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Nicolas Standaert, "Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing", The East Asian Library Journal 12, no. 1 (2006): 68-181, accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/standaert_nicolas.EALJ.v12.n01.p068.pdf

Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing

NICOLAS STANDAERT

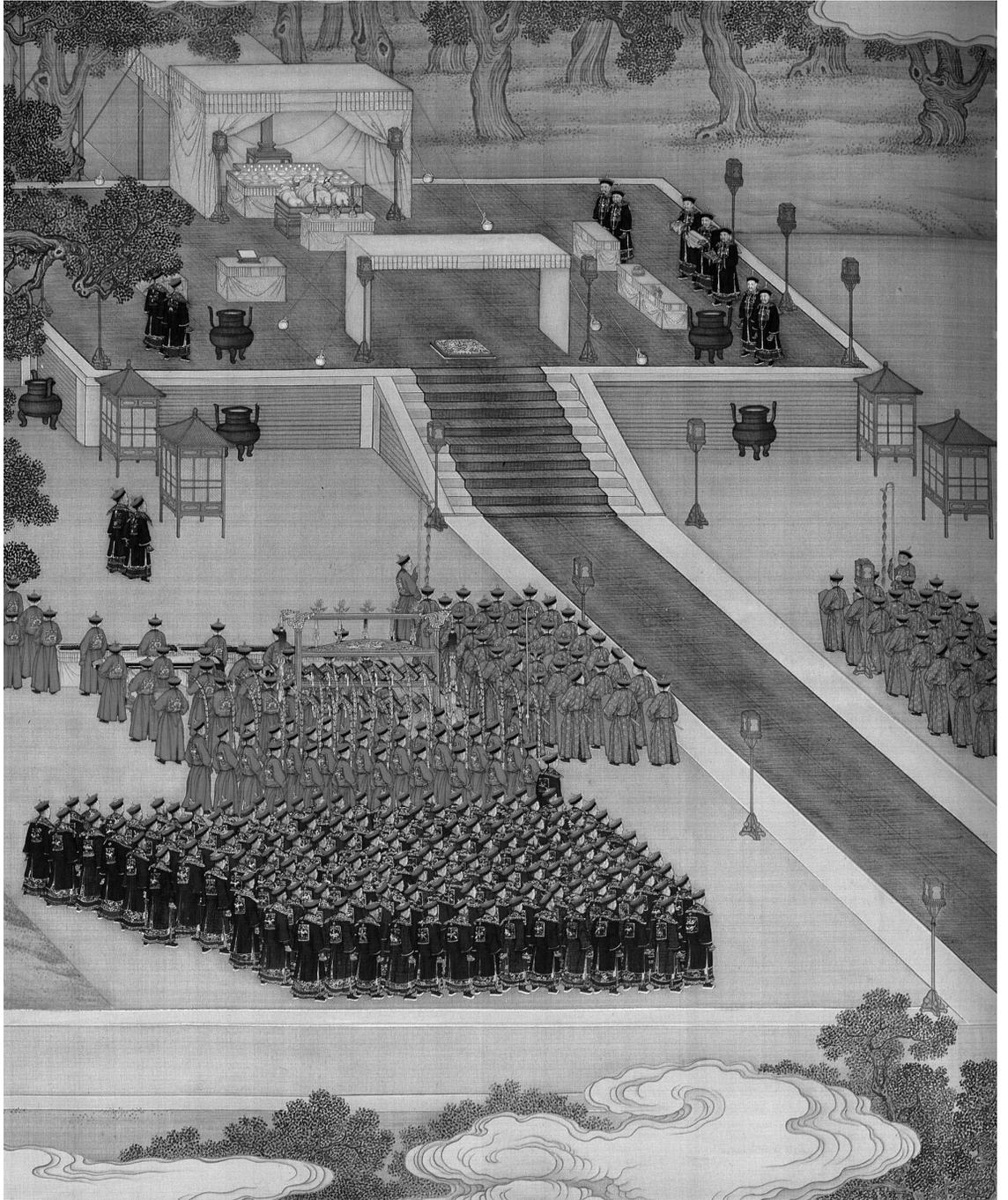
The painting of the sacrifice to the First Farmer (Xiannong or Shennong) dating from the Yongzheng reign (1723–1735) of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) gives a rare glimpse into the state sacrifices, which were one of the main ritual activities of the Chinese court.¹ (See figure 1.) The ceremonies paid to the First Farmer were associated with the emperor's agrarian rites, which included the annual plowing of the sacred field near the Altar to First Farmer south of the walled city in Beijing. Grain from this field was used in the great sacrifices.² Central in the painting are the offerings that are prepared on an altar under a canopy on the platform. They are arranged in a way that is very close to the prescriptive text of these sacrifices found in the *Da Qing huidian* (*Yongzheng chao*) [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)].³ The overall positioning of the participants and the ritual objects in the painting is also very similar to what is specified in this prescriptive text.⁴ (See figure 2.) Because this layout indicates the participants or audience by a Chinese character and not by the numbers of participants in a given category, the plan does not fully reflect the important presence of officials and ritual specialists at these sacrifices. Closest to the altar, on the

podium, are the ceremonial officers who were supposed to number eighteen at the sacrifice to the First Farmer.⁵ On the ground closest to the altar are the approximately fifty musicians, in the *Da Qing huidian* designated by a single character *yue*, meaning “music” or “musician”. Behind them are 128 dancers, designated by *wu*, meaning “dance” or “dancer.”⁶ They are arranged in eight rows of eight dancers (*bayi*). (See figure 3) The martial (*wu*) dancers, with ax in the right hand and shield in the left hand, stand in front since they dance during the first oblation. (See figures 4a and 4b.) The civil (*wen*) dancers who have a pheasant feather in the right hand and a short flute in the left are waiting to move to the front in order to dance during the second and third oblations. (See figures 5a and 5b.) Each dancer is dressed in a gown of red loosely woven silk (*hongjuan*) and wears a specific cap, all according to the prescriptions for this sacrifice.⁷ (See figure 6.) Farthest from the platform stand the approximately three hundred scholar-officials, in blue and black gowns, who were invited (or ordered) to witness the ritual.

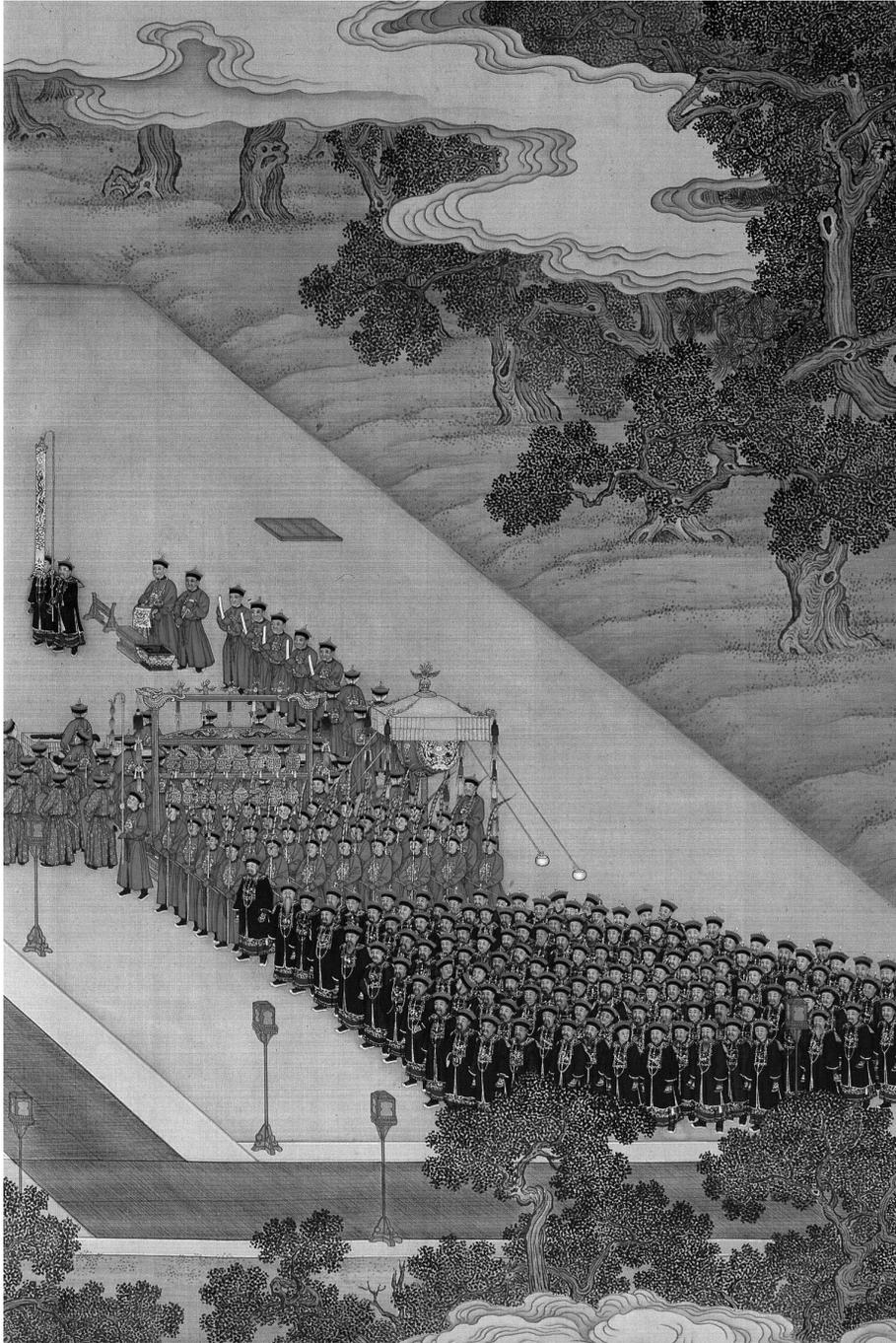
The state sacrifices in the Ming and the Qing (1644–1911) themselves have been the object of research in the last decade, especially in the studies by Romeyn Taylor, Evelyn Rawski, and Angela Zito.⁸ In addition, Joseph Lam has presented an in-depth study of the music at these sacrifices during the Ming.⁹ The dancers, however, have been a virtually neglected topic.¹⁰ Who were the dancers? What type of dance did they perform? How did scholars write about the dances? What were the prescriptions with regard to dancing, and how did these evolve in the course of Ming and Qing dynasties? These questions are the object of this exploratory study. The answer will be based largely on visual representations of dancers and dances in written records, which are one of the most important sources for our knowledge about the dances during Ming and Qing.

DANCERS AT STATE SACRIFICES

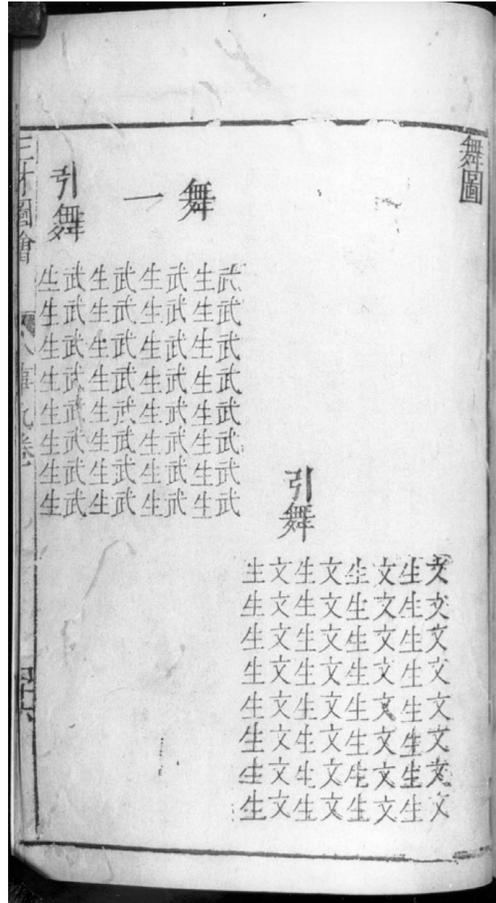
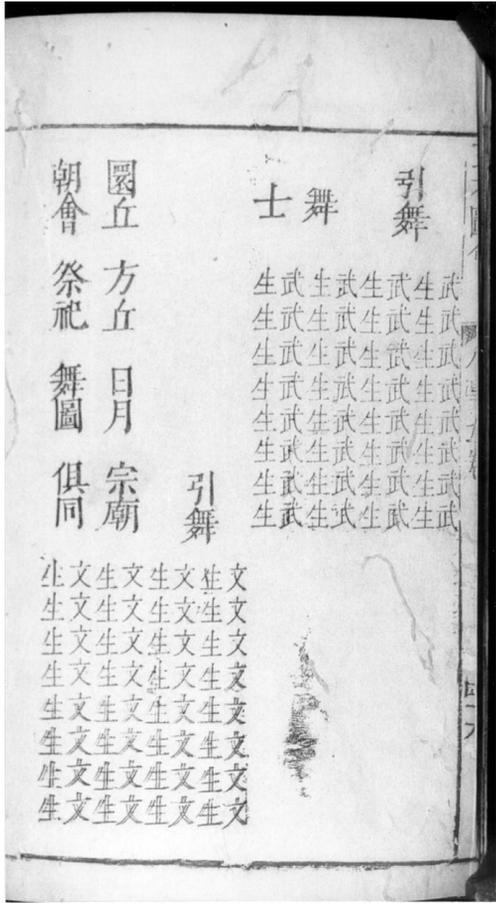
In 1367, a year before the formal beginning of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398, r. 1368–1398; posthumous title, Taizu), the soon to be Hongwu emperor, took several initiatives for the institution of the system of state sacrifices, which would help him in the demonstration



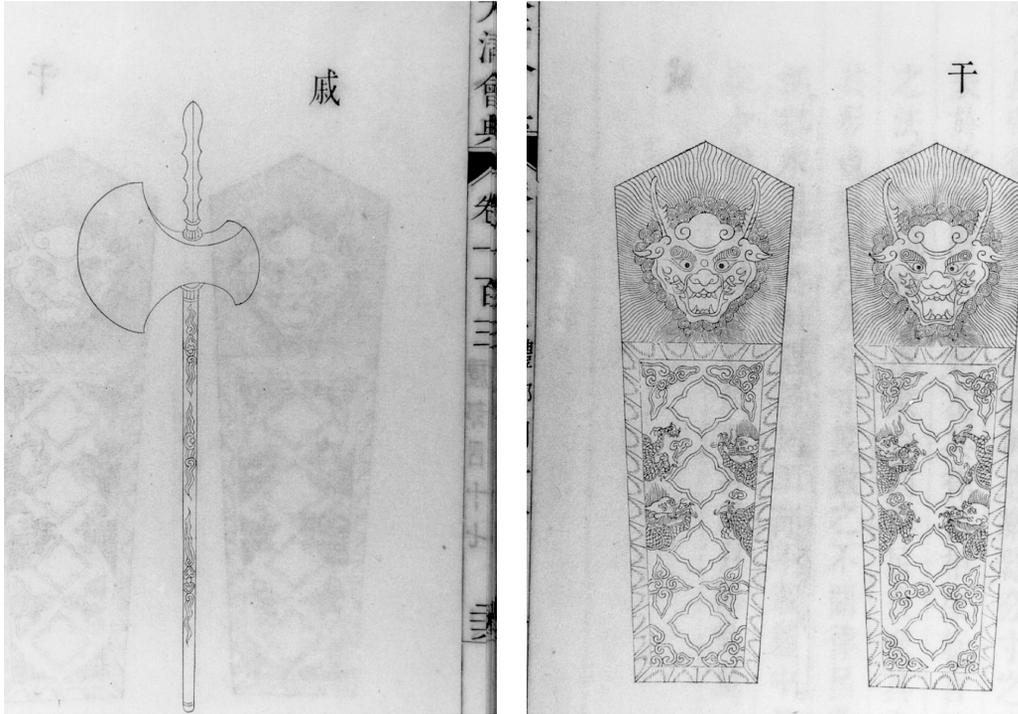
1. *Ji Xiannongtan tu* (Painting of the Sacrifice to the First Farmer), central section of the scroll. Scan of the image in Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Qingdai gongting huihua*



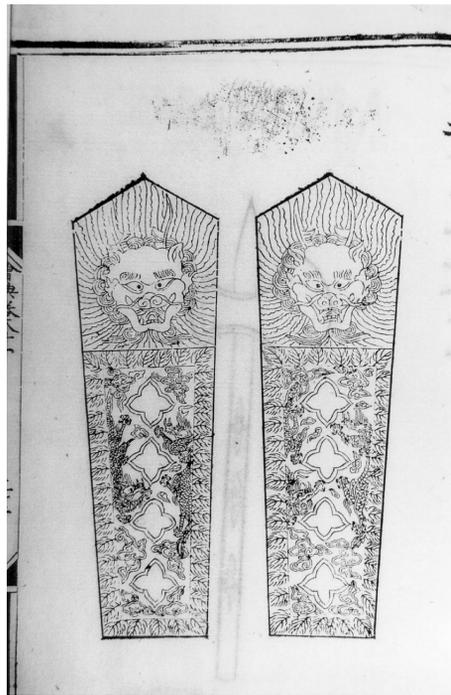
(Beijing: Wenhua chubashe, 1992), plates 43–44. Original in the Beijing gugong bowuyuan, reproduced with permission.



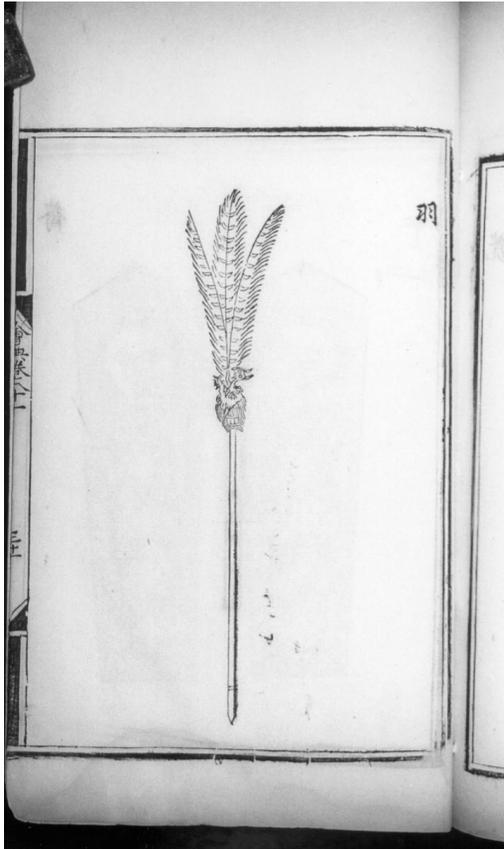
3. Positioning of the martial and civil dancers in eight rows (*bayi*). Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms) (ca. 1609), "Renshi," *juan* 9, pp. 46a–b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TC348/680.



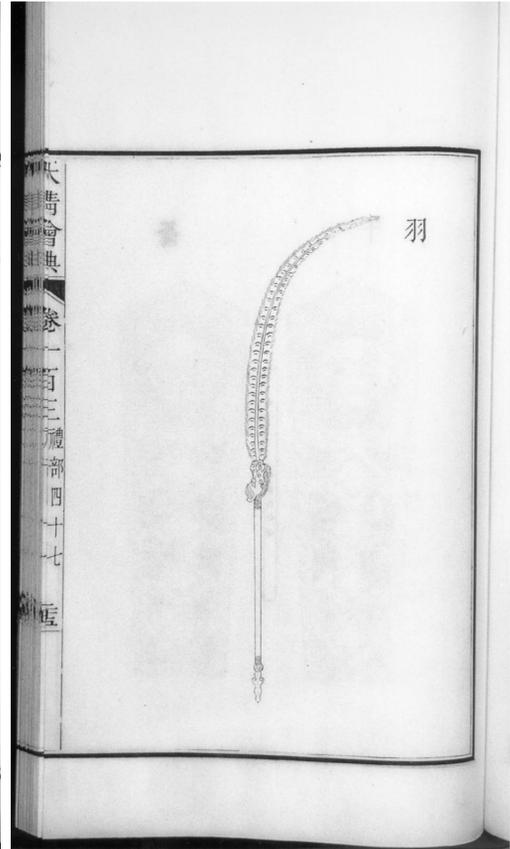
4A. Ca. 1732. The design and shape of the ax and shield, properties used by martial dancers, used in the Qing dynasty. *Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao)* [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)] (1732), *juan* 103, pp. 26 a–b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB8282/3515.



4B. Ca, 1587. Ming-dynasty ceremonial ax and shield. Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming) (1587), *juan* 81, pp. 32a–b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB282/1726.



5A. Ca. 1587. The prescriptions for the pheasant-feather property of the civil dancers was changed during the Kangxi reign—the three pheasant feathers used in the Ming were reduced to one. Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming) (1587), *juan* 81, p. 31a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB282/1726.



5B. Ca. 1690. Qing-dynasty pheasant-feather property. Yi Sang'a (1655 *jinshi*, et al., comp., *Da Qing huidian* (Kangxi *chao*) [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Kangxi era)] in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan san bian* (1690; Taibei xian Yonghe shi: Wenhai chubanshe, 1992), *juan* 71, p. 45a (vol. 720, p. 3695).



6A. Ca. 1899. Vestment worn by martial dancer belonging to the Imperial Music Office (Shenyueshu), *Qinding Da Qing huidian tu*, (1899) *juan* 47, p. 10b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, number B282/2152b.



