCY
           □ 理 輿
KKS
        曰。前代興亡。實由於樂。陳之將亡也。爲玉 樹
JCYR (K)
JCYR (P)
SGYR
RSCY
KKS
        後庭花。齊之將亡也。而爲伴侶曲。行路聞之 。
        莫不悲泣。所謂亡國之音也。以是觀之。蓋樂 之
       由也。太宗曰。不然。夫音聲感人。自然之道也。
         故歡者聞之。則悅。憂者聽之則悲。悲悅之情。
          在於人心。非由樂也。將亡之政。其民必苦 。
JCYR (K)
                                心告
JCYR (P)
SGYR
RSCY
KKS
                   (5)
        然苦心所感。故聞之則悲耳。豈樂聲哀怨。能 使
JCYR (K)
                   TTT.
JCYR (P)
                   而
SGYR
                   mi
RSCY
                   īffi
KKS
                   īfij
       悦者悲乎。今玉樹後庭花。伴侶之曲。其聲俱 存。
                                 具
JCYR (K)
                                 Ħ.
JCYR (P)
                                 Ħ
SGYR
                                 具
RSCY
                                 具
KKS
          朕當爲公奏之。知公必不悲矣。尚書右丞魏徵
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Since the passage is preceded by the title Yayue/Gagaku (Refined Music), anyone reading it in isolation might be forgiven for supposing that, no matter how improper the associations of a given piece of music may be, it can have no undesirable effect on listeners, if they are in a suitably wholesome state of mind. Furthermore, since the discussion of 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' follows

進曰。古人稱禮云禮云。玉帛云乎哉。樂云樂云。

鐘鼓云乎哉。樂在人和。不由音調。上然之。

a statement that the rectification of Gagaku has been completed, and that the rectified music is being played in the imperial presence, it might be supposed that this same piece is part of the Refined Music - of Gagaku. That this is not so, however, is made abundantly clear by what follows. The account reverts to the actions of Zu Xiaosun in rectifying the Refined Music and states first, that 'The Refined Music of the Great Tang Dynasty' amounted in all to 32 pieces and 84 systems (diao = 'mode-keys' - this latter statement cannot be true since a single piece is likely to have been written in a single mode-key). It then goes on to list the titles of pieces from this repertory that are to be performed at particular sacrifices. None of these items survives in the $T\bar{o}gaku$ repertory, and there is no evidence that any one of them was ever transmitted to Japan. Surely no further evidence is required that, as late as the reign of Tang Taizong (627-49), the Refined Music, in the official Chinese sense, consisted only of pieces linked with imperial sacrifices and court ceremony. The Refined Music section of the Huiyao has nothing to do with the entertainment music of the Tang Court - with the so-called 'New Refined Music' Xin Yayue 新雅樂, the only part of the music of the Chinese Court that reached Japan.

None of the *music* of pieces itemized in the 'Great Tang Refined Music' repertory, as listed in the sequel to this passage from the *Huiyao*, survived in China or elsewhere; but numerous song-texts for pieces with these titles survive in the YFSJ, j. 4-8, for example: 'Contented harmony' *Yuhe* 豫和, 'Great harmony' *Taihe* 太和, 'Awesome harmony' *Suhe* 肅和, 'Expanding harmony' *Shuhe* 舒和, 'Venerable harmony' *Shouhe* 壽和, and others. They are all in regular verse, isometric, in lines of four, five, six, or seven, syllables to the line.

The way in which Japanese readers interpreted the extended quotation from the *Huiyao* is made clear by the paraphrase in RMS which serves as preface to *Gyokuju gotei-ka*. Omitting the opening passage in which the length of the piece, and its repeats, in measures is defined, this preface continues:

In olden times, this music was ominous. The reason for that was: that [a certain] emperor deigned to like this music. In the course of time, this world becoming absorbed in divination and spirits, the common people were ruined. When the nobles met to investigate the matter, a certain minister said: This music is the cause. [Therefore] they should decide to stop [playing it] for a long time. It was stopped for a long time.

