The Culture of Music and Ritual in Pre-Han Confucian Thought: Exalting the Power of Music in Human Life*

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1. Confucius and Music

According to *Analects* 8:8, Confucius said, "Arouse yourself through poetry, establish yourself through ritualized action, and complete yourself with music." In *Analects* 7:14 we read, "When Confucius was in Qi, he heard the Shao music, and for three months he did not know the taste of meat. 'I did not think,' he said, 'that the making of music could reach such perfection.' "Elsewhere he declared, "The Shao music is completely beautiful and completely good" (*Analects* 3:25). The *Records of the Historian* ("Kongzi shijia" chapter) adds that in Qi after hearing the Shao music he himself studied it. A fundamental reason that Confucius' character had such a powerful impact on his followers is that his teachings and actions were grounded in his practice of "taking his recreation in the arts," immersing himself in refined forms of aesthetic contemplation and traditional rituals to the point of self-forgetfulness. This was his form of "spiritual practice," if you will, which contributed greatly to the composedness and refinement of his character. And the art that completes the character, he declared in no uncertain terms, is music. There are at least nineteen passages containing references to music or musical instruments in the *Analects*, and some twenty-eight more in other texts that purport to record the words and dialogues of Confucius.[1] Thus it is clear that the playing of musical instruments and other musical activities were an important part of the life of Confucius and his disciples, both as entertainment and as a matter of ritual propriety. Yet his highest reverence was for the elegant Shao music, which was believed to have been composed by the sage-king Shun and thus in some way embodied Shun's sagely virtue. Through learning traditional etiquette and rituals, the Confucian scholar also learns to "embody" (comprehend bodily, *tihui*) the wisdom of the sage-kings who originally instituted these uplifting rituals in harmony with human nature. Through ritualized action a person learns to let go of the self while performing sacred ceremonies that reaffirm the line of transmission with the founders of civilization and also re-harmonize a human being with the cosmic Powers that gave birth to that human existence,

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dissolving social frictions in the process.

Thus Confucian self-cultivation, as is so in every other great culturo-religious tradition, involves the integration of body, mind and will catalyzed by experiences of self-submission and self-transcendence mediated by music, art and ritual. The aspiration for sagehood and the effort of self-control and that keep one on the path at "prosaic" times disappear in such times of reverential aesthetic transcendence, dissolved in a pure absorption in the rhythmic energy field of the present moment. The aspiration to wholeness finds an unmoving anchor-flame within the heart where it is already in a state of complete fulfillment, replacing an unsteady directedness toward some envisioned achievement in the future. Because music that is noble and spiritual in nature draws the heart-mind toward this point of unmoving inwardly-centered absorption, opening the heart to deep transformative spiritual energies, it is capable of completing a person's character—when that character has already been cultivated by the study of poetry and ritual propriety. Since a major form of music in all cultures is poetry put to music,[2] and since music is often combined with dance, a collective ritualization of movement, we can easily imagine in Confucius' direct experience a type of ceremonial musical performance that combined all three aesthetic realms spoken of in *Analects* 8:8—poetry, ritualized movement (dance), and instrumental music—a situation where the "music" that completes the maturation of character does so by absorbing and sublating the other arts that provide its foundations within the Confucian Way. In traditional cultures poetry is normally not something that one sits and reads silently, but something that is sung or chanted or recited, often in a ritualized public ceremony, so that through the rhythmic coordination of bodily movements, voice and breath it becomes a self-transforming performing art calming and integrating body and mind in a way that spreads outward from the "performers" to those who present at the ceremony, who may also participate through chanting, prayer and bodily expressions of reverence. We find such practices in the ritual traditions of all religions, but in many ways we also find them in traditions of performing arts, which in their origins draw much from the religious traditions of the societies in which they develop.

Confucius became an archetypal figure in Chinese culture precisely because his mode of learning-and-practice integrated all of the different dimensions of learning—intellectual, historical, artistic, ethical, physical, spiritual and social—in a profoundly balanced way, and it is fitting that the importance of music in Confucianism is seen to lie in its power to balance and harmonize. If music serves to balance and harmonize the individual's character, then it also serves to promote balance and harmony in society, two goals that are always intertwined in Confucianism, anchored as it is in a concept of cosmic harmony. "Music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth; ritual is the order of Heaven and Earth" (*Yueji* 14).[3] The core purpose of all Confucius' teachings was to bring about a well-governed and well-ordered society where every individual obtains the education, care and sustenance that he or she needs and the opportunities to fulfill his or her social obligations, and he was educating young people to serve in government so that they could help bring such a society into being. Thus among Confucius' disciples after his time, a crucial task was to try to recover the sage-kings' institutions of ritual and music as far as possible and

develop them into a coherent philosophy of government that could actually be put into practice, at least in a ritualistic way. As a result we have the *Liji* or *Book of Rites*, a collection of writings written by Confucius' students and Warring States period Confucianists that achieved its canonical form in the Han dynasty.[4] One of its forty-nine chapters is called the *Yueji* (Record of Music). As one of the only surviving ancient Chinese writings focusing on the topic of music and its relation with ritual, this chapter is a precious resource for seeing into precisely how the Confucian school came to regard music (particularly ceremonial music) as an essential part of the art of government, going beyond its role in self-cultivation that had been adumbrated by Confucius.

2. The Genesis of Music according to the *Yueji*: The Basic Terminology

The philosophy regarding ritual and music that is put forth in the *Yueji* has many interesting dimensions, too many to explore in one essay. Thus the present inquiry will first examine the basic terminology laid out toward the beginning of the text, which forms the logical foundation for the rest of the exposition, and then go on to examine some of the salient ideas that characterize the text's overall vision of world-transformation through music. In conclusion, I shall reflect on the relationship between the *Yueji*'s vision and certain revivalist phenomena in the music scene today, proposing that the latter could be enhanced and enabled to cross cultural boundaries with the aid of the *Yueji*'s philosophy of music.

In order to clarify what music is and what its function is, the *Yueji* first analyzes it into three constituent elements, *sheng* 聲, *yin* 音, and *yue* 樂, the precise contextual meanings of which are explained in the commentary by Zheng Xuan (127–200) that is normally interspersed with the *Liji* text proper. The second and third terms (*yin* + *yue*) form the compound that we translate as "music," a more inclusive concept than the more specifically defined single character *yue*, also translated as "music." All three characters have specific meanings in the context of the ancient Chinese ritual culture described in the *Liji* that are interestingly different from the general or later meanings of the characters and which give us valuable insights into the nature of that ancient ritual culture. Let us consider first the familiar meanings of the characters in the Chinese and Japanese languages because they will provide a revealing foil for perceiving their meanings in the *Yueji*.

