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The Rise of *Yín* 吟 and the Reconstruction of Táng Poetic Aurality[1]

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ABSTRACT

The character *yín* occurs with high frequency in the *Quán Tángshī* (QTS), where it signals a concept around which the identity, composition, performance, reception, and other aspects of Táng poetry all pivot. Reconstructing Táng poetic aurality thus requires an in-depth understanding of the concept of *yín* as it applies to oral performance, because of the close connection it enjoys with Táng poetry as well as all other aspects of Táng poetic activity.

The current paper is based on an investigation into the semantic development of *yín* and the changes in its relationship to poetry from the pre-imperial period to the Táng. It argues that *yín* only gradually entered the semantic field of poetic orality, and it did not rise to an "exclusive" intimacy with poetry until the Táng. The paper investigates the possible factors at work in causing the "rise" of *yín* and examines how these factors, as well as the connotations and associations the concept accumulated, anticipate its Táng usages. It then focuses on the QTS and ventures to pin down what turn out to be the quite essential traces of oral performances of poems in the mode(s) of *yín* during the Táng. What can also be observed in this chronologically arranged collection is a shift away from metaphoric or general usages of *yín* to more descriptive ones, and to the ever-growing importance of the genre of poetry, as well as the formation of self-identification by the poets.

Keywords: *yín*, cantillation, Táng poetry, semantic development, oral performance

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

GY *Guǎng yùn* 廣韻 [Extended Segmented Rimes]

QTS *Quán Táng shī* 全唐詩 [Complete Táng Poetry]

QW *Quán shànggǔ sāndài Qín Hàn Sānguó Liùcháo wén* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 [Complete Prose of the Three Dynasties in Antiquity, Qín, Hàn, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties]

SW *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 [Explaining Unit Graphs and Analyzing Complex Characters]

XS *Xiān-Qín Hàn Wèi Jìn Nán-Běi cháo shī* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 [Poetry of the Pre-Qín, Hàn, Wèi, Jìn, Southern and Northern Dynasties]

YFSJ *Yuèfǔ shī jí* 樂府詩集 [A Collection of Music Bureau Poetry]

INTRODUCTION

世間何事好　What is worthy in this world?
最好莫過詩　Nothing is better than poetry.
一句我自得　One line I just acquire to satisfy myself with—
四方人已知　Becomes immediately known to people from four directions.
生應無輟日　As long as I live, I shall not cease for a single day;
死是不吟時　Death is, when I no longer compose or cantillate poetry.
始擬歸山去　I begin to plan to return to the mountains,
林泉道在茲　Amid the forest and the spring, the way is there.[2]

Kǔyín 苦吟 'bitter cantillating,' the title of this poem, is a concept exclusively associated with Late Táng (*Wǎn Táng* 晚唐)[3] poets. It had undergone a transformation during the 820s and 830s, as pointed out by Stephen Owen, "from 'bitter chanting' (in which the poem is the expression of the poet's bitterness resulting from life's circumstances) to 'painstaking composition' (which poets speak of as a pleasure)."[4] The author of the poem, the renowned Late Táng poet Dù Xúnhè 杜荀鶴 (846–ca. 904) certainly belonged to the group taking pleasure in the painstaking poetic craft. *Yín* (in the sixth line, henceforth as L6), or *kǔyín*, is equated with *poetry* (L2) as the best practice in the world (L1–L2). There is a very interesting antithesis between the second and the last couplet. The former reveals the social position and function of poetry, showing that, in addition to providing self-entertainment (L3), because poetry was transmitted swiftly, it brought about literary fame (L4). By contrast, the latter line – if we read it metaphorically – unfolds the meaning that, even when the poetic self wishes to retreat from social life to reclusion (L7), the *Dào* 道 'way' – a culture-saturated concept symbolizing the ultimate pursuit of an

2 *Quán Táng shī* 全唐詩 [Complete Táng Poetry] (hereafter as QTS) (1) 691.7944–7945. Translations are by me unless otherwise credited.

3 The entrenched quadripartite sub-division of Táng 唐 dynasty (618–907) poetry into Early Táng (*Chū Táng* 初唐), High Táng (*Shèng Táng* 盛唐), Mid-Táng (*Zhōng Táng* 中唐) and Late Táng poetry, which arose under the Sòng 宋 (960–1279) and was eventually consolidated during the Míng 明 (1368–1644), is followed in this paper for the convenience of discussion.

4 Owen 2006: 93; for more details see his essay of 2003.

individual life as well as a society – still lies in *kǔyín* (L8). It is in this way that *yín* has been a life-long companion of the poetic self (L5). The poetic self ceases to *yín* only when the poet's personal life ends (L6), the implication being that a poet and his poems die when the poems are no longer cantillated by any reader or performer.

Dù Xúnhè, although active in the Late Táng period, when the "golden age of classical Chinese poetry" was already waning, stood out in the galaxy of poetic talents of the Táng dynasty by creating his own unique style. He subsequently earned his place in literary history as an archetype of a specific style called *Dù Xúnhè tǐ* 杜荀鶴體 'style of Dù Xúnhè,' when the Sòng critic Yán Yǔ 嚴羽 (style Yíqīng 儀卿, a.k.a. Cāngláng 滄浪, d. ca. 1245) named the thirty-six stylistic categories of poetry after their representatives in the monumental *Cāngláng shīhuà* 滄浪詩話 [Remarks on Poetry by Cāngláng].[5] Of interest to us is, as the poem quoted above suggests, that Dù Xúnhè displayed a clear preference for the word *yín*. In his 331 poems collected in the QTS, he used this character over eighty times. Through a rough comparison of the ten poets, among all QTS Táng poets, who used *yín* most frequently, we can see that this character occupies a very high percentage proportionately in Dù Xúnhè's poems:

Ten most-frequent users of *yín* in the QTS

Rank	Poet	*Yín*	Poems in QTS	Percentage
1	Dù Xúnhè 杜荀鶴 (846–ca. 904)	82	331	24.8%
2	Zhèng Gǔ 鄭谷 (ca. 851–ca. 910)	69	325	21.2%
3	Qí Jǐ 齊己 (ca. 864–ca. 937)	131	820	16.0%
4	Yáo Hé 姚合 (ca. 755–ca. 855)	70	536	13.1%
5	Mèng Jiāo 孟郊 (751–814)	65	515	12.6%
6	Guàn Xiū 貫休 (832–912)	74	732	10.1%
7	Bái Jūyì 白居易(772–846)	262	2882	9.1%
8	Lǐ Bái 李白 (701–762)	93	1031	9.0%
9	Lù Guīméng 陸龜蒙 (?–ca. 881)	55	617	8.9%
10	Dù Fǔ 杜甫 (712–770)	67	1460	4.6%

5 *Cāngláng shīhuà* 2.59.

Although these figures are not completely reliable, given, for example, the extremely uneven condition of poems as preserved by each poet and the great diversity of versions of many poems, the table suffices to show that Dù Xúnhè favored the character *yín* in his poetic writings.[6] Meanwhile, among these eighty-two usages of *yín*, only twelve of them appear at the end of even-numbered lines, that is, in those positions where rhyming is mandatory. Even if we assume that all of the twelve *yín* were chosen merely for the purpose of rhyming, and hence we could disregard these, we still see its use in a very large percentage. Dù Xúnhè adopted the *qīn* 侵 < ***tshim*** rime[7] nineteen times in total,[8] and only seven times did he "fail to" insert *yín*, which also corroborates his preference for this character.

What makes Dù Xúnhè outstanding is not just his predilection for the character *yín*, but also his frequent *attributive* usage of it. Such an innovative usage of *yín,* which is only found scattered across random other poems even from the Late Táng period, converges in Dù Xúnhè's oeuvre, like *yínlín* 吟鄰 'neighbor of the poet,'[9] *yínfà* 吟髮 'hair of the poet,'[10] *yínhuái* 吟懷 'mind of the poet,'[11] *yíngǔ* 吟骨 'spirit

6 What is also to be noted about this table is that there are two High Táng poets (ranking at 8 and 10), three Mid-Táng poets (ranking at 4, 5 and 7), and five Late Táng poets (ranking at 1, 2, 3, 6 and 9) who have entered the "Top 10 most frequent QTS users of *yín.*" Here, we already catch a brief glimpse of the "rise" of *yín* under Táng.

7 In this study I adopt David Prager Branner's differentiation between "rime" and "rhyme," in which he claims that "I prefer to retain Karlgren's spelling 'rime' in the sense of 'formal phonological category of rhyming sounds,' and reserve the spelling 'rhyme' for the sense 'rhyming word' or 'rhyming sound'" (Branner 1999: 13). The MC and OC transcriptions/reconstructions in this paper follow Baxter (1992) and Baxter/Sagart (2014).

8 See Gù Qián (1990: 77).

9 In L8 of the eight-lined pentasyllabic "Jīng qīngshān diào Lǐ Hànlín" 經青山弔李翰林 [Mourning the Hànlín Academician Lǐ when Passing by the Bluish-green Mountain]: *láicǐ zuò yínlín* 來此作吟鄰 'come here to become the neighbor of the poet' (QTS [1] 691.7942).

10 In L5 of the eight-lined pentasyllabic "Qiūchén yǒugǎn" 秋晨有感 [Stirred on an Autumn Morning]: *yínfà bù cháng hēi* 吟髮不長黑 'the hair of the poet does not stay black for long' (QTS [1] 691.7940).

11 In L2 of the eight-lined pentasyllabic "Jìnshì tóu suǒzhī" 近試投所知 [Sending to My Friends before the Exam]: *yínhuái shuō xiàng shuí* 吟懷說向誰 'to whom should I speak out what is on my mind for cantillating' (QTS [1] 691.7933).

of the poet,"[12] *yínzī* 吟髭 'mustache of the poet,"[13] *yínhún* 吟魂 'ghost of a poet,"[14] *yínsēng* 吟僧 'a poet-monk,"[15] and *yínxìng* 吟興 'the impulse to cantillate/compose a poem,"[16] etc. The first four examples are even exclusive to Dù Xúnhè by his time, suggesting that he was probably the coiner of these expressions.

Yín 吟 < **ngim* < *m-q^{h}(r)[ə]m 'to cantillate' hence appears pivotal in an investigation into the aurality of Táng poems. In adopting 'to cantillate/cantillation' as the translation of *yín* with respect to the oral performance of poetry, I follow David Prager Branner's opinion:

> Chinese *yínsòng* 吟誦, the melodic expression of literature (including even literature that we could more strictly consider prose), is usually rendered "chanting" in English. That is a poor translation because "to chant" suggests monotony, especially that of plainsong. I use "cantillation" not because it is technically more correct, but because it is already current as the name of the florid melodic ornamentation in another literary language (liturgical Hebrew), so that its associations are more expressive of musical artistry.[17]

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12 In L3 of the four-lined heptasyllabic "Dú zhūjiā shī" 讀諸家詩 [Reading Poems by Various Poets]: *zhíyīng yíngǔ wú shēngsǐ* 直應吟骨無生死 'it must be that the spirit of a poet is immortal' (QTS [1] 693.7977).

13 In L8 of the eight-lined pentasyllabic "Luàn hòu zài féng Wāng chùshì" 亂後再逢汪處士 [Meeting the Recluse Wāng Again after the Destruction]: *yínzī bái shù jīng* 吟髭白數莖 'some of the moustache of the poet, me, turned white' (QTS [1] 691.7947).

14 In L8 of the eight-lined heptasyllabic "Kū Fāng Gān" 哭方干 [Shedding Tears for Fāng Gān]: *gèng shuí jiāngjiǔ lèi yínhún* 更誰將酒酹吟魂 'who would, furthermore, bring ale and offer a libation to the ghost of the poet' (QTS [1] 692.7962).

15 In L6 of the eight-lined heptasyllabic "Chūnrì shānzhōng duìxuě yǒuzuò" 春日山中對雪有作 [Composed Facing the Snows amid the Mountains on a Spring Day]: *mǎntiān chádǐng hòu yínsēng* 滿添茶鼎候吟僧 'filling the teapot and waiting for the poet-monk' (QTS [1] 692.7964).

16 In L2 of the eight-lined heptasyllabic "Dōngmò tóng yǒurén fàn Xiāoxiāng" 冬末同友人泛瀟湘 [Accompanying a Friend Boating on Xiāo and Xiāng at the End of Winter]: *zuìduō yínxìng shì xiāoxiāng* 最多吟興是瀟湘 'where one is most likely to be stirred to cantillate poems is on the Xiāo and Xiāng' (QTS [1] 692.7950).

17 Branner 2022: 17.

As the short case study of Dù Xúnhè's usages of *yín* has aptly shown, this concept, basically denoting a mode of oral presentation and more, was so intimately related to Táng poetry and poetic activities, that it has become a legitimate *surrogate*/*synecdoche* for them and even for *the poet* by the Late Táng period. Moreover, the realization of Táng poetic euphony always rests on performance – the homophonic relationship between *aurality* and *orality* is indeed thought-provoking. This is probably what Liú Xié 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 520), author of the *Wénxīn diāolóng* 文心雕龍 [The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons], had in mind when stating that "the beauty or the clumsiness of the sound texture relied on cantillation and singing" (*shēnghuà yánchī, jì zài yínyǒng* 聲畫妍蚩，寄在吟詠)[18] or that, "when reciting and metrically chanting, it was realized in [musical notes] *gōng* and *shāng*" (*fěngsòng zé jì zài gōngshāng* 諷誦則績在宮商).[19]

Attempts at rescuing the "voices" of those who continued to master traditional ways of poetic cantillation – most stemming from late imperial period – showed that special modes were employed in orally performing pre-modern poems, which were more "melodious" than merely "reading aloud."[20] And thanks to the work especially by ethnomusicologists in recent decades, we have become more and more

18 *Wénxīn diāolóng* 33.553.

19 *Wénxīn diāolóng* 39.624.

20 Referred to as *yínshī diào* 吟詩調 'tone of cantillating poetry' in e.g. Sūn Xuánlíng (2013: 28). Following the pioneering modern linguist Zhào Yuánrèn 趙元任 (1892–1982), scholars have dedicated themselves to the documentation and research of the living tradition of poetic cantillation (*yínsòng* 吟誦) (see e.g. Zhào Yuánrèn [1994], whose lead was echoed by Sūn Xuánlíng/Liú Dōngshēng [1990], Wáng Ēnbǎo/Shí Pèiwén [1993], and Chén Shàosōng [1997] minimally). More recently, aiming at systematically promoting that action, the "Zhōnghuá yínsòng xuéhuí" 中华吟誦學會 [Chinese Society of Cantillation] was founded in 2010, and in the same year, national programs "Zhónghuà yínsòng de qiǎngjiù, zhěnglǐ yǔ yánjiū" 中華吟誦的搶救、整理與研究 [Rescue, Systematic Collection, and Research on Chinese Cantillation] and "Zhōngguó yǒushēng yǔyán jí kǒuchuán wénhuà bǎohù yǔ chuánchéng de shùzì huà fāngfǎ jí jīchǔ yánjiū" 中國有聲語言及口傳文化保護與傳承的数字化方法及基礎研究 [Methods of Digitalization and Basic Research of the Protection and Inheritance of the Chinese Audible Language and Orally Transmitted Cultural Relics] were launched. Within the framework of the latter, Yáng Fēng, for instance, has applied experimental methods of acoustic phonetics to record the cantillation of those with the educational background of traditional private schools (*sīshú* 私塾) and analyze the data with regard to rhythm, phonation, and respiration (Yáng Fēng 2012).

aware that Táng poetry was deeply embedded in musical performances.[21] But since the modern legacies of the remote mode(s) of oral performance of Táng poems are discursive and sporadic, especially due to language changes, I propose here a different perspective from which to approach the aural features of Táng poems in performance: I will map the semantic development of *yín* down to the Táng period.

When defining the key concept *shēngshī* 聲詩, lit. 'sound poetry' in his *Táng shēngshī* 唐聲詩 [Táng Sound Poetry], the prolific ethnomusicologist and folklorist Rén Bàntáng ranked the musicality of an array of related concepts as follows: *shēngshī* > *yuèshī* 樂詩 'musical poetry' > *gēshī* 歌詩 'sung poetry' > *yínshī* 吟詩 'cantillated poetry' > *sòngshī* 誦詩 'metrically recited poetry.'[22] By comparison with these semantically similar terms signifying different modes of vocalizing poems, we learn that, in general, *yín* refers to a mode of cantillating that is more musical than reading with regard to the tonal and metric patterns of the poem, but less musical than singing without instrumental accompaniment. Still, in the plentiful examples Rén has written about exhaustively, the distinction between these terms in the received literature is not always clear-cut. As he mentioned at one point, one reason is that "men of letters drove their brushes at will and frantically, without observing any rules, thereby obscuring historical facts" (*wénrén xiàbǐ shuàiyì, mànwú zhǔnshéng, hùnxiáo shǐshí* 文人下筆率意，漫無準繩，混淆史實).[23] Meanwhile, words in the semantic field denoting modes of performing poetry – like *gē* 歌 'to sing,' *sòng* 誦 'to recite metrically,' *yǒng* 詠 'to chant,' and our *yín*, etc. – did share a dynamic, and sometimes overlapping, relationship with one another, before *yín* rose to be the predilection of poets

21 Experts on premodern performing arts, like Rén Bàntáng 任半塘 (1897–1991) and Wáng Kūnwú, have scrupulously tracked the musicality of Táng poetry (see Rén Bàntáng [2013 (=1982)], Rén Bàntáng/Wáng Kūnwú [1990]; Wáng Kūnwú [1996]), reminding us that at least a considerable corpus of Táng poetry was intended for musical performance, or has been *de facto* put to music (see also Wú Xiāngzhōu [2004]; Zhào Mǐnlì [2005]; Zhào Mǐnlì et al.[2005]). Wú Xiāngzhōu 吳相洲 (1962–2021), along the same line, traced the origin of tonal prosody to the connection of poetry to music (Wú Xiāngzhōu 2006). Endeavors have also been made to pin down the exact syllable-note or rhythmic correspondence between poetry and music (see minimally, Yáng Yīnliú [1983, 1986]; Gě Xiǎoyīn/Tokura [1999, 2000]; Wáng Xiǎodùn/Chén Yìngshí [2000]).

22 I have appended only a tentative translation to these concepts. For the extended range of their connotations, see Rén Bàntáng (2013: 1.12–23), as well as the discussion below. *Shēngshī* is at the top of this scale because it incorporates dances. *Yuèshī* differs with *gēshī* in that the former is accompanied by instrumental music.