6B. Vestment worn by civil dancers belonging to the Imperial Music Office (Shenyueshu), *Ibid.*, *juan* 47, p. 10a.

of the political legitimacy of his court. Noteworthy is his personal involvement in this process of institution. His active role can be exemplified by the following incident that is reported in the major Ming sources. On 28 July 1367, Zhu Yuanzhang ordered the academicians Zhu Sheng (1299–1371) and Fan Quan (dates unknown) to lead a rehearsal of music and dance near the palace gate. During the rehearsal, Zhu Yuanzhang himself struck a tone on the stone-chimes and asked Zhu Sheng to identify the sound. He failed to do so, since he took the note *gong* (do) for the note *zhi* (so). Zhu Yuanzhang laughed with contempt at this mistake.¹¹

This event caused Zhu Yuanzhang to make a number of decisions that had an important impact on the further developments of ritual dance in terms of organization and personnel. In August 1367, he instituted the Taichangsi (Office of Imperial Sacrifices). This office, the origin of which can be traced back to much earlier dynasties, was responsible for the conduct of major state sacrificial ceremonies according to ritual regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Rites (*Libu*).¹² The search for the important function of music director (*xielulang*) led to the selection of Leng Qian (1310–ca. 1371). Leng, who is said to have been very knowledgeable in music and good at playing the stringed instrument *se*, was then living a concealed life as a Daoist hermit in Wushan near Hangzhou. He was soon charged with the task of instituting the system of music and dancing for the court. As he was a Daoist, it seems that the pupils of music and dancing under his direction were also selected from among the Daoists. It is from that moment on that it became a tradition to employ Daoist youths as musicians and dancers.¹³

The terms used for these Daoist youths or initiates are *Daotong* or *Daosheng*, but it is not always very clear what their precise origin was neither what their age was. Moreover, although sometimes the term is used for the collective group of musicians and dancers, there seems to have been some distinction in selection between musicians and dancers.¹⁴ *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) reports that “For musicians, they continued to employ Daoist youths, but for dancers they made a change and employed handsome children from among the army and civilians.”¹⁵ The *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices) gives some additional details:

In the first year of Hongwu (1368), imperial order specified the selection of handsome Daoist boys of young age to fill the number of musicians for ceremonial music. In the first years of the Hongwu reign, imperial order also specified the selection of Daoist boys to become musicians and dancers, but later, because in the ancient system civil and martial dancers were all children of high officials, it was ordered that one would employ Daoist boys as musicians, while selecting the civil dancers from among the government students and the martial dancers from among the children of military officers. In the twelfth year (1379), it was decreed that the Daoist priests of the Shen Yueguan (Office of Sacrificial Music) could educate disciples, but the other temples were not allowed to do so. In the thirteenth year (1380), it was again decreed that the children of nobility and various military officials should exercise themselves in the art of music and dance. And again it was decreed that the Ministry of Rites identify deficient and sick musicians and dancers and have them return to their civilian status. Later there was again an order that more intelligent and handsome boys of the populace be adopted for training, to be employed in case of urgent need at the sacrificial services of the court; these are distinct from the Daoist priests in the court temple.¹⁶

This description, though still very incomplete, at least indicates that there was a significant Daoist presence among not only the musicians but also the dancers. This became institutionalized by the establishment in 1379 of an entirely new institution, the Office (literally, Daoist temple) of Sacrificial Music. When the capital moved to Beijing in 1420, its buildings were located at the south-east side of the Altar of Heaven (Tiantan). The Office of Sacrificial Music was led by Daoist priests who supervised the practice of state sacrificial music and the training of musicians and dancers. As such, it was an actual institution which set the tradition of employing musicians and dancers from within its circle. On the other hand, the text also reflects some reluctance towards the employment of Daoist youths as dancers, but less so as musicians.¹⁷ As can be seen from the following quotation, this reluctance was still evident in

Qing-dynasty texts that describe the institutional changes made at the founding of the Ming dynasty:

At the beginning of the Hongwu reign, one chose upright and gracious men among the students of the imperial academy and had them learn music and dancing together with pupils among the children of the high-ranking civil officials. This profoundly realizes the transmitted meaning of the ancient people. That one supplemented the musicians and dancers for the great state sacrificial ceremonies with Daoists from the Daoist temple is something that only started during the Yongle (1403–1424) reign.¹⁸

This institutional structure remained basically the same during the whole of the Ming dynasty, the Taichangsi (*Office* of Imperial Sacrifices) only changing its name to Taichangsi (*Court* of Imperial Sacrifices) in 1397.¹⁹ At its beginning, the Qing took over the Ming system. Musicians and dancers were still selected from among Daoist initiates coming from families that had been in charge of music and sacrifices and from families that had provided musicians and dancers. The officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were ordered to command the music director of the Office of Sacrificial Music and others to train the musicians and dancers in the rituals of music and dances. The day before any sacrifice, they should rehearse their performance at the Ningxidian, outside the walls of Altar of Heaven to the west.²⁰

A major reorganization, however, took place early in the Qianlong (1736–1795) reign. In 1742, the emperor established a Ministry of Music (Yuebu) separate from the Ministry of Rites. This ministry consisted of two offices: one, the Shenyueshu (Imperial Music Office), the successor to the Office of Sacrificial Music (Shenyueguan); and two, the Heshengshu (Music Office), the successor to the Jiaofangsi (Music Office). Staffed by Han officials only, the Imperial Music Office was in charge of the music and dances at the sacrifices, the training of musicians and dancers, and the regulations for instructing the music personnel. In 1743 this office was first called the Shenyuesuo and then in 1755 given the new name of Shenyueshu (also Imperial Music Office). Staffed by both Han and Manchu officials, the Heshengshu (Music Office), which was in charge of court music performed at banquets, had been thus designated already

since 1729.²¹ The Court of Imperial Sacrifices, reduced in importance and in size, continued to be in charge of the practical organization of sacrifices.²²

These changes seem to have been accompanied by an increased emphasis on competence. In an incident that is very similar to Ming Taizu's observing his officials' incompetence in the field of music, the Qianlong emperor complained that when listening to the airs performed by the musicians of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices at the occasion of banquets or ceremonies, "[since] one was not able to distinguish clearly between the note *gong* (do) and the note *shang* (re), how could one then communicate with the spirits and attain sincerity?" The emperor also complained about the fact that the musicians at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were Daoists and was of the opinion that Daoists and Buddhists should not be employed in the court. "In their spare time they perform prayers and recite scriptures for common people in order to supplement their income. What kind of system is this? From now on they should no longer practice Daoist rituals. Those who do not want to change their occupations should be deprived of their registration [as musicians] and can still be Daoist masters."²³ In the same year of 1742, the Qianlong emperor ordered that the performers should practice regularly and without sudden interruption so as to avoid the recent mistakes.

Musicians and dancers should perform at the Office of Sacrificial Music every month; and in spring and autumn, they must perform before the Office of Palace Ceremonial (Zhangyisi) in the Imperial Household Department.²⁴ If there are irregularities, they have to be taught and guided, so that the pitches are in harmony. In accordance with this instruction, every year in the third and ninth month, they should perform before the Office of Palace Ceremonial and be examined by the high officials of the Ministry of Music.²⁵

The number of musicians and dancers initially employed at the Shenyueguan during the Ming is not very clear, but by 1380 it was fixed at 600. In 1420 when the capital moved from Nanjing to Beijing, 300 remained in Nanjing and 300 accompanied the court to Beijing where their number was soon increased to 527. During the early years of the

Jiajing reign (1522–1566), and especially during the years of the ritual reforms, the total number grew to 2,200 by 1536. In the following fifteen years, their number was reduced to 1,153, mainly because of the excessive cost of their maintenance but also because of the increasing disinterest of the Jiajing emperor (posthumous title, Shizong) in ritual matters. Further, the Ministry of Rites considered them superfluous. During the Longqing reign (1567–1572), the number remained at 1,153.²⁶ It is unclear what the situation was during the Wanli reign (1573–1620) and those following. These figures do not distinguish between the number of musicians and dancers. That, in the Ming dynasty, the number of the dancers was more numerous than the number of musicians may possibly be implied from figures available from the Qing dynasty. At the beginning of the Qing the total number of musicians and dancers in the Office of Sacrificial Music of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was 570: that is, 180 musicians, 150 martial dancers, 150 civil dancers, and ninety subordinate musicians and dancers.²⁷ At the time of the Qianlong reforms, the Imperial Music Office seems to have counted in total 180 musicians and 300 dancers.²⁸ (See table 1 for a summary of this data.)

While musicians and dancers at the court banquets included both men and women, all the dancers at the state sacrifices were men. The

TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF MUSICIANS AND DANCERS EMPLOYED IN THE OFFICE OF SACRIFICIAL MUSIC DURING THE MING AND QING DYNASTIES

DYNASTY	REIGN PERIOD	YEAR	CHANGE	TOTAL	
Ming	Hongwu	1368		unknown	
		1380		600	
	Yongle	1420	-300	300	
		after 1420		527	
		Jiajing	1526	+215	
		1531	+229		
		1536	+1,229	2,200	
		1546	-441		
		1550	-406		
		1551	-200	1,153	
Qing	Longqing	after 1569		1,153	
	Shunzhi	1651		570	
	Qianlong	1742		480	

possibility of having female dancers arose when in 1530 the Jiajing emperor reinstated the sericultural ceremonials, which had not been practiced during the Ming. These ceremonials were performed by female participants: the empress, rather than the emperor, and the wives of nobles and chief ministers addressed the Progenitor of Sericulture (Xiancan). The ceremony itself consisted in picking the mulberry leaves and processing the cocoons. The institution of these ceremonials are one of the clearest examples of the Jiajing emperor's revision of the Ming ritual system and how creative solutions were found to numerous practical demands.²⁹ The reforms also affected the musicians and dancers. A distinctive feature of this ceremony was the presence of female musicians, who were employed by the Music Office (Jiaofangsi), the institution that was normally in charge of music and performances at the court banquets. In contrast with the Court of Imperial Sacrifice where there were only men, the Music Office also employed women, and the specificity of both institutions corresponds to the classical distinction between *yayue* (refined music) for the first and *yanyue* (banquet music) and *suyue* (common music) for the second. With regard to the dancers for the sacrifice to the Progenitor of Sericulture, the Jiajing emperor was of the opinion "that dancing was not a woman's affair," and as a result it was decided to have no dancing during the sacrifice (*di yi wu fei nüzi shi, ba buyong*).³⁰ The complete absence of dancers was atypical for sacrifices, and in the eyes of the critics, a violation of the legacy left by the founder of the empire.³¹

The above information concerns the dancers of the state sacrifices in Ming times. All in all, the dancers were only a very small group in the service of the emperor. Judged from the perspective of the remuneration in later eras, for which we have specific data, their status was also lower than that of the musicians. In 1742, for instance, the musicians received one tael (*liang*) of silver, and three *dou* three *sheng* (one *dou* equals ten *sheng*) of rice as remuneration a month, while the dancers and assistants received only four *qian* (one *liang* equals ten *qian*) and the same amount of rice a month.³² The information is drawn completely from semi-prescriptive texts or general records which tend to stress unity rather than difference. In these sources one perceives little of the actual life of the dancers.

DANCERS IN THE SACRIFICE TO CONFUCIUS

While the dancers in the state sacrifices were the most professional ones, they were also to a certain extent the most hidden ones, since the occasions to see them performing were rare for the average official. Even if the painting of the sacrifice to the First Farmer represents the presence of approximately three hundred officials, the occasions on which officials attended a sacrifice were, after all, relatively small. Zhang Anmao (j.s. 1647), the author of a book on ritual and music in the local school, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (1656, Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), expressed this in the following way:

The great state sacrificial ceremonies belong to the chamberlains for ceremonials (*taichang*) and unless one is a high-ranking official, one has no possibility of attending them. It is only to the First Teacher that one offers in the national and regional schools, so that everyone, including the erudites (*boshi*) and pupils all can observe the tinkling and clanging of music and the movements of the dances. As a result [scholars] have compiled [collections of these rituals] and made them into books so as to make known the achievements of the Sage and spread the grace of his teaching.³³

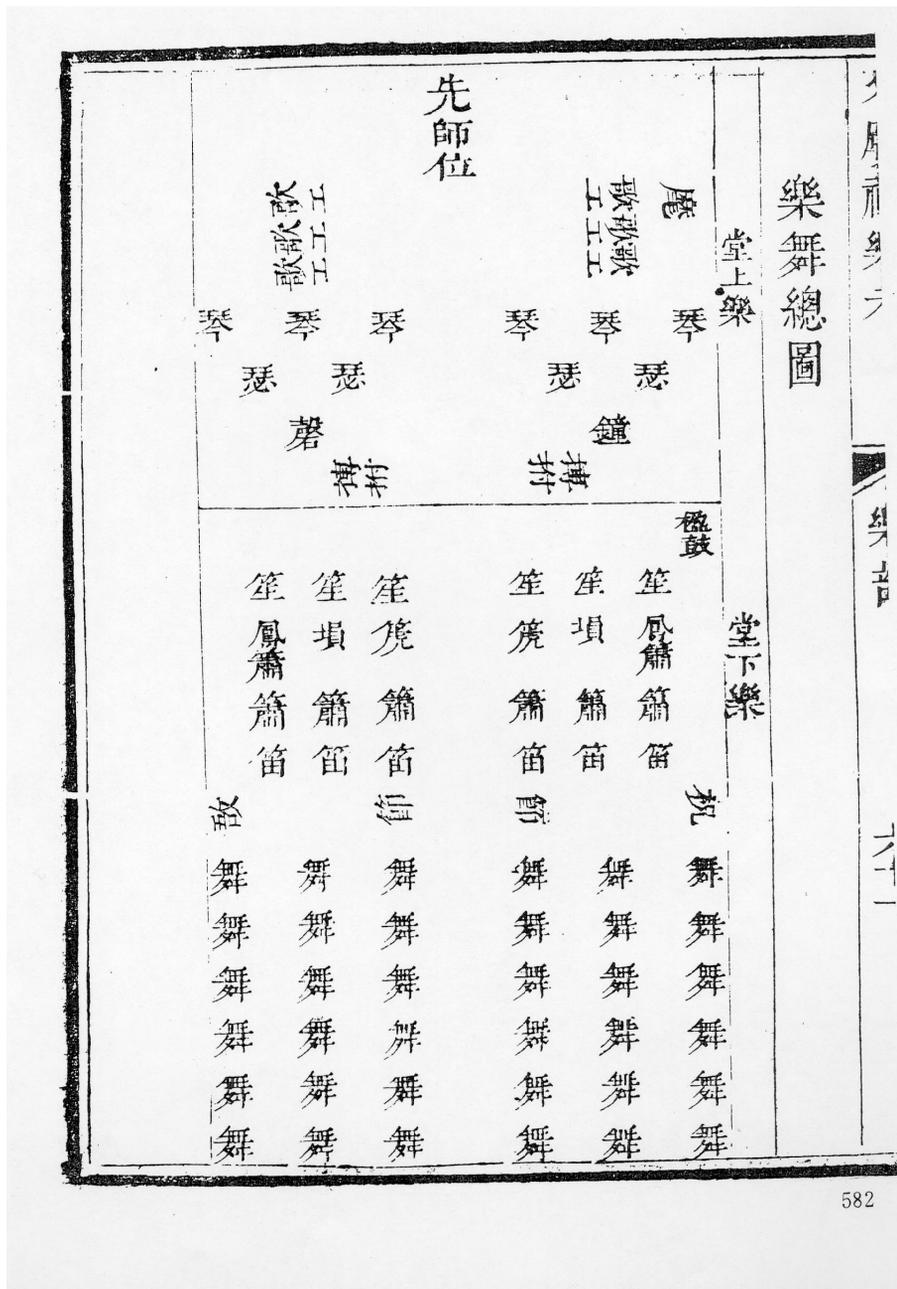
Virtually every degree holder in the empire was familiar with sacrifices to Confucius in particular because he would have participated in this ceremony at local schools from the early years of his formal education.³⁴ Some would probably even have performed the ritual dances during these ceremonials. The sacrifice to Confucius is, therefore, the link between the state sacrifices performed only by the emperor (or his representative) and the sacrifices performed by officials.³⁵ Indeed, it is the only sacrifice that, in different degrees of solemnity, is performed by both.³⁶ As will be pointed out further, when writing about dances, scholars first predominantly wrote about the dances performed at the sacrifice for Confucius, rarely those performed during state sacrifices.

The state sacrifice to Confucius itself, was an object of dispute during the Ming. The initial system established by the founding emperor foresaw thirty-six dancers (six-row format, *liuyi*) for the state sacrifice to

Confucius, but very soon the number may have grown to forty-eight.³⁷ (See figure 7.) Moreover, new ideas about ritual gradually emerged, and scholars expressed their dissatisfaction with some aspects of the system. In August 1450, for instance, Liu Xiang (fl. mid-fifteenth century), an instructor (*zhujiao*) in the Directorate of Education (Guozijian), criticized the lack of proper music in the state sacrifice of Confucius; however his concrete proposals produced no verifiable results.³⁸ In 1475, Zhou Hongmo (1419–1491), chancellor of the Directorate of Education proposed to honor Confucius with a new title and with the most exalted type of state sacrifices. One year later, his proposals were partially accepted. The number of dancers was raised to sixty-four (eight-row format), and the number of sacrificial food-offerings was increased from twenty to twenty-four.³⁹ In 1530, however, the Jiajing emperor dismantled these innovations. The number of dancers was again reduced to thirty-six and the sacrificial foods to twenty. Moreover, the emperor stopped the practice of honoring Confucius as king with the title Most Accomplished and Virtuous King of Civility (Dacheng zhisheng wenxuanwang), and rather honored him as the Most Virtuous First Teacher (Zhisheng xianshi).⁴⁰

There were other distinct characteristics concerning the dances performed at the sacrifice to Confucius, regardless of this controversy. At the other state sacrifices, the martial dancers performed during the first oblation, and the civil dancers during the second and the third. This had also been the practice for the sacrifice to Confucius during Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368). Since the first emperor of the Ming, however, in order to esteem cultivation and virtue (*wende*), only civil dancers performed at the Confucian temple. Moreover, in earlier times, dancing was not performed at the same time as the songs and music; one first sang and played music and next, after beating the major drum, one then performed the dancing. Later, however, dancing, singing, and playing music were performed simultaneously.⁴¹

The state sacrifice to Confucius, which was considered one among the middle sacrifices (*zhongsi*), was not the only occasion where the sacrifice to Confucius was performed. The sacrifice was also performed at Queli, the Confucian temple (Wenmiao) in Confucius's birthplace Qufu in Shandong province; at Confucian temples in the provinces or



7. Ca. 1691. Positioning of participants and ritual objects in the sacrifice to Confucius shows civil dancers in six rows. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, comp., *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple) (preface dated 1691), "Yue" (Music), p. 61b, reprinted in Kongzi wenhua daquan bianjibu, ed., *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture) (Ji'nan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), p. 582.

districts; at the Confucian shrine in the imperial academies—the Taixue (National University) and the Guozijian (Directorate of Education) in Beijing and the Nanyong in Nanjing; or at the shrine to Confucius in the local schools (*pangong*). Two types of places were of privileged importance: Queli and the imperial academies. This is manifested by the importance the emperors paid to these places. Of the Hongwu emperor, for instance, it is said that as soon as he entered Jianghuaifu (today known as Zhenjiang), he went to pay homage to the Confucian temple to pay tribute to the Sage. And in the second month of the first year of his reign, he ordered a grand sacrifice be performed in honor of Confucius in the imperial academy in Nanjing, and he sent a delegate to Qufu to perform a sacrifice.⁴² As a result, decisions about the ritual of the ceremonies offered to Confucius in the state sacrifices directly concerned or affected these places, and there was a particular interaction concerning ritual among the imperial administration, the imperial academies, and Queli. For instance, in 1374, it was decided that twenty musicians and dancers chosen from among the populace and students in the surroundings of Queli were to be sent for special training at the Office of Imperial Sacrifice.⁴³ And in 1384 it was ordered that “the Ministry of Rites determine the musical instruments for the ceremonies offered at Confucius so that one could order all Confucian schools in the empire to take the musical instruments of the Directorate of Education as the norm.”⁴⁴

DANCE ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE SACRIFICE TO CONFUCIUS IN THE MING AND EARLY QING

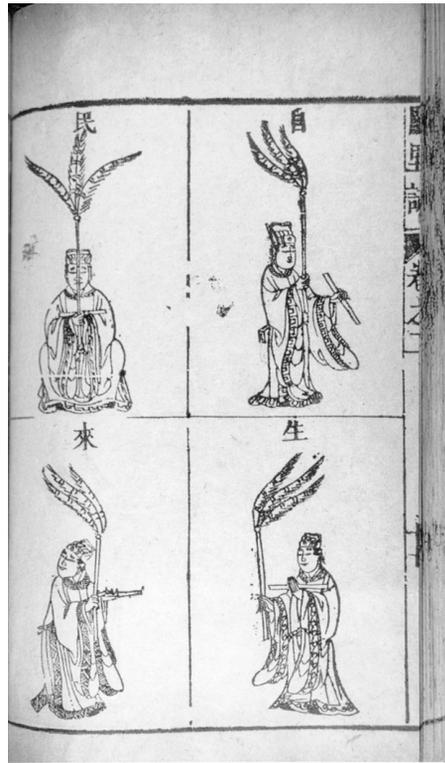
The records of Queli and of the imperial academies are the most important source for illustrations of dance choreography. One of the oldest sources containing such illustrations is *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer; preface dated 1505) and edited by Chen Hao (*jinshi* 1487).⁴⁵ It is difficult to ascertain whether these illustrations are indeed the earliest ones, but they are the source for reproduction all through the sixteenth century. (See figure 8). The *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer) contains in total ninety-six images of dancers, each side of a folio representing four positions (they read in the following order: top right, bottom right, top left, and bottom lower left). Each image represents one dancing position of the “Daxia”



8A. Ca. 1505. Variant early representations of positions for the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) dance. These illustrations of different editions of *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer) are the foundation of most later representations of dances. Chen Hao et al., comp., *Queli Gazetteer*, 13 *juan* [1505 preface], *juan* 1, p. 24b, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection Microfilm, role 457 (2).



8B. After 1505. Chen Hao, comp., *Queli Gazetteer*, 24 juan [Zhengde era (1505–1520), preface dated 1505] juan 2, p. 17b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 108.

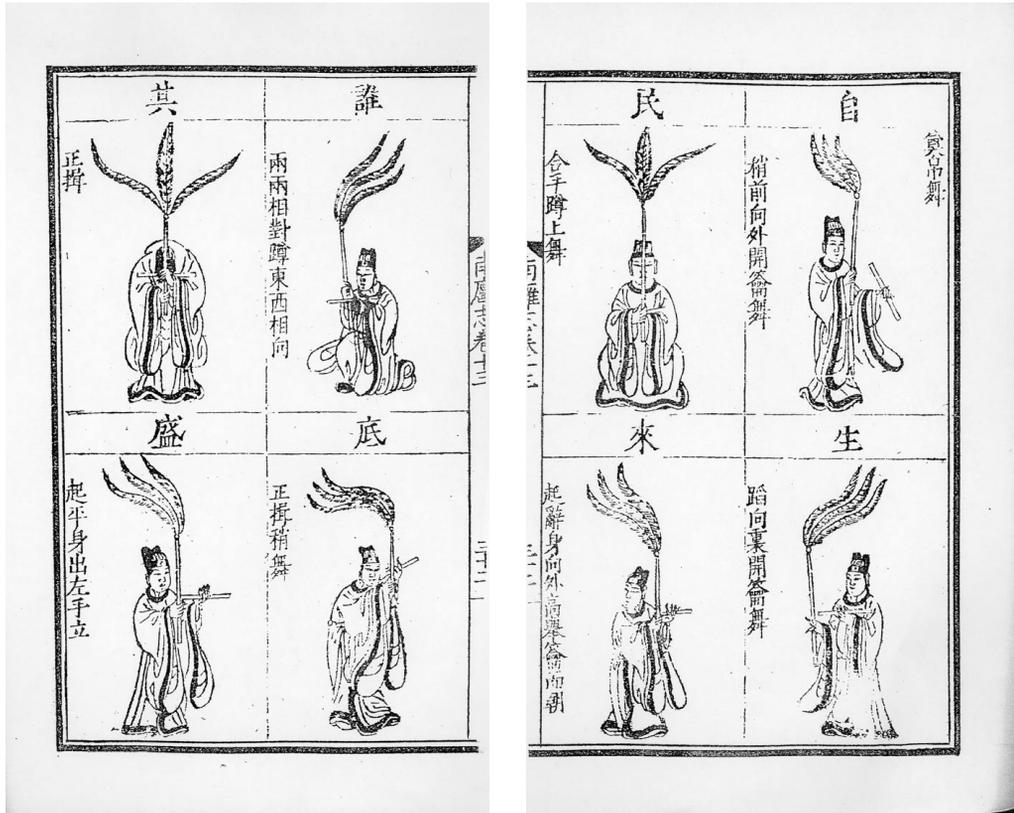


8C. Chongzhen era. Kong Yinzhi, ed., *Queli Gazetteer*, 24 juan [Chongzhen era (1628–1644); possibly post 1724], juan 2, p. 17b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB107/2597. Figures in this edition appear to have been printed from the same blocks as for the exemplar in figure 8b.

(Great Benevolence) dance, the civil dance which has as properties the pheasant feathers (*di*) and the short flute (*yue*). At the top of the illustration is a Chinese character, which is the syllable of the lyric that is sung during the execution of the dance movement, and each position corresponds to one character of the lyric. The ninety-six images can be divided into three groups of thirty-two positions. Each movement contains thirty-two positions, but the order of the positions and also the lyric varies in each of the three oblations.

In the sixteenth century, these illustrations grew in complexity. This can be observed from the monographs of the imperial academies. As places where future officials were trained, the academies also performed the sacrifices for Confucius twice a year, with dancers who were students from the academies. The two most important sources in this regard are the *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy in Nanjing) compiled by the scholar and prolific writer Huang Zuo (1490–1556)⁴⁶ and the *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the National University in Beijing) edited by Guo Pan (1499–1558).⁴⁷ (See figures 9 and 10, respectively.) The illustrations included in these writings are clearly based on the illustrations of *Quli Gazetteer* (or have the same source in origin). They indicate that, in a first phase, the instructions of the dance movements were added, and in a second phase, the musical notation, in fixed scale (*lülü*) notation on the right side and variable scale (*gongche*) notation on the left side of the character of the lyric, was added.⁴⁸ In principle, music contained one word to one note. These illustrations became the dominant pattern all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also in publications with no direct link to a ritual context. For instance, they appear under the same format in Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Three Powers; 1609).⁴⁹ (See figure 11.)

There seems to have been little attempt at innovation of these representations. One major exception was Li Zhizao's (1565–1630) *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools; 1618, 1619). (See figure 12.) Li Zhizao, who was baptized as a Christian in 1610, is known for his writings on Western astronomy and mathematics and as editor of the *Tianxue chuhan* (First Encyclopaedia of Heavenly Studies), first published



9. Ca. 1549. Representation of the “Daxia” dance with instructions of the dance movement added. Huang Zuo, *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy) [after 1571; prefaces dated 1544 and 1549], *juan* 13, pp. 32a–32b, in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3.

in 1626.⁵⁰ His work on the rituals in the local schools is representative of late-Ming scholarship. In the first chapters, which deal with the shrine of the local school, the author explains in a very detailed way the origins (*gu*) of the cult objects. He also discusses in detail the music and songs that are used during the ceremonies. His work contains the three series of thirty-two positions of the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) dance.⁵¹ He presumably took these from a later edition of *Queli Gazetteer* revised by Kong Hongqian in 1552, which, except in Li Zhizao’s works, seems not to have been adopted elsewhere.⁵² (See figure 13.) These illustrations show two major differences from the former series. Instead of one



10. Ca. 1557. Representation of the “Daxia” dance with musical notation added, flanking the lyric in the horizontal register. Guo Pan (1499–1558), *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University) [preface 1557], *juan 5*, pp. 46b–47a, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996).