In Japanese, the first of the three characters (*sheng* 聲 in Chinese) has long been used to write a native Japanese word that means "voice" (*koe* 声).[5] When this character is combined with the second character of the three, in reverse order as *onsei*, it carries the meaning of "sound." This compound is used very rarely in modern standard Chinese,[6] but in the classical *Zhouli* (The Rituals of the Zhou) and some later writings it appears, interestingly, in the meaning of "music." It also occurs with the meaning of "sound" in the Daoist work the *Liezi*[7] and later writings, showing that the Japanese usage, as we would expect, does have a Chinese origin or at least Chinese precedents. In modern standard Chinese, the compound read *onsei* in Japanese is normally written and spoken in the opposite order as *shengyin*, and it refers equally to "sound" and "voice," the meaning being determined purely by context. This is reminiscent of the *Yueji*, which finds the origin of music in *voice* expressing emotion

and never develops an abstract and general concept of "sound." The second character of the series (*yin* 音 in Chinese) has long been used to write a native Japanese word, *oto*, which means "sound" on the concrete level or "the constituent elements of spoken words." The same character read *ne*, a native word that is rather rare in the modern language, refers to small sounds or the cries of birds and animals. It sometimes also refers to the voice, particularly a crying voice; that is, it tends to refer to sounds that strike people's emotions. The best known Japanese word that contains this *ne* is *honne*, which the dictionary defines as a person's "original tone of voice" or "true tone of voice," or "words that come from one's true heart (*honshin*)."[8)]

In Chinese, the character *yin* by itself can refer to sound or specifically to rhythmical sound, or to a note in music, and in compound with another character to news received (*yinxin*, *yinxun*, *jiayin*). *Sheng* by itself or in compounds can refer to sound, news received (*shengxi*), or reputation (*mingsheng*, *shengyu*, *shengming*, *shengwang*, *shengshi*), while as a verb in compound with another character, it can mean to proclaim (*shengming*, *shengbian*). It was sometimes used in ancient texts to refer to music, song and dance (*shengji*, *shengse*), and in the *Mencius* (1:A) we find *shengyin* used in the meaning of "music" (Legge translates it more literally as "voices and tones").[9)] Thus we see that in East Asian vernaculars, as well as the classical languages, both the *sheng* character and the *yin* character can refer in different contexts or historical periods to either sound or voice and to various closely related derivations of these meanings, and the compound meaning literally "sound" was also used to refer to "music." Perhaps the most interesting example of the blurring of the boundaries among these concepts is that the same word *shengyin* in Chinese is used to mean both "sound" and "voice," where "voice" can either mean the speaking voice or the singing voice.[10)] And we have seen the same word used in the *Mencius* in the meaning of "music."

Perhaps it is not too speculative to suggest that the close relationship among the concepts of "sound," "voice" and "music/singing" is rooted in the process of the development of human consciousness, where by far the most significant sounds that a child hears are the sounds of the human voice, and where in earlier stages of a child's development of linguistic consciousness, linguistic sounds are felt to be most interesting, even mesmerizing, when they are uttered with rhythm and/or a tune, not to mention rhyme and alliteration.[11)] Not only in primitive and traditional societies, but even in modern societies, "sound," "voice," "poetry," "social ritual" and "music" are all experientially woven together into one fabric in the development of the child's consciousness of the external social world. It has frequently been observed that Confucianism succeeded in providing the basic moral and educational framework for Chinese society because its ethics that begin with family and clan relationships and then move out into society are rooted in the basic patterns of human developmental psychology. It has not been similarly observed, to my knowledge, that Confucius' teaching that poetry, social ritual, and music are the three forms of art that are essential to the development of a mature social character is also equally rooted in developmental psychology, in the fact that humans in their socio-linguistic consciousness are incorrigibly "musical animals," fascinated from youth with rhythm, meter, rhyme and melody. Confucius implies that this aspect of human consciousness can be developed and cultivated to produce a morally sensitive and

compassionate human being, or it can be neglected or corrupted to produce a human being who is deficient in the ability to perceive the pain in other people's lives as if it were pain in one's own body.[12] "If a person is not sensitive to others' suffering [i.e., is not *ren*], of what use is ritual? If a person is not sensitive to others' suffering, of what use is music?" (*Analects* 3:3).[13] Thus through its aesthetic qualities, music completes or "rounds out" the moral character of the individual who is already sensitized to the moral dimensions of human relationships.

3. The Nature and Structure of Courtly Music

In attempting to analyze what "music" is and how it comes to be with a certain amount of precision, the *Yueji* is compelled to use these three interrelated characters, *sheng*, *yin* and *yue*, in more carefully distinguished ways, or in more specific meanings that, we can assume, were current in ritual culture at the time the text was written. The text starts by proclaiming that all *yin* arise from the human heart when that heart has been moved by external things. Thus *yin* cannot refer to "sound" in general, but to an element in the constitution of music. This moving of the heart first expresses itself as *sheng*, which here obviously means "voice" or "vocal sounds." The commentator Zheng Xuan explains that *yin* refers to a mixed concatenation of the five sounds in the ancient five-note Chinese scale (*gong*, *shang*, *jiao*, *zhi*, and *yu*), while *sheng* refers to a single uttered sound. Thus *yin* are vocal sounds to which a pattern (*wen*) has been added, that is, the word refers to a sort of tune or air, something formed by putting in pleasing order the vocal sounds made by people in response to various external things or situations. Legge's translation as "modulations of the voice" (or "modulations of sound") is well conceived, though suggesting something less formed than a popular "tune." Even these tunes are declared to arise from the human heart. *Yin* are a necessary constituent of music (*yue*)—in fact the text says "music is born from *yin*"—but they are not yet fully music in the conception of the *Yueji.* The masses all know *yin*—tunes and airs that arise in popular culture—but they do not know music in the proper sense, which requires a man of broad learning and noble character (*junzi*, J. *kunshi*). Yet since the *general* concept of music in China and elsewhere includes such popular tunes, it is appropriate that *yin* constitutes the first character in the compound for "music," *yinyue* (J. *ongaku*), which by including the *yin* character carries a more inclusive meaning than the single character *yue* and allows that a knowledge of *yin* (tunes or modulations of voice) is necessary for the understanding of music of the refined variety.