23 Rén Bàntáng 2013: 1.22.

like Dù Xúnhè and became a widely accepted *exclusive* surrogate for poem-related concepts. That is why a reconstruction of the conceptual history of *yín* seems necessary, and why it is bound to produce further insights into Táng poetic aurality.

1. AN "UNFAMILIAR" *YÍN*

1.1. THE PRE-QÍN AND EARLY HÀN *SHĪ*-RELATED TERMS

From the pre-Qín well into the Hàn period, *yín* was not the word of choice when denoting the oral performance of a poem – which, in the given periods, referred to a poem from the *Shī* 詩[Odes] in most cases. Let us, therefore, begin with an overview of the usages of the pre-Qín *shī*-related terms (which we will henceforth refer to as "S-terms" for convenience of discussion).

Yín is absent from the summarization of traditional modes of performing poems in the "Gōng Mèng" 公孟 chapter in the *Mò zǐ* 墨子,[24] as well as in the later Máo commentary[25] on the poem "Zǐjīn" 子衿 [Collar] in the "Zhèng fēng" 鄭風 [Airs of Zhèng] section, which shows high resemblance:

> Some use the intervals when they are not in mourning to recite the *Odes* metrically, three hundred pieces [are they]; to put the *Odes* into stringed music, three hundred pieces [are they]; to sing the *Odes*, three hundred pieces [are they]; as well as to dance *Odes*, three hundred pieces [are they].
> 或以不喪之閒，誦詩三百，弦詩三百，歌詩三百，舞詩三百。[26]

> In ancient times, students were lectured to perform the *Odes* musically: to recite them metrically, to sing them, to accompany them with stringed instrument music and dances.
> 古者教以詩樂：誦之，歌之，弦之，舞之。[27]

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24 Dating from the late fifth to the late third century BC (Knoblock/Riegel 2013: xi).

25 Dating from the Western Hàn 漢 (202 BC–8 AD) and promoted in the time of Emperor Píng 平 (r. 1 BC–6 AD) ("Shih ching 詩經" by Michael Loewe in Loewe [1993: 415]).

26 *Mò zǐ* (2) 10.1093.

27 *Shī jīng* (2) 4.367.

Two of the four introduced terms are directly related to oral performances, namely *sòng* 誦 < *sə-[l]oŋ-s and *gē* 歌 < *[k]ˤaj. The probable difference between them is vividly captured in the following story dated to the fourteenth year of Duke Xiāng 襄 (559 BC) in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳 [Zuǒ Tradition (of the Spring and Autumn Annals)]:

> Sūn Kuǎi was sent on a mission to the court of the Duke.[28] The duke called for wine to drink with him, and ordered the grand musician to sing the last stanza of the "Artful Words."[29] That musician declined, and his subordinate Musician Cáo proposed to do it. Before this, the Duke had a favorite concubine, whom he commanded Musician Cáo to teach the zither. Musician Cáo whipped the lady, which so enraged the Duke that he had the musician given 300 blows. Musician Cáo therefore wished to sing the stanza, in order to enrage Squire Sūn, and to obtain his own revenge upon the Duke. When the Duke ordered him to *sing* it, he thereupon *metrically recited* it.
> 孫蒯入使。公飲之酒，使大師歌《巧言》之卒章。大師辭，師曹請爲之。初，公有嬖妾，使師曹誨之琴，師曹鞭之。公怒，鞭師曹三百。故師曹欲歌之，以怒孫子，以報公。公使歌之，遂誦之。[30]

The literal meaning of the line *sòng xiǎn ér gē wēi* 誦顯而歌微 '[message becomes] conspicuous by metrical reciting yet ambiguous by singing' from the "Shī gài" 詩概 [Outline of Poetry] by the Qīng 清 (1644–1911) scholar Liú Xīzǎi 劉熙載 (1813–1881) serves as a perfect footnote to this story.[31] To take his

28 Duke Xiàn 獻 of Wèi 衛 (r. 576–559 BC). The dates of Sūn Kuǎi's life are unknown.

29 *Shī jīng* no. 198.

30 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 32.1058, translation based on Legge (1960b: 465). Gù Xiégāng 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), however, claimed that the last sentence of the quoted passage proved that *gē* and *sòng* were synonymous, where the literary device *hùwén* 互文 'paired phrases' was in use (Gù Xiégāng 1982 [=1925]: 649).

31 *Yì gài* 藝概 [Outline of Arts] 2.324. Originally, *sòng* and *gē* are nouns denoting two different poetic "styles" or "genres" in this book, which are distinguished by their meter, size, and contents, etc. Nominal uses of *sòng* and *gē* already are attested in the *Shī jīng*, where there are six collocations *zuò gē* 作歌 'composed this song' and three *zuò sòng* 作誦 'composed this chanting piece' announcing the provenance of the poem. Liú Xīzǎi proposed that the poems referred to as *gē* or *sòng* differ

revenge on the Duke, Musician Cáo intentionally employed the mode *sòng* to make sure that the Duke's offensive overtone got through, which would otherwise be veiled under the mode *gē*.

But it doesn't necessarily mean that *sòng* was unmusical. *Sòng*, as well as *fěng* 諷 < *prəm-s, which were used as mutual glosses in the received version of the *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 [Explaining Unit Graphs and Analyzing Complex Characters] (henceforth SW),[32] belong to the so-called *yuèyǔ* 樂語 'musical expressions':[33]

> The Chief Musician [...] teaches musical expressions to the aristocratic students, *xīng* (metaphors), *dǎo* (allusion), *fěng* (recitation), *sòng* (metrical recitation), *yán* (statement), *yǔ* (reply).
> 大司樂[……]以樂語教國子，興、道、諷、誦、言、語。[34]

Sòng is also a common assignment for officials with musical expertise in the court:

> Hence, when the Son of Heaven listens to governmental affairs, he lets the dukes, ministers down to the array of nobles offer poems, the grand musicians submit tunes, historians submit records, subordinate musicians advise, blind musicians [without eyeballs] proffer, blind musicians [with eyeballs] recite, a hundred artificers remonstrate, and the common people have their messages reported.

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in their *yīnjié* 音節 'syllable structure' (*Yì gài* 2.323), while modern scholars like Gù Xiégāng took them as evidence that *sòng* and *gē* are synonyms, both denoting 'poetry' (Gù Xiégāng 1982: 649).

32 SW (1) 2a.51. For the translation of the book title and pertinent issues see Bottéro (2002) and Boltz (2015).

33 SW (1) 2a.34.

34 *Zhōu lǐ* 周禮 [The Etiquette of Zhōu] 22.676. My translation is based on Zhèng Xuán's 鄭玄 (127–200) annotation, who, in particular, differentiated *fěng* and *sǒng* as: *bèiwén yuē fěng, yǐ shēng jiézhī yuē sòng* 倍文曰諷，以聲節之曰誦 'to recite a passage is called *fěng*, and to rhythmize it with voice is called *sòng*.'

> 故天子聽政，使公卿至於列士獻詩，瞽獻曲，史獻書，師箴，瞍賦，矇誦，百工諫，庶人傳語。[35]

Similar passages can be found in other chapters of the *Guó yǔ*,[36] as well as in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*.[37] *Sòng* is a format of admonishing the ruler in these texts. More importantly, it is assigned to *méng* 矇, *gōng* 工 or *shīgōng* 師工 – all are (blind) musicians.

Moreover, it seems that *sòng* can be accompanied by instrumental music as well:

> Subordinate blind musicians recite and chant poems, sort the genealogy, and strike (the chords of) the zither and the psaltery.
> 瞽矇諷誦詩，世奠繫，鼓琴瑟。[38]

The famous Eastern Hàn 漢 (25–220) commentator Zhèng Xuán suggested that the occasion was the funeral of a king, where the blind musician-officers recited poems and ranked the genealogy of the dead to eulogize and acknowledge his achievements. He as well as the Táng commentator Jiǎ Gōngyàn 賈公彥 (fl. 650–655) nonetheless took time to explain that *sòng* must not be as closely related to the melody of the zither and psaltery (*qínsè* 琴瑟) music as it would be in the case for *gē*.[39]

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35 *Guó yǔ* 國語 [Discourses of the States] 1.11. Regarding the *shùrén chuányǔ* 庶人傳語 at the end of the cited passage, Zhū Zìqīng 朱自清 (1898–1948) thought it referred to indirect reports from the commoners, including *túgē* 徒歌 'unaccompanied songs' (Zhū Zìqīng 1947: 12).

36 *Guó yǔ* 12.387; 17.501.

37 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 32.1064.

38 *Zhōu lǐ* 23.725.

39 But Zhèng Xuán glossed *sòng* in the *chūn sòng xià xián* 春誦夏弦 'in the spring [learn to] recite [poems] metrically while in the summer [learn to] adapt them to string music' in the *Lǐ jì* 禮記 [Records of Etiquette] as *gēyuè* 歌樂 'to sing with music' (*Lǐ jì* 20.730). Kǒng Yǐngdá 孔穎達 (574–648) nonetheless elaborated on it as *kǒusòng gēyuè zhī piānzhāng, bùyǐ qínsè gē yě* 口誦歌樂之篇章，不以琴瑟歌也 'to recite a musical piece *a cappella*, rather than to sing it with zither and psaltery music' (*Lǐ jì* 20.732). Liú Kūnyōng, based on discussions around this in the *Lǐ jì* and other pertinent passages most of which are cited above, suggested instead that it was probably necessary for *sòng* to have musical accompaniment, but not for *gē*

The musicality of *gē* is more apparent, and its intimate relationship with poetry in the pre-Qín period has been more clearly documented. In the "Shùn diǎn" 舜典 [Canon of Shùn] of the *Shàng shū* 尚書 [Book of Documents], we have probably the most classic description of that relationship:

> The poem articulates what is on the mind intently; songs make language last long.
> 詩言志，歌永言。[40]

Yǒng 永 < *[ɢ]ʷraŋʔ 'to elongate' is a derivation from the same lexical root as *yǒng* 詠 < *[ɢ]ʷraŋ-s with *yán* 言 'speech'-radical,[41] the latter appearing as a mutual gloss with *gē* in the SW.[42] Cases, where *gē* and *yǒng* appear in pairs are quite frequent. In most cases they follow the pattern that *gē* is a noun and that *yǒng* serves as a *transitive* verb, expounding on the meaning and function of nominal *gē*:

> Poetry is to guide it [one's will], song is to prolong it.
> 詩以道之，歌以詠之。[43]

(Liú Kūnyōng 2007: 127) – an intriguing idea. For more on this as well as on several other relevant terms see Wolfgang Behr and Bernhard Führer's discussion on etymologies of the semantic field "reading" (Behr/Führer 2005).

40 *Shàng shū* 3.95, translation from Owen (1992: 26). There is the etymological connection between *shī* < *s.tə and *zhì* 志 < *tə-s , as paronomastically implied as early as in the SW ([1] 3a.51).

41 The former is substituted by the latter in a very similar passage from the received "Yuè jì": *shī, yán qí zhì yě; gē, yǒng qí yán yě* 詩，言其志也。歌，詠其聲也 'poetry speaks one's will, in song one draws out his voice' (*Lǐ jì* 38.1295, translation from Cook [1995: 59]).

42 SW (1) 3a.53, 8b.179. The 'singing' connotation of the 'speech' -*yǒng* probably stems from the meaning of the *yǒng* without the *yán*-radical as 'to elongate one's voice.'

43 *Guó yǔ* 3.111. The commentary supports the thesis that *sòng zhī yuē shī* 誦之曰詩 'if presented in the mode of chanting, it is called a poem,' so as to differentiate *shī* and the nominal *gē*, and also notes the difference between *sòng* and the verbal *gē*.

> A poem is what is used to match with one's mind, and a song is what is used to elongate the [voice of presenting the] poem.
> 詩所以合意，歌所以詠詩也。[44]

This usage of *yǒng* – as a transitive verb, and meaning 'to present with a prolonged, melodic voice' – well anticipates its later, dominant reference to 'to express, describe or eulogize with a literary piece.' An early example marking this semantic development is the phrase *wén yǒng wù yǐ xíngzhī* 文詠物以行之[45] from the "Chǔ yǔ" 楚語 [Discourses of Chǔ] in the *Guó yǔ*, which Wěi Zhāo 韋昭 (204–273) explained as:

> *Yǒng*, means 'to admonish.' [The sentence] means to advise and influence the [crown prince's] behaviors through the description of stories and objects with words and rhetoric.
> 詠，風也。謂以文辭風托事物以動行。[46]

Fěng 風 < *prəm-s is a phonetic loan for *fěng* 諷 with the *yán*-radical.

Up to this point we have achieved a brief overview of the semantic field denoting the oral presentation of poems (particularly those in the *Shī jīng*) in this early period. Concepts discussed, ranging from *fěng*, *sòng*, *yǒng*, to *gē*, are more or less interrelated. They are all suggesting a way of presenting a poem orally, with different degrees of musicality, and they tend to be imbued with political or didactic purposes.

There is a further concept that demonstrates an intimate relationship with the *Odes* in this early stage, that is, *fù* 賦 < **pjuH* < *p(r)a-s 'to proffer.' The earliest manifestation of that connection in the received literature comes from the "job description" of the *Tài shī* 大師 'Grand Musician' in the *Zhōu lǐ*:

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44 *Guó yǔ* 5.200.

45 *Guó yǔ* 17.486.

46 *Guó yǔ* 17.486.

> [The Grand Musician] teaches [his subordinate musicians] the six poems: called "Airs," called "exposition," called "comparison," called "metaphor," called "Elegantiae," called "Hymns."
> 教六詩：曰《風》，曰「賦」，曰「比」，曰「興」，曰《雅》，曰《頌》。[47]

The six constituents appear again in the "Dà xù" 大序 [Great Preface] subsumed under the so-called *liùyì* 六義 'six principles' of poetry. And *fù* in this context, as a noun, is usually understood as 'unfigured expressions' in the *Shī jīng*, which encompasses direct description, narration, explanation, etc.[48]

Another context in which *fù* is closely connected with poetry is the *fùshī yánzhì* 賦詩言志 'to present a poem to express one's intent' practice, which was an important diplomatic device during the Chūnqiū 春秋 'Spring and Autumn' period (770–476 BC).[49] It presupposes shared lore based on a shared oral corpus – which can vary from the received *Shī jīng* – so that the message metaphorically transported by the poem would get to the intended party. In appropriate cases, it would also receive a reply – a practice called *dáfù* 答賦 'to reply to the presentation (of a poem).' What remains contested, however, is whether *fù* indicates a specific mode of performing a (part of a) poem or not.

The *Zuǒ zhuàn* preserves many lively examples of *fù shī*. Let us restrict ourselves here to some cases where an indecent reception of the *fù shī* is emphasized:

> Níngwǔ of Wèi came to Lǔ on a mission of friendly inquiries. The Duke was feasting with him, and had the "Heavy Lies the Dew" and the "Red Bows" *presented* on his account. He did not protest against these odes, nor did he make answer with any other.
> 衛甯武子來聘，公與之宴，爲賦《湛露》及《彤弓》。不辭，又不答賦。[50]

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47 *Zhōu lǐ* 23.717.

48 See e.g. Owen (1992: 45–46).

49 For more on the practice of *fù* and *fùshī yánzhì*, see minimally, Heidebüchel (1993); Schmölz (1993); Zēng Qínliáng (1993); Máo Zhènhuá (2006, 2011); Li Wai-Yee (2014).

50 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 18.579; see Legge (1960b: 239) for the translation, slightly amended.

> Qìng Fēng of Qí came to Lǔ on a friendly mission. [...] Shūsūn gave the envoy an entertainment, at which he did not behave himself respectfully. The host *presented,* with reference to him, the "Look at a Rat," but Qìng Fēng did not understand the meaning.
> 齊慶封來聘。[……]叔孫與慶封食，不敬。爲賦《相鼠》，亦不知也。[51]

> Huá Dìng of Sòng came to Lǔ on a complimentary mission, on behalf of the ruler [of Sòng] to open communications. [The duke] gave him an entertainment, and the "Long is the Southernwood" was *presented orally* to him, but he did not understand it, and *presented* nothing in reply.
> 宋華定來聘，通嗣君也。享之，爲賦《蓼蕭》，弗知，又不答賦。[52]

Meanwhile, there are cases where the mode of presentation of poems on diplomatic occasions is made clear with the concepts discussed previously, including the story concerning the Musician Cáo, who volunteered to *sòng* rather than to *gē* the last stanza of "Qiǎoyán" 巧言 [Artful Words] quoted above, as well as the following:

> Mùshū went to Jìn, in return for the friendly mission of Zhì Wǔzǐ. The Marquis gave him an entertainment; and when the bells gave the signal, [there were sung] three pieces of the "Sì xià", but he made no bow in acknowledgment. The musicians then sang the "King Wén" and the other two [beginning pieces in the first section of the "Greater Elegantiae"]; but neither did he bow in acknowledgement of these. They sang finally the first three pieces in the "Deer Cry" Section, in acknowledgment of which he bowed three times.

51 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 38.1211; see Legge (1960b: 532) for the translation, slightly amended.

52 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 45.1489; see Legge (1960b: 639) for the translation, slightly amended.

穆叔如晉，報知武子之聘也，晉侯享之，金奏《肆夏》之三，不拜，工歌《文王》之三，又不拜，歌《鹿鳴》之三，三拜。[53]

Shūsūn Mùzǐ ritually feasted Qìng Fēng, at which he scattered the sacrificial thank-offerings about. Mùzǐ was displeased, and made the musicians *metrically recite* for him the "Máo chī" (a lost ode), but he did not perceive the meaning.
叔孫穆子食慶封，慶封氾祭。穆子弗說，使工爲之誦《茅鴟》，亦不知。[54]

A prevailing view has been that *fù* means to *sòng* rather than to *gē*, drawing on a passage from the *Hàn shū* 漢書 [Book of the Hàn], which presumably quotes from a more archaic *zhuàn* 傳 'tradition':

The *Tradition* reads: "Not to sing, but rather to recite metrically, is called *fù*; those who are able to *fù* when rising, can be appointed to be grand officers."
《傳》曰：「不歌而誦謂之賦，登高能賦可以爲大夫。」[55]

Controversies concerning this statement allow only for a rough literal translation. The following points of contention need to be spelled out: (1) whether the quote contradicts the viewpoint which equalizes *gē* and *sòng*; (2) whether the phrase *bù gē ér sòng* 不歌而誦 'not to sing but to recite metrically' is a plausible definition of the mode of *fù*;[56] (3) whether the *dēng gāo néng fù* 登高能賦 'be able to *fù* when

53 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 29.951; see Legge (1960b: 423) for the translation, slightly amended. According to commentaries, *jīnzòu* 金奏 also means that the musicians were singing the pieces, accompanied by metal instruments (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 29.951). In the narration of the same instance in the "Lǔ yǔ" 魯語 [Discourses of Lǔ] from the *Guó yǔ*, when Mùshū explained his behavior, he mentioned *jīn líng xiāo yǒng gē jí* "Lù míng" *zhī sān* 今伶簫詠歌及《鹿鳴》之三 'now the musicians drew out (the sounds on) the panpipes when the singing reached three poems from the "Deer Cry" section' (*Guó yǔ* 5.179). Both are precious descriptions of the musical performances of the *Odes*, as well as indications of the modes of *fù shī*.