11. Ca. 1609 representation of the “Daxia” dance, showing in the horizontal register, the character of the lyric in a circle, with fixed scale notation to the left and variable scale notation on the left; text to the left of the dancer is the instruction for the dance position. Wang Qi et al, comps., *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms) [1609], “Renshi,” *juan* 9, p. 34a-b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TC348/680.



12. Li Zhizao's representations of dance (1618–1619). Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, p. 13a, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan* (1618–1619; Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), p. 853.



13. Possible source for Li Zhizao's representations of dances (1552). Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), ed. Kong Hongqian, *juan* 1, p. 71a, photographic reprint in Beijing tushuguan guji chuban bianjizu, ed., Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 23 ([1552]; Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), p. 437.

dancer, they represent two dancers, one on the east and one on the west. The dancers perform their gestures in mirrored form, that is, when the dancer on the east turns toward the center, the dancer on the west also turns toward the center. Even more important is that the explanation of the gestures is much more detailed than in the previous texts. In line with the mirror construction of the dance, they contain the differentiated details for each dancer, for example, when the dancer on the east lifts his right hand up to his shoulder, the dancer on the west lifts the left hand. Moreover, in the *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), the quality of drawing and print surpasses the other series.

The contrast between these Ming illustrations and representations of dances of the early Qing is noteworthy. The four series of Qing illustrations that were found all share the same characteristics. (See figures 14, 15, 16, and 17 below.) Like other writings, they copy from earlier Ming illustrations, but in contradistinction to them, it appears that they are hardly based on any direct observation of the performance of the ritual. Moreover, they do not attempt to innovate or improve the illustrations. This leads to a certain stagnation and even decline in the quality of representation. Zhang Anmao's *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), published in 1656 is, among other writings, based on Li Zhizao's *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools). Zhang, however, did not adopt Li Zhizao's two-dancer representation or the detailed dancing notation. He copied the earlier single-dancer representations, including the Ming dancing cap, sometimes making mistakes in the process of copying. For example, the representation corresponding to the movement at the moment of the character *sheng* (to live) erroneously copies the position of another movement (figure 14).⁵³ Jin Zhizhi (dates unknown) and Song Hong's (dates unknown) *Wenmiao liyue kao* (pref. 1691; Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple) includes the new Qing vestment and cap, but omits all notations (figure 15).⁵⁴ Both the work *Shengmen liyue tong* (1702; Rules for the Music and Rituals for the Sage) by Zhang Xingyan (fl. 1693–1701) and



14. Early-Qing (ca. 1656) dance illustration retains the Ming-style dancing cap but shows the incorrect movement for the lyric specified. For the correct position, compare with figure 11, lower right-hand quadrant. Zhang Anmao (1647 *jinshi*), *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 16, p. 28b, photographic rpt. of exemplar in the collection of the Zhongguo kexueyuan tushuguan in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (1656; Ji'an: QiLu shushe, 1997), "Shibu," part 271, p. 564.



15. Early-Qing (ca. 1691) illustration for civil dance adopts Qing-style cap and vestments but omits all notation. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao*, "Yue," p. 71b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 602.



16. Early-Qing (ca. 1702) dance illustration with notation from both the one-dancer series and the two-dancer series. Zhang Xingyan, comp., *Shengmen liyue tong* (n.p.: Wansong shuyuan, 1702), *juan* 23, p. 12a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/3425.



17. Early-Qing (ca. 1719) dance illustration with notation from both the one-dancer series and the two-dancer series. Li Zhouwang and Xie Lüzhong, eds., *Guoxue liyue lu* (1719), *juan* 16, p. 2a, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng*, vol. 19 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996).

the work *Guoxue liyue lu* (1719; Record of the Music and Rituals in the Imperial Academies) by Li Zhouwang (1669–1730, 1697 *jinshi*) and Xie Lüzhong (1703 *jinshi*) are peculiar since they combine the short notation for one-dancer series with the extensive notation for the dancer on the west of the two-dancer series (figures 16 and 17, respectively).⁵⁵ This creates a decoupling of the illustration and the notation, since the dancer is not represented as prescribed by the extensive notation. Thus, the illustration still follows the ancient pattern, but it does not show the dancer in the position as given by the notation for the dancer on the west. Specifically, while the notation indicates that the dancer should elevate the left hand to the level of the shoulder and let the right hand hang down, the dancer in the image has the hands on the level of the elbow as was the case in the earliest Ming representations. In another case, a dancer puts his left foot in front instead of his right foot.

These Ming and early-Qing representations of dances shed some new light on the function of images or illustration (*tu*).⁵⁶ Noteworthy in terms of illustration is that the earliest images of dances do not contain any explanation of the dance. Usually, images or illustrations are thought of as amplifications to a text, whereby the illustration accompanies a text that existed prior to the production of illustration. Yet, in the earliest illustrations of dances, the only text is the character of the lyric which indicates the moment at which the dancer occupies a specific position; there is no text whatsoever to explain how to dance. It is only in later stages that explanatory texts are added. This may be explained by a move from a more descriptive function of the illustrations in the case of the earliest *Queli Gazetteer* to a more prescriptive and instructive function in the case of the records of educational centers such as the imperial academies. In Li Zhizao's work, this prescriptive function goes hand-in-hand with a search for rituals in accordance with those performed in ancient times. His work should also be viewed in the context of concern for concrete studies (*shixue*) at the end of the Ming. The early-Qing writings show a clear decoupling of between text and illustration. Here the tradition of copying other works led to an apparent disconnection with the practice of the dancing, which may very well be illustrative of the state of the dancing at the Confucian ceremonies themselves.

ILLUSTRATED PROPOSALS FOR RENEWAL OF STATE SACRIFICIAL DANCES

Contrary to the dances performed at the sacrifice for Confucius, there seem to be very few illustrations of the dances at the state sacrifices. Moreover, the extant writings seem to be proposals to reform these dances rather than representations of the actual dances.

These works find their origin in the ritual reforms early in the sixteenth century during the reign of the Jiajing emperor.⁵⁷ Unlike previous Ming rulers, who neither wanted to nor dared to change the system of state sacrifices and music established by the dynastic founder, the Jiajing emperor carried out drastic revisions in the 1530s and 1540s. He was motivated by a personal agenda—establishing and maintaining his own genealogical line and consolidating his position in court. The conflicts lasted for several years and had as a result that the emperor was directly and persistently intervening in the questions of rites. He encouraged, among other initiatives, the publication of the *Da Ming jili* (1530; Collected Rituals of the Great Ming).⁵⁸ However, the controversy had ramifications that went beyond the direct political sphere. As the debate developed, the argumentation became more sophisticated, articulated, and complex, and it stimulated an interest in historical precedents. This resulted in many publications on music, rituals, and dances that treat a wide variety of topics including the origin of music or dance, pitch standards, and descriptions of ancient musical instruments. Given the Confucian belief in the idealized power of music and dance, Ming theorists also wanted to use both to solve problems in their world. Their research was based on the premise that the proper music of antiquity (*guyue*) and also the proper dance of antiquity (*guwu*) had generated the golden reigns of antiquity. In their eyes, it was possible to reconstruct proper music and dance in their own time, and thereby lead to a harmoniously established realm in the Ming. Therefore, these theorists often presented the results of the work to the court in an attempt to convince the Ming court to implement these ideas and to emulate the ancient music and dance.

Two notable examples are the illustrations of dances to be found in Han Bangqi's (1479–1556) *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo's Treatise on Music; preface 1504, but probably printed much later) and Li

Wencha's (dates unknown) (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* (Treatise on Music by Li [Wencha] Louyun [of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices]; preface 1545).⁵⁹ The illustrations in these two works are very similar to each other. The authors of these two works were scholar-officials who occupied important positions in the Ming court during the Jiaping reign. In 1547, Han Bangqi reached his highest position as Minister of War, though prior to that he had occupied various positions and had been discharged several times. He was famous for his knowledge of astronomy, geography, music, and military sciences. The music master Li Wencha was summoned to the court in 1536 and assigned the position of archivist in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichangsi dianbu*). In this function he presented several proposals to the throne, especially musical treatises with recommendations for the rectification of state sacrificial music.⁶⁰

Han Bangqi's work is the more extensive one of the two. He gives the movements for both the "Dawu" (Great Military) dance, with ax and shield as properties, and the "Daxia" (Great Benevolence) dance, with feather and flute as properties. For each dance there is one movement in forty positions, four in twenty-eight positions, four in forty-eight positions, and two in sixteen positions. (See figure 18 and figure 19 left.) Compared with the representations of dances for the Confucius ritual, these representations are very vivid and full of movement, but they are much more repetitive than the former ones. Moreover, they frequently represent the dancers from the back, the perspective of the scholar-official attending a state sacrifice. Except for the fixed scale (*lülü*) notation, there is no text or explanation added to these illustrations. In Han's own opinion, "With regard to the interpretation of dancing images, the explanations by scholars from past and present have been either far-reaching absurdities or mean vulgarities. That is why I do not dare to record them in this scheme. I only record their images as follows."⁶¹ The representations for the same dances in Li Wencha's treatise are less numerous, but they are accompanied by the notation of the basic movements "forward" (*jin*) and "backward" (*tui*) and the name of the movement, based on the reconstruction of ancient texts which the author appointed to the position. (See figure 19 right.)

Neither the work of Han Bangqi nor that of Li Wencha had any traceable effects on court ritual practices. These writings seem to have



18. Vivid representations of the martial dance “Dawu” (Great Military), many showing rear perspective. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music) (Nanjing: Wang Hong, [1548, preface dated 1504]), *juan* 11, p. 11b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/1328.



19A. Works showing similarities between representations of the civil dance “Daxia” (Great Benevolence). Han Bangqi’s 1548 work *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music), *juan* 11, p. 6b.



19B. Li Wencha’s work, “Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao” (Musical Harmonization in the Ming Palace of the Heir-Ap-parent), (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* (Treatise on Music by Li [Wencha] Louyun [of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices]), National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection microfilm, rolls 239(4)–240 [preface dated 1545], *juan* 2, p. 14a. Li Wencha’s work includes the basic movements of “forward” or “backward” and the name of each movement.

been more theoretical than practical. As vivid reminders of the tensions between theory and practice, orthodoxy and creativity, they represent Confucian and scholarly concerns to conduct research on ancient music and ancient dance and the efforts by scholars-officials to pursue the ideal state sacrifices.⁶²

ZHU ZAIYU'S RITUAL CHOREOGRAPHY

Though they did not produce concrete effects, the writings by Han Bangqi, Li Wencha, and other theorists were not left unnoticed by Zhu Zaiyu (1536–1611), the most important and most creative scholar of dance theory in late imperial China.⁶³ He was a descendant in the sixth generation of the fourth Ming emperor Zhu Gaochi (pinyin: Renzong, r. 1425), and he is therefore often mentioned as “Prince Tsai-yü” in eighteenth-century Western sources. His father Zhu Houwan (1518–1591) was a strict Confucianist who incurred the displeasure of the Jiajing emperor for submitting a memorial criticizing the emperor’s excessive observance of Daoist ceremonies and urging the emperor to reform his personal conduct. The prince was deposed and confined in the prison for convicted imperial clansmen at Fengyang in Anhui. Then fourteen years old, Zhu Zaiyu felt keenly the injustice endured by his father and signified his grief by living alone in a small cottage outside the gate of the ancestral palace for some seventeen years until 1567 when his father was released and restored to the principality. During his years of solitary living, Zhu Zaiyu devoted himself to study and, under the influence of his father, took a deep interest in works on the mathematical principles of music and the calendar.⁶⁴ He left approximately twenty-eight writings, mainly on mathematics, the calendar, and music, and is known for his discovery of the calculation of equal temperament (the formula $12\sqrt{2}$).⁶⁵

Two specific contexts played a role in Zhu’s accomplishments. The ritual reforms during the reign of the Jiajing emperor were the context in which Zhu Zaiyu passed his youth, and his texts can be considered a late blossom of the efforts to solve the problems of the 1530s. He himself acknowledged the lessons he learned from his father and other theorists who were active during the Jiajing era.⁶⁶ In addition, in 1606 Zhu Zaiyu presented the results of his work, the *Yuelü quanshu*

(Complete Work on Music) in 48 *juan*, to the court with the request that it be transmitted to the Directorate of Education and Hanlin Academy for investigation in the hope it would be put into practice.⁶⁷ This attempt reflects that in the early-seventeenth century, when the Ming empire was in institutional crisis, interest in music and dance theory was renewed. Revision of state sacrificial music was once again proposed as a means to help revive the collapsing empire.⁶⁸

The second context corresponds to the public life of Zhu Zaiyu at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Partly as a result of the debates on rituals during the Jiajing reign period, but more importantly as a reaction against the excessive intuitionist tendencies of the Wang Yangming (1472–1529) school, scholars cultivated an interest in philology and textual analysis, which was reflected in their study of words and the meaning of terms. This movement is often labeled “concrete and solid studies” (*shixue*), and Zhu Zaiyu’s treatises on music and dance belong to the same movement. Zhu Zaiyu regarded his studies as part of the effort to know better the past (*fugu*) so as to put it into practice in the present.⁶⁹ He was interested in the search for “solidity and principles,” not “appearances and adornment.”⁷⁰ In this regard it is important to underscore that scholars in the seventeenth century rarely limited their efforts to one domain: in the case of Zhu Zaiyu, mathematics, calendrical studies, music, dance, and rituals interposed each other.

The largest collection of Zhu Zaiyu’s writings, *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), consists of a variety of texts that treat diverse subjects related to music, dance, and ritual. The following four texts of various lengths are concerned more specifically dance, but that topic is also discussed elsewhere in *Complete Work on Music*.⁷¹

Lülü jingyi waipian (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), *ce* 10, *juan* 9 (pp. 72a–88b) and *juan* 10 (pp. 89a–123b).⁷² These two texts are two sequels to Zhu’s treatise on music *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality). The first contains a general discussion on dancing in ten sections, treating questions such as dance training, the names of dances, the instruments, and the number of dancers and their vestments. The second is a graphical representation of the positions of the

“Human Dance” (Renwu) for two dancers, following two types of dances—“Kangqu” (Crossroads) and “Yaomin” (The People of Yao)—with texts of Daoist inspiration from *Liezi* and *Zhuangzi*, and shows sixty-four positions in total, eight for each character of the lyric. (See figure 20.)

Liudai xiaowu pu (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties), *ce* 15, pp. 1a–104b.⁷³ After the presentation of the six dances and the dances with one, two, three, or four dancers, there are the illustrated notations for the six dances in the following order: “Human Dance,” “Phoenix Dance” (Huangwu), “Feather Dance” (Yuwu), “Banner Dance” (Fuwu), “Oxtail Flag Dance” (Maowu), “Shield Dance” (Ganwu). (For a sampling of these illustrations, see figure 21.)

Eryi zhuizhao tu (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers), *ce* 16, pp. 1–36.⁷⁴ This work comprises representations of the thirty-five positions of the feet for the left and right dancers (seventy positions in total), in a square with south, north, east, and west sectors. (For three of these positions, see figure 22.)

Lingxing xiaowu pu (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice), *ce* 17, pp. 1a–97b and *ce* 18, pp. 98a–153a.⁷⁵ Emperor Gao (r. 206–195 BCE) of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) ordered the establishment of Lingxing temples to sacrifice to Houji, minister of agriculture under the mythical emperor Shun. Zhu Zaiyu’s text first provides an explanation of the sacrifice, the positioning of the offerings, the musical instruments, and the tunes and then includes the representation of the dancers. The eight couples (pairs) carry the instruments used in agricultural activities: a sickle (*lian*) to weed out (*shanchu*), a shovel (*jue*) to open up wasteland (*kaiken*), a small spade (*qiao*) to plant (*zaizhong*), a hoe (*chu*) to remove weed (*yunnou*), a bamboo rod (*gan*) to dispel birds (*qujue*), a forked branch (*cha*) to harvest (*shouhuo*), a flail (*jia*) to thresh grain (*chongfu*), and a



20. One position in the “Kangqu” (Crossroads) dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music) [Zhengfan, Wanli era (1573–1620)], *ce* 10, *juan* 10, p. 91b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/278.



21A. Illustrated notations for “Banner Dance.”

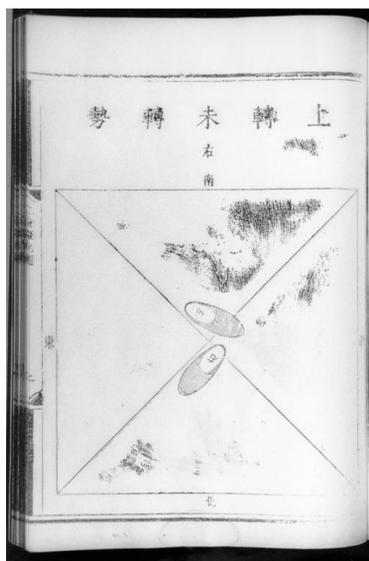


21B. Illustrated notations for “Phoenix Dance.”

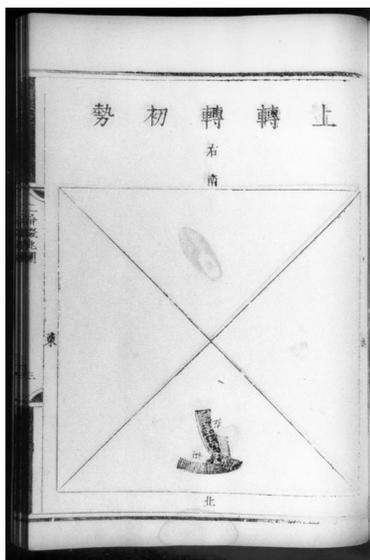


21C. Illustrated notations for “Human Dance.”

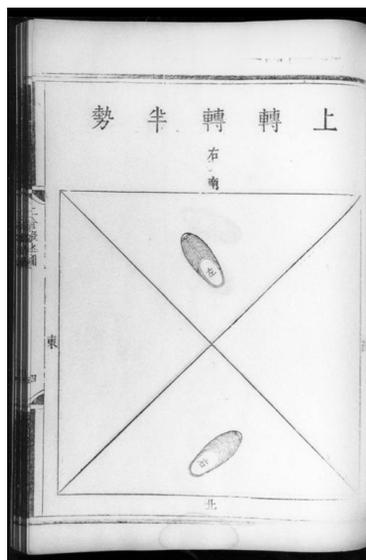
21A–C. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, *juan* 37, pp. 1b–2b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/278.



22A. Preparatory position



22B.
Begin-
ning
position.



22C.
Half-turn
position.

22A–C. First three positions of the feet of the dancer on the right in a dance with two persons. Zhu Zaiyu, *Eryi zhui Zhao tu* (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, pp. 2a, 3a, and 4a. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TA141/1328.

large spade (*xian*) to winnow (*boyang*). The collection thus includes eight series of thirty-two positions. (See figure 23.) Next follows (*ce* 18, pp. 153b–198b) the choreography of dances performed by a group of sixteen dancers without properties. They perform the so-called “character dance” (*ziwu*). With their bodies, the dancers trace one-by-one the characters in the phrase “*tian xia tai ping*” (all under Heaven is at peace), formations that are visible to the spectators on a podium.⁷⁶ (See figure 24.)

Zhu Zaiyu’s writings on dance share the two distinctive features of late-Ming writings on music theory.⁷⁷ They emphasize factual data, and they provide information on practical matters, such as notes on the performance of musical instruments and dances, including performance and notational illustrations. In this regard, Zhu Zaiyu’s work is one of the most complete of the writings under review here. His collection contains a bibliographical list of all classical works and dance treatises known at that time.⁷⁸ Moreover, Zhu Zaiyu did not limit himself in citing passages from the classics and making references to historical precedents. Zhu’s collection does more than merely present theoretical discussions such as can be found in the other Ming treatises. He himself insists that he “supplements what ancient scholars did not develop” and that his opinions “are considerably different from the ancient theories of previous scholars.”⁷⁹ As a result, his collection is a monument of theoretical creativity which proposes many new solutions for the choreography of ritual dances.

A comparison with the other Ming writings on dance, both those concerning the sacrifice to Confucius and proposals of reform of the state sacrifices, prove Zhu Zaiyu’s originality and creativity. He was the first to have discussed, described, and designed the dances in such detail—his writings contain over six hundred illustrations of dancing positions. Characteristically, Zhu presented a comprehensive approach in that he established the rules for combining the dancing with vocal and instrumental music. In doing so, he also created new choreographies.

For his classification of dances, Zhu Zaiyu refers to the terms *dawu* (major dances) and *xiaowu* (minor dances). This terminology goes back

23A.
Dance
with
hoe to
remove
weeds.



23B.
Dance
with
large
spade to
winnow.



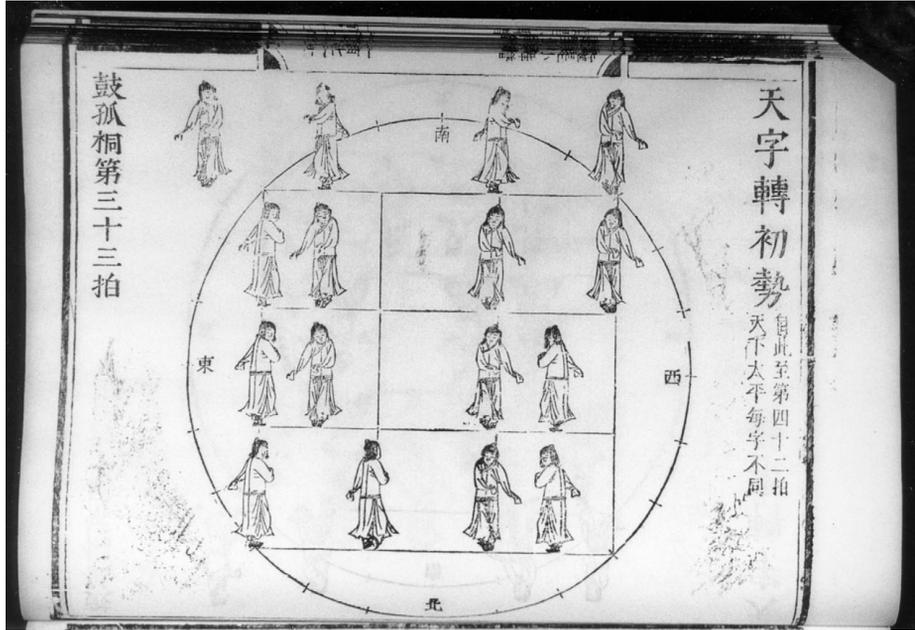
23C.
Sixth
position
of outer
move-
ment of
dance
with
bamboo
rod to
dispel
birds.



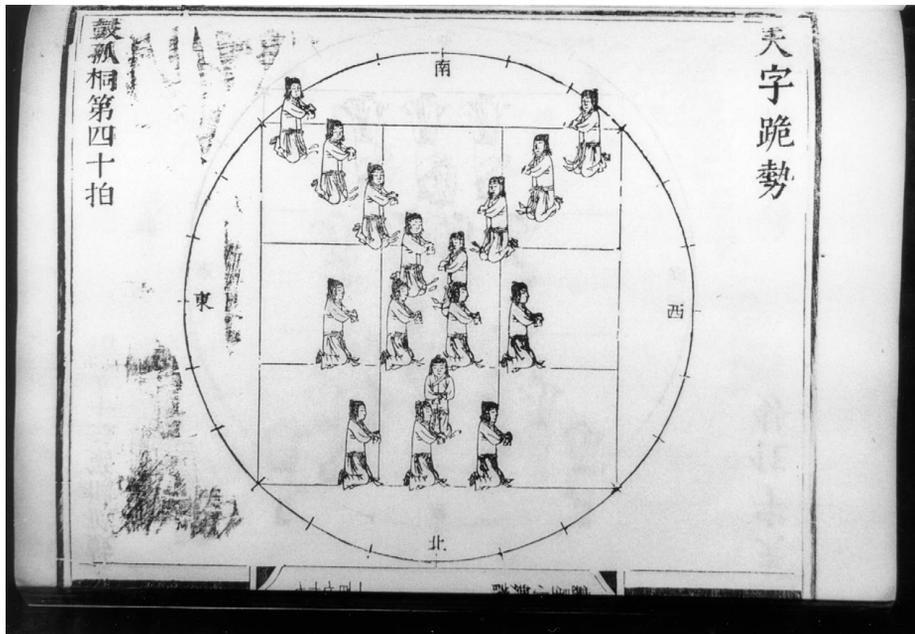
23D.
Third
position
of the
outer
move-
ment of
dance
with
hoe.