In the *Yueji* analysis, two steps are necessary for vocal sounds (*sheng*) to become music: first, the uttered sounds expressing different emotions must respond to one another, which will give rise to changes (in pitch, rhythm, etc.).[14] When these changes become a formula (*fang*), glossed by Zheng Xuan as *wenzhang*—orderly patterns[15]—they are called *yin*—tunes formulated out of originally spontaneous vocal sounds of various emotional timbre.[16] When such tunes, or modulations of the voice, are arranged (*bi*) harmoniously and accompanied by musical instruments, and a ceremonial dance is performed with the dancers holding the shield and axe or the pheasant feather and long-haired-ox tail, then this is what is called "music" (*yue*).[17]

Thus we see that the "music" that was most important in the ancient Chinese phi-

losophy and practice of government was a highly ceremonial affair sharply distinguished from the simple music of the people. It required a prescribed formal dance and ritual implements symbolic of the founders of the Zhou dynasty, which imparted a kind of sacred aura invoking the original foundations of the polity and the creators of its basic rituals. The *Yueji* states,

> Hence the bell, the drum, the flute, and the sounding-stone; the plume, the fife, the shield, and the axe are the instruments (*qi*) of music; the curvings and stretchings (of the body), the bending down and lifting up (of the head); and the evolutions and numbers (of the performers), with the slowness and rapidity (of their movements), are its elegent accomplishments (*wen*). The dishes, round and square, the stands, the standing dishes, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations (*zhidu wenzhang*), are the instruments of ceremonies; the ascending and descending, the positions high and low, the wheelings about, and the changing of robes, are their elegant accomplishments. Therefore they who knew the essential nature of ceremonies and music could frame them; and they who had learned their elegant accomplishments could hand them down. The framers may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and inventing.[18)]

Nothing could be clearer and more graphic than this passage in illustrating what was really meant by "ritual-and-music" in the ancient Chinese courtly tradition. The Confucian scholars made themselves useful to the rulers and aristocracy by studying, preserving and performing these elaborate rituals, and it is easy to understand why the philosopher Mozi condemned the waste and extravagance they involved with seemingly no utilitarian purpose. Yet in a polity where the central locus of sacred (cosmic) authority and the central locus of political authority were one and the same, we can see that such ceremonies performed a role analagous to the rites and liturgy of the Catholic Church, which expressed visibly and audibly the divine and temporal authority of the institution, its control over material resources, its transcendent dignity, and its unmovable rootedness in venerable ancient traditions. The following passage in the *Yueji* even reminds one of the Catholic Church's perennial battle to preserve orthodoxy and suppress heterodoxy, which was certainly related to its continual production of sacred music for the liturgy.

> Whenever treacherous sounds (*jian sheng*) affect people's hearts, a rebellious spirit (*ni qi*) rises in response, and when that rebellious spirit takes manifestation, it gives rise to licentious music. When upright sounds (*zheng sheng*) affect people's hearts, an obedient spirit (*shun qi*) rises in response, and when that obedient spirit takes manifestation, it gives rise to harmonious music. The chorus responds to the singer; the deviant and the eccentric, the crooked and the straight, each returns to its own class; the principles of the ten thousand things all move mutually according to their category. Therefore, the man of noble character looks back to his feelings to harmonize his will.[19)]

A "rebellious spirit" suggests resistance against political or religious authority, and its association with "licentious music" reminds one of the Catholic Church's custom of charging heretics with sexual licentiousness to discredit them. However, it is also true that religious faith and political loyalty, regarded as cardinal virtues in all traditionalist cultures, also require submission to authority, though not necessarily unconditional submission. So if social harmony is something desirable, so is the spirit of obedience, the spirit of submission, which is also the core principle of collective life in all religious orders. Both the music-and-liturgy of the Christian Church and the ceremonial ritual-and-music of ancient China functioned to support and reward obedience to authority, which was also a fundamental part of Confucius' ethical teachings.

An institution that can muster the resources and learning for such grand and imposing ceremonies cannot easily become an object of rebellion,[20] not the least because its rituals were believed to sustain the cosmic and calendrical harmony upon which life and agriculture depended. We must grant the claim of the *Yueji* that the creators and transmitters of these traditions were highly intelligent men, men who were capable of seeing far beyond the material, military and institutional dimensions of state-building. Of course the writers of the *Book of Rites* were also formulating an ideology of rule that would hopefully assure their employment in government, which helps account for the almost magical powers they attribute to rites and music. Yet because this practical motivation was totally in line with Confucius' own purpose in educating his disciples, it should not be viewed as a corruption of the original spirit of Confucianism.

4. The "Original Voice" and the Relation between Ritual and Music

How does music come about? At its outset the *Yueji* emphasizes that music ultimately arises from the emotions of the human heart,[21] implying that no matter how culturally refined and formalized the music may become, its ultimate root is in the spontaneous voice of the human heart, the "*honne*" or "original voice" of the heart of the individual, if you will, before its processing by the conventions and rules of society. Yet it is an "original voice" that arises in response to external things and situations, the "heart" responding to "things." Poetry, like music, is also the expression in sound of the heart's response to external things, and like music it can also draw the heart back to the tranquil silence that is its original Heaven-given nature. Thus poetry (*the Book of Songs*) "arouses" the spirit, as Confucius put it, and also cultivates the nature, matures the character, sensitizes the heart, and hones one's power to use words. Between poetry and music, however, Confucius lists "ritual," through which a person "becomes established"—able to stand as an individual in society with an awareness of all the complex relationships and responsibilities in which he is involved. Logically, music is capable of completing the character because its elements are rooted originally in the spontaneous movements of the heart, so that it can soften the stiffness and artificiality that tends to result from preoccupation with the external ritual prescriptions of society. "Music creates unity; ceremony creates differences. From unity comes mutual intimacy; from difference, mutual respect. When music prevails, things flow together; when ceremony prevails, there is separation"

(*Yueji* 10). Ceremonies are "square," while music is "round."[22]

Indeed, if we consider the classical Chinese concept that Heaven is round and Earth is square, we can anticipate some of what the *Yueji* says about the differences between music and ritual. Music, as the harmonizing non-material force, is obviously akin to Heaven.

> Heaven is high and Earth is low, and between them the ten thousand things are dispersed and distinct. On that basis the ritual system was instituted. Yet the cosmos flows forth without cease, things coming together and uniting in continual transformation. On that basis music arose. In spring the crops are planted and in summer they grow; this corresponds to the virtue of benevolence (*ren*). In autumn the crops are harvested and in winter they are stored; this corresponds to the virtue of rectifying (*yi*). The virtue of benevolence is akin to music; the virtue of rectifying is akin to ritual. Music embraces all through harmony; therefore it pursues the expansive spiritual forces (*shen*) and follows Heaven. Ritual distinguishes what is appropriate; therefore it dwells with the contractive spiritual forces (*gui*) and follows the earth. Accordingly the sage creates music in order to respond to Heaven and institutes rituals in accord with the Earth. When ritual and music are clear and complete, Heaven and earth properly manifest their respective controlling powers.[23]