One or two generations passed, and again [a certain] emperor said he felt this music to be excellent; again he was graciously pleased to like it. The nobles [advised him] that this was something that had been stopped because it was ominous. Moreover, they recommended that it should not be played in the imperial presence. [But] the imperial command stated: The music of winds and strings is by no means ominous. The human mind is spontaneously moved [by music]. If one who is heavy-hearted hears it, he is heavy-hearted; if one who is glad hears it, he is glad. It is a thing in accordance with the human mind; it cannot be from music.

Accordingly, on the tenth day of the sixth month, in the second year of $J\bar{o}gan$ [that is, the reign-period Zhenguan in the *Huiyao* account], [the Emperor] gave it to the Inner Teaching-

Workshop Naikyōbō/ Nei-Jiaofang 內教坊. After the completion of the music, it was played. By that, moreover, the world was not harmed. Therefore it is played at the January Court-Banquet [of the Heian Court].

この樂はむかしいみありき。 ゆへは、帝王この樂をこのみせさせ 給き。 しかるほどに。 よにてきれい をこりて、人民百姓ほろびうせき。 その時公卿せんぎありしに。 ひゃり の大臣。この樂の故なり。これをな がくとどめらるへしとさだめられし かば、ながくとどめられにき、一两 代過で、 又帝王さのがくいみじくな もしろかりけりとて。 またこのませ 給。公卿いみありしかばとどめられ にし物也。更に ~さがらかべから ずと申されしに、宣旨云。管絃はさ らにいみなし。 人の心を自然に感せ さする也。なげきある物はきけばな げく。 よろこびあるものはきけばよ ろこが、人の心にしたがか物也。が くによろべからず。よりて負觀二年 六月十日。内敎坊にたまりはりて。 成樂のかちそうす。それによりてさ らに世与しからず。しかれば正月節 會に是を奏す。

There can be no doubt that this extract from RMS is, to a considerable extent, a paraphrase of the passage from the *Huiyao*, previously translated; but in the Japanese version it has become a parable tending towards a specific end, and its conclusion reveals just what the Japanese chose to accept from the Tang-Chinese original.

It may perhaps be useful to consider the purpose, in the context of Tang China, of the opening passage from the section on Refined Music - the music of ritual in the Huiyao. This purpose was to record the historical fact of the 'putting to rights' of the music of Confucian sacrifices and court ceremony; to give a summary list of the sources examined and utilized; to state the titles of music to be used at the various sacrifices. Following this, the section continues with an examination, year by year, of musical matters - repairs to instruments, questions concerning music appropriate to particular occasions, and so on. It must not be supposed that the process of 'putting to rights' involved any examination of entertainment music, since the text tells us precisely what was involved, in a passage that follows on immediately from that already translated.

Prior to this [that is, to the discussion between Taizong and his ministers] Xiaosun, on the grounds that the old [ritual] music of Chen [557-87] and Liang [502-56] [Northern states] mixed

up tunes of Wu and Chu [provinces of South-Eastern China], and that the old [ritual] music of [Northern] Zhou [557-81] and [Northern] Qi [550-77] went too far into the empty skills of barbarian tribes, he therefore made a blend of Northern and Southern and, having examined the old tunes [= the old ritual melodies of all the dynasties of the period of division, 420-618], devised The Refined Music of Great Tang.

There follows the list of titles and occasions previously mentioned.

The conversation between Taizong and his ministers takes place, it will be recalled, on the occasion of the first court performance of the revised ritual music. The conversation is an exchange of literary commonplaces, and the emperor initiates the exchange. The concept of the tune able to bring about the downfall of a state goes back at least to the Former Han Dynasty (206 BC to AD 23) and probably to the second century BC. The phrase occurs, for example in the *Grand Preface Daxu* 大序 to the *Mao Shi* 毛詩, the version of *The Book of Songs, Shi Jing* 詩經, once attributed to Mao Gong among others; and in the *Records of History, Shiji* 史記 of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 BC), there is an extended account of the terrifying action of several such tunes, memorably translated by van Gulik (1940, pp. 136-8).