23A-D. Representation of dancers for the minor dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice: Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 17, pp. 15a, 17a, 62b, and 75a, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/I328.

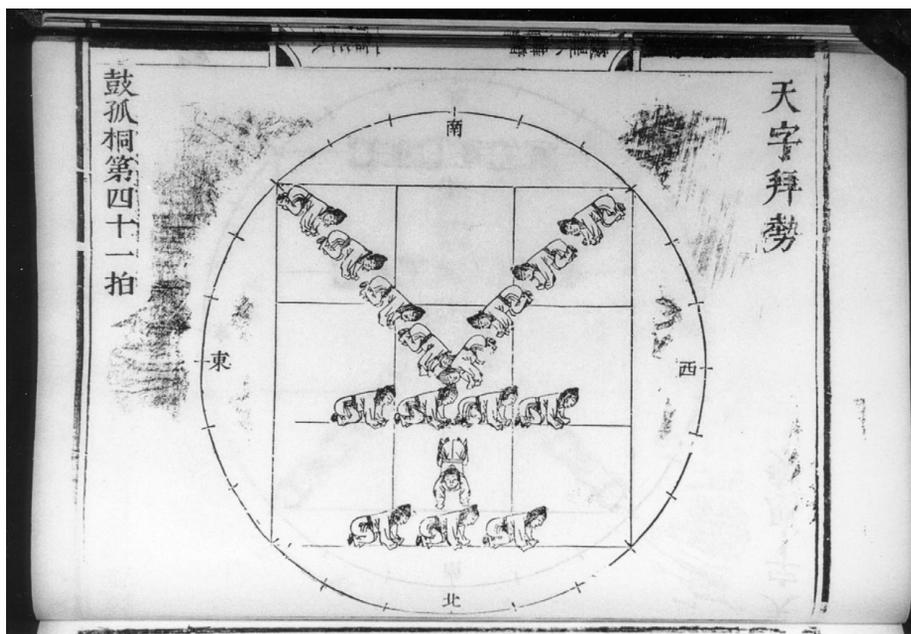


24A. Beat 33, beginning position.

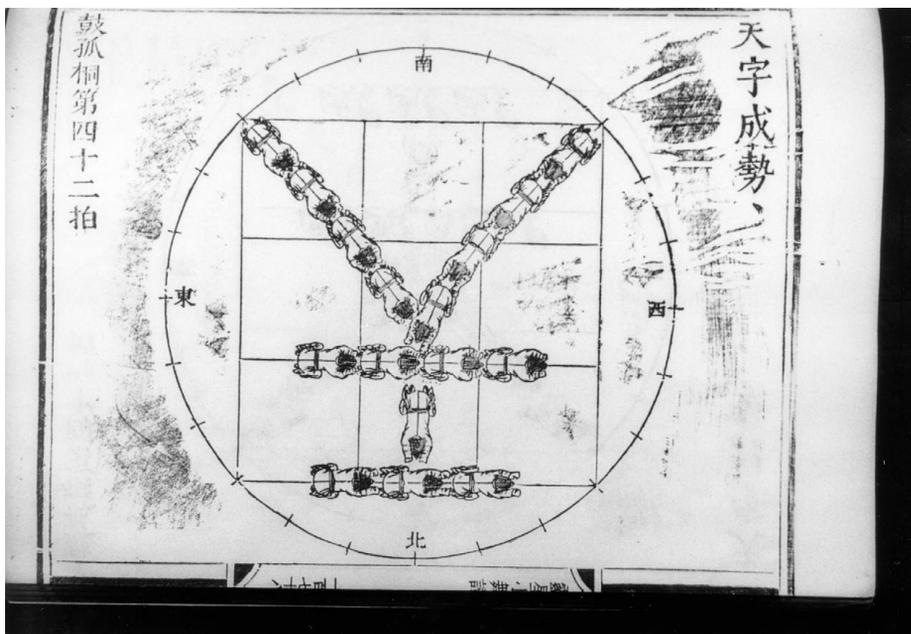


24B. Beat 40, kneeling position.

24A-D. Representation of dancers for four positions of the "character dance."
 Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the MinorDances for the Lingxing Sacrifice)



24C. Beat 41, prostrate position.



24D. Beat 42, final position.

in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 18, pp. 174a, 177b–178b, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.

to two passages in the *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou), a text to which most authors writing on dances refer. There, the chapter on the musician-in-chief (*dasiyue*) reads:

[The musician-in-chief] teaches the musical dances to the children of the state; they have them perform the dances called “Yunmen” (Gate of Clouds) and “Dajuan” (Great Reunion), [and those called] “Daxian” (Great Concord), “Dashao” (Great Succession), “Daxia” (Great Benevolence), “Dahu” (Great Protection), and “Dawu” (Great Military).⁸⁰

These terms refer to musical tunes that, according to tradition, were created by the founders of the first six imperial families and preserved by the Zhou (ca. eleventh century BCE–256 BCE). That is why they are often called the “dances of the six ancient dynasties” (*liudaiwu*). The first two are said to be composed by Huangdi and are usually identified as being one tune. The others are respectively from Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, and King Wu. The *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou) distinguishes the dances by the musical instruments that accompany the dance, the melody that one sings, and the respective divinities to which one offers a sacrifice. Although the *Rituals of Zhou* text itself does not contain the expression “(six) major dances,” this term was adopted later because the names of most of these dances contain the character “da” (major or great).

In the next chapter of *Rituals of Zhou*, entitled “Yueshi” (Music Master), there is a passage that reads,

[The music master] teaches the minor dances to the children of the state. Among the dances, there are the “Fuwu” (Banner Dance), the “Yuwu” (Feather Dance), the “Huangwu” (Phoenix Dance), the “Maowu” (Oxtail-Flag Dance), the “Ganwu” (Shield Dance), and the “Renwu” (Human Dance).⁸¹

This passage is usually explained by the Ming and Qing authors by making reference to the following passage in *Liji* (Book of Rites), chapter 10, “Neize” (The Pattern of the Family):

At the age of thirteen he practiced music, recited the Songs, and danced the “Zhuo” [of the Duke of Zhou]. As an adolescent

[between fifteen and nineteen years old], he danced the “Xiang” [of King Wu]. At the age of twenty, . . . he danced the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) [of Yu].⁸²

On the basis of these sources, authors like Zhu Zaiyu noticed that the “minor” dances are those that one learns till the age of twenty. Next one learns the “major” dances.⁸³ More important is that he identified the “major” and “minor” dances.⁸⁴ In his eyes there is a perfect correspondence between the six major and six minor dances, which differ only by their names when the latter are performed by boys. The dances do not differ in their choreography. By identifying them this way, Zhu Zaiyu refutes the traditional understanding of “Yunmen” (Gate of Clouds) as a civil dance and classifies it as a martial dance.⁸⁵ His classification is shown in table 2. When Zhu Zaiyu wrote his treatise, he knew but one limited description of the choreography of the “Human Dance” as represented in the *Collected Rituals of the Great Ming*.⁸⁶ (See figure 25.) Zhu Zaiyu created the full choreography of this dance and reconstructed the choreography of the other dances on the basis of the “Human Dance.” In addition, he reinstated the original properties. In the *Da Ming*

TABLE 2: ZHU ZAIYU’S CLASSIFICATION OF MAJOR AND MINOR DANCES

TYPE	MINOR DANCES	MAJOR DANCES	ATTRIBUTE	SOVEREIGN
civil dance <i>wenwu</i>	Human Dance “Renwu”	Entire Generosity “Xianchi”	without attribute	Yao
	Phoenix Dance “Huangwu”	Great Succession “Dashao”	vertical bamboo flute <i>xiao</i>	Shun
	Feather Dance “Yuwu”	Great Benevolence “Daxia”	pheasant feather <i>di</i> and short flute <i>yue</i>	Yu
military dance <i>wuwu</i>	Banner Dance “Fuwu”	five-colored “Yunmen”	flag <i>wucaizeng</i>	Huangdi
	Oxtail flag Dance “Maowu”	Great Protection “Dahu”	flag with oxtails set up at the top of its staff <i>yumao</i>	Tang
	Shield Dance “Ganwu”	Great Military “Dawu”	shield <i>gan</i> and ax <i>qi</i>	Wu Wang



25. Illustration of dancer in the “Renwu” (Human Dance), showing full movement. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming) (1530), *juan* 50, p. 23b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/1623.

jili (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), the “Phoenix Dance,” “Banner Dance,” and Oxtail-flag Dance” had a *jie* (a banner made of knots) as property, which he replaced with a vertical bamboo flute, a five-colored flag, and a flag with oxtails set up at the top of its staff, respectively.⁸⁷

There are numerous examples of how Zhu Zaiyu created while transmitting. Referring to the image of the “Human Dance” in the *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), an image showing a dancer in full movement, he remarks that contemporary dancers at official ceremonials abstain from ample (*shu*) and turning (*zhuan*) movements, characteristics that are present in this ancient representation. (See figure 25 above.) This modification was introduced during the Eastern Han (25–220) when King Ding of Changsha (r. 155–129) and later also Tao Qian (132–194) changed the choreography by having the dancers stand straight in a fixed place and move their hands only rather than their entire bodies. The Han condemned these simplifications. Thus, considering them to be mistakes, Zhu Zaiyu reinstated the full-body movements.⁸⁸

The importance of movement also appears in the new dance vocabulary that Zhu Zaiyu created.⁸⁹ Each choreography is divided into four movements—upward movement (*shangzhuan*), downward movement (*xiazhuan*), outward movement (*waizhuan*), and inward movement (*neizhuan*)—to which he attaches a specific moral value, that is, one of the Four Principles (*siduan*), i.e. humaneness (*ren*), duty (*yi*), propriety (*li*), and wisdom (*zhi*). (For depictions of two of the movements, see figure 26.) Each movement itself is divided into eight positions or postures (*shi*), to each of which he again attaches a moral value, one of the Five Constants and Three Bonds (*wuchang sangang*).⁹⁰ The beat is marked with the *chongdu* instrument.⁹¹ (See figure 27.) Each beat (*chong*) coincides with one of the characters *fei* of the *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius) quotation “*fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting, fei li wu yan, fei li wu dong*” (Look not at what is contrary to propriety, listen not to what is contrary to propriety, speak not what is contrary to propriety, make no movement which is contrary to propriety) (*Lunyu*, 12.1). (For the series of eight positions for the upward movement, see figure 28.) In other words, dancers were supposed to memorize this text and change position



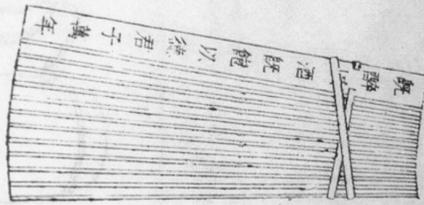
26A. Complete turn posture in the downward movement of the “Phoenix Dance.”



26B. Looking upward posture in the inward movement of the “Human Dance.”

26A–B. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 29b and 23b, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.

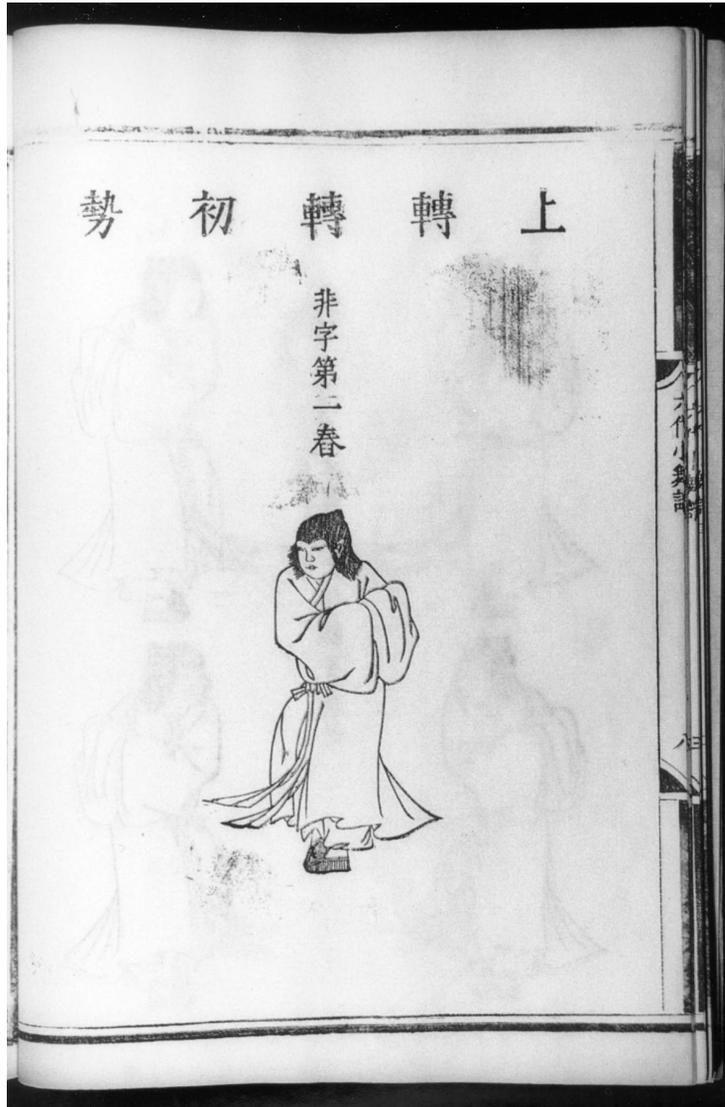
春牘小樣



舊說先鼓以警戒者鞀鼓也會守拊鼓者應鼓也治亂以相者
 味鼓也亦疾以雅者雅鼓也周禮所謂春牘應雅是也太常寺

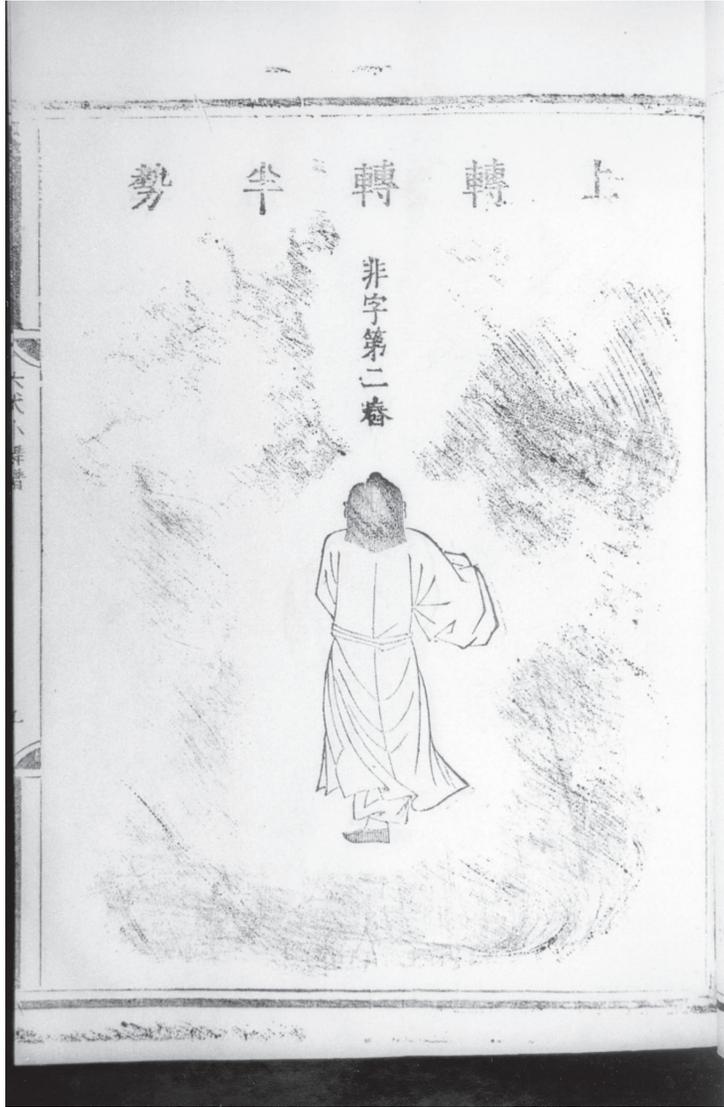
春牘之為器猶今拍
 板也以竹為之形如
 竹簡凡十二枚廣一
 寸長一尺二寸上端
 二寸之下兩旁各有
 一孔孔長二分聯以
 皮條右手摠握上端
 而以下端撻於左手
 掌中是故不曰擊而
 曰春非春築於地也

27. The *chongdu* instrument marks the beat of the dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Xiaowu xiangyue pu* (Musical Notations for the Minor Dances), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, p. 32b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TA141/278.



28A. Beginning.

28A-H. Positions for the eight beats of the upward movement of the human dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient



28B. Half turn.

Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 8b–12a. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.



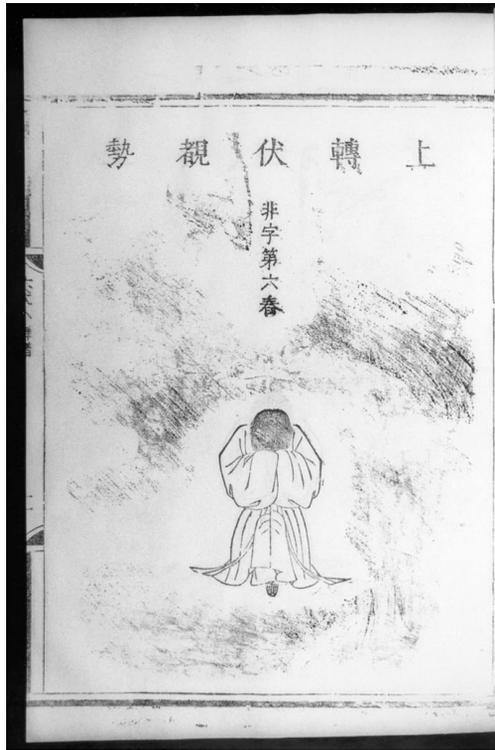
28c. Complete turn.



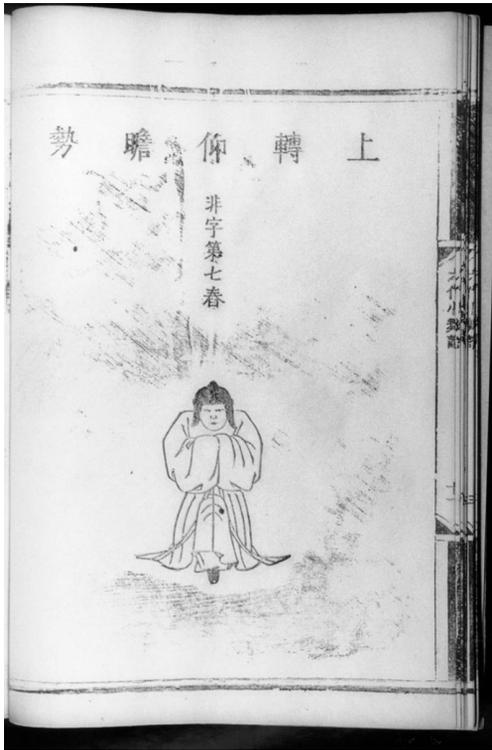
28d. Passing.



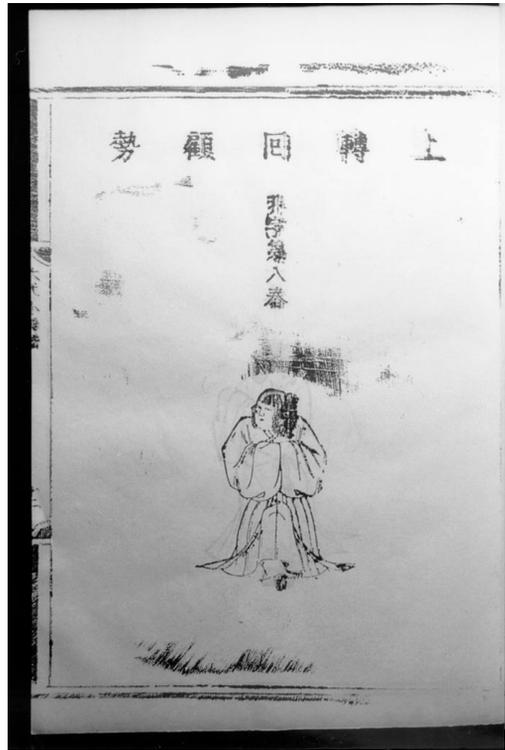
28E. Pausing.



28F. Looking downward.



28G. Looking upward.



28H. Looking backward.

at each *fei* character. This system of beats illustrates well that each position was followed by a pause, which was made possible because ritual music was rather slow. Zhu was the only one who so explicitly linked the ethical values and norms to dances, and thus his system of dances appears to create a “spacialization” of ethics.

Zhu Zaiyu did not limit himself to an analysis of the movements of the body; he also analyzed in great detail the positioning of the feet. Zhu is the only one of all dance illustrators who has included the precise positions of the feet. He represents these positions in a square divided into four triangles, each corresponding to one of the four wind-directions. (See figure 22 above.) In the course of assuming the thirty-two positions of one movement, dancers make a complete tour of the four directions. Further, for each position, Zhu Zaiyu also shows which foot is in *dao* (on tiptoe), *ta* (resting on the heel), or immobile position. (See figures 20 and 22 above.) The whole of his dancing theory can be summarized in the following table. (For the Chinese text of table 3, see appendix 1.)

Although Zhu Zaiyu divided a dance into four “movements,” this overview shows that the key to Chinese ritual dance is not its movement, but rather it is the positions which correspond to real “pauses.” During these pauses, the dancer does not “move” but rather remains static as long as the musical tone and the chanting of the corresponding word of the poem last. This succession of pauses can be compared with the concept of “rhythm” in early Greek texts. *Rhythmoi* were originally the “positions” that the human body was to assume in the course of a dance. Pauses thus defined the very heart of the idea of rhythm. It was the still stance that was significant; movements were mere transitions.⁹² One possible explanation for the early development of printed choreographies in China is that the illustrations do not attempt to seize movements but rather fix on paper this “frozen moment” in dance transformation.