54 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 38.1243; see Legge (1960b: 542) for the translation, slightly amended.

55 *Hàn shū* 30.1755.

56 An interpretation of this short line is not as easy to arrive at as it seems. Liú Kūnyōng, e.g., raises the question: why, if the line means that *fù* is *sòng*, is the negation *bù gē* 不歌 'not to sing' necessary? Alternatively, does the *bù gē* (*ér sòng*) indicate

rising' is a paraphrase of the *shēng gāo néng fù* 升高能賦 'be able to *fù* when rising' in the Máo commentary on the *Shī jīng*;[57] (4) opinion also differs in whether *dēng gāo* means to climb the mountains (and to be stirred by the view) or, in a more symbolic usage, means to ascend the court (and to attend the diplomatic communications mentioned above); (5) whether, then, *fù* refers to improvising, or to presenting verses from the *Odes*;[58] (6) whether – if it means to improvise – the new composition is a poem, or rather, a *fù* 'rhapsody' – referring to the dominant literary genre of the Hàn named with this identical character.[59]

Liú Kūnyōng makes the interesting observation that in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, when the *Odes* are presented on diplomatic occasions, *fù* is only used if the subject is a nobleman, while *sòng* and *gē* appear with musicians. Liú has come to the conclusion that "the main difference between *fù*, *sòng*, and *gē* lies in the class of their protagonists, rather than in their modes."[60] However, I am rather inclined to think that *fù* implies the initiative of the presentation of poetry. On a diplomatic occasion, only the noblemen

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the existence of further modes of *jì gē ér sòng* 既歌而誦 'to sing and to recite metrically,' *gē ér bù sòng* 歌而不誦 'to sing but not to recite metrically,' *bù gē bù sòng* 不歌不誦 'neither to sing nor to recite metrically' (meaningless) (Liú Kūnyōng 2007: 126). On top of that, a different version of this line is cited in the traditional commentary: *bù gē ér sòng yì yuē fù* 不歌而誦亦曰賦 'not to sing, but rather to recite metrically,' is *also* called *fù*' (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 3.91). Moreover, Zhāng Yíbīn holds that the *bù gē* seems to contradict *pìngwèn gēyǒng* 聘問歌詠 'singing [odes] on diplomatic visits' in the later elaboration of this sentence in the same passage. He claims that the "self-contradiction" within the passage is the historian's faithful record of uses of *fù* in his time (Zhāng Yíbīn 2006). Indeed, the complete passage does not demonstrate a consistent usage of *fù*.

57 From the "Dìng zhī fāng zhōng" 定之方中 [When (the Constellation) Dìng was at the Zenith] in the "Yōng fēng" 鄘風 [Airs of Yōng] section (*Shī jīng* [2] 3.236, translation of the title from Karlgren 1974: 33). It appears in the context of Máo's introducing the nine competences expected from a noble officer, which is believed to be a citation from a more ancient text (Wú Chéngxué 2016: 116). Chéng Qiānfān 程千帆 (1913–2000), e.g., proposed that the first part of Bān Gù's 班固 (32–92) quotation – the *bù gē ér sòng wèizhī fù* – should have preceded the *zhuàn yuē* 'the tradition reads' in the original version of the text, which derived from the *Bié lù* 別錄 [Separate Records] by Liú Xiàng 劉向 (77–6 BC), as suggested in the *Wénxīn diāolóng*. Following this reading, it emerges that the *zhuàn* refers to the Máo tradition (Chéng Qiānfān 2001: 110–111, n. 1), and that the *fù* accordingly refers to the diplomatic activities mentioned above.

58 See Wú Chéngxué (2016: 122–123) for an overview of the contested opinions on (4) and (5).

59 Luò Yùmíng, e.g., holds that the name of the literary genre develops from the *fù* as a mode of oral presentation (which he believes to be *sòng*) (Luò Yùmíng 1983: 36–38). See also Kern (2003).

60 Liú Kūnyōng 2007: 128.

were entitled to engage in the communication, while the musicians were commanded to perform the assigned poem, so as to pass on the message.[61] In the latter case, the exact mode of performance is at times rendered transparent – it is in this way that *fù, sòng*, and *gē* are relevant to the status of the presenters.[62] And in this sense, we can comprehend yet another usage of *fù*, which foreshadows its denotation as 'to improvise.' Hence we better understand, for example, the *fù* by the Duke Zhuāng 莊 of Zhèng 鄭 (r. 744–701 BC) and even one by his mother – demonstrating that a noble *female* can *fù* – when they were reconciled in the tunnel.[63] Also, we see that the people of Wèi 衛 *fù* the epithalamium "Shuòrén" 碩人 [A Stately Lady],[64] and the people of Qín 秦 *fù* the ode "Huángniǎo" 黃鳥 [Yellow Birds] for the three talented youths who were buried alive;[65] and so on.

The connotation of "initiating" *fù* might be rooted in the meaning of the phonophoric *wǔ* 武 < *m(r)aʔ 'to attack.'[66] The performative dimension of *fù* can also be traced in *wǔ*, which refers to wild and

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61 See the frequently quoted commentary by Kǒng Yǐngdá on the story about Níngwǔ of Wèi (p. 20): "The [*Zuǒ*] *Tradition* purposefully said 'to make a presentation,' [from which we] know it was the duke who on purpose commanded the musicians to sing the two pieces, to show what he had on his mind" (*Zhuàn tèyún "wéifù," zhī gōng tèmìng yuérén gē cǐ èr piān yǐ shìyì yě* 《傳》特云「爲賦」，知公特命樂人歌此二篇以示意也) (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 18.579).

62 I think Liú goes a bit too far in restricting the use of *gē* and *sòng* to commoners (*dàzhōng* 大眾), and in connecting them with the *yěsòng* 野誦 'folklore' in the "Sòng zàn" 頌讚 [Hymns and Eulogy] chapter in the *Wénxīn diāolóng* (2.157) (Liú Kūnyōng 2007: 128). *Gē* and *sòng* used in the same text as *fù* refer to specific mode(s) of performing the *Odes* (more or less). And based on their connotations, *gē* and *sòng*, in general, might be applicable to more contexts, but they were not exclusive to lower-class people, if we just consider how the chief musician taught the aristocratic students to *sòng* (p. 14). Further, consider in the "Níngwǔ of Wèi" story, that *fù* was included in the job description of the grand musician (although the exact relationship of the two verbal references to *fù* is not yet clear); and, in the case cited above, where the blind musician did indeed *fù* (*sǒu fù* 瞍賦), but of course, there persists the problem of dating these materials.

63 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 2.64.

64 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 3.91; *Shī jīng* no. 57. See Behr (2006) for the epigraphic afterlife of this epithalamium.

65 *Zuǒ zhuàn* 19a.588; *Shī jīng* no. 131.

66 *Wǔ* is explained with *fá* 伐 'to attack,' e.g. in the *Guǎn zǐ* 管子 [Master Guǎn] ([2] 23.473) and in the *Chūnqiū fánlù* 春秋繁露 [Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn] (1.12). For the relationship between *wǔ* and *fù* see Jiǎ Jìnhuá (2004). On the question of the OC reconstructions of *wǔ* and *fù*, see Starostin (2015).

loud martial actions, denotes percussion instruments involved in warfare and beyond, designates military music, and is also related to dances (deriving from the meaning 'step').

By now we have had a glimpse of concepts denoting the oral performance of poetry primarily in the pre-Qín period. A thorough understanding of the modes they represent is hardly achievable here, but we can venture the following tentative summary of their interrelations:

(1) *fěng* is used as a gloss for *sòng* and vice versa, but it is less musical than *sòng*;

(2) *sòng* is at times dichotomized against *gē*, while interchangeable with it in other instances; but, if accompanied by instrumental music, *sòng* does not accord with the melody to the same degree as *gē*;

(3) *gē* is used as a gloss for *yǒng* and vice versa; if they appear together, the former tends to be a noun, the latter a verb that elaborates on the former;

(4) *yǒng* implies the intention, or function, of the presentation/performance, in which sense it is further connected with *fěng* and *sòng*;

(5) *fù*, as a verb, primarily refers to the presentation of poetry on specific occasions, with special diplomatic functions, and it can be in the mode of *sòng* or *gē* (etc.);

(6) *fù*, as a noun, is juxtaposed with *fēng* 'air' (near-homophonous with *fěng* in OC) and *sòng* 頌 < *s-[ɢ]oŋ-s 'hymn' (near-homophonous with *sòng* 誦), and *fù* and *sòng* often appear in pairs in later periods.

Similar or different may they be: all of these words can appear in collocation with *shī*, and can refer to the oral, usually musical, presentation of poetry. But notice, crucially, that *yín* is excluded from this semantic field.

1.2. THE "UNFAMILIAR" *YÍN*

In the SW, *yín* is glossed as *shēn* 呻 < **syin* < *l̥i[n] 'to moan' or *tàn* 歎 < **than* < *n̥ˤar 'to sigh.'[67]

67 SW (1) 2a.34; 2a.179. For the version in which *tàn* serves as the gloss of *yín*, see SW ([2] 2232).

> It takes "mouth" as the radical and derives its reading from *jīn*. In some cases, it is written with the "sound" radical; in other cases, with the "speech" radical.
> 從口今聲。吟或從音，或從言。[68]

The interchangeability of *kǒu* 口 'mouth,' *yīn* 音 'sound' and *yán* 言 'speech' as semantic elements in phono-semantic characters is typical before the writing system became stabilized.[69] Except for the variant forms 訡 and 訡 suggested by the SW, in pre-Qín texts *yín* is interchangeable with its phonetic variant *yín* 唫 where the phonophoric *jīn* 今 < **kim* < *[k]r[ə]m 'now' is replaced by the (almost) near-homophonous *jīn* 金 < *k(r)[ə]m 'bronze, metal.' It is glossed as *kǒují* 口急 'lockjaw (in colloquial language)' in the SW,[70] and according to the *Guǎng yùn* 廣韻 [Extended Segmented Rimes] (henceforth as GY), the corresponding reading is *jìn* < **gimX* < *[g](r)[ə]mʔ.[71] A further relevant character is *jìn* 噤 < **gimH* < *[g](r)[ə]m-s, glossed as *kǒu bì* 口閉 'mouth closed' in the SW,[72] while under its rising-tone reading (**gimX*) homophonic with 唫, it is glossed as *hán ér kǒu bì* 寒而口閉 'mouth closed out of cold' in the GY.[73]

The eminent modern philologist Qiú Xīguī has pointed out that the 今 – the phonophoric of *yín* – is also the original form of *yín*, in the meaning of 'mouth-closed.' The attested forms in the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions include  and  etc.,[74] which may be viewed as an inverted *yuē* 曰 'to

68 SW (1) 2a.34.

69 See e.g. Gāo Míng (1996: 135–136).

70 SW (1) 2a.31. SW (2) 2128.

71 GY 329.

72 SW (1) 2a.31.

73 GY 329. The Míng dynasty scholar Fāng Yǐzhì 方以智 (1579–1671), in his encyclopedic monograph *Tōng yǎ* 通雅 [Exploring the Refined], claimed that "in ancient times, *jìn*, *jìn* and *yín* were interchangeably used (*gǔ jìn jìn yín suí yòng* 古噤唫吟隨用) (*Tōng yǎ* 18).

74 Graphs from Sūn Hǎibō (1934: 238) and Róng Gēng (1985: 363) respectively.

say,' evolved from an inverted *kǒu* 口, symbolizing 'mouth closed, (as a consequence of which) not letting out air.'[75]

There is a story that has aroused interest among phonologists since pre-modern times,[76] about the servant Dōngguō Yóu's 東郭郵 (n.d.) correctly inferring the target of attack plotted by Duke Huán 桓 of Qí 齊 (d. 643 BC) and his model minister Guǎn Zhòng 管仲 (d. 645 BC), based on the observation that:

> The two of you, Sir, [...] had your mouths open instead of closed, you were then speaking of Jǔ.
> 二君[……]口開而不闔，是言莒也。[77]

> You, Sir, had your mouth gaping open instead of mumbling, so the word you spoke was Jǔ.
> 君呿而不唫，所言者莒也。[78]

Comparing the first version from the *Guǎn zǐ* and the second from the *Lǚshì chūnqiū*, it becomes clear that 唫 is a surrogate for mouth-*hé* 闔 'closed.'[79] There is probably a graphic pun involved in choosing

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75 Qiú Xīguī 1988: 13–16.

76 See e.g. the discussion in the *Yánshì jiāxùn* 顏氏家訓 [Family Instructions of the Yán Clan] (7.554).

77 *Guǎn zǐ* (1) 16.278, see Rickett (1985: 2.199) for the translation, slightly amended. Many scholars tend to believe that the book was written by Guǎn Zhòng and his immediate followers, but the book demonstrates references and the style of later periods as well (see W. Allyn Rickett's "Kuan tzu 管子" in Loewe [1993: 246–249]).

78 *Lǚshì chūnqiū* 呂氏春秋 [Annals of Master Lǚ] 18.8. The book was compiled in about 239 BC (see Michael Carson / Michael Loewe's "Lü shih ch'un ch'iu 呂氏春秋" in Loewe [1993:324]).

79 There is a further version in the *Hán shī wàizhuàn* 韓詩外傳 [Exoteric Traditions of the Hán Version of the Odes] dated to ca. 150 BC (see James R. Hightower's "*Han shih wai chuan* 韓詩外傳" in Loewe [1993: 125–126]), reading "[h]is Highness [...] had his mouth opened and did not close. His tongue was raised and did not fall. That is how I knew it is to be *jǔ*" (*jūn* [...] *kǒu zhāng ér bù yǎn, shé jǔ ér bù xià, shì yǐ zhī qí jǔ yě* 君[……]口張而不掩，舌舉而不下，是以知其莒也) (*Hán shī wàizhuàn* 4.134; see Hightower (1952: 129) for the translation, slightly amended). This description closely resembles that of

the form with the phonetic element 'metal'-*jīn* over the 'now'-*jīn*. The two "dots" in *lǚ* 呂 < **ljoX* < *[r]aʔ 'aluminum,' the phonophoric of the name of the state *jǔ* 莒 < **kjoX* < *k.raʔ, appearing as  in the early Western Zhōu period, appears also in the archaic form of 金, as  , symbolizing two lumps of ore.[80] On the phonetic level, the sentence seems to play as "close/open ablaut" on the paronomastic proximity between *kʰˤ(r)oʔ 口 and *k.raʔ 莒.[81]

In the *Shuō yuàn* 說苑 [Garden of Tales] compiled by Liú Xiàng of the Western Hàn (202 BC–8), the pair *qū* 呿 < **khja* < *[kʰ](r)aj 'to open (the mouth)' and 唋 are replaced by *xū* 吁 < **xju* < *qʷʰ(r)a and 吟.[82]

This *yín* (*jìn*) denoting 'mouth-closed' is related to physical illness, in particular with speech impairment. As mentioned above, 唋 is glossed as 'lockjaw' in the SW. Further, *yín* (*jìn*) is connected with *speechlessness*.

In the early texts on Chinese medicine in the *Huángdì nèijīng* 黃帝內經 [The Yellow Emperor's Inner Classics], the dichotomy of *qū* and *yín* in the *Sù wèn* 素問 [Basic Questions] and a largely overlapped chapter in the *Tài sù* 太素 [The Grand Basis][83] are symptoms of depletion and repletion.[84]

Gōngsūn Lóng 公孫龍 (ca. 320–ca. 250 BC) in the "Qiūshuǐ" 秋水 [Autumn Floods] chapter in the *Zhuāng zǐ* 莊子 [Master Zhuāng], who, reportedly, turned "mouth agape and tongue-tied" in consternation (Mair 1994: 164) (i.e., *kǒu qū ér bù hé, shé jǔ ér bùxià* 口呿而不合，舌舉而不下 lit. 'had his mouth opened instead of closed, and his tongue raised instead of in a low position') (*Zhuāng zǐ* 6b.603).

80 Liú Chuánbīn, e.g., argues that is a special form of 金 (2014).

81 Pulleyblank 1965. Pre-modern commentators suggested an alternative interpretation of the story, that the open mouths of the duke and Guǎn Zhòng are signifying the two *kǒu* 口 constituents of the character *jǔ* 莒. But such graphic correlation could not have been valid until the mid-Western Hàn (i.e., not during the lifetime of Guǎn Zhòng or the *Guǎn zǐ* authors), as 口 arrived at its current form – a completely closed "box" – only since the clerical script was introduced.

82 *Shuō yuàn* 13.316.

83 For the relationship between the two of the four books prefixed by the title *Huángdì nèijīng*, which share a considerable amount of overlapping contents, see e.g. Keegan (1988: 29–31), and Nathan Sivin's "*Huang ti nei ching* 黃帝內經" in Loewe (1993: 196–199).