In the context of a 'putting in order' of the ritual music, Taizong's comment on the importance attached by 'the Saints' – of whom Confucius was the most exalted – to the making of rites and ritual music, was well chosen and appropriate to the occasion. He asks the reason, not for the concern of the Saints, but for the alleged ennobling or corrupting powers of music. Du Yan's reply is not an original observation, but a statement of a well-known theme of Confucian polemic. What was new in Du Yan's reply was the identification of two popular songs as instances of tunes that had brought about the downfall of states, only two generations or so before the rise to power of the Tang.

Taizong's rejoinder, rejecting the possibility of such music causing such effects, is remarkable at a time when Confucian ideas were being actively promulgated; but it is not an original point of view. The third-century Taoist, philosopher, and outstanding musician, Xi Kang (executed for heterodoxy in AD 262), had argued precisely for such a view of the nature of music in a dialogue entitled 'Discussion: that music is without sadness or joy' Sheng wu ai le lun 聲無哀樂論 . Parts of the dialogue have been admirably translated by Holzman in an extended essay on Xi Kang's life and thought. 10 The protagonist (who represents Xi Kang himself) is asked, at the outset: 'What are your reasons for contending that there is neither sadness nor happiness in music?' In summary, Xi Kang makes a sharp distinction between that which is the proper sphere of music itself, and that which belongs to the psychology of music. He affirms that music in itself is good or bad, but that it is quite unrelated to sadness or happiness. The passage on the next page strikingly anticipates part of Taizong's argument:

10 Holzman 1957. See pp. 68-72 and passages in Chinese LIX to LXV, pp. 152-5.

The sad mind is concealed within. Meeting with fitting notes, it then manifests [itself in music]. While the fitting notes [in themselves] are unshaped, the sad mind has its governing principle [of sadness]. If the mind governed by sadness then meets with unshaped notes that are fitting, and thereupon manifests [itself in music], this means no more than that it is aware of [its own] sadness.

夫哀心藏于內遇和聲而後發和聲無象而哀心有主夫以有主之哀 心因乎無象之和聲而後發其所覺悟唯哀而己¹¹

It is, as Holzman puts it, an amoral and non-sentimental view of the nature of music.

The vocabulary of Xi Kang is not that of Taizong; but the parallel character of the thought expressed is evident. A further passage in Xi Kang gives rise to the notion that the discussion with court officials (perhaps aprocryphal) in *Huiyao* was in part stimulated by knowledge of Xi Kang's dialogue on the nature of music: just before the passage quoted, Xi Kang too quotes from the same passage from the *Analects* of Confucius (p. 4) as does Wei Zheng (Waley 1938, Book XVII, 11, p. 212), but Xi Kang follows this with a brilliant, imitative, parallel question of his own devising, making plain the difference between the inner nature of grief and its external signs: "'Music, music! Is it no more than bells and drums?" Grief, grief! Is it no more than weeping?" 樂云樂云鍾鼓云乎哉哀云哀云哭 泣乎哉 (j. 5, 1b).

The purpose of Taizong's abrupt contradiction of Du Yan was, presumably, to emphasize the impossibility of moral harm coming to those who were bien pensant, no matter what music was heard. 'How should the grief or resentment of musical sounds cause those who are happy to be sad?' But, and let it be repeated, this judgement of Taizong's had no bearing on the repertory of ritual music; it did not justify admission of 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom', and 'The Companion' to the Gagaku/Yayue repertory.