Zhu Zaiyu’s works on dancing include many other subtle novelties. For instance, he created the notion of the “study of dance” (*wuxue*) and presented its basic curriculum.⁹³ Another detail introduced by Zhu Zaiyu was to reject a scarf so commonly carried by young dancers since it is not mentioned in the Zhou system.⁹⁴ Finally one has to underscore

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF ZHU ZAIYU'S DANCE THEORY

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	MORAL VALUE
0	upward	preparatory		center	
1	upward	beginning	tiptoe	north	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	upward	half turn	heel	north and south	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	upward	complete turn	heel	south	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	upward	passing	tiptoe	south	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	upward	stop	heel	south and north	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	upward	looking downward	immobile	south and north	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	upward	looking upward	immobile	south and north	loving care for one's father
8	upward	looking backward	immobile	south and north	harmonious obedience to one's husband
1	downward	beginning	tiptoe	north	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	downward	half turn	heel	north	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	downward	complete turn	heel	north	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	downward	passing	tiptoe	north	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	downward	stop	heel	north and south	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	downward	looking downward	immobile	north and south	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	downward	looking upward	immobile	north and south	loving care for one's father
8	downward	looking backward	immobile	north and south	harmonious obedience to one's husband

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	MORAL VALUE
1	outward	beginning	tiptoe	south	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	outward	half turn	heel	south and east*	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	outward	complete turn	heel	east	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	outward	passing	tiptoe	east	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	outward	stop	heel	east and west	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	outward	looking downward	immobile	east and west	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	outward	looking upward	immobile	east and west	loving care for one's father
8	outward	looking backward	immobile	east and west	harmonious obedience to one's husband
1	inward	beginning	tiptoe	west	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	inward	half turn	heel	west	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	inward	complete turn	heel	west	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	inward	passing	tiptoe	west	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	inward	stop	heel	west and east	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	inward	looking downward	immobile	west and east	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	inward	looking upward	immobile	west and east	loving care for one's father
8	inward	looking backward	immobile	west and east	harmonious obedience to one's husband
0		stable		center	
0		end		center	

*East for the dancer on the left and west for the dancer on the right, and inversely.

the elegant graphic quality of the more than six hundred illustrations that are included in his work.⁹⁵

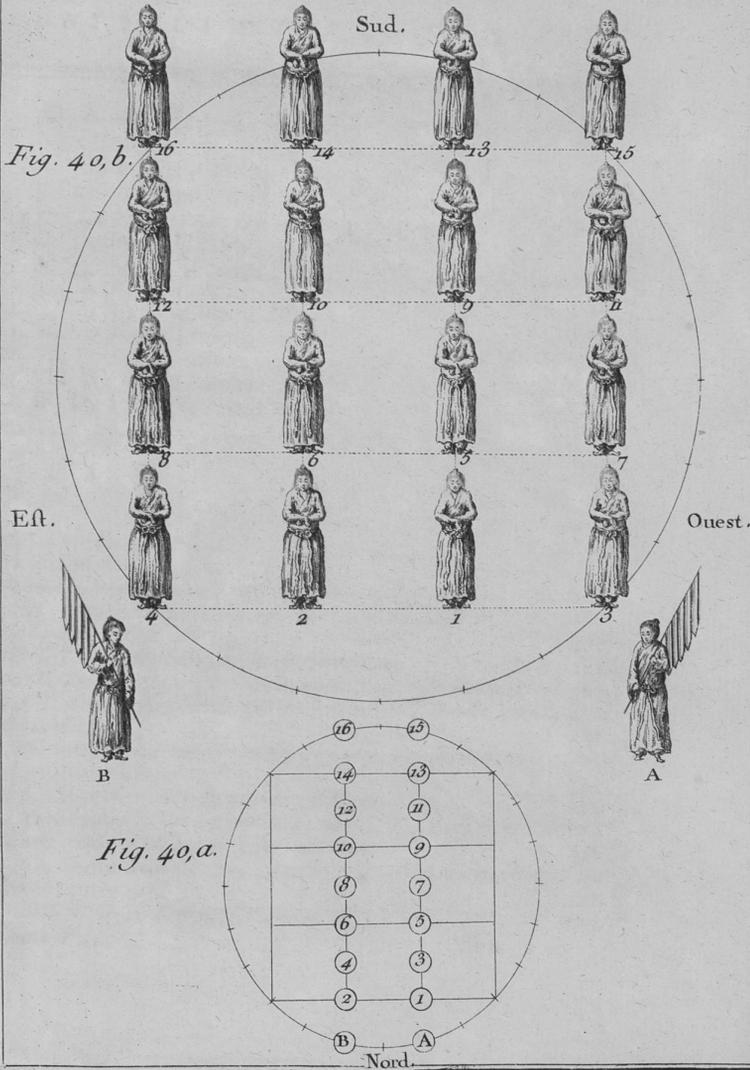
Zhu Zaiyu had hoped that his ritual reforms would contribute to saving the dynasty, but his proposals were a failed attempt. They produced no effect toward reforming the dances. The *Official History of the Ming*, in revisiting the history of musical transformations, points out that after the reforms made during the Hongwu and the Jiajing reign periods, there were no major changes in the ceremonials of the state sacrifices. It criticizes the writings of scholars like Han Bangqi and Huang Zuo as “empty talk.” It also lists all of the more or less innovative proposals that had been made by scholars like Li Wencha and Zhu Zaiyu. In the final years of the dynasty, during the Chongzhen reign (1628–1644), new proposals submitted in 1633 and 1641 by Huang Ruliang (1586 *jinshi*) were accepted for further examination, but they did not succeed in being implemented.”⁹⁶

Although his was a failed attempt at renewal, Zhu Zaiyu’s work remained a scholarly reference on dance in the next centuries. It also caught the attention of the Jesuit Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793), the first European to write extensively on Chinese ritual dances for publication in Europe. The illustrations of Zhu Zaiyu’s dances were first included in the 1780 publication *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, etc. des Chinoise*.⁹⁷ (See figure 29.) In addition Amiot sent a total of more than fourteen hundred pages of copies of Zhu Zaiyu’s dance illustrations to Europe.⁹⁸

IMPERIAL PATRONAGE OF DANCE NOTATIONS

Not until the Qianlong reign were serious changes to affect the dances of the state sacrifices. It was not so, however, that the Shunzhi (1644–1661) and Kangxi (1662–1722) emperors were unconcerned about the state sacrifices. The Shunzhi court took over the Ming system and, by insisting on rehearsals, tried to increase the quality of the music and dancing performances. These decisions also affected the sacrifices to Confucius. In the first year of the Shunzhi reign, it was decided that “every year on the first *ding* day of the second and eighth month, all provinces, prefectures, sub-prefectures, and districts should perform the

Arrangement des Danseurs chantant l'Hymne.



29. Earliest engraving of Chinese dancers published in Europe. Initial position of the character dance. *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, des Chinois*, vol. 6 (Paris: Nyon, 1790), figure 30. Photograph from the exemplar in the collection of the library of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (former Jesuit collection).

sacrifices to the First Teacher; local officials should preside. The setting and the ceremonial itself should be completely the same as in the Directorate of Education (Guozijian).”⁹⁹ Moreover, like the founder of the Ming, both the Shunzhi emperor (in 1651) and the Kangxi emperor (in 1667, 1675, and 1681) sent personal messengers to Queli to perform the sacrifices to Confucius. During his eastern tour in 1684, the Kangxi emperor performed the ritual in person. The repercussions of this visit indicate the low regard that the center of the empire held for the rituals as performed at this major place of honor for Confucius and perhaps also hint at the real decline in ritual practice as reflected in the representation of dances by the early-Qing scholars:

The musical texts used in Queli are slightly different from the ones of the national academies, and it is to be feared that the musicians are not very skilled. Therefore, it is ordered that the Court of Imperial Sacrifices consider sending officials in charge of music, as well as musicians and dancers, to travel speedily in advance to instruct and train them; as for the vestments of the musicians, let the vestments used by the musicians at the imperial academy in Beijing be taken with them to be used [in Queli] in order to make the ceremony more radiant and solemn.¹⁰⁰

About forty years later, in 1724 during the reign of the Yongzheng emperor, there were still complaints about the diversity of the performances. “The melodies played at Queli are inharmonious.” Therefore, it was ordered that several people be selected to go to the Court of Imperial Sacrifice for a proper training in the correct ways of performance. They then could in turn transmit these to others. In the next year it was also decided to have a book printed on the ritual and musical instruments to be used in Confucian temples in the provinces, so that all places could make them uniform according to the design.¹⁰¹ In 1733 and 1734, the court issued several instructions to restore the buildings of the Confucian temples in the prefectures and districts and also to repair the ritual instruments.¹⁰² In addition, the Yongzheng reign paid special attention to the selection of the dancers who were to perform in the different localities. Characteristic of these decisions is that dancers (and musicians) should not only be selected through examination but should

be regularly submitted to tests in order to prove their aptitude. In 1727, for instance, it was ordered that the musicians and dancers of the Qufu district be tested, that those incompetent should be eliminated, and that others be added to maintain the total number at 154. In 1735, a similar order was proclaimed for all sub-prefectures and districts. The teaching officers should carefully test the handsome boys of the locality. “Only those who understand music and who are skillful in ceremonials should be maintained and trained further.”¹⁰³

These examples show the subtle interplay between the major centers of sacrifices to Confucius with regard to codification: the Court of Imperial Sacrifice as training center, the imperial academies as norm for the other localities, and the Confucian temple in Queli as preferential place of attention. The attempts by the center to control the rituals in the periphery were certainly not new for the Qing. The increasing number of references to these attempts of control, however, as well as the wider spread of printing which made attempts of codification and unification of ritual more likely, seems to indicate that the imperial regulation of rituals became more intensified.

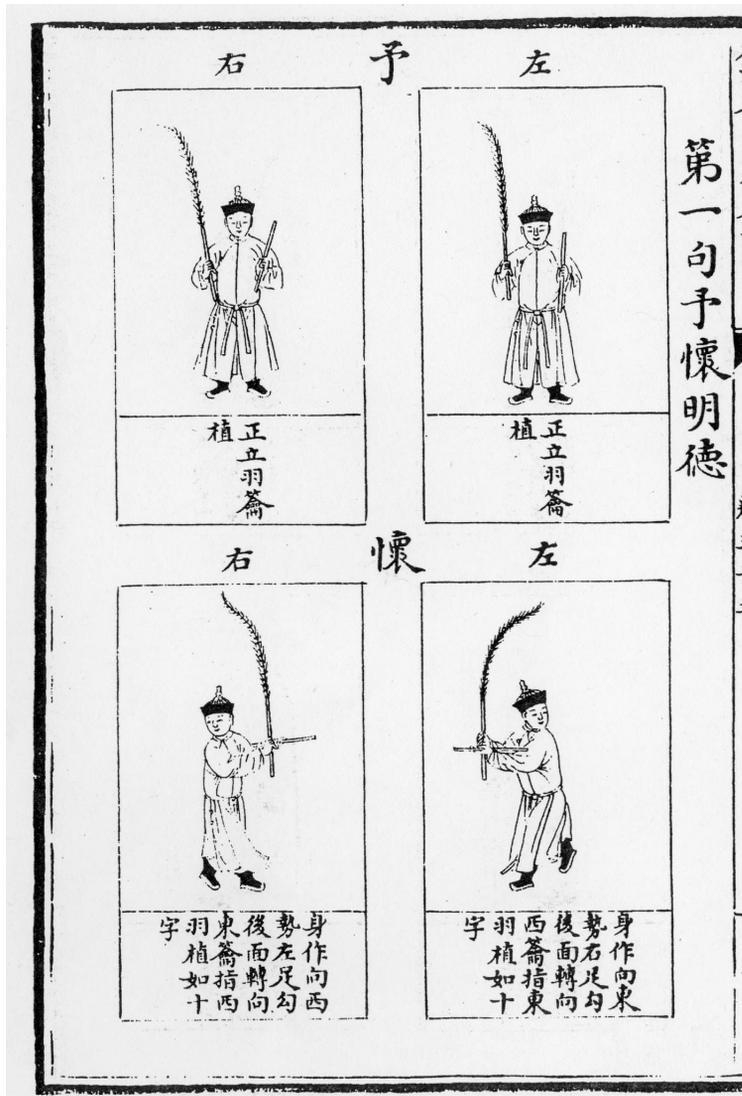
These attempts at standardization did not pertain to rituals only. The last twenty years of the Kangxi reign are known for the major compilations, and thereby regulation, of some major branches of knowledge. One of these was (*Yuzhi*) *Lüli yuanyuan* ([Imperially Commissioned] Source of Pitch Pipes and Calendar) ordered by the emperor himself in 1713 and printed in 1723. It comprised three major treatises: one on calendar, *Lixiang kaocheng* (Compendium of Computational and Observational Astronomy) in 42 *juan*; one on mathematics, *Shuli jingyun* (Essential Principles of Mathematics) in 53 *juan*; and one on music, *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) in 5 *juan*. Compared to the extent of the other two collections, the last was a rather small collection, though it contained some major proposals for musical innovation, including Western musical notation.¹⁰⁴ However, it did not contain any proposal for reform in dance choreography. The topic of dances did receive considerable attention in the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (The Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia) compiled by Chen Menglei (b. 1651, 160 *jinshi*) during the Kangxi reign and published during the Yongzheng reign. Dances are arranged under headings titled “Jingjihui”

(Political Economy), “Yuelü dian” (Music),” and “Wubuhui” (Dance) in *juan* 85 through 90. The work extensively quotes Zhu Zaiyu’s treatises on dances, especially *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) and also reproduces the representations of the choreography of the human dance for two dancers. Part of the information on dances is also taken from Wang Qi’s *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Three Powers).¹⁰⁵

The decisions concerning rituals at large, and dances more specifically, made during the early-Qianlong reign can be linked to the wider context of these compilations and also to the institutional reforms, especially the establishment of the Ministry of Music mentioned earlier. The two key figures in this regard were Zhang Zhao (1691–1745) and Yinlu (alternate name Yunlu, 1695–1767), the second Prince Zhuang. Yinlu was on good terms with both the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors. Having studied mathematics and music, he was ordered by the Yongzheng emperor to head the commission to re-edit and print *Lülü yuanyuan* (Source of Pitch-pipes and Calendar), and perhaps also the *Gujin tushu jicheng* (The Chinese Encyclopaedia), in which function he was entrusted with the task of erasing names, in particular of Prince Yinzhi (1677–1732), who had been involved in both projects, and of others also. Zhang Zhao was an official, painter, and calligrapher, who in 1740 was made a vice-minister of the Ministry of Punishment and two years later minister of the same ministry and concurrently in charge of the Office of State Music. In 1741 Yinlu and Zhang Zhao were commissioned to revise and enlarge the *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) and were also appointed supervisors in the Ministry of Music. The result was a much more extensive work in 120 *juan* entitled *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), published in 1746 and to which a supplement in 8 *juan* was added in 1789. In this collection, dances occupy an important place, filling (together with the corresponding musical annotation) thirty-five *juan* in total.¹⁰⁶ The work begins by reporting in its introduction the acknowledgment by the Qianlong emperor that some of the reforms initiated by his ancestor the Kangxi emperor had not succeeded in getting ritual music right and continues by relating the discussions that took place at Qianlong’s command between 1741 and 1746, especially on the problem

of the relationship between the lengths of textual and musical lines.¹⁰⁷ There is a direct link between the original idea of composing the notation for dances and the dance compositions by Zhu Zaiyu. The *Qinghuidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing) reports that in 1742 an imperial decree stated that “Zhu Zaiyu’s music book and other books contain dance notation, but the dance system of our court has not been recorded.” The emperor was wondering which should be included in books and had the imperial edict transferred to Yinlu and Zhang Zhao for execution. “In obedience to this decree, the dance notations have been compiled for the music and dance of the major and middle sacrifices in 30 *juan* and have been added to the *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* so to have them transmitted to posterity as fixed norms.”¹⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that these proposals were made in counterpoint to Zhu Zaiyu’s texts, thereby also ignoring them.

Lülü zhengyi houbian (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) is the first text to prescribe the choreography of the state sacrifices dances in significant detail. More than thirty *juan* include the detailed notation of music, lyrics, and dance for all major state sacrifices. Moreover, in addition to the imperial sacrifice to Confucius, the collection contains the choreography of the dances at the sacrifice to Confucius in the provinces, which are treated in a separate section. It may be useful to compare the illustrations of ritual dance in this 1746 work with the illustrations found in earlier published works. The general structure of *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* is the same as that of the earliest Ming writings. Each oblation is illustrated with three series of thirty-two positions. (See figure 30) The representations follow the order of the lyric, a character of which is given at each position. The text of these lyrics, however, is different from the early-Qing texts, which preserved the Ming style. The lyrics had been changed by order of the Kangxi emperor, and one of the aims of the *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* was to produce new versions of the dances that included the necessary complementary alterations to the music.¹⁰⁹ The positions are given for the dancers on both the left and right sides. Each position is also accompanied by an explanation, the grammar of which is based partly on the previous technical terminology and partly on new vocabulary. The framed-page layout of the illustrations and the text gives the



30. Notations for dancers in local Confucian ceremonies, authored by the Qianlong emperor. Yinlu and Zhang Zhao et al., eds., *Yuzhi lülü zhengyi houbian* (Imperially Composed Sequel to the

文廟直省春祭初獻舞譜

秋祭用涼
帽舞式同

左就
班式



右就
班式



左右班各一十八人各繪其一以例其餘

欽定四庫全書

御製律呂正義後編

二

Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) (1746), *juan* 32, pp. 2a–b, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 216.

dance representations a more formalized feeling than in previously published representations.

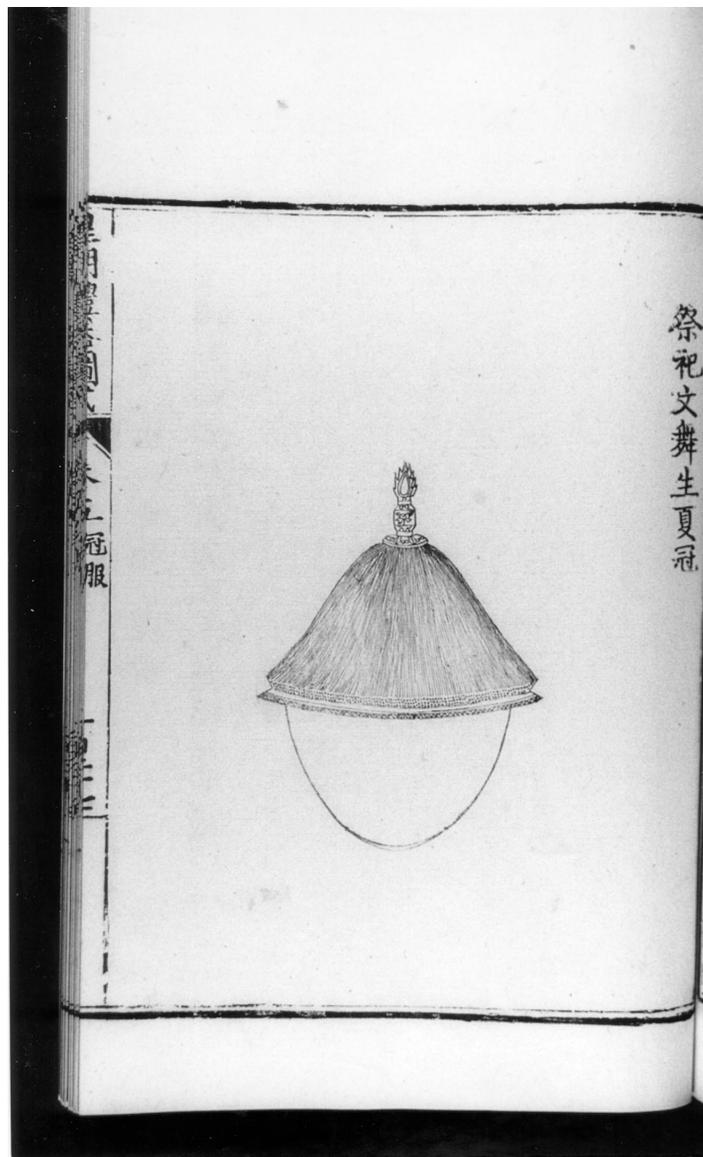
Another important work in terms of ritual codification, *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), also was compiled by Yinlu and first completed in 1759 with a revision published in 1766.¹¹⁰ This work, which covers a wide range of ritual objects, including sacrificial vessels, robes, musical instruments, and insignia used in the ceremonies of the reigning dynasty, also includes illustrations of costumes and properties for the dancers. (See figure 31.) In addition to the instruments used by dancers, illustrations of which also appear in many other writings, the treatise includes the illustrations for the summer and winter gowns and caps for the civil and martial dancers.¹¹¹

The changes in the choreography of dances proposed by the Qianlong emperor without doubt followed earlier precedents and therefore may not have been very radical. They were certainly more significant than the limited musical reforms carried out under his reign.¹¹² Moreover, the fact that for the first time the dance choreography was recorded by imperial decree meant that the dances had a special impact. These writings were not just theoretical exercises, but were destined for immediate implementation. In the same years as the production of the *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), Yinlu, who was also in charge of the Office for the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes (*Lülü zhengyi guan*), the office that produced this work, requested that the Ministry of Rites be allowed to inspect the musical and ritual practices at Queli. Next, proclamation was issued that the new musical scores decided upon by the emperor were to be implemented, first in Queli and then in the schools all over the empire.¹¹³ At the same time there was an intensified codification of the dancers. In line with the regulations of the Yongzheng reign, the new regulations insist on the examination and testing of the candidates, now often called “Confucians initiates” (*Rutong*), prior to their enrollment. A regulation of 1743 explicitly refers to the fact that the identities of musicians and dancers had often been mixed up or that their functions had often been transmitted from father to son without checking whether the successors indeed had sufficient qualifications. Another important decision made the preceding year was to divide the musicians and dancers of the Court of

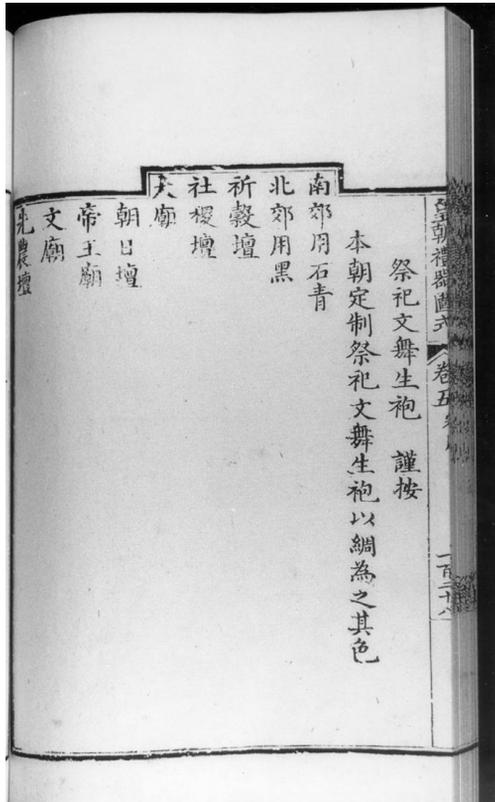
Imperial Sacrifices into three hierarchical classes: the first were the musicians, next the dancers, and next the subordinate musicians and dancers. These distinctions were manifested in the vestments and caps. The classification was also to be applied accordingly in the Confucian temples in the provinces.¹¹⁴

At the local level, implementation of the new regulations governing ritual sacrifices involved some interpretation, adjustments, and initiatives. In 1747, the Qianlong emperor sent Zhang Yuesheng (dates unknown), music director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, to Queli to teach the new music and choreography. Because he felt that some poses for rites to be celebrated on the occasion of the emperor's visit in 1748 were too difficult, Zhang decided to teach a simpler version of the dances using the dancing notation of the imperial academy. About fifteen years later, Kong Jifen (1725–1786), a descendant of Confucius, was of the opinion that what Zhang Yuesheng had taught did not fully correspond to the norms of *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). Thus, in order to have the dances in Qufu exercised more strictly in accordance to the new rules, Kong Jifen had a work entitled *Wupu* (Dance Notation) in one *juan* published.¹¹⁵ This step taken by Kong Jifen, who seems to have had a keen interest in dance, shows that illustrations in printed works could effectively serve as norms by which to correct ritual practice. Yet, it certainly took a long time before the changes were introduced in all places of the realm. In 1772, for instance, there was a decree complaining that the Confucius temple in Shengjing (i.e. Shenyang) was still using “popular drums and music.” Therefore it was ordered that the local officials should have the musical instruments, dance implements, and costumes made in compliance with the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), and that the numbers of musicians and dancers should follow the regulations used in Queli. In addition, those knowledgeable in music should be sent to the Court of Imperial Sacrifices for proper training, and upon their return to their own school, they should transmit what they have learned to others.¹¹⁶ Without doubt, the complete implementation of ritual, and especially of the reforms to ritual dances, took a long time.

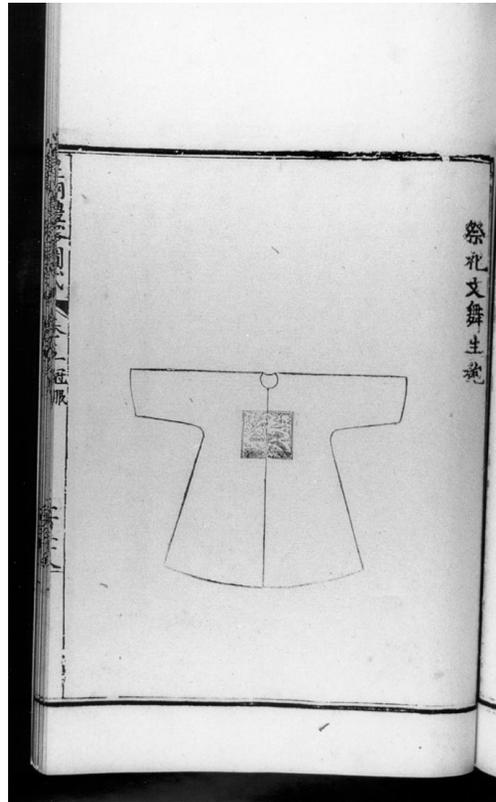
Extant sources on ritual dancers or dancing published in the first half of the nineteenth century are few. However, the larger number of



31A. Summer cap worn by civil dancers. Yinlu et al., comp., *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), 18 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1766), *juan* 5, p. 127a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/1925.