Music is warm and ritual is cold; music draws man toward Heaven and the spiritual while ritual keeps him bound to the earth, to human society and its regulating structures. Yet the two are complementary and equally necessary, each contributing in its own way to civilizing mankind. "Music appeared in the Grand Beginning (of all things), and ceremonies had their place on the completion of them."[24] "Music emerges from within, while ceremony acts from without. Because music emerges from within it embodies tranquility; because ritual acts from without it embodies cultural refinement. … When music enacts its full function, there will be no resentments; when ritual enacts its full function, there will be no strife. What ritual and music mean is that all-under-Heaven is ruled and brought to order simply by people bowing and yielding to each other with courtesy."[25] It is a profound insight that if an entire population can be taught common rituals of courtesy, with an emphasis on yielding to the other (*lirang*), the society will have a high degree of cohesiveness and a strong resistance to the forces of disorder. Manners are the lubricant of society, without which the gears will get clogged and social interactions will not proceed smoothly. Of necessity, this vision of social order has a cosmological grounding. "Let there be an intelligent understanding of the nature and interaction of (Heaven and Earth), and there will be the ability to practice well both ceremonies and music."[26] As we have seen above in *Yueji* 17, the fundamental virtues of *ren* and *yi*, like *gui* and *shen* (the latter which originally meant "ghosts and gods"), are abstracted to the level of universal forces, so they call for a translation that has the greatest possible degree of generality. Can we deny that the need of love or benevolence and the need for rectification are the two sides of human culture, often coming into conflict, sometimes violently, but also capable of working in harmony and balance when an-

cient cultural traditions are respected and preserved? While the ruler must dispense both justice and benevolence, must act to further both order and harmony, Confucius' own dominant emphasis on the virtue of benevolence, without which he believed both ritual and music lack their *raison d'être*, shines through in the *Yueji*'s somewhat negative description here of the nature of ritual and public ceremony. In passage 26 we read, "In music the sages found pleasure, and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good. Because of the deep influence which it exerts on people, and the change which it produces in manners and customs, the ancient kings appointed it as one of the subjects of instruction."[27] Because the character of a ruler is manifest in his music, and the music directly affects the moods and attitudes of the people (*Yueji* 27), the ancient kings rooted their music in human feelings and human nature and brought it into harmony with the energy that produces life and the different phases of the manifestation of that energy. Establishing schools to teach it, they made the distinctions of near and distant relations, high and low rank, elder and younger, and male and female all manifest in their music. Thus it is said, "in music one must contemplate its depths."[28] In the depths of music one not only finds human nature, but also the basic social distinctions necessary for both ritual and morality. "Therefore, when the music has full course, the different relations are clearly defined by it; the perceptions of the ears and eyes become sharp and distinct; the action of the blood and physical energies (*xueqi*, J. *kekki*) is harmonious and calm; (bad) influences are removed, and manners changed; and all under heaven there is entire repose" (*Yueji* 31, Legge). One wishes that music could be given such central emphasis in education systems today, and not just in the elite schools.

5. Music as the Mandate of Heaven and Earth

"All under heaven there is entire repose" can be accepted grammatically if "all under heaven" is taken as a place phrase rather than a nominative. As the goal and result of education in music, it places music in the place that religious faith occupies in other cultures. It does not have to be interpreted as meaning that when music is performed the whole of society immediately achieves deep repose, but just that in the experience of the individual (or single-minded group) absorbed in music the whole world is at peace, the distinction between self and world having been dissolved. The prayer-wish that all beings in the world may know peace is a core part of all the ritually prescribed prayers I have heard in Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism, usually forming the conclusion of the prayer or meditation practice. In the same spirit, the *Yueji* (49) says that music is the "leading thread" (*ji* 紀) of centrality and harmony (*zhonghe*). In chapter 1, the *Doctrine of the Mean* (also from the *Liji*) states that if one can arrive at centrality and harmony, then Heaven and Earth will achieve their proper order and all things will be nourished. The logic is the same. Music emerges within (from the center) and preserves something of the harmony and balance of the center in all its movements. This is particularly true of sacred music, which emphasizes maintaining unbroken consciousness of the unmoving center, and it is certainly true of the sort of music that Confucius revered. I listen mostly to Baroque music (particularly Bach and Handel, and now Zelenka), and I am doing so now. The cello, the organ, the violin, the oboe, or the bassoon is dancing all

over the place, but it is very evident that it is dancing around an unmoving center. And that is related to the deeply calming effect that the music has—to its ability to reunite our spirit and consciousness with the living energies of the physical body.

Yet cultivated movement of the body and the tongue through ritual is also necessary, if often neglected because of its tendency to become exclusive and elitist. As music inculcates virtue from within, ritual inculcates it from without, and both are necessary to build a balanced character and a harmonious society. "The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to be a possessor of virtue. Virtue means realisation (in one's self)."[29] For Confucius, on the foundation of the study of the Odes and the mastery of ritual, it was music that could complete the cultivation of character, as if there was a kind of progression. Yet here we see that ritual and music share a close symbiotic relationship, and that it is only the man of deep learning and character who truly understands music who comes close to understanding the spiritual foundations of ritual and ceremony. Both are required for a person to be virtuous—and virtue should be understood as a state of being and not only a state of "doing." As in Christianity, only if one is already virtuous in one's basic state of *being*—having accepted the forgiveness of one's sins offered freely through the sacrifice on the Cross—can one hope to be virtuous most of the time in one's actions. Redemption and sanctification precede action—and are realized in a circular dialectic with action—and without ritual or liturgy redemption cannot be activated or "realized." Both Confucianism and Christianity without the participation in ritual become like birds trying to fly with one wing.

> The occasions and forms of ceremonies are different, but it is the same feeling of respect (which they express). The styles of musical pieces are different, but it is the same feeling of love (which they promote). The essential nature (*qing*) of ceremonies and music being the same, the intelligent kings, one after another, continued them as they found them. The occasions and forms were according to the times when they were made; the names agreed with the merit which they commemorated.[30]

If ritual ceremonies and music are complementary and share the same essential nature, it means that a person of consummate virtue must be able to delve deeply into the non-material, trans-social realm of musical harmony, drawing spiritual and moral energy therefrom, but that person also has to be able at any time to step out of their absorption to face an audience or a social situation that requires total presence of mind and a confident, proficient mastery of the ritual requirements of the situation. In Singapore I met a Japanese diplomat who was proficient on the violin, and gave a fine performance at the Japanese embassy before a highly distinguished audience. Even during his performance, while relaxed and natural, he did not lose the dignity of his diplomatic status, and even though he had really expressed his inner heart during the performance, after the performance he performed with admirable aplomb all of the verbal and social rituals that were appropriate for the status position he occupied. During his whole musical and diplomatic performance, he never

wore an artificial expression and never looked the slightest bit tense or stiff. When I spoke to him personally at some length on the subject of music and the promotion of classical music in Singapore, he showed no trace of pride or impatience or a split mind, even though I was a mere university professor with somewhat less-than-perfect Japanese language abilities. In socializing with this rather young but not inexperienced diplomat, I felt strongly that his character as an unpretentious and genial gentleman had been much affected—"completed" if you will—by his years of violin training and performing, because the absorption and aplomb of his playing (based on the harmonization of body and mind) naturally carried over into the ritual words and actions required of him in his diplomatic role, enabling him to drop the artificiality, excessive formality, tension or pride that can easily slip into a public appearance of a politician or diplomat. All people who fill important positions in public life, including academics, should take the time to learn some sort of musical performing art, and learn it to some degree of proficiency, regarding it as an essential element of their character training as well as an excellent ice-breaker at formal social functions. As the *Liji* declares, music is the mandate of Heaven and Earth.