Consider now what happened to this extract from the *Huiyao* in \overline{O} ga no Motomasa's $Ry\overline{u}meish\overline{o}$ (RMS). The statement of Du Yan, that 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' led to the downfall of Chen, is given pseudohistorical elaboration in Motomasa's version; but the downfall of Chen was surely due to the fact that Chen Houzhu was a thoroughly incompetent ruler, devoted chiefly to wine, women and song. The text of his lyric (p. 3) is not calculated to corrupt, and is in no way either salacious or ominous. If the song had any particular significance it was as a symptom, rather than a cause, of decadence.

In Motomasa's account, the reason for the song's being ominous was the fact of its being liked by an unspecified emperor. The ruination of the common people was evinced by their preoccupation with practices of divination and

11 嵇康集 , edited by Lu Xun 魯迅 , j. 5, p.2a, Peking, 1956. The text and *baihua* paraphrase and commentary by Ji Liankang has also been examined:嵇康·摩無哀樂論·吉聯抗 譯注,Yinyue Chubanshe, Peking, 1964. with the spirit-world. This allegation may be an echo of Sui Wen-di's edict against Chen Shubao, in which the reported appearance of malevolent ghosts is urged as a sign of the withdrawal of Heaven's mandate from the Chen ruler (Wright, 1978, p. 141). The proscription of the piece is an invention of Motomasa's. Between the end of Chen and the year 628 (Zhenguan 2), two generations had indeed passed; but *Huiyao* does not make Taizong express pleasure in 'A Jade Tree...'. He merely states his conviction that of itself it could not exert any influence on a mind at ease, free from bitterness.

The imperial command of Motomasa's text is part of the rejoinder put into the mouth of Taizong; the negative in Motomasa's 'by no means ominous' (sarani iminashi) is the equivalent of Huiyao's 'not so' (buran). The following: 'The human mind is spontaneously moved [by music]' is in part the equivalent of Taizong's 'That music moves man is a principle of nature' - shizen equates with ziran, and kanzesasuru with gan. In the ensuing paraphrase of the Huiyao text, Motomasa substitutes nageki 歎き for you 憂; but his yorokobi can be rendered in Chinese lexigraphs as two of the terms used by the Huiyao: 歡 or 悦び . 'If one who is heavy-hearted hears it, he is heavy-hearted; if one who is glad hears it, he is glad' equates with 聽之則悲(kikeba nageku), 聞之則悅(kikeba yorokobu). His 'it is something in accordance with the human mind' hito no kokoro ni shitago mono nari equates with Huiyao's 在於人心 , but substitutes a more specific word 從ふ shitagau → shitago for zaiyu. Again Taizong's conclusion: 'They are not from music' 非由樂也 is reflected in Motomasa's gaku ni yoru bekarazu.

However, Motomasa again goes far beyond his original when he states that on the tenth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Jōgan (Zhenguan), the emperor (not specified, but 'emperor' is to be understood from the use of the honorific tamawarite — from 賜ふ) bestowed the piece on the Inner Teaching-Workshop. The allusion to 'the completion of the music' in Motomasa's account is a misconstruction of the Chinese; what was completed was the revision of the ritual music, and that it was which was played. Taizong is indeed made to say that his entourage would not be adversely affected — not caused to grieve — if he should have these pieces played, but there is no implication that they were played; and the discussion moves on immediately to further observations on the real nature of ritual and ritual music.

Motomasa's suggestion that it was a matter of observation that the world suffered no harm in consequence of the imagined performance is again a gratuitous elaboration; but his treatment of the entire passage has the advantage that it authorizes performance, in the presence of the Japanese court, of any music whatsoever, including all the kinds of entertainment music borrowed from the Tang Court.

The original passage from the *Huiyao*, and Motomasa's paraphrase and interpretation, are evidently of the greatest importance as determinants of subsequent Japanese

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attitudes to the borrowed repertory. Let it be said again: none of that repertory was Yayue/Gagaku in the Chinese sense, in the sense in which that term was used in the Huiyao, in the sense in which the term was in use at the court of Taizong in 628. A misinterpretation of the Chinese text made possible Japanese acceptance of a popular, vulgar, entertainment repertory, as a music of refinement. In turn, this was a precondition for the transformation of this borrowed repertory into what has indeed become a ritual repertory, one that has functioned for a millennium as an essential aspect of Japanese court ceremonial, a repertory that has evolved its own numinous quality, regardless of its origins.