84 *Huángdì nèijīng* (4) 4.108; Xiè Yùfán 1985: 40–41; Unschuld et al. 2011: 425, n. 25. The question of how to interpret this mention of *yín* is contentious. The Táng dynasty annotator Wáng Bīng 王冰 (710–805) glossed *qū* with *qiànqū* 欠呿 'to yawn,' and *yín* with *yíntàn* 吟嘆 'to sigh' (*Huángdì nèijīng* [1] 8.2). Qiú Xīguī, who traces the relationship between *qū* and *yín* to the

"Róng Chéng shì" 容成氏 [The Lineage Róng Chéng], the longest text among the Shànghǎi Museum bamboo-slip manuscripts dated to around the fourth century BC, contains a 唫 (on slip #2) and its variant form 誫 (#37), both of which are juxtaposed with *lóng* 聾 'deaf,' and are hence interpreted as *yīn* 喑 < **ʔim* < *[q](r)əm 'dumb.'[85]

In the following passage from the *Mò zǐ*, presumably from roughly the same period,[86] there is the juxtaposition of *jìn* 唫, *yīn* 喑 and *bù yán* 不言 'not to speak':

> When subjects and subordinates do not speak out because they place great store in their rank and position, when those nearby lapse into silence, and those far away merely sigh aloud, then bitter resentment fills the people's hearts.
> 臣下重其爵位而不言，近臣則喑，遠臣則唫，怨結於民心，諂諛在側，善議障塞，則國危矣。[87]

The translation by John Knoblock (1938–1999) and Jeffrey Riegel quoted above differentiates *jìn* 'sigh

graphic contrast of their original forms – *qù* 去 'mouth-open' (*dà* 大 'big' above and 口 below) and 今 (Qiú Xīguī 1988: 13–14), regards Wáng Bīng's gloss of *yín* in this case as less plausible. Qiú points out *qū* and *yín* are apparently antonymous and hence *yín* in this case should denote *bì* 閉 'closed.' He further agrees with the modern interpretation of the combination of *qūyín* as referring to *hū xī zhī wēi dòng* 呼吸之微動 'small movements of breathing' (Qiú Xīguī 1988: 15; *Huángdì nèijīng* [5] 8.349, n. 6). The problem probably lies in whether it is *yín* or *jìn*, i.e., whether this 吟 involves *aspiration*, and further, whether it is *sonorant*. The Suí-Táng commentator Yáng Shàngshàn's 楊上善 (585–670), however, glossed *qū* in the collocation *qūyín* as *lùchǐ chūqì* 露齒出氣 'to exhale with teeth shown' (*Huángdì nèijīng* [2] 19.124). By contrast, *yín* might well combine the meaning 'mouth-closed' with 'to exhale.' Xiè Yùfán, e.g., explains *qūyín* as *bìngrén tòngkǔ shēnyín de shēngyīn* 病人痛苦呻吟的聲音 'the groaning of the patient in pain,' and *yín* as *bìkǒu fāchū de shēngyīn* 閉口發出的聲音 'sound made with a closed mouth' (1985: 40–41) – which can serve as a footnote to Wáng Bīng's *yíntàn*. Unschuld et al., in their English translation of the *Sù wèn*, go a step further, suggesting the production of speech (words) by *qūyín* (2011: 425), which appears questionable (see below).

85 *Róng Chéng shì* 94 and 129, as interpreted by Lǐ Líng (251 and 279).

86 For the dating, see A. C. Graham's "*Mo tzu* 墨子" in Loewe (1993: 337–338).

87 *Mò zǐ* (2) 1.13–14; see Knoblock/Riegel (2013: 43) for the translation.

aloud' and *yīn* 'silence.' It is nonetheless possible that *jìn* is equalized with *yīn*, and that they are both paraphrases of *bù yán*.

There are also paralleling cases from the Western Hàn:

> When the High Ancestors went into mourning, for three years they did not speak and all within the Four Seas were silent and voiceless. [But] as soon as a single word was uttered, [they] greatly moved the world. This is because they relied on their Heavenly Heart when opening and closing their mouths.
> 高宗諒暗，三年不言，四海之內寂然無聲。一言聲然，大動天下。是以天心呿唫者也。[88]

> You may be as wise as Shùn and Yǔ, but if you mumble and do not speak out, you are less use than a deaf-mute making gestures.
> 雖有舜禹之智，吟而不言，不如瘖聾之指麾也。[89]

In the first passage, from the *Huáinán zǐ* 淮南子 [Master from Huáinán], 唫 corresponds to *bù yán* and is related to *jìrán wúshēng* 寂然無聲 'silent and voiceless.' In the second passage, from the *Shǐ jì* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian], 吟 is paralleled with *bù yán*, and *jìn* 瘖 'dumb.'

The connotation of 'mouth-closed' and the connection with *bù yán* probably played a role in blocking *yín* from the domain of the S-terms. From the viewpoint of the reconstruction of OC morphology, the *m- prefix in the reading of *yín* < *m-q^{h}(r)[ə]m indicates volitional actions, but at the same time, it tends to reject objects.[90]

Indeed, the early occurrences of *yín* from the pre-Qín period are rarely followed by objects (i.e., the *content* of this *vocalization*).

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88 *Huáinán zǐ* 20.1375, translation from Major et al. (2010: 796).

89 *Shǐ jì* 92.2625, translation from Watson (1971: 227), slightly amended.

90 Jīn Lǐxīn 2005: 76; Baxter/Sagart 2014: 123.

For instance, when *yín* appears in the following passage from the *Sīmǎ fǎ* 司馬法 [Methods of the Minister of War], conventionally dated to the fourth century BC[91]:

> Excessive arrogance, excessive fear, groaning and shouting [without good reasons], worrying and dreading, regretting whatever has been done – these are called damaged and broken.
> 驕驕，懾懾，吟嚝，虞懼，事悔，是謂毀折。[92]

it is nominalized and paired with *hōng* 嚝 – glossed as *zé shēng* 嘖聲 'the sound of clucking' in the Southern dynasties dictionary *Yù piān* 玉篇 [Jade Chapters].[93] *Yínhōng*, interpreted as *shēnyín xuānhōng* 呻吟喧嚝 'to groan and to clamor,' *tàn* 嘆 or *jiēyuàn zhī shēng* 嗟怨之聲 'sound of complaining,'[94] is juxtaposed with the other disyllabic collocations subsumed under *huǐshé* 毀折 'damaged and broken.'

In the "Yáng quán" 揚權 [Wielding Power][95] chapter of the *Hán Fēi zǐ* 韓非子 [Master Hán Fēi], which is generally believed to derive from Hán Fēi's 韓非 (ca. 280–ca. 233 BC) own hand, we see:[96]

> Now that the sons of the side household abound, the son of the main household is worrying and sighing.

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91 See "*Sun tzu ping fa* 孫子兵法" by Krzysztof Gawlikowski and Michael Loewe, in Loewe (1993: 449).

92 *Sīmǎ fǎ* (2) 3.115.

93 *Yùpiān* 1014. In a variant version *hōng* is written as *kuàng* 曠 'desolate, waste,' which Liú Zhòngpíng's 劉仲平 (1911–1990) interpreted as 'wasting time in idleness' (*Sīmǎ Fǎ* [1] 3.76, n. 30).

94 *Sīmǎ fǎ* (2) 3.118, n. 4.

95 See Ludahl (1992: 202) for the translation of the title, who, however, seems to prefer the alternative title "Yáng Què" 揚搉 [An Outline of Governing Principles].

96 For the dating see "*Han fei tzu* 韓非子" by Jean Levi in Loewe (1993: 116–117).

公子既眾，宗室憂吟。[97]

What is apparent in these passages is only the negative implication of *yín*, as is suggested in the interrelated glosses in the SW.

In the *Xìng zì mìng chū* 性自命出 [Nature Derives from Endowment] in the Guōdiàn 郭店 bamboo-slips corpus, excavated from a fourth-century BC Chǔ 楚 tomb, there is a graph transcribed as 懿,[98] which is interpreted as *yín*.[99] It appears in the following context:

> In general, all anxiety when followed by thought becomes sorrow; in general, all pleasure followed by thought becomes happiness, for all thinking uses the heart very deeply. Sighing is the way of (expressing) thinking. When one's voice changes, one's heart follows. When one's heart changes, one's voice also follows. Groaning proceeds from sorrow. Cheering proceeds from joy. Murmuring proceeds from the voice. Singing proceeds from the heart.
> 凡憂思而後悲，凡樂思而後忻，凡思之用心為甚。歎，思之方也。其聲變，則（心從之）。其心變，則其聲亦然。吟，遊哀也。噪，遊樂也。啾，遊聲也。嘔，遊心也。[100]

This passage exemplifies a straightforward correlation between *yín* and *āi* 哀 'sorrow.' What's more, it closely resembles the paradigm of "the heart being stirred / emotion being evoked → production of sound" in canonized texts like the "Yuè jì":

> In all cases, the arising of music is born in the hearts of men. The movement of men's hearts is made so by [external] things. They are touched off by things and move, thus

97 See *Hán Fēi zǐ* (2.52).

98 *Guōdiàn* 180.

99 Liú Zhāo 2005: 90, 99; Lǐ líng 2007: 137, 141.

100 Chan 2019: 230–232.

> they take shape in [human] sound. Sounds respond to each other, and thus give birth to change. Change forms a pattern, and this is called music. The music is brought close and found enjoyable, and reaches the point of shields and axes, feathers and pennants, and this is called Music.
> 凡音之起，由人心生也。人心之動，物使之然也。感於物而動，故形於聲，聲相應，故生變，變成方，謂之音。比音而樂之，及干戚、羽旄，謂之樂。[101]

We see the juxtaposition of *yín* with *ōu* 謳 < **ʻɯw* < **qˤ(r)o 'to chorus,' a variant form of *ōu* 嘔 'to sing' in the *Xìng zì mìng chū*, also in the "Chǐmí" 侈靡 [Extravagance in Spending], the longest chapter in the *Guǎn zǐ*:

> Making them feel safe in their districts and happy in their homes and permitting them to chant different hymns and praises while sacrificing to ancestors and spirits – these are means to preserve the customs of the people.
> 安鄉樂宅，享祭而謳吟稱號者皆誅[=殊]，所以留民俗也。[102]

There is more than one way to parse the sentence. Concerning *yín*, the difference lies in (1) whether it is a verb, paralleled with 謳, and even with *chēng* 稱 'to claim, to acclaim' and *háo* 號 'to howl,' or a noun, serving as the object of *ōu*; (2) whether *yín* is directly related to *xiǎngjì* 享祭 'to sacrifice';[103] (3) whether

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101 *Lǐjì* 37.1251; translation from Cook (1995: 24–25), slightly amended.

102 See *Guǎn zǐ* ([1] 12.199), translation from Rickett (1985: 2.319), and the punctuation follows the translation. The emendation of *zhū* 誅 < **tryu* < *tro 'to punish' as *shū* 殊 < **dzyu* < *[d]o 'different' is from Zhāng Pèilún's 張佩綸 (1848–1903). See a further possibility way of parsing the sentence in the *Guǎn zǐ* ([2] 12.689), where the compiler Lí Xiàngfèng 黎翔鳳 (1901–1979) suggested reading *chēngháo* as a nominal compound meaning 'title' or 'designation' (*Guǎn zǐ* [2] 12.695).

103 It is also possible to read *xiǎngjì* 享祭 as 'to be sacrificed,' under the predicate-object paradigm of *ānxiāng* 安鄉 'to be content with [their] counties,' *lèzhái* 樂宅 'to be happy in their homes,' *ōuyín* 謳吟 'to chorus *yín*' and *chēnghào* 稱號 'to claim a title.' This "unconventional" passive reading of the compound *xiǎngjì*, in which the subject becomes the recipient of the sacrifice ceremony, fits the context, suggesting that the people should live and die in the same place contentedly, without moving or migrating to other districts.

the *yín* is negatively viewed and whose subject will be executed (*zhū* 誅), or by contrast, the diversity (*shū* 殊) of which is advantageous. In the SW, *ōu* is glossed as *qígē* 齊歌, meaning either 'to sing together' or 'songs deriving from the Qí area."[104] Wáng Yì 王逸 (n.d.) of the Eastern Hàn, the compiler of the earliest complete annotated version of the *Chǔ cí* 楚辭 [Songs of Chǔ] extant, has a commentary on the phrase *ōu hé* "Yáng Ē" 謳和《揚阿》 'the singers' chorus "The Sunny Bank"' in the "Dàzhāo" 大招 [The Great Summoning], [105] stating that *túgē yuē ōu* 徒歌曰謳 'to sing without instrumental accompaniments is called *ōu*."[106] Whether being the nominal object of or a verbal parallel with *ōu*, and whether a negative implication persists, this *yín* seems to be *musical*. *Yín* does share the infix *-r- with *ōu*, which indicates "action involving a collective participant."[107] Moreover, if we read *yín* as being closely related to *xiǎngjì* here, that is, reading *xiǎngjì ér ōuyín* 享祭而謳吟 as a unit, this close relationship probably derives from the near homophone of *yín*, namely *xīn* 歆 < *[qʰ](r)əm 'to arouse sensual pleasure from smell and touch,' which is often paronomastically glossed by *xiǎng* 享 < *[qʰ]aŋʔ. Based on the near-homophonic relationship, 'to arouse sensual pleasure' may well have been one potential connotation of *yín*. The problem here, however, is that the "Chǐmí" belongs to the "notorious" *Guǎn zǐ* chapters whose dating has caused major controversy.[108] It might be safest to say, at this point, that the chapter consists of materials from different sources dated no later than the early Hàn.

The earliest occurrence of *shēnyín* extant also stems from a discussion of the origin of music in the *Lǚshì chūnqiū*, to the effect that, when society is in disorder,

> the people groan and sigh; but can this be considered to be music?
> 民人呻吟，其以為樂也，若之何哉？[109]

104 SW (1) 3a.53. See Yán Shīgǔ's 顏師古 (581–645) commentary in the *Hàn shū* (1a.30, n. 1).

105 *Chǔ cí* (1) 10.221, translation from Hawks 1985: 235.

106 *Chǔ cí* (1) 10.221.

107 See Sagart (1999b: 113).

108 See Rickett (1985: 2.297–304).

109 *Lǚshì chūnqiū* 5.6, translation from see Knoblock/Riegel (2000: 138).

There is a nice parallel between *yǒng* 永/詠 and *shēn* 申 < *l̥i[n] 'to stretch, expand'/呻 – the synonym of *yín*. The "drawn-out sound" of *shényín* may hence be relatively melodic, but is not to be viewed as "music" on moral grounds.

Gāo Huápíng has traced the etymological origin of *gē* 歌 < *[k]ˤaj to its radical *kě* 可 < *[k]ʰˤa[j]ʔ 'to approve,' which "originally denotes approving or replying in a soothing tone; and because this tone pleases the audience, it is then used to present the sound of singing."[110] This throws light on how the *yín* denoting the vocalization initiated under negative emotions has possibly become relevant to "music."

Still, when reading the following famous portrayal of Qū Yuán 屈原 (fourth century BC) in the "Yúfù" 漁父 [The Fisherman] poem of the *Chǔ cí*:

> After Qū Yuán was banished, he wandered, sometimes along the river's banks, sometimes along the marsh's edge, singing as he went. His expression was dejected and his features emaciated.
> 屈原既放，遊於江潭，行吟澤畔，顏色憔悴，形容枯槁。[111]

we have little evidence of understanding the *yín* as *yínsòng* 吟誦 'to cantillate and recite metrically."[112] The poet was immersed in negative feelings. He was probably sighing or humming with his lips pursed. While David Hawkes' (1923–2009) rendering of *yín* as 'singing' is possible, Cáo Yàoxiāng's 曹耀湘 (n.d.) interpretation of the word as *dànyǒu yuànzī ér bùnéng yán yě* 但有怨咨而不能言也 '[he] only

110 Gāo Huápíng 2014: 104.

111 *Chǔ cí* (1) 7.179, translation from Hawks 1985: 206.

112 As e.g. in *Chǔ cí* ([2] 7.760, n. 3).

grumbles and sighs but cannot utter a word'[113] seems more plausible[114] – but of course, the argument would be heavily based on the dating of the text.[115]

1.3. A "Familiar" *Yín*

A singular example from this early period, where *yín* conveys a *verbal content*, and, moreover, in the form of a *verse*, derives from the third chapter of the *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* 穆天子傳 [Biography of King Mù, Son of Heaven], dating from about 350 BC.[116] The direct context of *yín* is basically received in two different versions, which coincide in that the *yín* is followed by a verse of twelve tetrasyllabic lines:[117]

> the Spirit-Mother of the West, once more, sang for the King, saying
> 西王母又爲天子吟曰[118]

It was Xī wángmǔ 西王母 'Spirit-Mother of the West' who initiated the poem exchange at the banquet of King Mù 穆 of Zhōu 周 (956–918 BC), which began with the host's six-lined tetrasyllabic verse (*yáo* 謠), and was replied to (*dá* 答) by the guest with a verse of equal in length. *Yáo* < **yew* < *law is glossed as *túgē* in the *Ěr yǎ* 爾雅 [Approaching the Refined Expressions] of ca. the third century BC,[119] as well as

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113 *Mò zǐ* (1) 1.4.

114 Similarly, it appears unconvincing that the *Zì yuán* 字源 [Origin of Characters] authors claim that the original meanings of both *shēnyín* and *yín* are 'to cantillate, to recite,' and that 'to groan' is a later-developed meaning (Lǐ Xuéqín [2012: 92–93]), if we look into the early usages of *yín*.

115 The provenance of the "Yúfù" although conventionally ascribed to Qū Yuán is constantly called into question, and a dating to the Hàn dynasty is often suggested (see the "*Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭" by David Hawkes in Loewe [1993: 51]).

116 See Rémi Mathieu's "*Mu t'ien tzu chuan* 穆天子傳" in Loewe (1993: 342–343) for the dating. See also Behr (1999).

117 Gù Shí 顧實 (1878–1956) judged the verse to be a pure tetrasyllabic poem of the Zhōu period, by which he surmised that the Xī wángmǔ must belong to the Huá-Xià cultural sphere (*Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* [1] 3.154).

118 *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* (1) 3.159. For the translation of Xī wángmǔ, see Goldin (2002).

119 *Ěr yǎ* 5.175. See "*Erh ya* 爾雅" by W. South Coblin in Loewe (1993: 95–96) for the date.

in the SW. The *Yù piān* quotes SW, but glosses *yáo* as *dúgē* 獨歌 'solo singing.'[120] However, there persists the possibility that either *túgē* < **du-ka* < *[d]ˤa-[k]ˤaj or *dúgē* < **duwk-ka* <*[d]ˤok-[k]ˤaj has been mistaken, as the result of wrong phonetic segmentation, where the initial velar of the second syllable is attached also to the final of the preceding syllable in close juncture. The longest verse following *yín* appears thereafter. The juxtaposition of *yáo* and *yín* seems to suggest their similarity as modes of performing the verses, probably *improvised* on the spot.