31B. Text specifying the style, fabric, and color of the vestment worn by for civil dancers. Ibid., p. 128b.



31C. Design of the vestment for civil dancers. Ibid., p. 128a.

publications on these topics extant from the second half of that century seems to indicate a renewed interest in the rituals in honor of Confucius. In general, there were three types of publications. The first group has authors whose scholarly interests were similar to those of the mid-Ming and early-Qing scholars writing about ritual. The works were general treatises on the rituals and music, such as Yan Shusen and Xu Changda's compilation *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Record of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance; pref. 1863; facsimile reprint 1871); or on rituals in the Confucian temple, such as Lan Zhongrui's (fl. 1836–1845) *Wenmiao dingji pu* (Notations for the Ding Sacrifice in the Confucian Temple; 1845); and Liu Kunyi's (1830–1902) *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao* (Reference Materials for the Music for the First-Ding Ritual in the Confucian Temple; preface 1870).¹¹⁷ (See figures 32a, 32b, and 32c, respectively.) Others are records of the ritual practices linked to a given place. For example, for Tangyi in Shandong province there is the work *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Music and Dance of the Ceremonials for Confucius in the Local School in Qingyi, Illustrated and Explained), edited by Yang Yizeng (1787–1856) and with a preface dated 1851.¹¹⁸ (See figure 33a.) And for Qufu there is a work entitled *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), originally attributed to Kong Shangren (1648–1718), with prefaces dated 1716 and 1887.¹¹⁹ (See figure 33b.) The dancing choreographies of these writings all copy closely the Qianlong norms as given in the section on the sacrifice to Confucius in the provinces found in the *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). This evidence demonstrates how more than one hundred years after the proclamation of these norms, they were accepted as orthodox ways of practicing the rituals.

The second type of writings is the choreography manual (*wupu*), a short booklet of no more than twenty-five folded pages that contain only the dance choreography. They were specific to the ritual practice of a single place, e.g. in Qingjiang in Jiangxi, Dingzhou in Zhili, or Fuzhou in Fujian.¹²⁰ (See figures 34a, 34b, and 34c, respectively.) With minor exceptions, these texts also copy faithfully the Qianlong instructions. These booklets are of particular importance, especially because this author has located no similar examples dating from earlier periods. They are the tangible remnants of an attempt to implement the norms, not

第一成

予
正立羽
籥植



懷
身作向內勢兩足勾後面轉
向外籥指內封植如十字



32A. Mid- to late-nineteenth century general treatises on ritual that closely copy the Qianlong-era norms. Yan Shusen and Xu Changda, comp., *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance) ([1863]; Chubei: Chongwen shuju, 1871; facsimile rpt. [Hong Kong]:

n.p., [1970?]), *juan xia*, p. 2a.

第一成

予
正立羽
籥植



懷
身作向內勢內足勾後面轉
向外籥指內羽植如十字



文
明
一
冬
普

卷
四
之
一

三

醴
陵
縣

32B. Lan Zhongrui et al., *Wenmiao dingji pu* (1845), *juan* 4a, p. 69a, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 923.

第一成

予正立羽
籥植



懷身作向內勢內足勾後面轉
向外籥指內羽植如十字



32c. Liu Kunyi, *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao* [Hong Kong: Yilizhai, 1870], *juan* 4, pp. 1-24. Photocopy of the exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788/2336.

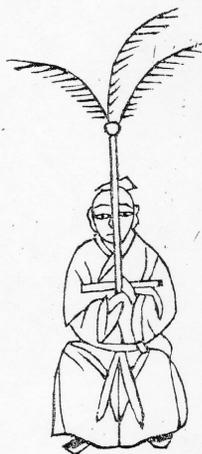


33A. Late-nineteenth century records of ritual practice in a specific locale. Tangyi, Shandong [ca. 1851] Yang Yizeng, ed., *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Qingyi: n.p., [preface dated 1851]), ce 5, p. 5b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.8/3333.



33B. Qufu, Shandong. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), [preface dated 1716; preface of reprint dated 1887], p. 23b, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), "Shizhi" (Historical Records), p. 160.

明



朝上左足著地，右足加於左足，合齋到三拍上蹲。

予



朝上左足上前跪，右足隨蹈，身微躬，起右手於肩，垂左手於下，旋向外舞。

德



朝上，起左手於肩，垂右手於下。

開右足向東蹲，起左手於肩，垂右手於下，隨將右足轉身加於左足，身向東側。

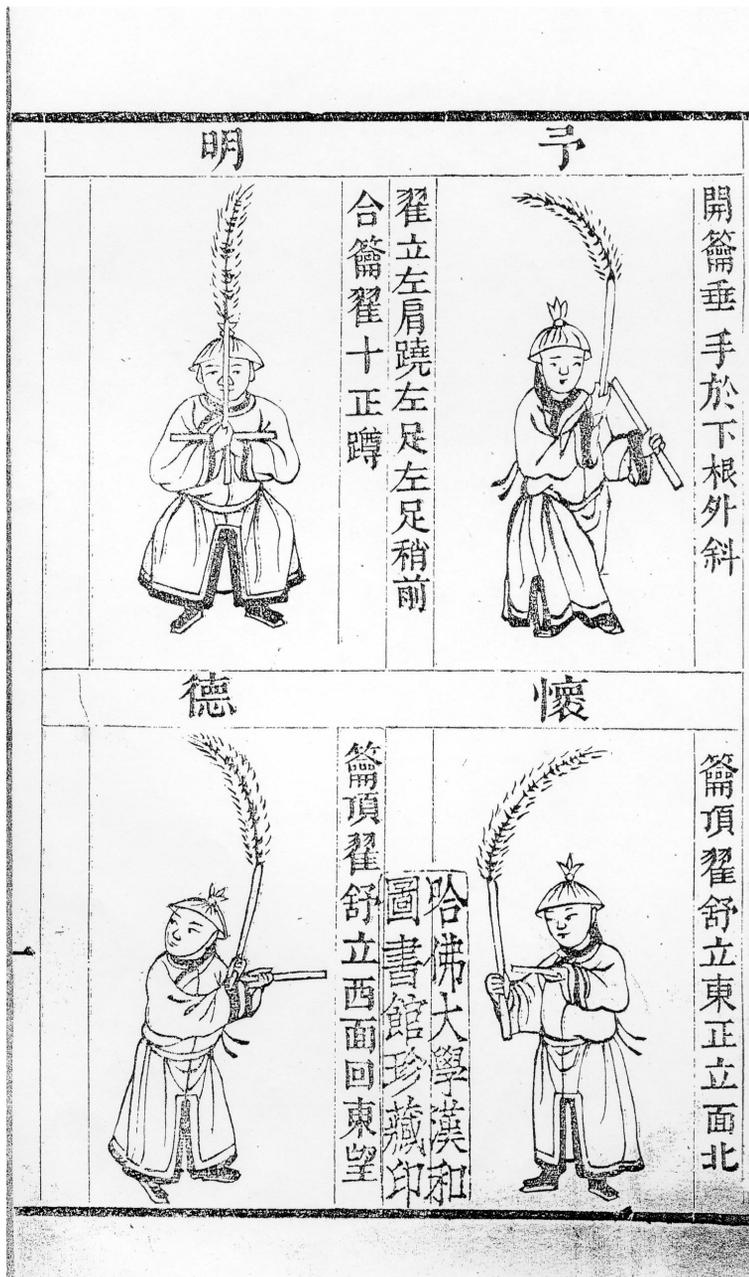
懷



朝上，右足上前跪，左足隨蹈，身微躬，起左手於肩，垂右手於下，旋向內舞。

34A. Short booklets on dance choreography for rituals in a single locale. Qingjiang, Jiangxi. *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Ding Sacrifice) (Qingjiang: Qingjiang liyueju, 1907), p. 1a.

Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.8/0080.



34B. Dingzhou, Zhili [n.d.]: *Wenmiao wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Confucian Temple) (Dingzhou, n.p., n.d.), p. 1a. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.8/0080.



34C. Fuzhou, Fujian [n.d.]: *Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu* (Record of Ritual Matters for the Confucian Temple in Fuzhou) (Fuzhou: Wenchangmiao, n.d.), p. 1b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788.31/3300.

only through the training of dancers via practice, but also through the medium of a visual representation that could stand as a memory devise for the instructors or dancers.

The third type concerns only one work, *Da Qing huidian tu* (Illustrations to the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing; 1899), the illustrated version of the Qing canon. (See figure 35.) Beginning with the Jiaqing-era (1796–1820) version of the canon, the illustrations were not included in the canon itself but were reproduced in a separate volume. That volume of illustrations includes, among others, the norms of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects). The Guangxu-era (1875–1908) version of *Da Qing huidian tu* (Illustrations to the Institutions of the Great Qing) contains the representation of dances.¹²¹ However, this publication reveals a disparity between illustration and text that is even stronger than the decoupling evident in the early-Qing writings representing dances. Only the initial position of the dancers is given in illustration. Next follow the characters of the lyric accompanied by the instructions for the dancing position but without illustration.

Some writings describing choreography do not contain illustrations at all. This was the case for Kong Jifen's *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli; 1762), which includes the detailed description of all the positions of the dances at Queli. It was also the case for vice-minister of the Board of Rites Pang Zhonglu's (1822–1876) *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple; 1865), which, in addition to the dances at Queli, includes the positions of those performed at the imperial academies.¹²² Characteristic for both writings, however, is also the systematic development of a “grammar of the dance,” i.e. lists of specific vocabulary related to choreography. The terminology is not necessarily new since it can be found in the Ming dance instructions, but it is now brought together in a systematic way according to the postures of the different parts of the body. This “grammar of dance” illustrates how dancing had become an object of historical and choreographic research.¹²³ For instance, *Study of Documents Related to Queli* distinguished eleven positions for holding the hands and positioning the flute and feather: *zhi* (vertical), *ju* (raising), *heng* (horizontal), *luo* (down hanging), *gong* (saluting), *cheng* (submitting), *kai* (separating), *he* (joining), *bing* (uniting), *chui* (letting fall), *jiao* (crossing).¹²⁴ It also lists a

先師廟初獻文舞就班圖



魏	右向東 右西身俯兩足並羽齋植地	聖	左立 右立羽齋如十字	賢	左向東 右向西身俯兩足並羽齋植地	鑄	左向東 右向西身俯兩足並羽齋植地	陶	左正立兩足並齋植居右羽平衡如十字	民	左正立兩足並齋植居右羽平衡如十字	生	左向東 右向西身俯兩足並羽齋植地	我	左身微向東 右羽齋偏右如十字	覺	左正立兩足並齋植居右羽平衡如十字	先師廟初獻文舞諸
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卦	右正立齋植居中羽齋齋下	三	左正面屈雙足羽齋如十字	正	左屈雙足俯首至地羽齋如十字	先師廟祭以春秋仲月初獻文舞左右兩班各十有八人正面立冬冠夏冠視祭時服紅色補服皆左手執齋居左當胸平衡右手執羽居右當中植立高出於頂兩手微拱羽齋相交如十字工歌宣平之章舞凡三十二式直省初獻文舞就班同惟樂章樂舞各殊	樂章	覺我生民陶鑄賢聖巍巍泰山實予景行禮備樂和豆籩嘉靜既述六經爰卦三正	先師廟直省初獻文舞諸	予	左正立羽齋分植	懷	左身作向東勢左足向後面轉向西齋平指西羽植如十字	明	右正立兩手微拱羽齋如十字	德	左正立齋植近肩羽平衡如十字	玉	左向西首微側右足進前齋平指西羽齋	振	左身俯向東面轉向西兩手伸出羽齋斜交	金	右正立身微蹲齋斜舉羽植
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35. Dancing instructions, here for sacrifices at the Confucian Temple, have become more important than the figural representations of the dances. *Qinding Da Qing huidian tu* (Imperially Authorized Illustrations to the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing), *juan* 54, "Yue," 24, pp. 11a-b, 13a-b (1899; photographic rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 578-579.

detailed vocabulary for the several countenances or postures (*rong*) in dance:

- STANDING POSITION (*li*): *xiangnei* (inward), *xiangwai* (outward), *xiangshang* (facing upward), *xiangdui* (facing each other), *xiangbei* (with backs to each other)
- MOVEMENTS (*wu*): *xiangnei* (inward), *xiangwai* (outward)
- HEAD (*shou*): *yang* (looking upward), *fu* (looking downward), *ce* (looking sideward)
- BODY (*shen*): *ping* (straight), *gong* (bent), *ce* (inclining sideward), *hui* (returned), *dun* (squat)
- HANDS (*shou*): *qi* (elevated), *chui* (letting fall), *chu* (forward), *gong* (saluting), *wan* (pulling)
- FEET (*zu*): *qiao* (raising), *dian* (touching), *chu* (forward), *qu* (bending), *yi* (walking), *jiao* (crossing), *dao* (tiptoeing)
- STEPS (*bu*): *jin* (foreward), *tui* (backward)
- RITUAL ATTITUDE (*li*): *shou* (receiving), *shou* (giving), *ci* (declining), *rang* (yielding), *qian* (retiring), *yi* (bowing), *bai* (worshipping), *gui* (kneeling), *dun* (crouching), *wudao* (dancing)

These late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century illustrated dance notations put the Qianlong reforms into a wider perspective. With his transformations of ritual standards and interpretations, the Qianlong emperor took an initiative that can be compared to the ritual innovations initiated by the Hongwu and Jiajing emperors in the Ming. Similar to their successes, the Qianlong emperor's reforms would last until the end of the Qing dynasty, and even today, the music and dances performed at the Confucian temple in Qufu have the Qianlong style as their basis.¹²⁵ However, there is also an important difference with regard to the result and the impact of these innovations. The Hongwu and Jiajing emperors had made decisions that were put into practice, but as far as the dances are concerned, they seem to have never issued a detailed codification of all aspects that involved the dances at the state sacrifices. As a result, the changes that they made to rituals did not prevent scholars from coming forward with new proposals for correcting or even changing the rituals, as can be observed from the writings from the late-Ming period. The codification and changes in codification originated from scholar-officials. By contrast, in the Qing an impressive treatise such as the *Lülü zhengyi*

houbian (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), on the contrary, was composed by the Qianlong emperor himself (*yuzhi*). With such an imperial codification, the space for discussion and initiative was *de facto* closed. This resulted in there being no innovative treatise on ritual dance produced in the following 165 years.

DANCE AS A SUCCESSION OF PAUSES

In his *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), Li Zhizao re-traces the entire history of the worship and explains all the rules, the instruments, and the offerings. Then he elucidates in a nearly pathetic way the importance of dance and the importance of dance instruction:

Why is it that the Kings of Old all taught us the importance of dancing? Because when humans come of age, their vital energies start being full and strong, and [therefore the youngsters] burst out in joyous laughing and play, hopping and jumping on hands and feet, dancing in imitation of bears and cranes, dancing lions and climbing monkeys. As these things were lacking in decorum. . . . the Sage came to guide them and said to them: “Come! I’ll teach you dancing!” . . . From this, the knowledge of body and mind, nature and destiny came forth, but the original Way (*Dao*) has been interrupted at least for a thousand years now. Who now, I ask you, understands dancing as the ancients did? Youth should learn it to regulate the body, to serve others, and to achieve their personality. Then there will be again servants who dance for their lords, . . . and lords who dance for their servants; . . . elder and younger brothers who dance together; hosts and guest who dance together.¹²⁶

The above is a rare example of a text that exposes the emotive side of dance, by pointing out how dance is able to achieve both personal fulfillment and harmony in the society at large.

The present exploratory study has shown that the theme of dancing in Ming and Qing can be looked at from different perspectives. On the whole, the study concerns a very limited number of people—around

three hundred semi-professional dancers employed to perform at the state sacrifices and an unknown number of occasional dancers employed at the regional sacrifices to Confucius. Throughout the study, we have seen that they remained anonymous. Indeed, we know very little about their lives, their training, or their daily activities. And, unfortunately, it is impossible to deduce from the sources what the dancers themselves felt about their role in ritual. The sources indicate that, as corporal expression of the ritual, they played a significant role in the state sacrifices. However, even if they were more numerous than the musicians, their role was less important, and controversies concerning dance were less vehement and less detailed than those about music.

In contradistinction with the limited information about the dancers, we have more information about the people who wrote about them. Most of the writers were scholar-officials who included the topic of dancing in a much wider record of the ritual practices of a certain place, such as Queli, or institution, such as an imperial academy. It is noteworthy that the most innovative proposals for dance reform came from scholars who were trained in and published on mathematics, the calendar, and music. The association of these disciplines with dancing may not seem very evident at first look. However, mathematics, the calendar, music, and dance all are closely connected with essential aspects of ritual. Mathematical sciences are essential to the “ritualization” of time in a calendar and harmonization of sound in music. Dance, as geometry of ritual, concerns the “ritualization” of space. And given the moral values attached to each dance position, dance creates also a “spacialization” of ethics.

The history of the visual representation of dances has revealed through the lens of this very limited subject, some aspects of the history of ritual codification. The representations were generated by different centers of ritual practice: Queli as place of privileged importance, the imperial academies as place of training, and the imperial institution as center of regulation. There was a constant subtle interaction among these different centers. The first representation of dances may have emerged from records of Queli, in which the descriptive aspect was predominant. In a next phase, these illustrations were adopted by the records of the imperial academies, which added prescriptive texts to the illustrations.

Late in the Ming period, several scholars emerged who, in very creative ways, made proposals for renewal of the dances on the basis of the most ancient traditions. The most innovative proposals—those offered by Zhu Zaiyu—were in the end a failed attempt, since none of his ideas were ever accepted by the court, much less put into ritual practice. Dance illustrations of the early Qing showed a certain stagnation which may also be the reflection of stagnation of the actual ritual practices. With the reforms of the Qianlong era, illustration and regularization took a new turn. For the first time, imperial norms concerning dances were published in significant detail. The new norms may have been implemented very gradually. In the second part of the nineteenth century, however, when there was a new interest in Confucian ritual, the reforms were generally accepted and implemented as orthodox norms.

The increased regularization of ritual dance was facilitated partly through the spread of printing as a means of dissemination and control. The topic of visual representation of dance deserves in itself an in-depth study. The link between image and text, for instance, raises the very difficult question of the different functions of the illustrations. The context of the work in which the illustrations appear gives some indications whether the illustrations are more descriptive or whether they are more prescriptive, though this question remains largely unresolved. Records of temples or those found in encyclopedia tend to be more descriptive, while records of imperial academies and semi-judicial texts tend to be more prescriptive. Yet except for the choreography manuals that were published at the end of the Qing, there are few sources that give any idea of the actual use of these illustrations by the dancers themselves, who are accustomed to transmitting their knowledge through practice, not through books. Some of the illustrations may have served as memory devices for instructors or dancers who already knew how to perform the dance.

The visual representation also raises the question of whether these illustrations represent “dance” in the modern sense of the word. In general, the representation of dance is different from a representation of an object or a person, since ordinarily movement is considered to be the center of dance. Yet, movement can rarely be represented by a single

image. That is why dance representations nearly always include multiple images that break the dance up into different positions within the movement. In the case of these ritual dances, however, illustrations correspond to a *pause* rather than to *movement*. Thus the successive illustrations are a succession of pauses that embody the *rhythm* of the dance. They point at the fact that the pause is at the core of Chinese ritual dances. It is precisely because of this “frozen moment” that it was possible to produce the choreography of these dances in print. As a result, the illustrations for ritual dance presented in this article underscore that this moment of non-action is the key to the transformation that takes place through ritual action.¹²⁷

This article on ritual dance in Ming and Qing China was based largely on dance illustrations. This approach stands in contrast with the fact that in most cultures the transmission of dance takes place through practice not through illustrations. The number of illustrated dances presented in this article may seem limited. However, it is a very rich collection compared with the European tradition where important collections of illustrated dances date only from late in the nineteenth century, partly because then photography could represent movement more easily than was possible prior to its invention.¹²⁸ This difference between the Chinese and the European traditions of dance representation may explain the fascination of Joseph-Marie Amiot for the ancient Chinese dances. From the time of his arrival in China in 1750 as a young Jesuit, he became interested in these dances, and as early as 1761, the French periodical *Journal étranger* published two articles based on Amiot’s extensive translations of Chinese texts about dance. Toward the end of his life, when he sent two extensive manuscripts to his correspondents in Paris, Amiot felt even more compelled to introduce the ancient Chinese dances to Europeans. In his eyes, these dances were part of a civilization dating back to those distant centuries “when Europe and most of the other known regions offered only forests and ferocious animals as habitants.” Therefore, it was important to “assign to the events that took place in China the place that they deserve in world history.”¹²⁹ The visual representations of these ritual dances in the Ming and the Qing enable us to retrace a part of the history of a tradition that has almost disappeared.

APPENDIX I SUMMARY OF ZHU ZAIYU'S DANCE THEORY

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT	MORAL VALUE
				OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	
	上轉	未轉勢		中	
一	上轉	轉初勢	蹈	北	側隱之仁
二	上轉	轉半勢	踏	北-南	羞惡之義
三	上轉	轉周勢	踏	南	篤實之信
四	上轉	轉過勢	蹈	南	是非之智
五	上轉	轉留勢	踏	南-北	辭讓之禮
六	上轉	伏音勢	不動	南-北	尊敬於君
七	上轉	仰瞻勢	不動	南-北	親愛於父
八	上轉	回顧勢	不動	南-北	和順於夫
一	下轉	轉初勢	蹈	北	側隱之仁
二	下轉	轉半勢	踏	北	羞惡之義
三	下轉	轉周勢	踏	北	篤實之信
四	下轉	轉過勢	蹈	北	是非之智
五	下轉	轉留勢	踏	北-南	辭讓之禮
六	下轉	伏視勢	不動	北-南	尊敬於君
七	下轉	仰瞻勢	不動	北-南	親愛於父
八	下轉	回顧勢	不動	北-南	和順於夫
一	外轉	轉初勢	蹈	南	側隱之仁
二	外轉	轉半勢	踏	南-東	羞惡之義
三	外轉	轉周勢	踏	東	篤實之信
四	外轉	轉過勢	蹈	東	是非之智
五	外轉	轉留勢	踏	東-西	辭讓之禮
六	外轉	伏視勢	不動	東-西	尊敬於君
七	外轉	仰瞻勢	不動	東-西	親愛於父
八	外轉	回顧勢	不動	東-西	和順於夫
一	內轉	轉初勢	蹈	西	側隱之仁
二	內轉	轉半勢	踏	西	羞惡之義
三	內轉	轉周勢	踏	西	篤實之信
四	內轉	轉過勢	蹈	西	是非之智
五	內轉	轉留勢	踏	西-東	辭讓之禮
六	內轉	伏視勢	不動	西-東	尊敬於君
七	內轉	仰瞻勢	不動	西-東	親愛於父
八	內轉	回顧勢	不動	西-東	和順於夫
	內轉	轉定勢		中	
	內轉	轉終勢		中	

NOTES

I am grateful to many people with whom I could share the fruits of this research during visual presentations at Princeton, Harvard, and Berkeley in the spring of 2002 and at the Ming Court Culture Conference held in Princeton in June 2003. In particular, I would like to thank Robert Bradley, Carine Defoort, Martin Heijdra, Wilt Idema, Catherine Jami, Martin Kern, Joseph Lam, Oliver Moore, Susan Naquin, Michael Nylan, Evelyn Rawski, David Robinson, Nancy Tomasko, Stephen West, and Wu Yanhong for their precious help and suggestions at various stages of this paper. I would like to thank the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-Vlaanderen, and Onderzoeksraad Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium for their support which made this research possible.

1. Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Qingdai gongting huihua* (Paintings of the Palace in the Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), no. 43–44, anonymous painting in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. The second scroll of this painting is in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris. See also, Nie Chongzheng, “Yongzheng di ji Xiannongtan tu juan” (On the Scrolls the Yongzheng Emperor’s Sacrifice at the First Farmer Altar), *Wenwu tiandi* 3 (1990), pp. 45–47.
2. Romeyn Taylor, “Official Religion in Ming,” in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 842–845. The Yongzheng emperor paid special attention to this sacrifice, and in 1726 he mandated the construction of First Farmer altars for all counties. See Romeyn Taylor, “Official Altars, Temples, and Shrines Mandated for All Counties in Ming and Qing,” *T’oung Pao* 83 (1997), pp. 98, 109. On the First Farmer altars, see Zhu Zuxi, “Xiannongtan: Zhongguo nonggeng wenhua de zhongyao zaiti” (The First Farmer Alter is an Important Carrier of Chinese Agricultural Culture), *Beijing lianhe daxue xuebao* 1 (2000), pp. 42–45.
3. Yinlu (1695–176), ed., *Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao)* [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)], 250 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1732), *juan* 92, pp. 20a–b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB282/3515; photographic rpt. in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian, ji* 77–79, vols. 761–790 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1994–1995), vol. 773, pp. 6191–6192.
4. *Ibid.*, *juan* 92, pp. 18a–b; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian*, vol. 773, pp. 6183–6184.
5. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing), 1220 plus 8 *juan* (1899), *juan* 1059, photographic rpt. of 1899 lithographic edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), vol. 11, p. 587.
6. According to *ibid.*, *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1087, the total number of musicians and dancers, including the subordinate musicians and dancers was 222 when the emperor offered and plowed in person.