It may well be asked: How was it that the Japanese missions to the Tang Court never acquired any Yayue (Gagaku) in the sense of the subject-matter of the Huiyao chapter? It is possible that they would not in any case have been permitted to copy the music of Court ceremonial; it is also possible, however, that they were not even permitted to hear it. If indeed they heard it, it is conceivable that they did not find it as attractive as the music of Court entertainment. Whatever Tang ensemble it is that the Gagaku orchestra today reflects, it certainly is not the orchestra of Confucian ritual or the 'Drumming & Blowing' bands of military or state processions.

No text of the edition of the Huiyao offered to the Throne in 801 survives in Chinese sources; but it is certain that the substance of the passage cited was in existence even before 801, since it occurs, with minor textual variants, in the Zhenguan zhengyao 貞觀政要12 'Important Governmental Actions in the Zhenguan Period', by Wu Jing吳兢 who died in 749. Furthermore, two of the six lexical differences (ringed numbers), common to all the Japanese versions of the passage, are occasioned by the necessity of avoiding lexigraphs that had become taboo, because of their use in names of the Tang emperors. ③ 治 is replaced by 埋 (note that the Temmei JCYR glosses 埋 with 治), because 治 was the personal name of Gaozong 高宗 ; ④ 隆 is replaced by 與 because the personal name of Xuanzong 玄宗 was Longji 隆基. Clearly the Japanese version was acquired by the Japanese before the end of the Tang Dynasty. Since the last mission during the Tang returned to Japan in 841, it is highly probable that the Huiyao quotation is from the first recension, offered to the Throne

In an attempt to determine when the Japanese first acquired a text of the *Huiyao*, the ninth-century booklist *Nihon-koku kenzai shomokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 was consulted, but the title *Huiyao* does not occur there. Through the kindness of Mr Yasui Tetsuhiko 安井哲彥, Executive Secretary of the Japan Academy, the opinion of Professor Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎 was sought. The latter very kindly drew attention to the *Tsūken nyūdō zōsho mokuroku* 通憲入道藏書目錄, the booklist of Fujiwara

12 See the variorum edition of a thirteenth-century manuscript of this work by Harada Tanenari 原田種成: Jōgan seiyō teihon 貞觀政要定本 ; p. 238 (item 189).

no Michinori (Shin-zei 信两) (1106-59) which includes a *Huiyao* in volumes that total 64 *maki/juan* 卷. The *Tang huiyao* as we now have it amounts to 100 *maki/juan*. It is striking that the work is entitled *Huiyao*, and that the size is less than that of the Song Dynasty *Tang huiyao*. *Either* the copy was defective, *or* this famous twelfth-century soldier, priest, and scholar possessed a copy of the *Huiyao* in its Tang form, so that it may indeed have been possible for Moronaga to have had access to a pre-Song copy.

The *Huiyao/Kaiyo* passage in the prefaces (JCYR, SGYR, RSGY) is preceded by a short extract (50 lexigraphs) from the *Tongdian*.¹³ Again there is in all manuscripts a difference of a single lexigraph between the Sino-Japanese version and the Chinese text as now preserved. The passage evidently includes material from the account (in 84 lexigraphs) in the *Sui History*, previously translated (p. 2); but the last sentence perhaps defines the command to He Xu in a manner more in accordance with the legend than with historical fact.

Tongdian states: "A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom", "Tangtang", "The Yellow Oriole Perches", "Golden-Hairpins Droop on Both Shoulders" were all items made by Chen Houzhu. Constantly in the company of the imperial concubines, of scholars, and of ministers of the court, he sang together with them and made poems. The Master of music commanded He Xu to choose outstandingly frivolous and voluptuous ones for the making of these pieces.