But this version derives from Guō Pú's commentary on the *Shānhǎi jīng* 山海經 [The Classic of Mountains and Seas], which later commentators prefer to the following versions in the received *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn*:

> the people sang, *yōu*, and/to *yín*, [the words] saying
> 世民謠嚘以吟曰
>
> the people initiated, *yōu*, and/to *yín*, [the words] saying
> 世民作憂以吟曰[121]

It is indeed not easy to make sense of these two versions, where I have left *yōu* and *yín* preliminarily untranslated. The close occurrence of *yōu* 憂 'worry' and *yín* reminds us of the *yōuyín* in the *Hán Fēi zǐ* discussed above. Meanwhile, *yōu* < *ʔ(r)u can be a phonetic loan for *yōu* 嚘 < *ʔ(r)u with a mouth radical in the same *xiéshēng* 諧聲 series. The latter is glossed (1) as *zì* 欭 'to vomit, to sigh' in the *Cāngjié piān*, as cited by the *Jí yùn* 集韻 [Collected Rimes]; (2) as *yǔ wèidìng* 語未定 'anacoluthon' in the SW; (3) as *qìnì* 氣逆 'the flow of the air is reversed' – probably referring to a disease which causes a symptom like *zì* in (1) in the *Yù piān*; (4) as *tí jí wúshēng* 啼極無聲 'to sob uncontrollably and become voiceless' in Sīmǎ Biāo's 司馬彪 (240–306) commentary on the *Zhuāng zǐ*, which he claimed to be a conventional usage by the people of Chǔ.[122]

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120 *Yù piān* 6.1772.

121 *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* (2) 3.168–169, n. 32.

122 See SW ([2] 2.2201).

Here, we actually see that the 'mouth'-*yōu* shares similarities with *yín*: as words denoting the motions of the mouth, they both suggest a disability in speaking related to physical symptoms; and they both have a negative connotation. Hence, I would propose to read *yōu yǐ yīn* 嚘以吟 as an independent unit, that is, as an adverbial description of the poetic activity, rather than as verbs that directly trigger the verse that follows.[123] The two *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* versions, unlike the previous *Shānhǎi jīng* version, are not included in the exchange of poems between the king and Xī wángmǔ. Instead, the verse was produced by the people after Xī wángmǔ returned from the banquet. Therefore, the juxtaposition of *yáo – dá – yín* is not to be maintained either. The adverbial collocation *yōu yǐ yīn* can be understood as 'with a sigh, (nearly) unable to utter a word.' The reading matches well with the melancholic air of the verse, especially since, in comparison to the *Shānhǎi jīng* version, the verse in the two *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* versions has an additional *liútì* 流涕 'to cry."[124]

In sum, I would venture to say that the *Mù tiānzǐ zhuàn* versions exhibit a more "coherent" usage of *yín* in this period.[125] It is related to physical illness that causes the symptom of mouth-closed and speech impairment, and it derives from negative emotions that give rise to an exhalation, or a more sonorant expression, but not spoken in words.

* * *

But what if the *Shānhǎi jīng* version is authentic? How can we come to terms with this singular case exemplifying a direct connection between *yín* and "poetry"? I think the following tradition shrewdly observed by Mark G. Pitner can shed light on this question. In his essay of 2017, "Stuttered Speech and Moral Intent: Disability and Elite Identity Construction in Early Imperial China," Pitner points out that a series of important personages are described as *kǒu chī* 口吃 "disfluent, stuttering," and it seems that it is such an important quality that it earns a place in their biographies. Medical records of the same period show that there are different degrees of symptoms involved. Oftentimes they are curable, and even temporary, due to a sudden surge of negative emotions. Importantly, the symptoms do not necessarily affect one's capability for recitation, cantillation, or literary composition (of which the

123 *Yáo* and *zuò* serve as the verbs instead.

124 For an analysis of the rhyming and a translation of this verse see Behr (1999: 5–6).

125 It may therefore be advisable to revisit the *yōuyín* in the *Hán Fēi zǐ* with an implied understanding of the *yōu yǐ yīn*.

Western Hàn rhapsodist Sīmǎ Xiāngrú 司馬相如 [179–117 BC] is a well-known example). "Stuttering" seems to be viewed quite positively during this period, and it is connected with one's moral virtues, behaviors, and decisions in one's official life. *Bù yán* in this context means 'disfluent and ineloquent' (see the example of Zhōu Chāng 周昌 [d. ca. 191 BC]).[126] It seems to me that this tradition is suggestive of (though I am not sure whether connected to) the case of *yín*, under which a medical symptom (and more precisely, difficulty in vocalization), negative emotions, moral obligations, oral performance as well as literary capabilities are brought together.

126 Zhōu Chāng was among those staunchly against Emperor Gāozǔ 高祖 Liú Bāng's 劉邦 (256–195 BC) will to replace the heir apparent. When confronted with the question about his reasons, his response is described in the *Shǐ jì*: "Chang, who was a stutterer and also excessively angry, said, 'My mouth is unable to speak, nonetheless I know this *r-r-really* cannot be! Even though my lord wants to remove the heir apparent, I *r-r-really* will not submit to this order.'" (*Chāng wéirén chī, yòu shèngnù, yuē: "Chén kǒu bùnéng yán, rán chén qī-qī zhī qí bùkě. Bìxià suī yù fèi tàizǐ, chén qī-qī bù fèngzhào.* 昌為人吃，又盛怒，曰：「臣口不能言，然臣期期知其不可。陛下雖欲廢太子，臣期期不奉詔。」) The emperor's reaction, meanwhile, is "laughing with delight" (*xīnrán ér xiào* 欣然而笑) (see Pitner [2017: 707]).

2. TOWARD A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH POETRY

Of course, we may be gravely hampered in a fair understanding of *yín* in the pre-Qín period due to the scanty sources at our disposal. In the Hàn literature, *yín* "abruptly intruded into" the semantic realm denoting oral composition and performance of a musical or poetic text. Henceforth, down to the dawn of the Táng, the word holds a dynamic relationship with synonymous concepts from that semantic field and demonstrates a tendency toward a closer relationship with poetry.

Approaching the exclusive intimacy between *yín* and poetry that we have briefly seen in Táng poems, an important turn took place as early as in the Western Hàn period, when the collocation *yínyǒng* 吟詠 'to cantillate and prolong' is used in the "Dà xù" to denote the composition of *biànfēng* 變風 'mutated airs' and *biànyǎ* 變雅 'mutated elegantiae' in the *Shī jīng*:

> The historians of the states clearly understood the marks of success and failure; they were pained by the abandonment of proper human relations and lamented the severity of punishments and governance. They sang their feelings to criticize those above, understanding the changes that had taken place and thinking about former customs.
> 國史明乎得失之跡，傷人倫之廢，哀刑政之苛，吟詠情性以風其上，達於事變，而懷其舊俗者也。[127]

The importance of the "Dà xù" must have been responsible for the solidification and prevalence of the phrase *yínyǒng qíngxìng* 吟詠情性 'to cantillate and prolong one's feelings and disposition.' It stems from a passage that elaborates on the more archaic aphorism *shī yán zhì* 詩言志,[128] while it foreshadows the novel idea of *shī yuán qíng* 詩緣情 'poetry is born of pure emotion."[129] The two were eventually to become the fundamental definitions of (the nature and function of) poetry, which established the principle of poetic compositions for later ages. It is therefore not surprising that, to the Six dynasties

127 *Shī jīng* (2) 1.17–18; translation from Owen (1992: 47), slightly amended.

128 See above: the *fùshī yánzhì* is also relevant.

129 *Wén fù* 文賦 [Rhapsody on Literature] 99; see Chén Shìxiāng (1952: 23) for the translation, slightly amended.

(222–589) literary critic Zhōng Róng 鍾嶸 (?–518), *yínyǒng* was already an eligible substitution for *shī* 'poetry.'[130]

> Since Wáng [Càn], Yáng [Xióng], Méi [Shèng] [Sī]mǎ [Xiàngrú] and *e tutti quanti*, literati compete in crafting rhapsodies, while the cantillation and composition of [pentasyllabic] poetry are not to be heard. From the Commandant Lǐ [Líng] to Consort Bān Jiéyú[131] – for close to a hundred years, except for this woman, there was this single man [who composed pentasyllabic poems]. The tradition of *The Poet*[132] was breached at once.
> 自王、楊、枚、馬之徒，詞賦競爽，而吟詠靡聞。從李都尉迄班婕妤，將百年間，有婦人焉，一人而已。詩人之風，頓已缺喪。[133]

Not only did Zhōng Róng juxtapose *yínyǒng* with the literary genre *cífù* 辭賦 'rhapsody,' later on he also "defamiliarized" the term *shēnyín*:

> As for those born with a silver spoon in their mouth, they feel ashamed of imperfect compositions.[134] All morning they keep modifying and adorning minute details, and till midnight they are still cantillating and sighing over[135] their works. The products are

130 And, in particular, pentasyllabic poetry, which was the prevailing poetic form by Zhōng Róng's time, as well as the topic of his *Shī pǐn* 詩品 [Gradings of Poets] (see *Shī pǐn* ["Preface" 9, n. 3]).

131 48 BC–6.

132 *Shīrén* 詩人 'poet' here refers to the composers of the *Shī jīng* poems (see *Shī pǐn* ["Preface" 10, n. 8]).

133 *Shī pǐn*, "Preface" 8.

134 I.e., poems (see *Shī pǐn* ["Preface" 33, n. 10]).

135 The commentary on the *Shī pǐn* quotes the identical term in the *Zhuāng zǐ* to explain this *shēnyín* (*Shī pǐn* "Preface,"33–34, n. 12), which Guō Xiàng 郭象 (252–312) equated with *yínyǒng*. We will see in our discussion below that the *shēnyín* in the *Zhuāng zǐ* is more about "reading," while the *shēnyín* here is more about "composing."

> masterpieces in their own opinion; in the eyes of the public, however, their compositions turn out to be flat and ordinary.
> 至於膏腴子弟，恥文不逮，終朝點綴，分夜呻吟。獨觀謂爲警策，眾視終淪平鈍。[136]

Here, *shēnyín* implies a very harsh process of poetic composition, which features repetitive revision, probably through constant chanting, singing, and sighing, for a long period of time. In the petition by Lǐ È 李諤 (n.d.) of the Suí 隋 dynasty (581–618), even *yínyǒng* departs from its positive connotation – as representative of the *shīrén zhī fēng* 詩人之風 'tradition of *The Poet*' – and becomes synonymous with this *shēnyín*:

> In the south of the lower reaches of the Chángjiāng River, during Qí and Liáng dynasties, this unhealthy literary trend has come to an extreme. The noble and the humble, the virtuous and the ignorant, all were engaged only with composing and cantillating poems [of this style]. On this account they in turn discarded the reasoned and maintained the abnormal, searched for the insubstantial and pursued the infinitesimal, competing for the irregularity of a single rhyme, and vying for the ingenuity of a single character.
> 江左齊、梁，其弊彌甚，貴賤賢愚，唯務吟詠。遂復遺理存異，尋虛逐微，競一韻之奇，爭一字之巧。[137]

Yínyǒng became specialized in depicting the brain-racking process of composing poems in the then-prevalent poetic style, which elevates the craftedness of the language to the top priority. From the *yínyǒng* in the "Dà xù" to that employed by Lǐ È, a "tightening-up" of the bond between the term and

136 *Shī pǐn* "Preface" 32.

137 Known as the "Shàngshū zhèng wéntǐ" 上書正文體 [Presenting a Petition to Correct the Literary Form] (*Suí shū* 隋書 [Book of the Suí] 66.1544–1545).

poetry is detectable: *yínyǒng* becomes independent from its moral overtone and develops into being equivalent to poetry and poetic composition.

Yet, our question remains, how did this happen? Why was *yín* invited into this picture already heavily painted with plentiful S-terms?

2.1. "FAVORABLE" QUALITIES OF *YÍN*

2.1.1. The morally paradigmatic yín

The similarity between *yín* and *fēng*|*fěng* must partly explain the formation of the term *yínyǒng qíngxìng*. Examples from pre-Qín texts suggest that *yín*, like *fěng*, is reflective of and hence advisory to governance. That connection appears vivid in the discussion of the cure of twelve symptoms (in a symbolic sense) of a ruler in the *Hán shī wàizhuàn*, where the treatment of the symptom *fēng* – referring to a disease related to cold and fever, and here clearly also a pun on *fěng*[138] – is described as follows:

> He does not give the people an excuse to sing abusive songs.
> 無使百姓歌吟誹謗。[139]

What may also anticipate the *yínyǒng* in the "Dà xù" is that *yín* has been assigned to a virtuous and educated person, who, in particular, is routinely dubbed the "first" poet: Qū Yuán.[140] In later literature, *xíngyín* seems therefore more or less allusive to this exemplary figure, who, although banished,

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138 See Hightower (1952: 85, n. 12; 86, n. 21). The "Dà xù" also addresses this term which is helpful here: *shàng yǐ fēng huà xià, xià yǐ fēng cì shàng, zhǔ wén ér juéjiàn, yánzhīzhě wúzuì, wénzhīzhě zúyǐ jiè, gùyuē fēng* 上以風化下，下以風刺上，主文而譎諫，言之者無罪，聞之者足以戒，故曰風 'By *fēng* those above transform those below; also by *fēng* those below criticize those above. When an admonition is given that is governed by patterning (*wén*), the one who speaks it has no culpability, yet it remains adequate to warn those who hear it. In this we have *fēng*' (translation from Owen [1992: 46]). Note that the *fēng* in the "Dà xù" is "bi-directional."

139 *Hán shī wàizhuàn* 3.92, translation from Hightower (1952: 86). A similar example is the *jīn mín jiē ōuyín sī hàn* 今民皆謳吟思漢 'now, the common people are all singing [bitterly] in chorus, thinking of the [overthrown Western] Hàn dynasty,' in the *Hàn shū* (70a.4207), which may help us understand the *ōuyín* above.

140 Note again that we are not absolutely sure whether this *xíngyín* in the *Chǔ cí* predates the *yínyǒng* in the "Dà xù."

performed the action of *yín* in keeping with his deep concern about his homeland. *Yín*, therefore, implies loyalty, and more importantly, the quality of keeping one's virtue while in predicaments.

The "loyal" aspect of *yín* is reinforced by a story narrated by Chén Zhěn 陳軫 (n.d., of a similar period as Qū Yuán), as described in the *Zhànguó cè* 戰國策 [Stratagems of the Warring States], compiled by Liú Xiàng. On his mission to the state of Qín the Chǔ , where envoy Chén Zhěn used to serve, he was confronted with a question raised by the King of Qín about his loyalty to Qín. Chén told the story in reply, that a man from the Wú 吳 region came to win the preference of the King of Chǔ, but in his illness, he performed *Wú yín* 吳吟, lit. 'Wú gasping/singing."[141] In the *Shǐ jì*, the protagonist of the story is identified as Zhuāng Xì 莊舄 (n.d., Warring States period) from Yuè 越, who was appointed to the highest rank, *zhíguī* 執珪 'Baton Holder ([lit.] holder of a jade tablet symbolic of office),' in Chǔ. *Yín* is substituted by *shēng* 聲 'sound' in the *Shǐ jì* text (as *Yuè shēng* 越聲, lit. 'sound of Yuè,' juxtaposed with *Chǔ shēng* 楚聲, lit. 'sound of Chǔ').[142] Later on, "Zhuāng Xì *yín*" or "Yuè *yín*" became fixed expressions allusive to this story. We see this, for example, in the "Dēnglóu fù" 登樓賦 [Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower] by Wáng Càn 王粲 (177–217), who ranks first among the *Jiàn'ān qīzǐ* 建安七子 'seven scholars in the *Jiàn'ān era.*"[143]

> Zhōng Yí was imprisoned and still he played a tune from Chǔ, Zhuāng Xì was eminent and yet he sang in the tone of Yuè.
> 鍾儀幽而楚奏兮，莊舄顯而越吟。[144]

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141 *Zhànguó cè*, "Qín cè" 秦策 [Stratagems of Qín] 2.

142 *Shǐ jì* 70.2301–2302. *Wú yín* and *Chǔ shēng*, as we will see below, are both referring to music of regional styles. But in the case where their subject suffered from an illness, I doubt whether these terms bear musical implications.

143 Wáng Càn was dubbed *qīzǐ zhī guànmiǎn* 七子之冠冕 'the crown of The Seven Literati' in the *Wénxīn diāolóng* (10.700).

144 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 11.490–491. The parallel story of Zhōng Yí 鍾儀 (n.d.) is of similar kind. In the attack on Zhèng by Chǔ in 584 BC, Zhōng, a Chǔ musician, was captured in Zhèng and was then extradited to the state of Jìn 晉. Two years later, when the Marquis of Jìn commanded him to play the zither, he performed *nányīn* 南音 lit. 'a Southern tune:' he was thence esteemed for his loyalty to his homeland (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 26.847–849).

The other aspect of *yín,* recommending that one keep one's moral standards, even in solitude, and especially in hardship, is reflected, for example, in the "Dúshū fù" 讀書賦 [Rhapsody on Reading] by Shù Xī 束晳 (?–300) of the Jìn 晉 dynasty (266–420):

> Yuán Xiàn cantillated in reclusion and forgot about his destitute state; Yán Huí studied diligently and ignored his own poverty. Ní Kuān kept reciting [classics] when weeding and farming; [Zhū] Mǎichén cantillated while carrying firewood.
> 原憲[145]潛吟而忘賤，顏回[146]精勤以輕貧。倪寬[147]口誦而芸耨，買臣[148]行吟而負薪。[149]

Yín occurs twice in the four examples alluding to the practice of "reading even in bad situations." "Among all disciples of Confucius the poorest is Yuán Xiàn" (*dìzǐ pín Yuán Xiàn* 弟子貧原憲),[150] but he "sat upright, played the zither and sang" (*kuāngzuò ér xiángē* 匡坐而絃歌).[151] That is probably what Yuán Xiàn and his *yín* symbolize, contentment or indifference to his poor living situation, since he believed he was practicing what he had learned under the principles of Confucianism.[152] The second *yín*

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145 515 BC–?.

146 521–481 BC.

147 ? –103 BC.

148 Zhū Mǎichén 朱買臣 (? –115 BC).

149 *Quán Jìn wén* 全晉文 [Complete Jìn Prose] 87.1b (*Quán shànggǔ sāndài Qín Hàn Sānguó Liùcháo wén* [hereafter as QW] 1962).

150 From the poem "Jì Yuèzhōu Jiǎ sīmǎ liù zhàng Bāzhōu Yán bā shǐjūn liǎng gélǎo wǔshí yùn" 寄岳州賈司馬六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻 [Sent to the Two Gentlemen of the Ministries, Jiǎ Zhì the Sixth, Vice Prefect of Yuèzhōu, and Yán Wǔ the Eighth, Prefect of Bāzhōu: Fifty Rhymes] by Dù Fǔ (*Dù Fǔ jí* [2] 8.893).