7. *Ibid.*, *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1088 and *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 588. The assistants wear different costumes.
8. See Romeyn Taylor, "Official Religion in Ming," cited in note three above; Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text / Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
9. See Joseph Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998).
10. The earliest, and so far still one of the most extensive articles on Chinese dance is abbé François Arnaud (1721–1784), ed., "Des danses chinoises" and "Des anciennes danses chinoises: Extrait de la traduction du Livre de Lykoang-ty," *Journal étranger* (October 1761), pp. 1–54. The translations in these articles were made by the Jesuit Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793).
Another important analysis is the section on dance in Maurice Courant, "Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois, avec un appendice relatif à la musique coréenne," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac, I, vol. 1 (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1913), pp. 137ff. For general overviews, see also Herbert A. Giles, "The Dance in Ancient China," in his *Adversaria Sinica* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1914), pp. 119–131; Kishibe Shigeo, "La danse du confucianisme," in *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, ed. Jacques Porte, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions Labergerie, 1968), vol. I, pp. 265–267; and Wang Kefen, *The History of Chinese Dance* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985). Ritual dance during the Confucian ceremonial is also treated in Joseph Lam, S. C., "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong yuewu,'" in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 134–172.
11. Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755), *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 61, p. 1500; Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 100.
12. For the history of these institutions, Ji Yun (1724–1805), comp., *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), ed. Lu Xixiong (1744–1790), 72 *juan* (1780; Taipei: Xi'nan shuju, 1973), *juan* 27, p. 721ff. For the institutions of court music and ritual music in the Tang (618–907), see Cui Lingqin (fl. 749), comp., *Jiaofang ji* (Account of the Music Office) (ca. 755–760), photographic reprint of exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Wenyuange siku quanshu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 1035, pp. 541–549; and a study by Martin Gimm, *Cui Lingqin und sein Traktat zu den höfischen Theater- unter Unterhaltungskünsten im China des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1: Der Autor des Jiaofangji (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).
13. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 61, p. 1500; L. Carrington Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 802–804.

14. See e.g. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 61, p. 1500.
15. *Ibid.*, *juan* 61, p. 1500. The term *junxiu* is also an unofficial, polite reference to students who had been admitted to the Directorate of Education. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 201.
16. *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices), 8 *juan* (ca. 1640s), *juan* 7, p. 7b, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuguan in *Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 599, p. 252.
17. *Ibid.*, *juan* 7, pp. 7b–9a, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, pp. 252–253; see also *juan* 7, p. 16b, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, p. 257 where it is written that “When there are vacancies for musicians and dancers, one should search among the registered Daoist priests to fill the number.” See also *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296 on the sacrifice in Confucius temple, which reads, “In 1371, the Board of Rites memorialized to fix the ritual objects. The sacrificial food offerings were then increased from sixteen to twenty. There were sixty musicians, forty-eight dancers, and two people leading the dancers, in total 110 people. The Ministry of Rites requested permission to select handsome persons from among the populace of the capital to fill the number of musicians and dancers. The Hongwu emperor answered, ‘Music and dance are a scholar’s matter; even more is the libation which is the way to honor the Master. It is appropriate to select students of the imperial academy and students from among the children of high officials in order to instruct and exercise them.’”
18. Zhang Anmao (1647 *jinshi*), *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), 16 *juan* (1656), *juan* 16, p. 28b, photographic rpt. in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Ji’nan: QiLu shushe, 1997), “Shibu,” vol. 271, p. 570.
19. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 27, p. 741.
20. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 587.
21. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 10, p. 257ff.; *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043ff., and on the change of the name Shenyuesuo to Shenyueshu in 1754, see esp. *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1045. On the history of the Jiaofangsi (Music Office) and its relation to the Ministry of Rites, see Shen Shixing (1535–1614) et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming), 228 *juan* (1587; 1936; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), *juan* 104, p. 568, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB282/1726.
22. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 27, p. 721.
23. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, pp. 1043–1044.

24. The exercises in spring and autumn are mentioned in *Liji* (Book of Rites), “Yueling” (Proceedings of Government in the Different Months) as being performed on the *shangding* (first *ding* day of the month), from which originates the term *dingji* (*ding* sacrifice). For this text, see *Liji zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the Liji), The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hongkong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), sec. 6.20.
25. *Da Qing shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1046.
26. *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices), *juan* 7, pp. 7b–9a, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, pp. 252–253.
27. Reference to the approval of the request in 1561 by the Ministry of Rites to increase the number of dancers to the former number of 570 may be found in Zhao Erxun (1844–1927) et al., comps., *Qingshigao* (Draft Official History of the Qing), 316 *juan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976–1977), *juan* 94, p. 2736.
28. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043. Whether or not there continued to be subordinate musician and dancers is unclear. See, *ibid.*, esp., *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1087.
29. See Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, chap. 4. The ceremonials were again suspended in 1559; see *ibid.*, p. 72.
30. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 49, p. 1275 and *juan* 61, p. 1510. On women in the Jiaofangsi, see also *Da Qinghuidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043. On girl dancers in Han common music, see [Xu Yikui (1318–ca. 1400) et al., comp.], *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), 53 *juan* [Beijing: Neifu, 1530], *juan* 53, p. 6a, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book numbers TB287/1623 and TB287/802; also in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu 650, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the collection of the Guoli gugong bowuyuan (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), p. 482.
31. See Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 68, 74.
32. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 590.
33. Zhang Anmao, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 271, p. 365.
34. Cf. Thomas A. Wilson, “Sacrifice and the Imperial Cult of Confucius,” *History of Religions* 41.3 (2002), p. 269.
35. For a general description and history of the liturgy of the sacrifice to Confucius, see Wilson, “Sacrifice and the Imperial Cult of Confucius.” For a concrete description of the ceremony in Hangzhou in 1898, see George Evans Moule (1828–1912), “Notes on the Ting-chi, or Half-Yearly Sacrifice to Confucius,” *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33 (1900–1901), pp. 120–156. One can also find such a description in Wu Jingzi’s (1701–1754) novel *Rulin waishi* (The Scholars), chap. 37. Noteworthy also is

- an article by Joseph Edkins, which describes his visit together with James Legge to Qufu in 1873. See Joseph Edkins, "A Visit to the City of Confucius," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8 (1874), pp. 79–92. For a description of movements of the dancers, see *ibid.*, pp. 87–88.
36. The only other local ritual in which dancing was performed was the sacrifice to Guandi (Guan Yu), the god of war, a paragon of loyalty and righteousness especially important to merchants and to military men. Guan Yu was added to the sacrificial statutes only in 1725. See Taylor, "Official Altars, Temples, and Shrines," pp. 102, 110. During the Taiping rebellion, his worship was raised to the same level in the official sacrifices as that of Confucius. See Duara Prasenjit, "Subscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (November 1988), p. 784. Only in 1854 were the dances added to its liturgy. See *Zhongsì hebian* (Compilation on Middle Sacrifices), addendum to Yan Shusen (1814–1876) and Xu Changda (*fl.* 1861–1870), comp., *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance), 2 *juan* ([1863]; Chubei: Chongwen shuju, 1871; facsimile rpt. [Hong Kong]: n.p., [1970?]); not included in Yinlu and Zhang Zhao (1691–1745) et al., eds., *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), 128 plus 2 *juan* (1746), photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vols. 215–218 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]).
37. See note 17 above for a translation of the passage from *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296. See also Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 92, p. 5a, Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 217, pp. 614. Most other sources do not mention this number of forty-eight dancers.
38. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 104–106; *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1297. Note that according to *Official History of the Ming*, *juan* 50, p. 1298, in 1496, the number of musicians and dancers was increased "to become seventy-two, just like the system of the Son of Heaven." It is not clear what is meant by this total figure, since there were already twenty musicians, thus leaving only a maximum of fifty-two dancers instead of the sixty-four dancers required for a state sacrifice.
39. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 106.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
41. Jin Zhizhi (dates unknown) and Song Hong (dates unknown), comp., *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple), 2 *juan* (preface dated 1691), "Yuebu" (Music), pp. 27b–28a, reprinted in Kongzi wenhua daquan bianjibu, ed., *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture) (Ji'nan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), pp. 514–516.
42. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296.
43. Chen Hao (1487 *jinshi*), comp., *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan* [Zhengde era (1505–1521), preface dated 1505], *juan* 12, p. 17a, in *Kongzi wenhua*

- daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 575. See also Kong Yuqi (1657–1723) et al., comps., *Xing Lu shengdian* (The Kangxi Emperor's Tour of Lu), 40 *juan* (Qufu: n.p., 1711), *juan* 3, p. 18b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/927; also photographic rpt. of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yinying Wenyuange siku quanshu, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 652, p. 40.
44. Guo Pan (1499–1558), *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University), 5 *juan* [preface 1557], *juan* 5, pp. 46a–b, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vols. 5–7. For an example of Kangxi reforms in 1690 affecting the number of musicians, see Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple), “Yuebu” (Music), pp. 29a–b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 517–518.
45. Chen Hao et al., comps., *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 13 *juan* (1505 preface), *juan* 1, pp. 23b–36a, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection Microfilm, role 457 (2). This gazetteer was printed first during the Zhengde reign (1505–1521) and at several later dates. See also another slightly different version of Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan* (cited above in note 43), *juan* 2, pp. 17a–26b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 107–132. The same illustrations are found in the Qing reprint of *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan*, postface by Kong Yinzhi (1591–1647) [after 1724], *juan* 2, pp. 17b–36a, exemplar in the East Asian Collection, University of California, Berkeley, no. 1786.1.7982.1730.
- For another version, see illustrations in Yi Sopchae, ed., *Kwöllli chi* (Queli Gazetteer), 3 *juan* (n.p.: Ulsa, [1905]), exemplar in the East Asian Collection, University of California, Berkeley, 1786.1.4093. For illustrations that closely resemble those in the Korean edition of 1905, though no attribution of sources is given, see Huang Wentao, comp. and annot., *Zhongguo lidai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yili kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices to Confucius Through the Ages in the Various Countries of Southeast Asia) (Jiayi: Jiayixian wenxian weiyuanhui, 1963), p. 42ff.
46. Huang Zuo, *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy), 24 *juan* [after 1571; prefaces dated 1544 and 1549], *juan* 13, pp. 32a–43b, in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3; also in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, “Shibu” (History section), vol. 257, pp. 315–320. Huang Zuo is also the author of *Yuedian* (Music Canon), a work on music in 36 *juan*. For more biographical information on Huang Zuo, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 669–62.
47. Guo Pan, *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University), *juan* 5, pp. 49a–61a.
48. For the difference between these two types of notation, see Walter Kaufmann, *Musical Notations of the Orient: Notational Systems of Continental, East, South and Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 196), p. 12ff. and p. 69ff.

49. Wang Qi (1565 *jinshi*) and Wang Siyi (fl. early-seventeenth century), comps., *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), 106 *juan* [1609], “Renshi,” *juan* 9, pp. 34a–45b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, rare book number TC348/680; also photographic reprint of a 1607 edition by Huaiyin caotang (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), vol. 4, pp. 1777–1783.
50. The encyclopedia *Tianxue chuhan* is comprised in twenty-two works including Li Zhizao’s own work, *Hungai tongxian tushuo* (Illustrated Explanation of the Sphere and the Astrolabe), 3 *juan* (1607) together with two works compiled in collaboration with Matteo Ricci (Li Madou; 1552–1610), *Huanrong jiaoyi* (The Meaning of Compared [Figures] Inscribed in a Circle), 1 *juan* (1614) and *Tongwen suanzhi* (Rules of Arithmetic Common to Cultures), 10 *juan* (1614). The *Tianxue chuhan* is no. 23 of *Zhongguo shixue congshu* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, [1965]), a photographic reprint of the exemplar in the National Central Library, Taipei.
51. Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), 10 *juan* (1618–1619), *juan* 8, pp. 19a–66b, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), pp. 853–948; also in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 651, pp. 272–296.
52. Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), ed. Kong Hongqian, 15 *juan* (1552), *juan* 1, pp. 71a–118b, photographic reprint in *Beijing tushuguan guji chuban bianjizu*, ed., *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, no. 23 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), pp. 437–460.
53. Zhang Anmao, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 16, pp. 16a–27b, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 271, pp. 563–569. (This work was first cited above in note 18.)
54. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao*, “Yuebu,” pp. 71b–83a, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 602–625.
55. See, respectively, (1) Zhang Xingyan, comp., *Shengmen liyue tong*, 24 plus 1 *juan* (n.p.: Wansong shuyuan, 1702), *juan* 23, pp. 12a–22b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/3425; also photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Beijing University Library in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 272 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), pp. 290–296; another exemplar of this work in 8 plus 1 *juan* is in the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book number T1786.1 1320; and (2) Li Zhouwang and Xie Lüzhong, eds., *Guoxue liyue lu*, 20 *juan* (1719), *juan* 16, pp. 2a–13b, photographic reprint in *Shoudu tushuguan*, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng*, vol. 19 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996); also, photographic reprint of exemplar in Tsinghua University Library (Guozijian, 1719), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), “Shibu,” vol. 271, pp. 803–808; another exemplar of this work in 8 plus 1 *juan* is in the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book number T1786.1 4470.
56. On the multiplicity of relationships between text and *tu* in Chinese

- woodblock imprints, see Lucille Chia, “Text and Tu in Context: Reading the Illustrated Page in Chinese Blockprinted Books,” *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 89 (2002), pp. 241–276.
57. For the context of this reform, see Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 80–82, 111ff.; and James Geiss, “The Chia-ching Reign, 1522–1566,” in ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 1*, The Cambridge History of China, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 449.
58. The *Da Ming jili* was originally edited by Xu Yikui et al., who finished a first version in 1370. A completely revised version bearing the Jiajing emperor’s preface was published in 1530. See note 30 above.
59. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue*, 20 juan (Nanjing: Wang Hong, [1548, preface dated 1504]), photographic reprint of the exemplar in the collection of the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 212, pp. 436–499. Juan 11–14 of this work are entirely devoted to dances. An edition of 1548 is mentioned in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, p. 491. An exemplar of this 1548 edition is held in The Gest Collection of The East Asian Library at Princeton, rare book number TA141/1328.
- Li Wenchang, “Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao” (Musical Harmonization in the Ming Palace of the Heir-Apparent), (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu*, 20 juan, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection microfilm, rolls 239(4)–240 [preface dated 1545], juan 1, pp. 26a–31b and juan 2, pp. 12a–15b; also in [Gu Tinglong, ed.], *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 114, p. 284–287, 295–296. See also the section “Guyue quanti” (Means to Catch Ancient Music), *ibid.*, juan 4 and 7; the charts in these sections are clearly explanations of the text. It is under the titles of these sections that this work by Li Wenchang is mentioned by Zhu Zaiyu in the bibliography of writings that Zhu consulted for *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality). See Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi*, 10 juan, in his *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), 46 juan [Zhengfan, Wanli era], *ce* 5, juan 1, p. 5b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TA141/278; also photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Beijing tushuguan in Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), vol. 4, p. 150. See also, the modern typeset edition, Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi*, annot. Feng Wenci (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1998), p. 9.
60. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 117.
61. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music), juan 11, p. 1a, Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 212, p. 435.
62. Cf. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 119.
63. See the bibliography of the works consulted by Zhu Zaiyu for *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), *ce* 5, juan 1, p. 5b; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 150; Feng Wenci 1998 annotated edition, pp. 6–10.
64. For more on Zhu Zaiyu’s life, see Kenneth G. Robinson and Chaoying Fang,

- “Chu Tsai-yü,” in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 367–371; Chen Wannai, *Zhu Zaiyu yanjiu* (Research on Zhu Zaiyu) (Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1992); Dai Nianzu, *Zhu Zaiyu: Mingdai de kexue he yishu juxing* (Zhu Zaiyu: A Superstar of Ming-Dynasty Science and Art) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986); and Xing Zhaoliang, *Zhu Zaiyu pingzhuan* (Critical Biography of Zhu Zaiyu) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1998).
65. This contribution is the subject of many publications; see e.g. Kenneth G. Robinson, “The Evolution of Equal Temperament,” in ed. Kenneth G. Robinson and Joseph Needham, *Physics and Physical Technology, Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 212–228.
66. See, for example, Zhu Zaiyu’s preface to *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), *ce* 5, *juan* 1, p. 1b; photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 213, pp. 24–25; Feng Wenci 1998 annotated edition, pp. 1–2. See also the following note.
67. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) (1606) in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, pp. 1–4. Zhu Zaiyu had previously presented several texts to the emperor in 1595.
68. Cf. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 78.
69. See for example, Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, p. 4. See also Zhu Zaiyu’s prefaces and inserted sections in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), e.g. the inserted section “Zonglun fuguyue yi jiezhou weixian” (General Discussion on the Fact That In Going Back to Ancient Music One Should Start with Rhythm), Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 519; see also Wang Kefen, *Zhongguo wudaoshi: Ming-Qing bufen* (History of Dance in China: Ming and Qing Section) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 166–167.
70. Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) in his *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, p. 3.
71. For example, Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, p. 5aff., 24bff; in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 214, p. 22ff. Musical notations are included in *Caoman guyue pu* (Treatise on Ancient Melodies with Accompaniments, Including Music for the Lute), *ce* 11 (63 pp.); *Xuangong heyue pu* (Treatise on Melodies and Transposition), *ce* 13 (88 pp.); and *Xiangyinshi yuepu* (Treatise on Music for the Odes Sung at District Banquets), *ce* 13, *juan* 1 (44 pp.), *juan* 2 (36 pp.), *juan* 3 (31 pp.) and *ce* 14, *juan* 4 (31 pp.), *juan* 5 (43 pp.), *juan* 6 (31 pp.); *Xiaowu xiangyue pu* (Musical Notations for the Minor Dances), *ce* 16 (33 pp.).

72. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality) and *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *juan* 19 (30 pp.) and *juan* 20 (20 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, pp. 524–558. The modern critical edition *Lülü jingyi*, annotated by Feng Wenci (first cited in note 59 above) includes the reproduction of the illustrations of the dances. The dances are also the object of a separate study by Wang Guangsheng, *Zhongguo gudai wudao xingshi yu jingshen de tansuo: Lülü jingyi wupu zhi yanjiu* (In-Depth Investigation Into the Form and the Spirit of Chinese Ancient Dance: Research on the Dance Manual *Lülü jingyi*) ([Banqiaoshi]: Guoli Taiwan yishu zhuanke xuexiao chuban weiyuanhui, 1982).
73. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, *juan* 37 (57 pp.) and *juan* 38 (49 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 379–432.
74. Zhu Zaiyu, *Eryi zhuizhao tu* (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, *juan* 40 (38 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 459–477.
75. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 17, *juan* 41 (100 pp.) and *ce* 18, *juan* 42 (104 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 479–582.
76. The “character dance” had a long tradition. It is mentioned as one of the types of dances in Duan Anjie’s (fl. 880) *Yuefu zalu* (Miscellaneous Records on the Music Bureau; ca. 890). See Martin Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh: Studien zur Geschichte von Musik, Schauspiel und Tanz in der T’ang Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 251, 257. See also Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Die Entwicklung des höfischen Theaters in China zwischen dem 7. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburg Sinologische Gesellschaft, 2000), pp. 137–143.
77. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 78; Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), *Wudao luncong* (Dance Tribune) 29 (1987, no. 2), pp. 82, 85.
78. For reference to this biography, see note 63 above.
79. Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne), in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, pp. 1–2. The Chinese text reads “*Qiyi huo ke BU xianru suo wei fa . . . zhongjian yijian po yu xianru jiushuo butong*.” The notion of “complement” (*bu*) is also mentioned in the inserted section Zhu Zaiyu, “Zonglun xiangyin you qing wu zhong” (General Discussion That Chiming-Stones, But Not Bells, Are Used At Village Banquets), *ce* 13, p. 2b; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 565. There Zhu Zaiyu writes, “Now, on the basis of the *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou), I complement what is missing” (*Jin ju Zhouli BU qi quelüe*).
80. “Chunguan” (Spring Officials), *Zhouli zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the

- Zhouli*), ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), *juan* 22, sec. 3.21.
81. “Yueshi” (Music Master), *Zhouli zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the *Zhouli*), *juan* 23, sec. 3.22.
 82. *Liji zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the *Liji*), ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), sec. 6.20. See also James Legge, *The Li Ki*, vol. 27, *The Sacred Books of the East*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885), p. 478.
 83. The term “minor dance” refers also to another distinction: the number of dancers. According to ancient traditions, the number of dancers varied following the social hierarchy. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 9, pp. 81a–82a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, pp. 532–533. See also Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), *Wudao yishu* (Dance Arts) (1989, no. 3), p. 20. In this context, “minor dances” refers to the dances with a limited number of dancers. See also Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24b–25a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, p. 22; and Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” p. 139. Courant was cited first in note ten above.
 84. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24b–25a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 22. See also his *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notations for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 1a–4a; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 380–381. See also, Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” p. 141; and Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), p. 83.
 85. For example, Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, p. 5a, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, p. 835; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 651, p. 265. This work was cited first in note 51 above.
 86. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), *juan* 50, p. 23b; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 650, p. 427; see note 30 above. Another source of this illustration is Chen Yang (ca. 1055–1122), *Yueshu* (Book on Music), 200 *juan* (n.d. n.p.), *juan* 128, p. 10a, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 211, p. 769. The same illustration may also be found in Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), “Qiyong” (Utilization of Utensils), *juan* 4, p. 5a; Chengwen chubanshe photographic reprint of 1607 exemplar, vol. 3, p. 1146. *Sancai tuhui* was first cited in note 49 above.
 87. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), *juan* 50, p.