通典云。玉樹後庭花堂堂黃鸝留金釵兩臂 垂並陳

後主所造恒與宮女學士 朝臣相唱和爲詩大樂令何

胥 採其尤輕艷者以爲此曲

JCYR 日 SGYR 日 RSCY 疋¹⁵日

> Tongdian, j. 145, Section Za gequ, 'mixed song-pieces'

- 13 Du You 杜佑: Tong Dian 通典 A history of governmental institutions (see Pulleyblank 1960) presented to the Throne in 801 or 803. See j. 145, Section 'Mixed song-pieces' Za gequ 雜歌曲 , Iwen yinshu guan edition, p. 7b. As shown in the display of the Chinese text, following the translation, the prefaces in the Japanese manuscript-tablatures all exhibit one lexical difference from the Chinese text as we have it today; but this difference is not present in the most recent edition of KKS (Nihon shisō taikei, 1973). Again, it is to be supposed that the prefaces have all drawn on the same original.
- 14 The most recent edition of YFSJ (Zhonghua shuju, Peking, 1979) reads 鬢 pin (= hair on the temples), in place of 臂 bi (= arm), making much better sense: 'Golden hairpins droop on both temples'.
- 15 The use of 疋曰 in RSCY suggests that variants in the Sino-Japanese versions may have arisen by dissociation of the name 'Xu'胥, separating phonetic and determinative: 疋, 月, and with graphic corruption of 月—內 to 曰; with subsequent restoration of 'Xu' in the text. This Sino-Japanese variant might then be read: 'He commanded He Xu, saying: Choose...'

Notes on sources in tablature transcribed in this fascicle

Four of the sources used require no introduction, since they were considered in Fascicle 1. These are the two mouthorgan scores, Ko fu/Hosho-fu ryo-kan (KF/HSFRK) and Shinsen sho-teki-fu (SSSTF), the score for zither, Jinchi-yoroku (JCYR), and the score for lute, Sango-yoroku (SGYR). In addition to these sources, two new manuscripts of notations in tablature have been made use of. One of these is a reputedly Heian flute-score: Kaichū-fu 懷中譜 (KCF) 'Score for the bosom', or, written as 懷竹譜 'Score for the bosom-bamboo' (that is, for a flute), said to have been compiled by Ōga no Koresue 大神惟季 (1026-94), but probably of the fourteenth century. The oldest copy recorded is that in the Research Archive for Japanese Music, Uenogakuen College, Tokyo (see Fascicle 1, p. 33), written in 1701 (Genroku 元祿 14th year). In addition to a microfilm of that manuscript, we have also used a photocopy of that in the Naikaku Bunko Library內閣文庫:番號:和 24721; 册: 3(1); 函號:199 183; A note on the nature of the system of flute tablature used in this manuscript, and on problems of transcription, will be found on p. 53.

The second newly consulted manuscript is also in flute tablature: Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu 注大家龍笛要錄譜 (CORYF) compiled by Yamanoi no Kagemitsu 山井 影光in the early fourteenth century, probably between 1321 and 1330. The title may be translated as 'The Ōga family's annotated score of essential records for flute'— that is, for the flute of the Tōgaku ensemble, the ryūteki. Kagemitsu lived from 1273 to 1354 and claimed lineal descent from Ōga no Koresue (and, necessarily, form Ōga no Motomasa also—this fascicle, p. 7). We have used a microfilm of the copy in Tenri University Library (Signature: 761/35/A 668). This is a very early copy, but not the original, the latter is still preserved by descendants.

A comparison of KCF and CORYF shows the two manuscripts to be closely related, with the Tenri copy of CORYF showing some degree of degradation (as compared with KCF) in the care exercised in the writing of the tablature. Even copies of KCF differ among themselves, however, in the degree of clarity with which the original features of the tablature are copied.