151 *Hán shī wàizhuàn* 1.11; *Zhuāng zǐ* 9b.975.

152 The topic of this rhapsody is "reading." Probably there was an anecdote about Yuán Xiàn's devotion to reading that was available to Shù Xī. Based on the extant stories concerning Yuán Xiàn, however, I think *yín* refers to *xiángē* 絃歌 'to play the zither and sing.' There is another story, though, regarding Yuán Xiàn's singing. When another Confucian disciple, Zǐ Gòng 子

appears in the collocation familiar to us, namely *xíngyín*. Judging from its juxtaposed partner *kǒusòng* 口誦 'to recite with the mouth,' however, it probably means 'to read, cantillate, and recite.' Ní Kuān was known for hanging the classics on his hoe and finding time to read them while doing corvée labor on the farm. Zhū Mǎichén, similarly, was badly off as a woodsman before he became a high-ranking official in the administration of Emperor Wǔ 武 of Hàn (156–87 BC). The *Hàn shū* records that Zhū, before he rose from the ranks, used to *dān shùxīn, xíng qiě sòng shū* 擔束薪，行且誦書 'shouldered bundles of firewood, reciting books as he went'; his wife *shuò zhǐ Mǎichén wú gē'ōu dàozhōng, Mǎichén yù yì jígē* 數止買臣毋歌嘔道中，買臣愈益疾歌 'many a time tried to stop him from chanting on the road, while Mǎichén chanted and sang more fervently."[153] Not long thereafter, in the *Qián-Hàn jì* 前漢紀 [Records of the Former Hàn], compiled during the waning of the Eastern Hàn, Zhū Mǎichén's *sòng* and *gē* (*ōu*) have already become substituted by *yín* (*yǒng*):

> His household suffered from poverty. He liked reading books. He made a living by collecting firewood. He cantillated and recited on his way (while working), and his contemporaries called him "idiotic."
> 家貧。好讀書。樵薪自給，吟詠且行，時人謂之癡。[154]

貢 (520–456 BC), dropped by and mocked at Yuán Xiàn, asking what ailed him, Yuán retorted that, "to be without property is termed poverty, and to be unable to put into practice what one has studied is termed ailing. I am poor; I am not ailing" (*wúcái zhīwèi pín, xué ér bùnéng xíng zhīwèi bìng.* Xiàn *pín yě, fēi bìng yě* 無財之謂貧，學而不能行之謂病。憲貧也，非病也). Upon these words, Zǐ Gòng left in shame, and Yuán Xiàn "returned with slow steps, trailing his stick and singing the 'Sacrifical Hymns of Shāng.' The sound merged with Heaven and Earth, as though it issued from metal and stone [musical instruments]" (*nǎi xúbù yèzhàng, gē "Shāng sòng" ér fǎn, shēng lún yú tiāndì,rú chū jīnshí* 乃徐步曳杖，歌《商頌》而反，聲淪於天地，如出金石) (*Hán shī wàizhuàn* 1.11, translation from Hightower [1952: 20], slightly amended). But this outburst of singing cannot be modified with the word *qián* 潛 'in hidden.' On top of that, when the story appeared in the *Zhuāng zǐ*, the subject who performed the song was *Zēng zǐ* instead (*Zhuāng zǐ* 9b.975).

153 *Hàn shū* 64a.2791.

154 *Qián-Hàn jì* 10.13a.

Accordingly, we probably should read his *xíngyín* in relation to *sòng*, *gē* (*ōu*), and *dú*.[155]

A close intimacy between *yín* and *dú* 獨 'alone' also began to manifest itself markedly:

沈思鍾萬裏　Deeply in the thought of the hundreds of thousands of miles away,
躑躅獨吟嘆　Treading back and forth, I cantillated and sighed alone.[156]

愛而不見　She made herself scarce and did not show herself,
獨寐寤吟　Awaking and sleeping, I cantillated alone, sighing.[157]

修晝興永念　I wrote a letter to the one dwelling in my mind,
遙夜獨悲吟　And cantillated melancholy through the long night.[158]

These are examples coming down to the Jìn dynasty. It seems that, at least by this time, *yín* is more or less underlined by the well-known Confucian injunction *jūnzǐ shèn qí dú yě* 君子慎其獨也 'the Gentleman is mindful of his innermost self,'[159] that "the superior man heeds his own thoughts and not the world around him,"[160] with or without "supervision" from society.

Natural expression of feelings, moderate admonition of the superior, loyalty to one's homeland, staying true to oneself in plight, and keeping one's moral standards in solitude: all these virtues have

155 More on Zhū Mǎichén's *yín* see below.

156 From the "Nǐ shèjiāng cǎi fúróng" 擬涉江采芙蓉 [Imitating I Cross the River and Pluck Hibiscus Flowers] by Lù Jī 陸機 (261–303) (*Jìn shī* 5 [*Xiān-Qín Hàn Wèi Jìn Nán-Běi cháo shī* [hereafter as XS], 687).

157 From the "Dá Lù Shìlóng sì shǒu: Nánshān" 答陸士龍四首·南山 [Four Pieces Answering Lù Shìlóng: The South Mountain] by Zhèng Fēng 鄭豐 (n.d.) of the Wèi–Jìn period (*Jìn shī* 6 [XS 722]).

158 From the "Cháo yǒurén shī" 嘲友人詩 [Teasing a Friend] by Lǐ Chōng 李充 (n.d.) of the Eastern Jìn (*Jìn shī* 11 [XS 856]).

159 Translation from Riegel (1997: 160).

160 Riegel 1997: 160. Riegel discusses at length the use of this injunction in the commentary of the "Wǔxíng piān" 五行篇 [On the Five Proper Conducts], its connections and discrepancies with its usages in other early sources including the *Xún zǐ* and the *Lǐ jì* etc., as well as the development of its connotations (1997: 160–169).

been ascribed to *yín*, making it morally paradigmatic and fitting with the nature and functions of poetry, as well as with the "persona" of a poet. I would say that *yín* "attracts" these connotations and subsequent usages because it complies with the Confucian preference for a balanced, contained way of expressing one's feelings.[161] As it is a word denoting the expression of negative feelings, *yín* surely implies a reserved and restrained manner – reminiscent of the 'mouth-closed,' 'muted,' 'wordless' connotations of *yín*.

2.1.2. The negative implication of yín

Its negative implication might have been advantageous as well for *yín* to enter the S-term group. It is descriptive of an individual in misery, harassed by concerns over the fate of the country, or in his or her own life. The period under examination was largely marred by frequent vicissitudes of dynasties (especially since the end of the Hàn), and the society was subject to great turbulences, which exerted considerate influence on the intellectual landscape. As a result, *bēi* 悲 'sadness' has become a widely valued emotion in aesthetics. In the domain of music:

> During the Hàn and the Six dynasties periods, musical performances were thought to be superior when they evoked sadness (*bēi* 悲), and listeners were likewise judged to be connoisseurs of music when they were able to react with sadness.
> 奏樂以生悲爲善音，聽樂以能悲爲知音，漢魏六朝，風尚如斯。[162]

Under the brush of the literati of that period:

> Praising the materials the musical instruments are made of, those growing in harsh

161 Consider the *"Guān jū" lè ér bù yín, āi ér bù shāng* 《關雎》樂而不淫，哀而不傷: 'the "Guān jū" is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive' (*Lúnyǔ* 論語 [Analects] 3.45, translation from Legge 1960a: 161, slightly amended). The *xǐ nù āi lè zhī wèifā wèizhī zhōng, fā ér jiē zhòngjié wèizhī hé* 喜怒哀樂之未發謂之中，發而皆中節謂之和 'While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY' (*Lǐjì* 52.1661, translation from Legge [1960a: 384]).

162 See Qián Zhōngshū (2007: 3.1506), translation from Egan (1998: 67), slightly amended.

> environments are preferred; conveying their sounds, the saddening and grieving take priority. Complimenting their influence, those moving the audience to tears are valued. 稱其材幹，則以危苦爲上；賦其聲音，則以悲哀爲主；美其感化，則以垂涕爲貴。[163]

The social context and the aesthetic tastes of the times also had a great impact on literature. Not only are the literary works of this period often enclosed in a "sad" ambience, but also such "sadness" has also become an important element in literary assessment. This is nicely reflected, for example, in Lù Jī's elevation of *bēi* as one of his five criteria of a fine literary piece.[164] Zhōng Róng also demonstrates a preference for such a sentiment in poetry in comments such as *yì bēi ér yuǎn* 意悲而遠 'the thoughts are sad and far' and *qíng jiān yǎ yuàn* 情兼雅怨 'the emotion combines elegance and resentment' etc.[165]

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163 From the "Qín fù" 琴賦 [Rhapsody on Zither] by Jī Kāng 嵇康 (223–263) (*Wén xuǎn* [1] 18.836). The phenomenon triggered criticism by Jī Kāng's contemporary, Ruǎn Jí 阮籍 (210–263), also known as one of the "Zhúlín qīxián" 竹林七賢 'seven virtuous men of the bamboo grove,' who posed the rhetorical question in his "Yuè lùn" 樂論 [On Music]: *chéng yǐ bēi wéi yuè, zé tiānxià hé yuè zhī yǒu* 誠以悲爲樂，則天下何樂之有 'if we truly take sorrowful sounds as music, what music is there under the heaven?' (*Ruǎn Jí jí* 1.99, reminiscent of the quotation from the *Lǚshì chūnqiū* above). The connotation of *bēi* in this context and the like is multifaceted (the same applies to *yuè*, let alone that the character also reads *lè* and denotes 'happiness'). It may refer to the intrinsic emotive quality of music, or to the emotion intended, evoked, or received from the musical performance (note that concerning the former aspect, there was an ongoing debate over whether music is inherently "happy" or "sorrowful" in this period, as epitomized by Jī Kāng's "Shēng wú āilè lùn" 聲無哀樂論 [Music Has Neither Sorrow nor Joy]). For more on Ruǎn Jí's treatise, see e.g. Xiāo Kǎiwén (2002); Criddle (2007). For an in-depth discussion on the controversies over the relationship between music and *bēi*, and in particular on the ambiguity of the word *bēi*, see Egan (1997).

164 *Wén fù* 183. Note that in the original context, Lù Jī actually took music as a metaphor for literature. Besides, the exact connotation of *bēi* in this context is under debate. Zhāng Shàokāng, e.g., claims that it refers to sentiments in general that can move the reader, instead of specifically to 'sadness' (*Wén fù* 198).

165 *Shī pǐn* 1.45; 1.56. Pertinent are (1) the *yuàn* 怨 'to resent' function of poetry, which was embodied as early as the *Odes* and the *Chǔ songs*; and (2) the connection of worldly frustration with the development of literary talents and the inspiration of literary compositions (see Qián Zhōngshū's fine treatment of the development of the prevailing notion *fāfèn zhùshū* 發憤著書 'to compose writings to express frustration' [2007: 3.1489–1499], and, in addition, Adam D. Smith's discussion of the "Qióngdá yǐ shí" 窮達以時 [Frustration or Achievement Depends on a Timely Opportunity] manuscript in Guōdiàn bamboo

The epitome of the aesthetic pursuit of sadness is the fact that men of letters of this period *took pleasure* in dirges:

> On the upper *sì* day of the third lunar month of the sixth year,[166] [Liáng] Shāng[167] invited guests widely and held a grand banquet on the side of the Luò River. […] Shāng and his closest friends drank their fill and were overjoyed. When their drinking was coming to an end, and the singers having finished their performances, the [funeral] song "Dew on the Onion Grass" followed. The banquet attendees listened to the song, and all were moved to tears. […], [Zhōu] Jǔ[168] [on hearing the story] sighed and said: "This is what is called being sorrowful and happy at inopportune moments, rather than on the right occasion. Isn't misfortune about to befall us!" Subsequently, when autumn came, [Liáng] Shāng passed away.
> 六年三月上巳日，商大會賓客，讌于洛水，[……]商與親暱酣飲極歡，及酒闌倡罷，繼以《**薤**露》之歌，坐中聞者，皆爲掩涕。[……]舉歎曰：「此所謂哀樂失時，非其所也。殃將及乎！」商至秋果薨。[169]

> Yuán Shānsōng[170] went on an outing, and each time he liked to have his attendants sing dirges.

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strips [2018]). The two notions have contributed to the establishment of "sadness" as a primary aesthetic pursuit in literature as well. However, as a caveat, they differ from the "aesthetic pleasure" attained from the "sadness" in a literary work in that they mainly concern the process of creation rather than the reception of the work. In other words, while the "sadness" in the former case refers largely to authorial experiences in reality that may or may not be expressed in the resultant composition, the appreciation of the *bēi* in the latter case is based on the maintenance of "aesthetic distance" from the literary work (see Xú Guóróng [2004]).

166 In the *Yǒnghé* 永和 era (136–141).

167 Liáng Shāng 梁商 (70–141).

168 Zhōu Jǔ 周舉 (105–149).

169 *Hòu Hàn shū* 後漢書 [Book of the Later Hàn] 61.2028.

170 ? –401.

袁山松出遊，每好令左右作挽歌。[171]

[Fàn] Yè[172] and Wáng Shēn, Head of the Left-West Section of the Minister of Education,[173] spent the night at [Fàn] Guǎngyuān's[174] place. They drank their fill at night, opened the north window and indulged themselves in listening to the dirges.
曄與司徒左西屬王深宿廣淵許，夜中酣飲，開北牖聽挽歌爲樂。[175]

The obsession with sadness, as well as the "inappropriate" application of dirges, may conflict with the Confucian preference for a moderate and timely expression of feelings. *Yín*, as discussed above, matches with the Confucian aesthetic ideal, but at the same time, it is certainly applicable in this specific historical context, where excessive negative feelings achieved prevalence.

What's more, the negative implication of *yín* can be descriptive of literary activities per se, involving the demanding process of composing a literary work as well as the reception of it, both of which usually feature deep thinking and "repetitive" oral performing.[176] In the "Xuě fù" 雪賦 [Rhapsody on Snow] by Xiè Huìlián 謝惠連 (407–433), we see, for example, the fictional host of the feast in a snow scene, in which the King of Liáng 梁 showed his reactions to the compositions by his fictional literati guests in the way he "mulled them over, humming and savoring them, clapping and gripping his wrist as he watched" (*xúnyì yínwán, fǔlǎn èwàn* 尋繹吟翫，撫覽扼腕).[177] Similarly, when receiving a poem from Wáng Yún 王筠 (481–549), Shěn Yuē 沈約 (441–513) "sighed in admiration, cantillated and savored

171 *Shìshuō xīnyǔ* 世說新語 [A New Account of the Tales of the World] 3a.890.

172 Fàn Yè 范曄 (398–445).

173 Wáng Shēn 王深 (n.d.).

174 Fàn Guǎngyuān 范廣淵 (n.d., younger brother of Fàn Yè).

175 *Sòng shū* 宋書 [Book of the Sòng] 69.1820.

176 This connotation might derive from the infix *-r- in the OC reading of *yín* (see Sagart [1999b: 112–113]).

177 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 13.596, translation from Knechtges (1996: 29).

it, read it back and forth devotedly" (*tànfú yínyán, zhōuliú wàngniàn* 歎服吟研，周流忘念).[178] Judging from the context, *yín* therefore very likely implies "concentration" and "repetition."

2.1.3. Yín as a genre indicator

Yín, as a noun, was an established genre term under Hàn and Wèi 魏 (220–266), based on the following passage, which is missing from today's "Yuè zhì" 樂志 [Treatises on Music] in the *Sòng shū*, but fortunately was quoted in the Northern Sòng collection of Music Bureau poems, the *Yuèfǔ shī jí* 樂府詩集 [A Collection of Music Bureau Poetry] (hereafter as YFSJ) compiled by Guō Màoqiàn 郭茂倩 (1041–1099), under the "Záqǔ gēcí" 雜曲歌辭 [Lyrics of Miscellaneous Tunes] category:

> In the Hàn and Wèi periods, diversified modes of singing and chanting were flourishing. Under these circumstances, the various branches of poetic works were subsumed under eight names: called *xíng* 'ballad,' called *yǐn* 'prelude,' called *gē* 'song,' called *yáo* 'lay,' called *yín* 'cantillation,' called *yǒng* 'prolongation,' called *yuàn* 'plaint,' called *tàn* 'lament.' They are all outgrowths of the "six principles" of the poet. And when they were matched with musical temperament and adapted to metals and stones (instrumental music), they were referred to in general as *qǔ* 'song.'
> 漢、魏之世，歌詠雜興，而詩之流乃有八名：曰行，曰引，曰歌，曰謠，曰吟，曰詠，曰怨，曰歎，皆詩人六義之餘也。至其協聲律，播金石，而總謂之曲。[179]

Yín belonged to *gēyǒng* 歌詠, hence was a kind of musical poem. It was probably a form of *túgē* 'unaccompanied song,' which might not be subjected to a predetermined melody, but once it had been put to a tune accompanied by instrumental music, it would be called *qǔ* 曲 'song.'

This *yín* appears in the titles of *Yuèfǔ* poems predominantly in the category "Xiānghè gēcí" 相

178 From "Bào Wáng Yún shū" 報王筠書 [Letter in Reply to Wáng Yún] (*Quán Liáng wén* 全梁文 [Complete Liáng Prose] 28.6b [QW 3115]).