6. Music as a Bridge between the Court and the People and a Warning of Trouble

Of course other basic ancient Confucian texts, such as the *Mencius* and the *Xunzi*, also discuss the importance of music. Mencius' (ca. 372–289) conversation with the King of Qi (*Mencius* 1B:8) is highly relevant to our topic. Hearing a report that the king said he loved music, Mencius said, "If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Qi would be near to a state of good government!"[31] On another day, he had an audience with the king, but the king confessed in embarrassment that he did not enjoy the music of the ancient sovereigns, but only present-day popular music. Mencius replied, "If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Qi would be near to a state of good government! The music of the present day is just like the music of antiquity, as regards effecting that."[32] The king asked for proof, and Mencius gave a totally logical explanation that if the king did not confine his enjoyment of music and hunting to himself alone, but made it possible for the people to enjoy the same pleasures as he himself, he would become a true king and his realm would know peace and contentment. An idealistic proposal to be sure, but there is no trace of any claim of some sort of mystical effect of royal music and ceremonies on the welfare of the realm. Mencius' proposal matches the vision of Confucius and the *Yueji* that if a greater number of individuals learn to deeply enjoy music, the effect of their inner joy and tranquility, and of their rounded characters, will gradually spread to society at large. However, the authors of the *Yueji* would have had a problem with Mencius' assertion that even popular music can help bring about a harmonious society because it also gives pleasure, for the *Yueji* is very concerned with the effects on the emotions of different sorts of music, and regards many types of music, characteristic of particular states, as not wholesome at all in their effect. Moreover, it claims that the impending destiny of a state, whether it will flourish, decline or collapse, can be perceived in the nature of the music that is being heard there, and this does not mean the music of the royal courts. Obviously the conception of the relationship between music and the state goes well beyond simply

the great musical ceremonies held in the royal courts, which operate on society only in a top-down way and affect directly only the aristocratic elite. Here we should remember another aspect of China's ancient musical culture that goes back to the compilation of the *Book of Songs*, wherein it was felt to be a responsibility of the government to collect songs being sung in the various regions of the kingdom, because these songs represented the "voice of the people" and could help the government understand the actual conditions of people's lives at the grass-roots level. This was later institutionalized in the Han dynasty under the government bureau called the Yuefu 樂府.

That is, it was a basic belief of the elite musical culture of ancient China that in both directions—top-down and bottom-up—music could help bridge the gulf between the royal court (the government) and the common people, that music should bring the "voice" of the common people into the consciousness of the ruling class, which is an obvious corollary of the conception of the "harmonizing" power of music in the socio-political realm. Interestingly, this is totally in harmony with the teaching with which the *Yueji* begins, that music has its source in the spontaneous vocal responses of the human heart to various external circumstances, and from these humble beginnings it develops into the music-dance ceremonies passed down from the very founders of the dynasty. Yet music must express itself through the form of the five-note scale, which is a structure imposed from the outside. Here we are confronted with another quite intriguing aspect of the ancient theory of the relationship between music and government. When Greek philosophers interested in music, i.e., the Pythagoreans, examined musical intervals and the relationship between different notes, they were first interested in the physical phenomena that brought about these sounds and chords, with their emotion-affecting consonances and dissonances, and this motivated them immediately to explore the mathematical relationships behind the physical phenomena. Exploring the mathematical relationships led them into speculations about the underlying universal laws governing the cosmos, and that led to the concept of the Music of the Spheres—the idea that the mathematical intervals of music reflected the very basic structure of the cosmos itself, a divine proportionality most evident in the rational mathematical structure of the heavens.

For Chinese Confucianists designing a philosophy of rule in competition with other schools, on the other hand, it was just as natural to correlate the different notes of the musical scale with the structure of government. The *gong* note, the deepest and most sonorous, made by the thickest string, represented the ruler. The *shang* note, higher and lighter, represented the ministers. The *jiao* note, higher again, represented the people, while the next higher note, *zhi*, represented affairs (*shi* 事). Finally the lightest and clearest note represented things, perhaps meaning the material resources affecting the implementation of government policy. This obviously is a status order from the highest to the lowest, reflecting the importance of status in the proper carrying out of government policy, and there must have been low-ranking officials associated with the low-ranking items. Now once we have these correlations, it means that disorder in one order will produce disorder in the other. When there is no disorder in the five statuses, there will be no decadent or discordant

sounds. If the *gong* note is out of kilter (*luan* 亂), the musical sounds will become loose and undisciplined (*san* 散), the cause being the pride of the ruler. If the *shang* note is out of kilter, the musical sounds will become off-center, the cause being that the ministers are being delinquent in their duties. If the *jiao* note is out of kilter, the musical sounds will become sorrowful, the cause being that the people have many grievances toward the government. If the *zhi* note is out of kilter, the musical sounds will take on a mournful tone, the cause being that the burden of compulsory labor has become too severe. If the *yu* note is out of kilter, the music will take on a perilous quality, the cause being that the people are suffering in poverty. If the five notes all get out of order and each tries to surpass the others, this is called a total collapse of respect and decorum, and it foreshadows the imminent collapse of the state.[33)]

Again this does not strike me as a particularly superstitious theory, and it makes total sense in terms of the Chinese view that the different levels of reality are all correlated. It is very obvious that the authors are endeavoring to articulate a theory—one that can be credited to the ancient kings—that will put a check on arbitrary government and help motivate officials to be concerned with the welfare of the masses. If disorder is perceived in the musical notes, officials must examine the rectitude of their government from the royal court on down. However, if the disorder in the musical notes occurs in the musical ceremonies of the court, it would seem this can only be blamed on a problem in the accuracy of the pitches of the instruments or in the skill and conscientiousness of the court musicians, and the solution would be to discipline or replace the musicians. In that case the rectifying purpose of the theory would break down, and the court musicians would become among the most important personnel in the government, capable of determining the welfare of the state by the quality of their playing.[34)] In this case the causality is the reverse of what was intended. As Zheng Xuan notes, it is not the disorder in the music that produces the problems in the government, but the opposite. Thus logically, the theory must mean particularly that if disorder is heard among the music being performed outside the court, among the people, it is a reflection of problems in the government, again motivating officials to be observant regarding the state of music in the realm.

This again returns us to what could be said to be the foundational theory of the text, repeated several times, that music begins in the spontaneous voice of the heart, beyond a level where social conventions and political pressures can determine the content of what is expressed. The Confucians are setting up an anti-Legalist philosophy of government where the inner voice of the heart is beyond the control of government, and thus must be regarded with respect by the government and courted in order to obtain popular feedback on the conduct of government. The function of the arts thus extends beyond the sphere of individual self-cultivation, serving as a means for creating self-aware, self-confident and educated individuals who can lead and instruct society without being easily manipulated by the government. There are similar ideas in Western educational culture supporting the tradition of a liberal arts education that includes music, literature, classics, history, rhetoric and poetry as the proper way of educating society's future leaders, and this is a tradition that perennially requires articulate defense in the face of the wealthy technological establish-

ment. Confucius' conception of music as the art that completes the cultivation of character can help bolster this tradition, just as the Western liberal arts tradition can help bolster the revival of this precious teaching of Confucius. Both can help spread respect for the role that early music musicians and other "archeological artists" in both East and West, plus the scholars who support and propagate their work, play in society as custodians and revivers of priceless cultural traditions that reconnect people with the spiritual sources of their civilization and the spiritual resources for happiness.