Prefaces to the piece from the sources in tablature

KCF

A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom: 14 bass-drum beats; but if repeated use twelve beats. New music. A middle-sized piece. 玉樹後庭花 拍子十四 但有二反用十二拍子 新樂 中曲 When the dancers emerge use a bongen 品玄 [a type of standard modal prelude; see Fascicle 2, p. 17; Shiba 1972]; when they retire use a kanjōshi 上調子 [see ibid. — another, and lengthier, type of standard modal prelude]. 舞出時用品玄 入

It is said that there are three quasi-Preludes: the opening two [measures of] Prelude; at the end of seven Sections, one [measure

of] *Prelude:* at the end of eight Sections, *Prelude;* that is, three quasi-*Preludes*. 有三女序云初二序 七帖終一序 八帖終序 三女序也

It is also said, however: the first two measures are *Prelude*. After the second bass-drum [beat] blow [= play] gaku-fuku [see Fascicle 2, p. 00] up to the fourth Section. From the fifth [= fourth] Section's [bass] drum [beats] onwards blow gaku-fuku up to the fourth [= fifth] Section. From the fifth Section's seventh drum-beat gradually quickening complete the sixth and seventh Section in yo-fuku [= 'playing of our time'] In the seventh Section, after the eleventh drum-beat, play in the *Prelude*-manner up to the eighth Section — this *Prelude*, together with the previous ones makes four.

又云初二拍子序也第二太鼓以後樂吹至四帖也自五帖鼓以後樂吹至四帖也自五帖第七拍子漸早々成天六七帖於世吹七帖第十一拍 子以後序吹至八帖(此序共二以第七也)

The first measure is played in the preludial manner. After it, play in gaku-fuku. Playing slowly, namely, add three-times beats; also, at the end, two measures are played in the preludial manner. This is what is called 'three quasi-Preludes'. Also in the seventh Section, after the initial measure, especially fast, completing like Seigaiha. The twelfth measure is played in the preludial manner. Completing the eighth Section, play the first measure like a Prelude. From the second measure, play especially slowly; then add three-times beats. Following the eleventh measure, the final single measure is played in the preludial manner. 頭一拍子序吹也其後樂吹也緩吹天即加三度拍子又末二拍子序吹也是號三女序又七帖初拍子以後殊早々成天如青海波第十二拍子序吹成八帖初拍子猶序吹白第二拍子殊緩吹天則加三度拍子十一拍子以後末一拍子為序吹

The preface in KCF illustrates at length the description of 'repeats' as 'Sections' previously mentioned (p. 2). It also indicates three (or four) changes to the 'preludial' manner of playing. These are separated from each other by passages in 'music-blowing' gaku-fuku (as opposed to 'Prelude-blowing' jo-fuku). Both terms were encountered in Fascicle 2, p. 13, in the KKS definition of the metrical difference between Section 1 and Sections 2 and 3 of the Prelude in Toraden. The score itself suggests that the preludial passage (and passages) are to be played without strokes on the kakko-drum; and it is to be assumed also that the duration of the unit-note (here transcribed as a crotchet/quarter-note) was longer than elsewhere. Furthermore, performance of the piece was diversified by fast playing at certain points, specifically defined, and by the introduction of 'three-times beats' sando-byoshi 三度 拍子 in Section 8. This means, presumably, that bass-drum strokes are to be applied on crotchets 1 and 3, as well as on crotchet 5, in the $\frac{4}{2}$ measures. (See Figure 1).

A scribal lapse seems to have changed fourth to fifth and fifth to fourth in the sequential description of Sections.

The reference to the Togaku piece Seigaiha/Qinghai-bo 'Waves of Kokonor' ($Banshiki-ch\bar{o}$) is not understood. Inspection of the textures of flute and string parts suggests that the pace cannot have been faster than c. $\downarrow = 60$.