179 YFSJ 61.884. I rendered *gē* and *qǔ* both as 'song,' but here this *gē* is clearly different from *qǔ* since musical accompaniment is lacking

和歌辭 [Joint-harmony Songs] of the YFSJ. "Dàyǎ yín" 大雅吟 [Cantillation on the Greater Elegantiae], "Xiǎoyǎ yín" 小雅吟 [Cantillation on the Lesser Elegantiae], "Chǔwáng yín" 楚王吟 [Cantillation on the King of Chǔ], and "Dōngwǔ yín" 東武吟 [Cantillation on Mount Dōngwǔ] are placed under the sub-category "Yíntàn qǔ" 吟歎曲 [Sighing Songs]. According to the *Gǔjīn yuè lù* 古今樂錄 [Records of Music of the Past and the Present] compiled during the Chén 陳 dynasty (557–589) by the monk Shì Zhìjiàng 釋智匠 (n.d.), only the lyric of the "Dàyǎ yín," composed by the famous Jìn official Shí Chóng 石崇 (249–300), survived to his time, but "no one can sing it any more" (*jīn wú néng gē zhě* 今無能歌者).[180] Under "Chǔdiào qǔ" 楚調曲 [Chǔ style songs], the *Gǔjīn yuè lù* quoted the *Dàmíng sānnián yànyuè jì lù* 大明三年宴樂技錄 [Records of Artistry of Banquet Music of the Third Year of the Dàmíng Era (459)] by Wáng Sēngqián 王僧虔 (425–485), which recorded "Báitóu yín xíng" 白頭吟行 [Ballad on White Hair], together with "Tàishān yín xíng" 泰山吟行 [Ballad on Mount Tài], "Liángfǔ yín xíng" 梁甫吟行 [Ballad on Mount Liàngfǔ], "Dōngwǔ pípá yín xíng" 東武琵琶吟行 [Ballad on Mount Dōngwǔ Accompanied by *Pípá*-Lute].[181] Some scholars think that titles with a *xíng* 行 at the end are the titles of the tunes (*qǔdiào míng* 曲調名) and those without are the titles of the lyrics (*gēcí míng* 歌辭名).[182] Others hold that both are titles of songs, and the additional *xíng* indicates changes in music in comparison to the original *yín*.[183]

We may take the "Báitóu yín" 白頭吟 [Cantillation on White Hair] / "Báitóu yín xíng" as an example to enable a look at the connotation of *yín* used in poetic titles in the pre-Táng periods. "Báitóu yín" has been attributed to Zhuó Wénjūn 卓文君 (171–121 BC), associated with her romance with the Hàn rhapsodist Sīmǎ Xiàngrú, which must have satisfied some appetites for gossip.[184] The "Yuè zhì" unfolds the formation of this song differently:

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180 YFSJ 29.424. See also Jīn Xī 2015: 358.

181 YFSJ 41.599.

182 Sun Xiaojing 2012: 52.

183 Liáng Hǎiyàn, e.g., holds that the addition of *xíng* is related to the *yín*'s adaptation to the Chǔ style (Liáng Hǎiyàn 2013).

184 YFSJ 41.599, based on the semi-historiographical *Xījīng zájì* 西京雜記 [Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital] under the pre-Táng.

> As for musical pieces and ancient lyrics that are extant today, they were all popular songs (in solo or in chorus) from streets and paths in fields during the Hàn period. […] "Cantillation on White Hair" and the like are of this kind. […] All these songs were originally unaccompanied songs, and they were put to stringed and pipe (music) at a later stage.
>
> 凡樂章古詞[185]，今之存者，並漢世街陌謠謳。[……]《白頭吟》之屬是也。[……]凡此諸曲，始皆徒哥。既而被之弦管。[186]

Probably reflective of the transition from an unaccompanied song to a song accompanied by instrumental music, there are a *běn cí* 本辭 'original lyric'-version[187] and a *Jìn shí suǒ zòu* 晉時所奏 'musically performed under the Jìn period'-version[188] of the "Báitóu yín" recorded in YFSJ.[189] The latter is twenty-six lines longer, with the additional lines featuring clear folkloric/musical signs like colloquialism, repetition, and mundane imagery.[190] It is divided into five *jiě* 解, lit. 'solutions' (the total number of *jiě* is appended under the title, and each division is marked with ordinal number + *jiě*), signifying that it has been adapted to a well-structured musical piece. And the last (added) couplet *jīnrì xiāngduì lè* / *yánnián wànsuì qī* 今日相對樂 / 延年萬歲期 'live this day with delight on delight / long life to you, ten thousand years' is also a very typical ending of lyrics sung in public performances.

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185 For more on the connotation of *gǔcí* 古詞 (alternatively also as *gǔcí* 古辭), lit. 'ancient lyrics,' see Zhāng Jiànhuá (2012).

186 *Sòng shū* 19.549–550; see also YFSJ (26.376).

187 First seen in the sixth-century anthology *Yùtái xīnyǒng* 玉台新詠 [Recent Songs from a Terrace of Jade], titled alternatively with its first line *ǎi rú shānshàng xuě* 皚如山上雪 'as bright as the snow on the mountaintop' (1.14–15).

188 Also the "Yuè zhì" version (*Sòng shū* 21.622–623), where it is labeled as *gǔ cí* 古詞 'ancient lyric.'

189 YFSJ 41.600 and 26.376–377.

190 Stephen Owen, hence, deems the shorter poem a polished version from the hands of men of letters (1996: 233–234). Since, however, the YFSJ labels the shorter version as "original," there is the possibility that it was the longer version that was derivative, resulting from the process of adapting it to instrumental music (see below).

Indeed, the "Báitóu yín" belonged to one of the fifteen pieces of *dàqǔ* 大曲 'grand suite'[191] in the "Yuè zhì."[192] The structure of the performance of this piece can be roughly reconstructed as follows:

Instrument	***shēng* 笙 'reed-organ,' *dínòng* 笛弄 'flute,' *jié* 節 'clappers,' *qín* 琴 'zither,' *zhēng* 箏 'fretted zither,' *pípá* 琵琶 '*pípá*-lute,' *sè* 瑟 'psaltery'**[193]
Mode-key	Chǔ 楚 or Sè 瑟[194]

191 Briefly, *dàqǔ* refers to a structurally complex musical form consisting of a succession of different sections of singing, instrumental music, and dances. For discussions on the structure of grand suites, see e.g. Wáng Guówéi (2018 [=1909]); Gimm (1966: 224–230); Picken (1969: 83–85); Yáng Yīnliú (1981: 221); Rén Bàntáng (2013); Wáng Kūnwú (1996: 176–196); Sun Xiaojing (2012) etc.

192 YFSJ 43.635.

193 YFSJ 41.599.

194 YFSJ 43.635.

Performance

(1) Before singing, there is one set of stringed music, played after *nòng*. In addition, there are seven *dànqǔ* 'pure tunes,' [...] all of which are played on the zither, fretted zither, reed-organ or *zhù*-zither 未歌之前，有一部弦，又在弄後，又有但曲七曲， [……] 並琴、箏、笙、簫之曲[195]

(2) *Yàn* 艷 'voluptuous (introduction)': *zǐ luó duō duō nài hé* 紫羅咄咄奈何[196]

Qǔ 曲 'songs': five *jiě* 'solutions'

(3) Songs in various keys all have lyrics and sounds, [...] lyrics are the sung poem, while sounds are those like "*yáng-wú-yī*," "*yī-nà-hé*" 諸調曲皆有辭、有聲，[……]辭者其歌詩也，聲者若「羊吾夷」、「伊那何」之類也[197]

(4) There is a *luàn* section 有亂 (but not preceded by a *qū* 趨 'shuffle' section)[198]

(5) When a grand suite comes to an end, the tune "Huánglǎo tán" is performed with a dancing solo, and there are no lyrics 凡諸大曲竟，《黃老彈》獨出舞，無辭[199]

Here we see a large-scale musical form that has been built up on the "Báitóu yín" no later than the

195 YFSJ 41.599.

196 *Sòng shū* 21.623, n.; Sun Xiaojing 2012: 51.

197 YFSJ 26.377.

198 YFSJ 43.635.

199 YFSJ 43.635. *Huánglǎo tán* 黃老彈 'Huáng-Lǎo master's plucking' probably refers to the "Huánglǎo tán fēi yǐn" 黃老彈飛引 [Prelude of Huáng-Lǎo Master's Fast Plucking], belonging to the seven *dànqǔ* 但曲 'pure tunes' (YFSJ 41.599, based on the *Yuánjiā zhèngshēng jì lù* 元嘉正聲技錄 [Records of Artistry of the Orthodox Sounds during the *Yuánjiā* Era (424–453)] by Zhāng Yǒng 張永 [410–475]).

Liúsòng 劉宋 (420–479) period. The connotation of *yín* has been greatly enriched, as the unaccompanied song with a plain verse from the street has developed into a musical spectacle.

2.1.4. Phonological features and prosodic considerations

Needless to say, the development of the other S-terms paved the way for the inclusion of *yín* in the semantic field. *Fù* has become the designation of the prominent literary genre during the Hàn, and the meaning of *yǒng* as 'to eulogize' and *sòng* as 'to recite' seem to be gaining more and more weight – they all yielded to the rise of *yín* to take up the place of denoting metrical/musical oral performance of poetry.

An eye-catching phenomenon is that, starting from this period, we see *yín* frequently used in collocation with other S-terms. It is probably more sensible to put it another way: in denoting the oral composition or performance of poetry, S-terms were beginning to appear in compounds, and *yín* was often part of them. What was at work is probably the so-called "disyllabic foot formation" process. Proposed by Féng Shènglì, the theory posits that the Hàn dynasty witnessed a process of massive "disyllabification," which resulted in, to put it roughly, a sharp increase in the number of lexical compound words.[200] In our case, the characters denoting oral performances of poetry in the pre-Qín period needed to form compounds in order to cope with the new prosodic environment, so they combined with each other and formed words like *fěngyǒng* 諷詠, *yǒngsòng* 詠頌, *gēyǒng,* etc. But, at the same time, they also "attracted" *yín* onto the semantic map and coined new compounds with it, including the "unexpected early occurrence" of *yínyǒng* at the beginning of this section. In forming compounds, the level-tone *yín* precedes the predominantly oblique-tone S-terms, as again in *yínyǒng*, or *yínsòng* 吟誦, *yínfěng* 吟諷, etc. This is in accordance with the so-called "Unger'sche Tonregeln" (Unger's tone rules), referring to the underlying rules governing the sequencing of level and oblique tones in a compound unveiled by the German sinologist Ulrich Unger (1930–2006). The MC rising tones derived from OC endings (*-ʔ), departing tones from (*-s, *-h) and entering tones from (*-p, *-t, *-k) respectively.[201] Unger has proven the existence of the strong tendency of ordering compounds in the level-oblique format to push stop (rising-tone and entering-tone), sibilant or laryngeal (departing-tone) to the edge, and in the same way the maximum peak of sonority would be placed in the middle

200 Féng Shènglì 1998.

201 See Sagart (1999a).

(following the "sonority hierarchy").[202] It follows that *yín*, because of its level-tone reading, which is rare among the S-terms, was probably preferred in forming disyllabic compounds, because, unlike the oblique-tone S-terms, *yín* would not generate a hiatus breaking the breath group of a compound when used in the initial place.

The prevalence of parallelism has contributed to the "rise" of *yín* in that it encourages terms denoting vocalization to appear in pairs. Hence, we see the juxtaposition of *yín* with S-terms in line-internal positions:

長吟兮永嘆　　I drew out long and sighed deep,
淚下兮沾衣　　My tears rolled down and wet my gown.[203]

以吟以詠　　I cantillated and prolonged it,
聊用述心　　Using it, subtly, to express what was on my mind.[204]

while we also encounter such juxtaposition realized beyond the scope of a single poetic line:

祁祁傷豳歌　　Such bounty brings pain at the songs of Bīn,
萋萋感楚吟　　Lush growth touches thoughts of Chǔ's lays.[205]

202 See Vogelsang (2021: 19–20).

203 The last couplet of the "Dá Qín Jiā shī" 答秦嘉詩 [In Reply to Qín Jiā's Poem] by Xú Shū 徐淑 (fl. 147) (*Hàn shī* 漢詩 [Hàn Poetry] 6 [XS 188]).

204 From the preface of Xiāo Zǐliáng's 蕭子良 (460–494) "Xíngzhái shī" 行宅詩 [Poem on Traveling and Dwelling] (*Qí shī* 齊詩 [Qí Poetry] 1 [XS 1383]). The use of *yínyǒng* here is consistent with the *yínyǒng qíngxìng* above.

205 "Dēng chíshàng lóu shī" 登池上樓詩 [Climbing an Upper Story by the Pool] by Xiè Língyùn 謝靈運 (385–433) (*Sòng shī* 宋詩 [Sòng Poetry] 2 [XS 1161], translation from Owen 1992: 321). The second line alludes to the *chūncǎo shēng xī qīqī* 春草生兮萋萋 'in spring the plants grew, thick and so green' in the "Zhāo yǐnshì" 招隱士 [Calling Back the Recluse] (*Chǔ cí*·[1] 12.233; see Owen [1996: 211] for translation).

短歌雖製素　The short song is although plain in style,
長吟當執圭　I sang it long in front of the Baton Holder.[206]

Furthermore, the gradual arrival of poetry's independence from music probably plays a part in distinguishing *yín* and *gē*, both of which are in the level tone. While the application of the *gē* is limited by its specific definition as 'to sing,' *yín* enjoys the advantage of a more flexible denotation, as we will explore below.

2.2. THE MODE OF *YÍN* FROM THE HÀN TO THE SUÍ DYNASTY

In search of clues for the exact mode(s) of *yín*, we first look back briefly to the pre-Qín period, to what the Qīng commentator Wáng Jǐngyì 王景義 (n.d.) regarded as the earliest occurrence of *yín* in the received literature, namely the phrase *yǒu guǐ xiāo yín* 有鬼宵吟 'there were ghosts moaning in the dark' in the *Mò zǐ*.[207] This incident leads us to the realization that a "non-human" (henceforth as [-human], as opposed to [+human]) can – and not rarely did – serve as the subject of *yín*. Flora, fauna, mystical creatures, objects as well as natural phenomena, be they real or imaginary, seem all "capable of" conducting the action of *yín*; the sounds they generate are eligible to be referred to with the nominal *yín* as well. It is hard to say to what extent this usage is figurative. Nonetheless, the [-human] *yín* very well exemplifies the features we have just acquainted ourselves with. Among others, the negative implication of *yín* is often detectable, like the "ghosts' moaning," as well as the following, to add a further example:

良馬知我悲　The good horse knew my sadness,
延頸對我吟　It craned its neck and gasped to me.[208]

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206 "Zèng Lǐ Ruò shī" 贈李若詩 [A Poem Presented to Lǐ Ruò] by Lú Sīdào 盧思道 (ca. 531–582) (*Suí shī* 隋詩 [Suí Poetry] 1 [XS 2633]).

207 *Mò zǐ* (2) 5.477, n.; translation from Knoblock/Riegel (2013: 187). Note that in the previously cited case from the *Mò zǐ*, the metal-*yín* is used (i.e., for [+human] *yín*, p. 32). Wáng Jǐngyì considered the two *yín* to be different (*Mò zǐ* [2] 5.477, n.).

208 From the "Zhònggě piān" 種葛篇 [A Piece on Planting the Kudzu] by Cáo Zhí 曹植 (217–278) (*Wèi shī* 魏詩 [Wèi Poetry]

The use of the [-human] *yín* seems not to be built on pure rhetorical or prosodic grounds (as here, rhyming), if we consider the following case raised by Ruǎn Jí in his treatise on music, "Yuè lùn":

> On his way up to the Gōnglíng-Mausoleum, Emperor Shùn[209] passed by Fánqú. He heard birds singing there and was saddened. With tears streaming down his face, he said, "How fine are the birds' sounds." He had his attendants cantillate the sounds in imitation and observed, "Wouldn't it be pleasurable if stringed instruments could play like that!"
> 順帝上恭陵，過樊衢，聞鳥鳴而悲，泣下橫流，曰：「善哉鳥聲！」使左右吟之，曰：「使絲聲若是，豈不樂哉！」[210]

There are more than ten occurrences each of *gē* and *yǒng* in this essay, while *yín* is only briefly employed here. This suggests that the *yín* is an *intentional* choice. Interestingly, in the case at hand, it is the human beings who imitate the sound of the birds ([-human]), availing themselves of the mode called *yín*. Probably, the timbre of the birds can be captured by the human *yín*. If the emperor's ultimate goal had been to have the birds' "song" duplicated on a stringed instrument, his command might have been instead to repeat the melody.

That *yín* is compatible with such a great diversity of subjects – including even supernatural creatures – seems to defy a definite demarcation of the range of modes it may stand for. But, in such cases as the story of Emperor Shùn, the reference to *yín* seems to be rather precise. A similar example presupposing a ready consensus on the mode of *yín* derives from the *Shānhǎi jīng*. The sound of the beast called Chángyòu 長右, lit. 'long right,' for example, is analogized with *yín*. Guō Pú glossed this *yín* as *rú rén shēnyín shēng* 如人呻吟聲 'like the groaning of human beings.[211] Based on a similar case in the same book, however, where the sound of the beast called Lùshǔ 鹿蜀, lit. 'deer Shǔ,' is analogized with

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6 [XS 436]).

209 R. 126–144.

210 *Ruǎn Jí jí* 1.99; translation from Egan (1997: 8), slightly amended.

211 *Shānhǎi jīng* (1) 1.10.

yáo 謠,[212] which Guō Pú explained as *rú rén gēshēng* 如人歌聲 'like the singing of human beings,' the *yín* may well have had some musical implications.[213]

The musicality of *yín* is also implied in its intimate relationship with wind instruments. The sound of the reed-organ (*shēng* 笙) is analogized to the *yín* of the phoenix (*fènghuáng* 鳳凰), as intentionally fashioned by the Daoist immortal Wáng Zǐqiáo 王子喬 (567 BC–?):[214]

> 蕭史編管以擬吹　[The musician] Xiāo Shǐ[215] arranged the panpipes to emulate blowing,
> 周王調笙以象吟　The King of Zhōu[216] tuned the reed-organ to imitate sighing/singing.[217]

The 'growling of the dragon' (*lóngyín* 龍吟), also becomes a convenient metaphor for the sound of a flute (*dí* 笛).[218] The "Yǒng zhú shī" 詠竹詩 [Ode to Bamboos] by Liú Xiàoxiān 劉孝先 (n.d.) of the Liáng, for example, ends with that image:

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212 *Shānhǎi jīng* (1) 1.3.

213 In his *Shānhǎi jīng tú zàn* 山海經圖贊 [Paeans to the Illustrations of The Classic of Mountains and Seas], Guō Pú actually used *yínmíng* 吟鳴 to describe the cry of the Lùshǔ (*Shānhǎi jīng* [2] 1.2).

214 An account of this story is recorded in the *Lièxiān zhuàn* 列仙傳 [Biographies of Immortals] attributed to Liú Xiàng, where Wáng Zǐqiáo is described as *hào chuīshēng zuò fènghuáng míng* 好吹笙作鳳凰鳴 'he favors playing the reed-organ to mimic the warble of the phoenix' (1.65). *Míng* 鳴 is substituted by *yín* in the "Dǎosù fù" 搗素賦 [Rhapsody on Washing the Silk] as follows, probably for reasons of rhyming, but also because *yín* is appropriate to describe both the sound of the phoenix and of the reed-organ.