- 19aff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 650, p. 425ff. Similar properties are indicated in Chen Yang, *Yueshu* (Book on Music), *juan* 128, p. 2aff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 211, 765ff.
88. For these restorations, see Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 10, p. 89a; *ce* 15, p. 1a; and *ce* 16, p. 30a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, p. 539; vol. 214, p. 379; and vol. 214, p. 455, respectively. And see also *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, p. 25b; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 22–23.
- On the importance of the turning movements (*zhuan*), see the inserted section “Zonglun xue gu gewu yi yong zhuan erzi wei zhongmiao zhi men” (Discussion on the Fact That in Order to Learn the Ancient Dances the Two Notions of “Perpetual” and “Movement” are the Gate to All Mysteries), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, p. 1aff; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 65. See also Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” pp. 138–140.
89. Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), p. 82.
90. For a reference to Four Principles, see *Mencius*, 6A: 6, in James Legge, trans. (1815–1897), *The Works of Mencius in The Four Books* (Taipei: Wenhua tushu gongsi, 1981), p. 863. The concept of the Five Constants and Three Bonds is loosely derived from early classical commentaries. The Five Constants are humaneness that experiences compassion, the sense of duty that experiences shame, truthfulness that expresses sincerity, wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong, and propriety that knows to decline and yield. The Three Bonds are venerable respect for the ruler, loving care for one’s father, and harmonious obedience to one’s husband.
91. The *chongdu* is a bundle of twelve bamboo or wooden slats bound together at one end, representing the twelve *lü* (pitches) and the twelve months of the year.
92. See Kuriyama Shigehisa, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), pp. 88–91.
93. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 9, *juan* 10, pp. 75b–76b; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, p. 528. For the learning instructions, see e.g. *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), *Caoman guyue pu* (Treatise on Ancient Melodies with Accompaniments, Including Music for the Lute), and *Xuangong heyue pu* (Treatise on Melodies and Transposition) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24bff., *ce* 11, p. 18aff., and *ce* 13, p. 1aff., respectively; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, p. 22ff., p. 104ff., and p. 145ff., respectively. For a modern work on this topic, see Dong Xijiu, Liu Junxiang, and Qin Xu, *Yuewuzhi* (Treatise on Music and Dance), *Zhonghua wenhua tongzhi*, No. 8 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1998), p. 92.
94. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in

- Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 10, pp. 75b–76b; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 213, p. 539.
95. Dai Nianzu, *Zhu Zaiyu: Mingdai de kexue he yishu juxing* (Zhu Zaiyu: A Superstar of Ming-Dynasty Science and Art), pp. 246–257. See Zhao Qian and Zhang Zhiqing, “Book Publishing by Princely Households During the Ming Dynasty,” *East Asian Library Journal* 10.1 (Spring 2001), pp. 85–128.
96. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 62, p. 1516; Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p.120. The same text with annotation (including a list of major texts) is in Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 92, pp. 51b–53a; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 217, pp. 637–638.
97. Joseph Marie Amiot et al., *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, etc. des Chinois*, 16 vols. (Paris: Nyon, 1780), vol. 4, figures 40a and 40b; c.f. Zhu Zaiwu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 18, pp. 157a–b; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 214, p. 560.
98. These manuscripts are now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris) and the Real Biblioteca (Madrid). Amiot’s study of dances is the object of the collaborative publication, Yves Lenoir and Nicolas Standaert, eds., *Les danses rituelles chinoises d’après Joseph-Marie Amiot* (Brussels: Éditions Lessius; Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2005), with contributions by Michel Brix, Michel Hermans, Yves Lenoir, Nicolas Standaert, and Brigitte Van Wymeersch. This new publication includes a selection of Amiot’s illustrations and an edited reproduction of all printed and manuscript texts by Amiot on Chinese dances.
99. Suerna, et al., comp., *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperially Authorized Edition of Complete Work on the Study of Governing), 80 *juan* (Qianlong era, 1736–1795), *juan* 1, p. 1a, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB289/2636; also facsimile reprint of a Qianlong-era imprint[?] in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, 2 vols (Taibeixian Yonghezhen: Wenhai chubanshe, 1968), vol. 293a, p. 27. Therefore, the sacrifice to Confucius is also called the “ding sacrifice” (*dingji*). See note 24 above.
100. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 437, photographic reprint, vol. 5, p. 957; Zhao Erxun, *Qingshigao* (Draft Official History of the Qing), *juan* 94, pp. 2737–2738, first cited above in note 27. See also Kong Yuqi, *Xing Lu shengdian* (The Kangxi Emperor’s Tour of Lu), *juan* 3, p. 1a; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 652, p. 40; this source was first cited above in note 43.
101. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperially Authorized Edition of Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 1b–2a; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 292, pp. 28–29.
102. *Ibid.*, *juan* 1, pp. 2b–3a; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 292, pp. 30–31.
103. *Ibid.*, *juan* 79, pp. 1a–b; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 293, pp. 1615–1616.

104. See Gerlinde Gild-Bohne, trans. and ed., *Das Lülü zhengyi xubian: Ein Jesuitentratat über die europäische Notation in China von 1713*, *Orbis musicarum*, 8 (Göttingen: Edition Re, 1991).
105. Zhu Zaiyu is quoted in *juan* 85 and *juan* 86 of Chen Menglei, et al., comps., *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (The Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia), 10,000 plus 40 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1726–1728). There are visual representations in *juan* 87 of this same source and in Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), *juan* 88. For the latter source, see note 49 above. *Juan* 89 and *juan* 90 of *Sancai tuhui* contain many references to dances in literary sources. For more on Zhang Zhao, Yinlu, and Chen Menglei, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, pp. 24–25, 93–95, and 925–926, respectively.
106. Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to The Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 2–36; see note 36 for the first citation to this title. *Juan* 78–92 of this work also contains an extensive history of the ritual institution entitled “Yuezhikao” (Study of the Institution of [Ritual] Music).
107. Keith Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” *Chime* 7 (Autumn 1993), p. 91.
108. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1089. It can be noted that much later the Qianlong emperor read Zhu Zaiyu’s *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music) in detail and had the shortcomings and mistakes of that work corrected on the basis of *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). See Qinggui (1735–1816) et al. comp., *Guochao gongshi xubian* (Sequel to the Palace History of the Qing Dynasty), annot. Zuo Buqing, 100 *juan* (ca. 1806; Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1994), *juan* 87, p. 836ff.
109. Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” pp. 97–98.
110. Yinlu et al., comp., *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), 18 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1766), *juan* 9, pp. 23a–31b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/1925; photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 656 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1984), vol. 656, pp. 492–496.
111. *Ibid.*, *juan* 5, p. 130ff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 656, p. 307ff.
112. Cf. Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” p. 100. For a good overview of the results of the Qianlong reforms, see Liu Guiteng, “Qingdai Qianlong chao gongting liyue tanwei” (Research on the Details of the Court Music of the Qing Dynasty During the Qianlong Reign), *Zhongguo yinyuexue (Musicology in China)* 64 (2001, no. 3), pp. 43–6. For the influence on the music at the rituals in the Confucius Temple, see Yang Yinliu, “Kongmiao dingji yinyue de chubu yanjiu” (Preliminary Research into the Music for the Ding Sacrifices at the Confucian Temple), *Yinyue yanjiu (Musicology in China)* 1 (1985, no. 1), p. 60ff.
113. See Kong Shangren (1648–1718), *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the

- Sage's Domain), 1 *juan*, [preface dated 1716; preface of reprint dated 1887], pp. 1a–2b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), “Shizhi” (Historical Records), pp. 115–118. For the same reference to the decree of 1743, see Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 4a–4b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 292, pp. 33–34.
114. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 79, pp. 2b–3b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 293, pp. 1618–1622.
115. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), postscript, pp. 1a–3a, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 245–249. Kong Jifen (1725–1786), *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), 100 plus 2 *juan* (preface 1762; Xiangyin: Lishi, 1892), *juan* 24 *xubian*, pp. 1a–3a; also photographic rpt. in *Zhongguo wenxian congshu* (Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, 1966), pp. 549–553. See also, Lam, *Musical Confucianism*, p. 143.
116. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 6a–6b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 292, pp. 37–38.
117. See, respectively, Yan Shusen and Xu Changda, *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance), *juan xia*, pp. 1b–25b (first cited in note 36, above); Lan Zhongrui et al., *Wenmiao dingji pu*, 4 *juan* (1845), *juan* 4a, pp. 68b–92b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 922–970; and Liu Kunyi, *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao*, 4 *juan* [Hong Kong: Yilizhai, 1870], *juan* 4, pp. 1–24.
118. Yang Yizeng, ed., *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Qingyi: n.p., [preface dated 1851]), *ce* 5, pp. 5a–19b. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.8/3333.
119. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), pp. 23a–47b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 159–207. Other examples of this type of work are: Ying Baoshi (b. 1821, 1844 *juren*), *Zhisheng shidian liyue ji* (Account of the Sacrificial Offerings and Music in the Directly Administered Province), 6 *juan* (Guangdong: Guangdong fanshu, 1891), *juan* 6. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.5/1135. For some differences in representation, see Ye Boying (dates unknown), comp., *Wenmiao liyue zhaiyao* (Selected Essentials on the Sacrificial Music at the Confucian Temple), 4 *ce* (Xi'an: n.p., [preface dated 1885]), *ce* 3. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.18/4924.
120. For Qingjiang in Jiangxi, see *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the *Ding* Sacrifice), 1 *juan* (Qingjiang: Qingjiang liyueju, 1907), 12 pp. For Dingzhou in Zhili, see *Wenmiao wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Confucian Temple), 1 *juan* (Dingzhou, n.p., n.d.), 12 pp. The above two exemplars in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library are catalogued together under no. 1786.8/

0080. For Fuzhou in Fujian, see *Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu* (Record of Ritual Matters for the Confucian Temple in Fuzhou) (Fuzhou: Wenchangmiao, n.d.), 25 plus 3 pp. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788.31/3300. For a manuscript version, see illustrations in Huang Wentao, *Zhongguo lidai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yili kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices to Confucius in the Various Countries of Southeast Asia Through the Ages), pp. 79–81, cited in note 45 above. The author gives no clear reference for this source, though it may be from the Confucius temple in Zhanghua.

An exceptional booklet is *Wenmiao wuwu pu* which is the notation for the martial dance during the first oblation at the sacrifice to Confucius in the prefectural schools. See *Wenmiao wuwu pu* (Choreography Manual for the Martial Dances for the Confucian Temple) (n.p., n.d.), 10 pp. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book T1786.8/0018.

121. *Da Qing huidian tu*, *juan* 46–57, “Yue” (Music) 16–26 (1899; photographic rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 493–600. The dances are not included in the Jiaqing-period (1796–1820) version (*ca.* 1811) of this work.
122. See, respectively, Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao*, *juan* 14, p. 8bff.; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, p. 54ff.; and Pang Zhonglu, *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple), 50 plus 1 *juan* (n.p.: 1878), *juan* 1, p. 36aff.; also (Taipei: Zhongguo liyue xuehui, 1977), p. 97ff.
123. For a comparison between Ming and Qing grammars, see Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), p. 34 (first cited in note 83 above); and Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), *juan* 14, p. 6bff.; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, p. 540ff. A similar grammar is found in *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the *Ding* Sacrifice), pp. 1a–2a, cited in note 120 above. For a different version, see Pang Zhonglu, *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple), *juan* 1, p. 40bff.; also 1977 reprint edition, p. 97ff. See also the work of a scholar-musician of Liuyang county Qiu Zhilu (fl. 1835), *Dingji liyue beikao* (Complete Study of the Rites and Music for the *Ding* Sacrifice), 3 *juan* (1840), *juan zhong*, pp. 8a–9b, as cited in Lam, “Musical Confucianism,” pp. 161–162.
124. See Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), *juan* 14, pp 6b–7a; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, pp. 540–541.
125. Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), p. 27. These rituals were reintroduced in Qufu in 1986. In Taipei, beginning in 1970, in accordance with the instruction of Chiang Kai-shek to the Ministries of Interior and Education to study and improve the rites and music for the service in the Confucian temple, it was decided to use the rites, dances, and music of the Ming dynasty. The consecration officers who are government officials, however, wear the national dress of blue gown with black jacket. See Taibeishi zhengfu, ed., *Dacheng zhisheng xianshi Kongzi shidian jianshuo* (Simplified Explanation of the Sacrificial Offerings for Confucius, the Most Accomplished and Virtuous First Teacher) (Taipei: Taibeishi zhengfu, 1974), p. 3.

126. The translation of this passage from Li Zhizao's work is by Kristofer Schipper. See Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, pp. 2b-3b, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan*, pp. 832-833; *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 651, pp. 264-265. This work was cited first in note 51 above. See also Kristofer Schipper, "Some Naive Questions about the Rites Controversy: A Project for Future Research," in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII Centuries): Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, October 25-27, 1993*, ed. Federico Masini, *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I.*, 49 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1996), pp. 307-308.
127. In this regard, one may note that *wu* (dance) and *wu* (nothingness) have the same etymological origin. See Pang Pu, "Shuo 'wu'" (On the Character *Wu*), in his *Langyouji: Zhongguo wenhua yu zhexue lunji* (A Gathering of Weeds and Grass: A Collection of Discussions on Chinese Culture and Philosophy) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 320-336, esp. p. 324.
128. On the history of European and Western dance notation, see Brenda Farnell, "Movement Notation Systems," in Peter T. Daniels and William Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 855-879; and Anne Hutchinson-Guest, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance: A Project of Dance Perspectives Foundation*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), s.v. "Notation."
129. Joseph-Marie Amiot, "Suite du mémoire sur les danses religieuses, politiques et civiles des anciens Chinois" (1789), p. 3, in Yves Lenoir and Nicolas Standaert, eds., *Les danses rituelles chinoises d'après Joseph-Marie Amiot*, p. 245.

GLOSSARY

bai 拜	cha 杈
bayi 八佾	Changsha 長沙
bing 并	cheng 呈
boshi 博士	Chen Hao 陳鎬
boyang 簸揚	Chen Menglei 陳夢雷
bu (complement) 補	Chen Yang 陳暘
bu (steps) 步	chong 舂
<i>Caoman guyue pu</i> 操縵古樂譜	chongdu 舂牘
ce (fascicle) 冊	chongfu 舂拂
ce (inclining sideward; looking sideward)	Chongwen shuju 崇文書局
側	chu (forward) 出

- chu (hoe) 鋤
 Chubei 楚北
 chui 垂
 Chunguan 春官
 ci 辭
 Cui Lingqin 崔令欽
 da 大
Dacheng zhisheng wenxuanwang 大成至聖
 文宣王
 Dahu 大護
 Dajuan 大卷
Da Ming huidian 大明會典
Da Ming jili 大明集禮
 dao (on tiptoe) 蹈
 Dao (The Way) 道
 Daosheng 道生
 Daotong 道童
Da Qing huidian (Kangxi chao) 大清會典
 (康熙朝)
Da Qing huidian shili 大清會典事例
Da Qing huidian tu 大清會典圖
Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao) 大清會
 典(雍正朝)
 Dashao 大磬
 dasiyue 大司樂
 dawu (major dance) 大舞
 Dawu (name of a dance) 大武
 Daxia 大夏
 Daxian 大咸
 di 翟
 dian 點
 Ding (a surname) 定
 ding 丁
 dingji 丁祭
Dingji liyue beikao 訂祭禮樂備考
Dingji wupu 丁祭舞譜
 Dingzhou 定州
 di yi wu fei nüzi shi, ba buyong 帝以舞
 非女子事罷不用
 dou 斗
 Duan Anjie 段安節
 dun (crouching) 頓
 dun (squat) 蹲
Eryi zhui Zhao tu 二佾綴兆圖
 Fan Quan 范權
 fei 非
 fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting, fei li wu yan, fei
 li wu dong 非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，
 非禮勿言，非禮勿動
 Fengyang 鳳陽
 fu 俯
 fugu 復古
 Fuwu 帔舞
 Fuzhou 福州
Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu 福州文廟敬事
 錄
 gan (bamboo rod) 竿
 gan (shield) 干
 Ganwu 干舞
 Gao 高
 gong (bent) 躬
 gong (the note do) 宮
 gong (saluting) 拱
 gongche 工尺
 gu 詁
 Guandi 關帝
 Guan Yu 關羽
 gui 跪

- Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成
Guochao gongshi xubian 國朝宮史續編
 Guo Pan 郭鑿
Guoxue liyue lu 國學禮樂錄
Guozijian 國子監
 guwu 古舞
 guyue 古樂
Guyue quanti 古樂全蹄
Han Bangqi 韓邦奇
Hanlin 翰林
 he 合
 heng 衡
Heshengshu 和聲署
hongjuan 紅絹
Houji 后稷
Huaiyin caotang 槐蔭草堂
Huangai tongxian tushuo 渾蓋通憲圖說
Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu 皇朝祭器樂舞錄
Huangchao liqi tushi 皇朝禮器圖式
Huangdi 黃帝
Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao 黃明青
 宮樂調
Huang Ming Taixue zhi 黃明太學志
Huang Ruliang 黃汝良
Huangwu 皇舞
Huang Zuo 黃佐
Huanrong jiaoyi 圓容較義
 hui 回
 jia 枷
Jianghuaifu 江淮府
 jiao 交
Jiaofang ji 教坊記
Jiaofangsi 教坊司
 jie 節
 jin 進
Jingjihui 經濟彙
Jin ju Zhouli bu qi quelüe 今據周禮補
 其缺略
Jin Lüshu zoushu 進律書奏疏
 jinshi 進士
Jin Zhizhi 金之植
Ji Xiannongtan tu 祭先農壇圖
Ji Yun 紀昀
 ju 舉
 juan 卷
 jue 鑷
 junxiu 俊秀
 juren 舉人
 kai 開
 kaiken 開墾
Kangqu 康衢
Kong Hongqian 孔弘乾
Kong Jifen 孔繼汾
Kong Shangren 孔尚任
Kong Yinzhi 孔胤植
Kong Yuqi 孔毓圻
Kwölli chi 闕里誌
Lan Zhongrui 藍鍾瑞
Leng Qian 冷謙
 li (propriety) 禮
 li (ritual attitude) 禮
 li (standing position) 立
 lian 鎌
 liang 兩
 Libu 禮部
Lidai zhiguanbiao 歷代職官表
Liezi 列子
Liji 禮記

- Li Madou 利瑪竇
 Lingxing 靈星
Lingxing xiaowu pu 靈星小舞譜
 Lishi 李氏
 liudaiwu 六代舞
Liudai xiaowu pu 六代小舞譜
 Liu Kunyi 劉坤一
 Liu Xiang 劉翔
 Liuyang 瀏陽
 liuyi 六佾
 Li Wencha 李文察
Lixiang kaocheng 曆象考成
 Li Zhizao 李之藻
 Li Zhouwang 李周望
 Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊
 lü 律
Lüli yuanyuan 履曆淵源
 lülü 律呂
Lülü jingyi 律呂精義
Lülü jingyi waipian 律呂精義外篇
Lülü zhengyi 律呂正義
 Lülü zhengyi guan 律呂正義館
Lülü zhengyi houbian 律呂正義後編
 Lunyu 論語
 luo 落
 Maowu 旄舞
Mingshi 明史
 Nanyong 南廳
Nanyong zhi 南廳志
 Neifu 內府
 Neize 內則
 neizhuan 內轉
 Ningxidian 凝禧殿
 pangong 頰宮
Pangong liyue quanshu 頰宮禮樂全書
Pangong liyue shu 頰宮禮樂疏
 Pang Zhonglu 龐鍾璐
 ping 平
 qi (ax) 戚
 qi (elevated) 起
 qian (measure of currency) 錢
 qian (retiring) 謙
 qiao (raising) 蹻
 qiao (small spade) 鍬
Qinding Gujin tushu jicheng 欽定古今圖書集成
Qinding Da Qing huidian tu 欽定大清會典圖
Qinding xuezheng quanshu 欽定學政全書
Qing huidian shili 清會典事例
 Qinggui 慶桂
 Qingjiang 清江
Qingjiang liyueju 清江禮樂局
Qingshigao 清史稿
 Qingyi 清邑
Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo 清邑泮宮樂舞圖說
 Qiu Zhilu 邱之桂
Qiyi huo ke bu xianru suo wei fa . . . zhongjian yijian po yu xianru jiushuo butong 其義或可補先儒所未發…中間臆見頗與先儒舊說不同
 Qiyong 器用
 qu 屈
 Queli 闕里
Queli wenxian kao 闕里文獻考
Queli zhi 闕里誌
 Qufu 曲阜

- qujue 驅爵
 rang 讓
 ren 仁
 Renshi 人事
 Renwu 人舞
 Renzong 仁宗
 rong 容
Rulin waishi 儒林外史
 Rutong 儒童
Sancai tuhui 三才圖會
 se 瑟
 shanchu 芟除
 shang 商
 shangding 上丁
 shangzhuan 上轉
 shen 身
 sheng (to live) 生
 sheng (volume measure) 升
Shengmen liyue tong 聖門禮樂統
Shengmen yuezhi 聖門樂誌
 Shenjing 盛京
 Shennong 神農
 Shen Shixing 申時行
 Shenyang 瀋陽
 Shenyueguan 神樂觀
 Shenyueshu 神樂署
 Shenyuesuo 神樂所
 shi 勢
 Shibu 史部
 shixue 實學
 Shizhi 史志
 Shizong 世宗
 shou (giving) 授
 shou (hands) 手
 shou (head) 首
 shou (receiving) 受
 shouhuo 收穫
 shu 舒
Shuli jingyun 數理精蘊
 Shun 舜
 siduan 四段
 Song Hong 宋泓
 Suerna 素爾納
 suyue 俗樂
 ta 踏
 taichang 太常
 (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* 太常李樓雲
 樂書
 Taichangsi (Court of Imperial Sacrifices)
 太常寺
 Taichangsi (Office of Imperial Sacrifices)
 太常司
 Taichangsi dianbu 太常寺典簿
Taichang xukao 太常續考
 Taixue 太學
 Taizu 太祖
 Tang 湯
 Tangyi 堂邑
 Tao Qian 陶謙
 Tiantan 天壇
 tian xia tai ping 天下太平
Tianxue chuhan 天學初函
Tongwen suanzhi 同文算指
 tu 圖
 tui 退
 waizhuan 外轉
 wan 挽
 Wang Hong 王宏

- Wang Qi 王圻
 Wang Siyi 王思義
 Wang Yangming 王陽明
 Wansong shuyuan 萬松書院
 wen (civil) 文
 Wenchangmiao 文昌廟
 wende 文德
 Wenmiao 文廟
Wenmiao dingji pu 文廟丁祭譜
Wenmiao liyue kao 文廟禮樂考
Wenmiao liyue zhaiyao 文廟禮樂摘要
Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao 文廟上丁
 禮樂備考
Wenmiao sidian kao 文廟祀典考
Wenmiao wupu 文廟舞譜
Wenmiao wuwu pu 文廟武舞譜
 wenwu 文舞
 wu (dance, dancer) 舞
 wu (martial) 武
 wu (movements) 舞
 wu (nothingness) 無
 Wu (surname) 武
 Wubuhui 舞部彙
 wucaizeng 五彩繪
 wuchang sangang 五常三綱
 wudao 舞蹈
 Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓
Wupu (book title) 舞譜
 wupu (choreography manual) 舞譜
 Wushan 吳山
 wuwu 武舞
 wuxue 舞學
 xian 杵
 Xiancan 先蠶
 Xianchi 咸池
 Xiang 象
 xiangbei 相背
 xiangdui 相對
 xiangnei 向內
 xiangshang 向上
 xiangwai 向外
 Xiangyin 湘陰
Xiangyinshi yuepu 鄉飲詩樂譜
 Xiannong 先農
 xiao 簫
 xiaowu 小舞
Xiaowu xiangyue pu 小舞鄉樂譜
 xiazhuan 下轉
 xielulang 協律郎
 Xie Lüzhong 謝履忠
Xing Lu shengdian 幸魯盛典
Xuangong heyue pu 旋宮和樂譜
 Xu Changda 徐暢達
 Xu Yikui 徐一夔
 yang 仰
 Yang Yizeng 楊以增
 Yan Shusen 嚴樹森
 yanyue 燕樂
 Yao 堯
 Yaomin 堯民
 yayue 雅樂
 Ye Boying 葉伯英
 yi (bowing) 揖
 yi (duty) 義
 yi (walking) 移
 Ying Baoshi 應寶時
 Yilizhai 義禮齋
 Yinlu 胤祿

- Yinzhi 胤祉
 Yi Sopchae 李燮宰
 Yu 禹
 Yuanluo zhiyue 苑洛志樂
 yue (music, musician) 樂
 Yue (Music [section of a book]) 樂
 yue (short flute) 簫
 Yuebu 樂部
 Yuedian 樂典
 Yuefu zalu 樂府雜錄
 Yueling 月令
 Yuelü dian 樂律典
 Yuelü quanshu 樂律全書
 Yueshi 樂師
 Yueshu 樂書
 Yuexue xinshuo 樂學新說
 Yuezhikao 樂制考
 yumao 羽旄
 Yunlu 允祿
 Yunmen 雲門
 yunnou 耘耨
 Yuwu 羽舞
 yuzhi 御製
 (Yuzhi) Lüli yuanyuan (御製) 律曆淵源
 (Yuzhi) Lüli zhengyi houbian (御製) 律
 呂正義後編
 zaizhong 栽種
 Zhang Anmao 張安茂
 Zhanghua 彰化
 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
 Zhang Xingyan 張行言
 Zhangyisi 掌儀司
 Zhang Yuesheng 張樂盛
 Zhang Zhao 張照
 Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽
 Zhengfan 鄭藩
 Zhenjiang 鎮江
 zhi (the note so) 徵
 zhi (vertical) 執
 zhi (wisdom) 智
 Zhisheng shidian liyue ji 直省釋奠禮樂記
 Zhisheng xianshi 至聖先師
 zhongsi 中祀
 Zhongsi hebian 中祀合編
 Zhou 周
 Zhou Hongmo 周洪謨
 Zhouli 周禮
 zhuan 轉
 Zhuang 莊
 Zhuangzi 莊子
 Zhu Gaochi 朱高熾
 Zhu Houwan 朱厚烷
 zhujiao 助教
 Zhuo 勺
 Zhu Sheng 朱升
 Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
 Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉
 ziwu 字舞
 Zonglun fuguyue yi jiezou weixian 總論
 復古樂以節奏為先
 Zonglun xiangyin you qing wu zhong
 總論鄉飲有磬無鐘
 Zonglun xue gu gewu yi yong zhuan erzi
 wei zhongmiao zhi men 總論學古歌
 舞以永轉二字為眾妙之門
 zu 足
 Zuo Buqing 左步青