Of at least equal importance is the fact that these flute versions are evidently decorative variations on the less decorated melodic material of the string parts, and the still

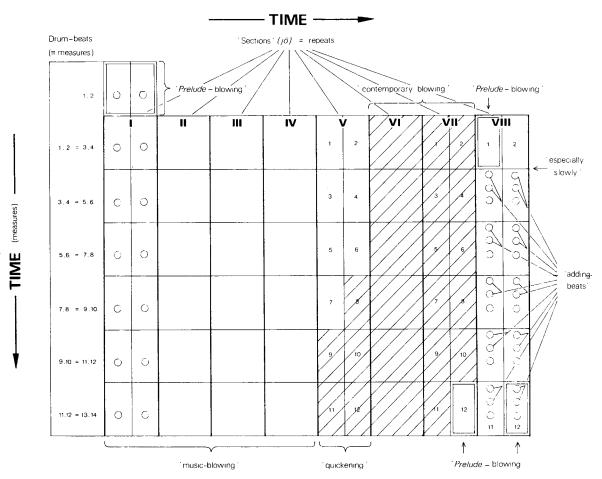


Figure 1 The structure of a performance of Gyokuju gotei-ka according to the preface in KCF (see p. 9)

less decorated material of the mouth-organ parts. It would not occur to any musician, looking at the flute parts transcribed in this fascicle in relation to the other parts, to regard the flute part as a basic melody, and the string parts and mouth-organ part as reductions of the flute part.

KF/HSFRK

A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom: New music. Eight Sections ($j\bar{\partial} \approx = \pm 1$). Bass-drum beats of each separate Section, 12; but the first Section has 14.

玉樹後庭花・新樂八条拍子条別十二但初条十四

There is a dance. Emerge and retire to the modal *Prelude*. From the seventh Section onwards beat 'three-times beats' *(sandobyōshi)*. 有舞出人調子從七条打三度拍子

SSSTF

Jade Tree: 14 bass-drum beats. 玉樹 拍子十四

JCYR

A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom: drum-beats 14. Should be played eight times; but from the second time onwards the drum-beats [= measures] for each time are twelve. In all, there are 98 drum-beats $[2+8\times12$ measures]. From the seventh time onwards, beat 'three-times beats' [See Fascicle 1, p. 22.]

玉樹後庭¹⁶ 花拍子十四可彈八反但第二反以後每遍拍子十二 合拍子九十八從¹⁷ 繁七反打三度拍子

¹⁶Wrongly written in JCYR ¹⁷Abbreviated in original

[Prince] Southern-Palace's Score for *Transverse-Flute* states: 'But by all means, from the end of the sixth repeat add one drum-beat, and this should be struck.' From the seventh repeat it is correct to strike 'three-times beats'. This then is the practice for all pieces. Henceforward in all pieces that permit this, it may be struck. Nowadays in the eighth Section beat 'three-times beats'. When abbreviating, play twice [only]. In the last Section advance the bass-drum.

南宮横笛譜云但須從六反 18 終加一拍子而 19 可打也 從 20 七反 21 正打三度拍子 此則諸曲通例也 以下諸曲 22 准此可打今世第 八帖打三度拍子 略時彈二反終帖上大鼓

Dancers emerge and retire to the *Modal Prelude*. A middlesized piece. New music.

舞出入用調子 中曲23 新樂

Both in JCYR and in SGYR an upper marginal gloss over the end of this portion of the preface states: 'The dancers say: When abbreviating, dance the first and the eighth, two Sections [= times].'

舞人曰略時舞第一第八兩帖也

From the end of this portion of the preface there follows first: the passage from the *Tongdian* (p. 8); secondly, the passage from the *Huiyao* (pp. 4 to 8).

 $^{18} SGYR$ 遍 $^{19} SGYR$ 份 $^{20} Abbreviated$ $^{21} SGYR$ 遍 $^{22} Ky\"oto$ MS. inserts $\overline{ o }$ $^{23} Ibid.$ inserts $\overline{ o }$