7. The Project Should be Continued

Now if, in the view of the *Yueji*, scholars should study the refined music traditions passed down from the early sage-kings, and government officials should study popular music and poetry collected from among the people, both in the cause of social harmony, then this is a tradition that sorely needs to be inherited today, where the profound generation gap in the realm of music and the dominance of ephemeral mass-oriented music in the mass media is already leading to the virtual extinction of many precious musical traditions. When traditional music and dance of popular origin are performed before scholars or political leaders, and when music-dance traditions associated with ancient court cultures or pre-modern high society are performed before scholars and ordinary people, a communication between the ages is opened up, and it becomes possible for some of the deepest inspiration of former times to feed into the creative, ever-evolving culture of the present day. These refined performing arts are precious cultural heritages that the human community should do everything possible to preserve, and their value to society and the spirit, as Confucius understood, goes far beyond the level of mere entertainment.[35)]

Personally, as a lover of classical and sacred music, I would say that this Confucian project is already moving firmly in the direction of realization today, though not necessarily in association with "Confucianism." To take China as an example, the rapid spread of Western classical music education and appreciation is well known, though still only reaching a rather small proportion of the population. Along with the study of the piano and the violin, the physical construction of state-of-the-art concert halls in every city is booming, and the facilities are certainly attracting audiences (in my experience they are usually sold out). In those countries that have long possessed state-of-the-art facilities, many symphony orchestras and early music ensembles are actively involved in spreading music appreciation abroad in society, among all generations including the youth, helping to assure that the world of music performance does not stagnate into an exclusive elite of music afficionadoes who snub their noses as those who are "outside the club." Schools and colleges that give strong emphasis to musical education seem to be increasing at a fairly rapid rate, in spite of the regular appearance of news stories reporting the dropping of musical education in public schools. It is also easier than ever before to listen to the best of man's musical creations throughout history privately through recordings, though such private enjoyment needs to be transmuted into communication with others, and ideally it should remain an adjunct to attending live performances. The music enjoyed needs to percolate into one's character and

relationships, and to be carried in some way, such as through choral performance, into the public arena where it can help elevate the general culture. Otherwise it can easily become a kind of self-indulgence or escape from society. In every cultural and religious tradition there is a tension between finding the path to ecstasy and transmuting its intense spiritual energy into compassionate action for the benefit of others, as symbolized by the bodhisattva who refuses to enter Nirvana until all beings are saved. Confucius worked on completing his character through music, but that gave him the energy and spiritiual resources to teach others indefatigably, and through that to influence East Asian culture over a long time in some very fundamental ways.

The *Yueji* represents the first fully articulate formulation of the vision of that sort of transformation, and the task or vision that it lays out needs to be carried forward in every generation by professional musicians, amateur musicians, and non-musicians alike. The conditions for the activation of the vision of the *Yueji* are in many ways better today than ever before, and though the connection with government has been attenuated, the achievement of the vision on a large scale—because of the cost of the facilities—still requires a great amount of government moral and financial support. The facilities are built and getting built, but the problem still lies in educating more people who have the time, financial resources, and most of all the musical culture and sensitivity to attend and enjoy the musical performances being given. This is particularly a problem in China, where the whole project started out in the first place over 2,500 years ago but seems to have lost its momentum after the Confucians became bureaucratic functionaries in the Han. The message of the *Yueji* is as relevant as it ever was, and it needs to be propagated. That is the reason for which the present exploratory essay has been written. Of course the author does not envision some sort of mass conversion of society—which is after all dominated by popular youth-oriented culture and populated by people with a vast variety of different hobbies—but rather a gradual expansion of the number of intellectually and artistically inclined people who take time to cultivate their spiritual and cultural sensibilities through the perennial music traditions of the East and/or the West, whether through appreciation or performance or both.

Confucianism is an ancient tradition that was actually threatened with extinction, but for the past several decades it has been undergoing a healthy revival, at least in the universities. Similarly, there are many cultural and musical traditions that had almost died out, but are also in recent decades in the process of being resurrected, including Western classical music and opera in China.[36] With this essay I hope to draw the interest of aesthetically conscious individuals toward some of these resurrection projects, such as the period instrument and early music movement in Europe and America, and hopefully help these revivalist movements cross the boundaries between Eastern and Western culure. My own pantheon includes René Jacobs, Helmuth Rilling, Ton Koopman, Koopman's student Masaaki Suzuki, Philippe Herreweghe, Alan Curtis, John Elliot Gardiner, Robert King, Emmanuel Haïm, Rinaldo Alessandrini, Matteus Goerne, Thomas Quasthoff, Philippe Jaroussky, Andreas Scholl, the great Mahler conductors, plus many others too numerous to list—not to mention the many consummate musicians who work with these conductors, ensem-

ble leaders and singers.[37] Among Baroque singers and musicians, the Canadians (including Angela Hewitt, Karina Gauvin, and Marie-Nicole Lemieux) have become increasingly prominent on the world stage, and as a Canadian this is a matter of personal pride. I also spent some years learning to love Indian classical music back in the golden days of Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan, and as far as time permits I hope to delve more into Chinese, Korean and Japanese traditional music as well. The readers of this essay undoubtedly have their own rather different sets of culture heroes, but the point is, while the particular forms may differ, the underlying spirit and purpose are the same: reawakening the present generations to the incredibly rich musical heritage of the past, especially the long-submerged traditions dating from before the 19th century. Ideally it would be nice to found an organization or newsletter called "Confucian Culture and Music," or just "Premodern Musical Culture East and West," but I cannot afford the time to do such a project on my own. Communication through existing magazines and scholarly essays that sometimes engage one another is probably sufficient. If some of the great revivalist musicians come in contact with the traditional Confucian theory of music, such as by reading the present essay, I hope that it will help charge them with the conviction that the welfare of mankind and the very harmony of the universe depend on the quality of their playing, that there is nothing more important they could do with their talents and time than what they are already doing—completing their characters through music and helping others to do the same. Only playing performed with such conviction can deeply move the audience, and, through the audience, make the world into a more peaceful, civil and joy-filled place. It would be nice if some readers skilled in drawing would send me a couple of portraits of Confucius that portray him as a *musician* enjoying taking his "recreation in the arts" out in the open fields, depicting him as much less of a stuffy old guy than the traditional official portraits, which were symbols of Chinese official orthodoxy. Remember that Confucius was not always an old man with a beard and a long robe! These radical portraits of Confucius would be prime candidates for the covers of our first few newsletters, if we can ever pool our energies to produce one! Or for those to whom the very idea of Confucius is just too incorrigibly stuffy, maybe a composite drawing of a couple of premodern Western and Eastern musical instruments would do the trick. The eyes lead the way to the ears.

Whether or not my readers have any interest in such dreamy projects, I hope that the present essay has helped opened their eyes to the depth of the ancient Chinese philosophy of music, and will motivate them to look further into the riches that this tradition has to offer. I believe that the the Chinese tradition, the Indian tradition, the Western tradition and the Islamic tradition can all agree that it is music—especially sacred and classical music—that completes the cultivation of our character, aided by a reasonable dose of ritual directed at a realm beyond the present material world. Thus I believe we are justified in taking the *Yueji* beyond its traditional East Asian context and introducing it as a contributory voice for the newly evolving subculture of cross-cultural music and cross-cultural spirituality. The portraits I am waiting for will have a rather young-looking Confucius playing a sitar (à la Ravi Shankar), playing a Renaissance lute (à la Paul O'Dette[38]), playing a dulcimer, play-

ing a viola da gamba (à la Hille Perl), playing a baroque violin (à la Fabio Biondi), or playing a harpsichord (à la Trevor Pinnock). And his disciples will be ranged around him playing various accompaniment instruments with different cultural origins, and joyously singing odes from the *Book of Songs* in alternation with Bach Cantatas.

Notes

1) Other texts that include such passages include the *Liji, Kongzi jiayu*, *Wuxing dayi*, *Hou Hanshu*, *Shuoyuan*, *and Qincao.* For the passages concerned, see Zhang Wenye, *Kongzi de yuelun* [Confucius' Theory of Music], trans. Yang Rubi (Taipei: Taiwan Daxue chuban zhongxin, 2004), 151–162. This book was written in Japanese in Beijing in 1941 and published in 1942 in Tokyo by Sanseidō shuppan.
2) The "poetry" referred to in *Analects* 8:8 was that recorded in the *Book of Songs*, many of which were originally songs.
3) The passages of the *Yueji* are numbered differently in the on-line *Chinese Text Project* edition and in the volume compiled by Ichihara Kōkichi, et al. (see below), which is volume 13 in the scholarly series *Zenshaku Kanbun taikei* 全釈漢文大系 (Compendium of Chinese texts with complete interpretations in Japanese). For instance, the passage marked here as No. 14 is No. 13 in the Japanese edition. Because the *Chinese Text Project* versions are immediately available to all readers, I have opted to use its numbering scheme.
4) According to a widely accepted account in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*Suishu*), in the first century B.C.E. the Western Han scholar Dai De worked on and simplified the text, producing a version called the *Da Dai Liji* (the *Liji* of the Elder Dai, 85 chapters), and his nephew Dai Sheng later did his own simplification and excision, his version totaling 49 chapters. Much of the Elder Dai's version was lost by the Sui and Tang periods (39 of an original 85 chapters remaining), and the Younger Dai's version is the one that has come down to us.
5) 声 is a simplified form of the 聲 character used both in post-war Japanese and contemporary simplified Chinese. The traditional character contains the character for "ear," which helps clarify the various meanings the word acquired.
6) Examples of its use in modern Chinese (in the meaning of "sound") that appear on the internet are few and mostly technical.
7) Written in the Jin dynasty (266–316), but purporting to be a Warring States period book that is believed lost.
8) Regarding the Japanese word *honne*, it is interesting to consider that in the Chinese expression *zhiyin pengyou*, "bosom friend" (literally, a friend who knows one's *yin*) the *yin* has a similar meaning to the *ne* in *honne*, that is, the deepest and truest sound (voice) of a person's heart, which only the bosom friend really hears. Thus there may even have been Chinese influence on the development of the Japanese word *ne*, which would not be surprising considering how well versed traditional Japanese scholars were in Chinese learning.
9) Legge's full translation of the *Liji* is given with the original text on the web site of the *Chinese Text Project* (hereafter CTP). For the *Yueji* see http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ji. Other translations in this essay are my own unless otherwise noted.
10) Perhaps because of the lack of precision in the signification of *shengyin*," Chinese also has another word used to refer to the singing voice, *sangzi*, which refers to the physical mechanism by which a person sings. While its literal reference is close to the idea of "the throat," in English it would most often have to be translated as "voice," including both the inborn and the artistically trained aspects of a singer's voice, with the accent on the former.
11) For a quintessential example of the kind of vivid poetic story-telling that totally fascinates children (and many adults), try reading aloud the verses of '*Twas the Night Before Christmas*, which is widely available on line (including animated versions and humorous parodies).
12) This is a description of the core Confucian virtue of *ren* that is rooted in Confucius' teachings and was developed philosophically in Neo-Confucianism, particularly its Wang Yangming branch

with its emphasis on the *ren* (interpersonal moral sensitivity) that perceives all things as one body.

13) *Ren* is usually translated, not without awkwardness, as "benevolence," "humanity," "humaneness" or "humanheartedness." Roger Ames suggests a more holistic sense of the meaning in using "authoritative conduct" or "authoritative personhood." This may obscure what seems to be the core sense of the word, "sensitive empathy for other people," but it does suggest the aspects of centeredness, calmness, firm moral commitment and dignified self-control. Some characteristics of *ren* as explained by Confucius are: the *ren* person takes on difficulties first and leaves enjoyment and acquisition till later; he is able to be constantly joyful without anxieties and bear poverty without complaint, to be free of evil as long as his will is directed toward *ren*. The person of *ren* takes delight in mountains, and he is tranquil and long-lived. Wishing to establish himself, he first establishes others, and wishing to achieve something he first helps others to achieve it. *Ren* is to overcome the self and return to ritual propriety, and not to act toward others as you would not wish them to act toward oneself. *Ren* is to love people.

14) Ichihara's interpretation here steps a bit far from the original text and is difficult to translate, but it appears cogent: "Because the heart responds to things in a great variety of ways, in the voice there naturally occur many changes. The changes in the voice that produce harmonious [tunes] are called *yin*. When these *yin* are accompanied by musical instruments, and a dance is performed with the use of the ritual implements of Kings Wen and Wu, this is called 'music.' " Legge interprets the phrase "accompanied by musical instruments" as "so as to give pleasure," since the character for "music" and the character for "pleasure" are the same, simply read with different pronunciations.

15) One ancient meaning of *wenzhang* that seems of relevance here is "mixed colors or patterns," which occurs in the critique of music in the *Mozi* and again in the *History of the Later Han* (*Houhan shu*). *Wenzhang* also occurs in the text of the *Liji* (Da Zhuan chapter), where Zheng Xuan glosses it as *lifa*—the rules of ritual, and another commentator as "a system of ritual and music" (*liyue zhidu*). Legge translates it here as "the elegances (of ceremony)." A similar usage occurs in *Analects* 8:19, where it is translated by Legge as "elegant regulations." For the precise quotations and further meanings, see the entry on *wenzhang* in the *Handian* on-line dictionary.

16) A modern Japanese translator of the *Liji*, Ichihara Kōkichi, explains the meaning of *yin/on* here as *ongyoku*, which in Japanese traditional music usually means a light popular tune, and in Noh drama refers to the singing and musical/rhythmical accompaniment as apart from the visual elements of the performance. See Ichihara Kōkichi, Imai Kiyoshi, Suzuki Ryūichi, comp. and trans., *Raiki*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1977), 406. Legge similarly translates *yin* as "airs" (see Chinese Text Project *Yueji* 3 to 6).

17) The commentary by Zheng Xuan points out that the first two ceremonial objects named were used in the dance of King Wu and the second in the dance of King Wen. Kings Wen and Wu, the second the son of the first, were the founders of the Zhou dynasty.

18) *Yueji* 13, as translated by James Legge (see CTP). Like all of the *Yueji*, the four-character structure and the parallelism of this passage make it very beautiful to read in the original classical Chinese, a beauty of sound, rhythm and imagery that is completely destroyed in translation.

19) From passage 30, in my translation.

20) It took a vast quantity of gross abuses on the part of the clergy and popes of the Catholic Church, surfacing repeatedly in public awareness over hundreds of years, to finally bring about the Protestant Reformation, and even then the rebellion was only successful because of the printing press and the fragmented nature of political power in Germany. Yet whether the resulting diminution or demise of the "cosmic power" of Christian ritual in Protestant lands (Weber's "disenchantment" of the world) was a loss or a gain for civilization depends on one's point of view regarding the character of "modernity" as opposed to cultures deeply rooted in tradition.

21) Strictly speaking what is stated first is that all *yin* (see below) is/are born from the human heart, and somewhat later (*Yueji* 2) that music (*yue*) is born from *yin*, its root being in the human heart when it is moved by external things.

22) Appropriately, in colloquial English, a person considered to be old-fashioned or boringly conventional in attitude or behavior is called "square," and a person whose character is well balanced is

called “well-rounded.”

23) *Yueji* 17, my translation.

24) *Yueji* 20, in Legge’s translation (including the parenthetical words).

25) *Yueji* 11, in my translation. It has often been observed that Japan has achieved this kind of social order to a much greater degree than China, apparently through the pervasive influence of Confucian, Buddhist and Shinto teachings promoting the yielding of the individual to the group, expressed through ubiquitous rituals of courtesy. The difference from China is truly shocking to anyone who has spent time in both countries. Yet the vision of creating such a society is clearly derived primarily from the Chinese classics, even though the actual rituals are not of Confucian origin.

26) *Yueji* 14, in Legge’s translation.

27) Legge’s translation. However, Legge wrote “because of the deep influence it exerts on a man,” which I have changed because the word he translates as “a man” simply means human beings.

28) From “the ancient kings” on, this is a paraphrase of parts of Legge’s translation of passage 28.

29) From *Yueji* 5, in Legge’s translation. However, “leads to the subtle springs (*ji* 幾)” is almost certainly a misinterpretation. The *ji* here is much more likely to mean “comes close to,” which would imply that the understanding of the essence of ritual and ceremony is even a degree harder than understanding the essence of music. Ichihara follows this interpretation. At any rate, the knowledge of both is a profound knowledge not accessible to the ordinary person.

30) *Yueji* 12, in Legge’s translation. Zheng Xuan explains “one after another” by quoting Confucius as saying that the Yin (Shang) dynasty continued the ceremonies of the Xia, and the Zhou continued the ceremonies of the Yin, but not completely, for “wherein they took from or added to them can be known” (*Analects* 2:23). The point of the *Yueji* passage seems to be that the essential intent of ritual (and music) remains the same so later kings inherited in general what had come before, but ceremonies are created in accord with their times in commemoration of certain political or military accomplishments, so they need to be adapted when the times change. For an explanation of how and why the early kings created ceremonies and music, see *Yueji* 16 and 22.

31) Translation of this sentence from Legge’s translation, reproduced in the *Chinese Text Project.*

32) Legge’s translation.

33) This entire passage about the correlation between the notes and government is found in section 4. In parts my interpretation has been adapted from the modern Japanese translation by Ichihara Kōkichi, ibid., 409.

34) I believe that there actually were such ideas in the pre-Revolution royal courts of Europe, most typified by the court of Louis the XIV. Tremendous efforts were made to bring the best musicians of the realm into the court orchestras, and this was not only for the entertainment of the king and the aristocrats. I suspect that it was really believed that the quality of their playing, particularly because it revolved around the king, had a real effect on the harmony of the realm. For some fascinating glimpses of a world centered on music, see the Alain Corneau/Jordi Savall film *Tous les matins du monde.*

35) For example, the high quality dance and music performances given at the symposium put on by ICU’s Institute of Asian Culture on November 28 and 29, 2010, were an integral element in a scholarly gathering intended to explore the music-ritual traditions common to East Asian civilizations. The ideas of alternating traditional performances with academic papers and inviting members of the general community to attend should be further developed in exploring these noble traditions.

36) See the Canadian-Italian jointly produced movie, *The Red Violin.*

37) I wanted to put Bob Dylan, the poet-minstrel of my generation, on this list, but though he is also working in recent years to reanimate old styles of American folk music, as great as he is he just does not fit in a list of academy-trained classical musicians and conductors.

38) For Caravaggio’s famous painting of a Renaissance lute player, see http://www.abcgallery.com/C/caravaggio/caravaggio14.html.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

benxin/honshin 本心
bi 比
Dai De 戴德
Dai Sheng 戴聖
fang 方
gong 宮
gui 鬼
Handian 汉典, 漢典
honne 本音
Houhan shu 後漢書
ji 紀
jiao 角
jiayin 佳音
junzi/kunshi 君子
Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語
Kongzi shijia 孔子世家 (the biography of Confucius in the *Shiji* 史记)
Liezi 列子
lifa 禮法
Liji/Raiki 禮記, 礼記
lirang 禮讓, 礼讓
liyue zhidu 禮樂制度
mingsheng 名聲
ongyoku 音曲
qi 器
Qincao 琴操
qing 情
ren 仁
renqing/ninjō 人情
sangzi 嗓子
shang 商
shen 神
shengbian 聲辯
sheng/sei 聲
shengji 聲伎
shengming 聲名
shengming 聲明
shengse 聲色
shengshi 聲勢
shengwang 聲望
shengxi 聲息
shengyin 聲音, 声音
shengyu 聲譽
Shuoyuan 說苑
tihui 體會 or 体会
wen 文
wenzhang 文章
Wuxing dayi 五行大義
xueqi/Kekki 血氣
yi 義
yin/on 音
yinxin 音信
yinxun 音訊
yu 羽
yue/gaku 樂
Yueji/Gakki 樂記
Zhang Wenye 江文也, *Kongzi de yuelun* 孔子的樂論 (Confucius' Theory of Music), trans. Yang Rubi 楊儒賓
Zenshaku Kanbun taikei 全釈漢文大系
Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
zhi 徵
zhidu wenzhang 制度文章
zhiyin pengyou 知音朋友
zhonghe 中和
Zhongyong/Chūyō 中庸
Zhouli 周禮