215 A legendary musician who taught and later married the daughter of Duke Mù 穆 of Qín in the Spring-Autumn period (*Lièxiān zhuàn* 1.80).

216 Allegedly, Wáng Zǐqiáo was the crown prince of the King Líng 靈 of Zhōu (?–545 BC), hence the *Zhōuwáng* 周王 'King of Zhōu' in this line.

217 From the "Dǎosù fù" by Bān Jiéyú (*Quán Hàn wén* 全漢文 [Complete Hàn Prose] 11.8a [QW 186]).

218 In his "Chángdí fù" 長笛賦 [Rhapsody on the Long Flute], Mǎ Róng 馬融 (79–166) had *lóngmíng shuǐzhōng bùjiàn jǐ / jiézhú chuī zhī shēng xiāngsì* 龍鳴水中不見己 / 截竹吹之聲相侣 "The dragon roars under the water and does not surface / Cutting down the bamboos to blow, the sound is a close mimicry" (*Quán Hòuhàn wén* 全後漢文 [Complete Later Hàn Prose] 18.3b–4a [QW 566]). Through ensuing periods, however, it seems that it was the expression *lóngyín* that has become entrenched. The clear-cut title of the rhapsody by the Táng dynasty Liáng Qià 梁洽 (?–734), the "Díshēng sì lóngyín fù" 笛

誰能制長笛　Who would make me/the bamboos into a flute?
當爲吐龍吟　I would perform the cry of the dragon for you.[219]

A typical *yǒngwù shī* 詠物詩 'poem on things,' it is an appraisal of the bamboos, which are neglected in the wildness, but keep their virtue and await being put to proper use. This is indeed a fitting setting for *yín*, as the bamboos, and consequently, the performance of the flute made of them, are symbolic of traditional moral paragons.

The Hàn synonym list *Shì míng* 釋名 [Glossed Names] of ca. 200 AD[220] somehow dispels the "mystic" aura around the musical *yín*:

> [Melody produced by] human voice is called *gē* 'singing.' *Gē* < *kɑi is *kē* < *kɑi 'stalk.' The words sung are the content. The voice that melodizes the content contains rising and falling, which resemble the stalks and leaves of the grasses and woods. Therefore, in the [regional] patois of Yǎn and Jì the sound of singing (*gē*) is like that of stalks (*kē*).
> 人聲曰歌。歌，柯也。所歌之言是其質也。以聲吟詠有上下，如草木之有柯葉也。故兗冀言歌聲如柯也。

> [To play the] bamboo [wind instruments] is called *chuī* 'to blow.' *Chuī* < *tśʰuai is *thuī* < *tʰuəi, tśʰui 'to push,' that is, to push and emit its sound with air.
> 竹曰吹。吹，推也，以氣推發其聲也。

> *Yín* < *ŋɨm means *yán* < *ŋɨɑm. Its sound originally derives from sorrows and worries, and thus the sound is solemn and sublime, which moves one to grieve and sigh upon hearing it.

聲似龍吟賦 [A Rhapsody of the Flute Sounds Like the Singing of a Dragon] serves as an epitome.

219 *Liáng shī* 26 (XS 2066).

220 See "*Shih ming* 釋名" by Roy Andrew Miller in Loewe (1993: 424).

吟，嚴也。其聲本出於憂愁，故其聲嚴肅，使人聽之悽嘆也。[221]

Yín is included in the "Shì yuèqì" 釋樂器 [Glossed (Names of) Musical Instruments] chapter. Following the etymological explanations of the names of over twenty musical instruments, *yín* appears twice in the last section of three entries concerning the production of musical/instrumental sounds. Here, *gē* is no longer glossed with its "old" correspondence *yǒng* alone, but rather explained with the compound *yínyǒng*. That indicates the similarity of *gē* and *yín*, and preliminarily confirms the musicality of the latter.[222] The gloss of *yín* here is again based on its negative implication. *Yín* < *ŋɨm and *yán* < *ŋɨɑm are phonologically similar, and, as pointed out by the Qīng scholar Qián Diàn 錢坫 (1744–1806), *yán* 嚴 'reverent' is a variant of *yán* 嚴 'to drone' with the mouth radical, which is, further, glossed as *shēn* 呻 in the SW.[223] *Yín* and *yán* are therefore semantically correlated as well. Based on the same paronomastic relation, *yín* is also interchangeable with the *yán* 巖 'steep' and *yín* 崟 'lofty' (resembling the 'metal'-*yín* we have discussed above) in early texts.[224]

The linkage between the negative implication and the musicality of *yín* in the *Shì míng* supports our previous hypothesis of how the denotation of *yín* may have grown from a negative vocalization (or restraint from vocalization) into a mode of oral performance. Moreover, judging from the category and the entry *chuī* 吹 ahead of it, *yín* probably refers to the action of performing an instrument as well. Disentangled from the vague analogy with legendary beings, the general features of *yín* become more tangible: the sound of an instrument, and in particular, of a wind instrument, that can be called *yín*, is more or less a moderate, solitary, solemn, sorrowful and probably high-pitched one.

Yín also appears in the context of the performance of a stringed instrument:

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221 *Shì míng* 7.8b. Here, human vocal organs may have been viewed as "instruments" as well. The Hàn dynasty readings follow Schuessler (2009).

222 For more on the relationship between *gē* and *yín*, see below.

223 SW (2) 2231. (See also the commentary in the *Huáinán zǐ* 4.314).

224 See e.g. *Huáinán zǐ* 4.314, n.

援琴鳴弦發清商　Fetching the zither,[225] stirring the strings to play the pure *Shāng*-mode,
短歌微吟不能長　Cantillating the short, sorrowful song softly, I could not elongate it.[226]

This *yín*, derived from the "Yāngē xíng" 燕歌行 [Ballad of Yān] by Cáo Pī 曹丕 (187–226), accompanies a zither (*qín* 琴 < **gim* < *[C.ɢ](r)[ə]m).[227] They were frequently paired by men of letters. *Qín* has been a special solo instrument of the literary class, its origin being traced back to Confucian sages of great antiquity, its components, shape, timbre, sound range – everything about it – being symbolic of elitism within both Confucian and Taoist lore.[228] Playing the zither in solitude, by itself, is a communication with the "self," an attempt at tuning the "self" with the universe, as well as a demonstration of one's political opinions and moral pursuits. One perfect example of the zither's being more symbolic than instrumental is the following story of Táo Qián 陶潛 (style Yuānmíng 淵明, 365?–427):

> Qián did not understand music or sounds. Yet he stored a plain zither, with no strings. Each time he was stirred after drinking, he struck and plucked it to express his feelings.
> 潛不解音聲，而畜素琴一張，無絃，每有酒適，輒撫弄以寄其意。[229]

That well speaks for how *yín*, a term intimately related to moral models as well as to the notion of *dú* 'solitude,' would provide fitting company of *qín*. Their frequent co-occurrence, moreover, may also be grounded in their close phonetic resemblance, from the OC times till today.

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225 *Qín* is alternatively written as *sè* 瑟, an ancient stringed instrument frequently appearing in a pair with *qín*. It is said to have had a very similar form to a *zhēng* 箏 'fretted zither,' but larger than the latter. *Sè* has fallen out of use probably due to the rise of the latter, while *qínsè* 琴瑟 remains a widely used compound (see Gulik 1940: 7–9).

226 *Cáo Pījí* 263.

227 I think there is another possibility of reading this *yín* as the sound of the zither, or the playing of the zither, as it, later, indeed, refers to a finger technique ('vibrato'; see Gulik 1940: 131–132). But since the human-voiced *yín* and zither music are close companions, as we shall see below, I prefer the reading in the main text.

228 For more on the development of the *qín* "ideology," see e.g. Gulik (1940) and Egan (1997).

229 *Sòng shū* 93.2288.

In practice, Wáng Kūnwú suggests that the *yín* accompanying the zither music refers to one specific mode of the *xiángē* 弦歌 'to sing at the intervals of the music in a stringed music,' whose counterpart, developed somewhat later,[230] was *gēxián* 歌弦 'to sing to the music in a stringed music':

> The songs of cantillating and sighing have always been treated as both zither songs and self-contained songs. As self-contained songs, they are categorized under "[Joint-]harmony songs," and the zither music is regarded as the accompaniment; while as zither songs, they refer to the singing voice at the interval of the zither music.
> 吟歎之歌，總是具有作爲琴歌和作爲單獨歌唱的兩重身份。作爲單獨歌唱，它們編入和歌，所用琴聲被視爲相和形式的伴奏；作爲琴歌，它們是琴曲中的間唱。[231]

According to him, this form of the singing voice and the zither music performed alternatively is convenient for free-style solo performances. Besides, since the range of the zither is narrower than the human vocal range, zither songs usually adopt the modes of *yín* or *yǒng*, characterized by their "smooth cadence" (*xuánlǜ qǐfú bù dà* 旋律起伏不大).[232] Therefore, encountering a poem like the "Yōu qiě yín" 憂且吟 [Cantillation with Worries] that begins with *míngqín dāng chūnyè* / *chūnyè dāng míngqín* 鳴琴當春夜 / 春夜當鳴琴 'the ringing zither facing the spring night / and the spring night facing the ringing zither,' we probably do not err if we interpret the *yín* in the title as an indication of a particular mode of zither song.

The *qīngshāng* 清商, lit. 'pure *shāng*-mode' played on the zither may refer to any tune in the eponymous mode or a specific tune/song titled as such. Tunes in the *shāng*-mode are related to sadness, as we can see in the story from the *Hán Fēi zǐ* – usually regarded as the earliest example of taking pleasure in sad music – where the Duke Píng 平 of Jìn (?–532 BC) asked the musician Master Kuàng 曠

230 By ca. the Wèi period (see Wáng Kūnwú 1996: 264).

231 Wáng Kūnwú 1996: 264. He elaborates the thesis in his essay of 2002.

232 Wáng Kūnwú 1996: 265.

(n.d.) whether the pure *shāng*-mode is the saddest of all modes.[233] *Qīngshāng* might be the object of both *duǎngē* 短歌 'to sing shortly' and *wēiyín* 微吟 'to cantillate slightly, in a lowered voice' in the second line, or it may well have been the case that something else has been sung (*gē* and *yín*) alternatively and in harmony with the *qīngshāng* tune. Nevertheless, the couplet demonstrates a tension between the expression of one's feelings through music and the immense sad feelings that impede it: the singing voice is consequently *wēi* 微 'slightly, softly' and cannot last long.

A vivid description of this reserved way of singing can be found in the "Gǔchuī fù" 鼓吹賦 [Rhapsody on Drum-Pipe Songs] by Lù Jī, which describes the performance of *duǎnxiāo náogē* 短簫鐃歌 'short end-blown flute and cymbal songs':

及其悲唱流音	And when the sound of the melancholy singing flows,
彷徨依違	It appears discursive and reserved.
合歡嚼弄	Humming and savoring in harmony,
乍數乍稀	At times dense, at times sparse.
音躑躅於脣吻	The sound lingers on the lips,
舌將舒而復回	The tongue rolls back just when it is about to stretch.
鼓砰砰以輕投	The drum banging, the player beats gently,
簫嘈嘈而微吟	The pan-pipes rustling, the singer cantillates softly.[234]

The poet Xiè Xiè 謝燮 (525–589) had a couplet in his "Lǒngtóu shuǐ" 隴頭水 [Waters of Lǒngtóu] *shìtīng náogēqǔ / wéi yín "Jūnmǎ huáng"* 試聽鐃歌曲 / 唯吟《君馬黃》'just listen to the cymbal songs / it only cantillates the "Your Horse Looks Yellow"' – which also shows that the mode of *yín* was appropriate for the *náogē* performances.[235] What Lù Jī had so elaborately described here, was again a sad and rather hesitant *wēiyín* that proceeded to the accompaniment of drums and pan-pipes.[236]

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233 *Hán Fēi zǐ* 3.63. Note that the authenticity of this chapter has been called into question (see Lundahl [1992: 215–218]).

234 *Lù Jī jí* 4.230–231.

235 YFSJ 21.314. "Jūnmǎ huáng" is a Hàn dynasty *náogē* (YFSJ 17.245).

236 Again, this *yín* may refer to 'blowing' the pan-pipes.

Describing the performance of the "Qīngshāng" in his "Jǐngfú diàn fù" 景福殿賦 [Rhapsody on the Hall of Great Blessings], Wéi Dàn 韋誕 (179–253) added to our understanding of the referential range of *yín*:

新詩變聲　The tones of the new poems are changed,
曲調殊別　The modes of the tunes [they are sung to] are particularly different.
吟清商之激哇　The "Pure *Shāng*-mode" is cantillated in a high-pitched and whirling melody,
發角徵與白雪　The "White Snow" is adapted to the *jiǎo* and *zhǐ* modes.[237]

It seems that the mode of the melancholy song "Qīngshāng" has been "transformed" into *jīwā* 激哇, as implied by the previous *shūbié* 殊別 'particularly different.' *Yíngē yuē wā* 淫歌曰哇 'gaudy songs are called *wā*'[238] – *wā* is connected with "unorthodox" music often referred to as *Zhèng Wèi zhī shēng* 鄭衛之聲 'music of Zhèng and Wèi,' featuring free-flowing melodies, with rich variations. Such music is more complex in structure and is much more appealing to the ears in comparison to ritual music. Let us just recall the famous confession of Marquis Wén 文 of Wèi 魏 (?–396 BC) to the Confucian disciple Zǐxià 子夏 (507 BC–?) that when he listened to "ancient music" (*gǔyuè* 古樂), he almost fell asleep, while when he listened to the music of Zhèng and Wèi (which he also referred to as *xīnyuè* 新樂 'new music'), he never felt tired at all.[239] Meanwhile, the pairing of *jī* 激 'whirling, rapid, impassioned, high-pitched' with *yín* is not a singular case. Rather, we find an example of that usage precisely in Cáo Pī's oeuvre:

齊倡發東舞　The Qí dancer performs dances from the East,
秦箏奏西音　The Qín fretted zither plunks tunes from the West.
有客從南來　A guest came from the South,
爲我彈清琴　Who strums the clear zither for me.

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237 *Quán Wèi wén* 全魏文 [Complete Wèi Prose] 32 (QW 1235).

238 It is *fúgē* 浮歌, lit. 'frivolous songs' in the YFSJ (83.1165), quoting from the *Zuǎn yào* 纂要 [Compilation of the Quintessence] of the Liáng. Here, it follows the quotation in the *Chūxué jì* 初學記 [Fundamentals of Learning].

239 *Lǐ jì* 38.1304–1305.

五音紛繁會　The five tones scattering and converging,
拊者激微吟　The chime striker cantillates impassioned and softly.[240]

Another example comes from Lù Jī's work:

長吟太山側　I cantillated long at the side of the Mount Tài,
慷慨激楚聲　In a vehement, whirling Chǔ tone.[241]

The first example is from Cáo Pī's "Shànzāi xíng" 善哉行 [Ballad on Benevolence], the second couplet is what Lù Jī ended his "Tàishān yín" 太(/泰)山吟 [Cantillation on Mount Tài] with. In the first example, where a musical spectacle that has gathered musicians with rather diverse provenances,[242] *jī* is even used in conjunction with *wēiyín*. There are at least two ways to interpret this conjugation, either (1) that *jī* parallels with *wēi*, they are poles apart as two modes of *yín* (as 'impassionedly while softly, and resoundingly while silently'); or (2) that *jī* modifies the *wēiyín* (as 'the chime striker stimulates the soft cantillating'). The last line in the second example also allows alternative readings where (1) *jī* serves as a verb, meaning 'to provoke,' or (2) *jīchǔ* 激楚 rather than *Chǔ shēng* 楚聲 are put together. "Jī Chǔ" [Whirling Chǔ] is actually the title of a piece of Chǔ singing and dancing tune, which is attested as early as in the Chǔ song "Zhāohún" 招魂 [Calling Back the Soul]:

竽瑟狂會　With pipes' and psalteries' wild concert,
搷鳴鼓些　They hammer booming drums.

240 *Cáo Pī jí* 248. The chime striker is someone who controls the beat.

241 *Lù Jī jí* 7.706. The translation here follows the commentary in this book (*Lù Jī jí* 7.708). I will suggest a different reading below.

242 As a caveat, one should consider the possibility that this description of a grand musical spectacle with music, musicians, and instruments all from different regions is literarily contrived, since such a "scene" is not rarely seen in previous literature, e.g., in the *Chǔ cí* and the "Shànglín fù" 上林賦 [Rhapsody on the Imperial Park].

宮庭震驚　Till the whole court of the great house shakes,

發激楚些　And the "Whirling Chǔ" begins.[243]

The performance of the "Jī Chǔ" in the musical spectacle is preceded by the dance of Zhèng (*Zhèng wǔ* 鄭舞), and succeeded by the lays of Wú (*Wú yú* 吳歈) and lyrics of Cài (*Cài ōu* 蔡謳).[244] Commentators, in general, have equaled *jī* with *qīng* 清 'high-pitched, sharp' and *jí* 急 'in a fast tempo,' characterizing the tune as the coda of the "shocking" (from *zhènjīng* 震驚) volley of performances of various instruments. It appears far-fetched to read Lù Jī's solo "Jī Chǔ" as referring to this specific tune. However, it does help us in understanding the *jī* used in juxtaposition with the sound/music from the South (as in the "Shànzāi xíng") or Chǔ (as in the "Tàishān yín").

In the previous discussion, we found that the *xíngyín* of Qū Yuán, if not established, has surely fueled the stabilization of the bond between *yín* and the sound of Chǔ. The music of Chǔ has entered further the court and become prevalent following the ascendence of Emperor Gāozǔ Liú Bāng of the Hàn with a Chǔ provenance.[245] The application of *yín* to describe the performance of Chǔ music seems well-grounded. What follows is that *yín* became compatible with *jī*, often applied to and likely characteristic of the Chǔ music.[246]

Here is a further example to show how the restrained and hesitant mode represented by *wēi* and the raging and hastened mode referred to as *jī* – two seemingly oppositive modes – congregate under *yín*:

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243 *Chǔ cí* (1) 9.210; see Owen (1996: 209) for the translation, slightly amended.

244 *Chǔ cí* (1) 9.210–211. Note that the "Jī Chǔ" is often juxtaposed with the music of Zhèng and Wèi.

245 YFSJ 26.376.

246 Which can be seen in Wén Yǐng's 文穎 (n.d., Three Kingdom period) ethnotypical comment on the *Jī Chǔ jié fēng* 激楚結風 'sharp and twirling' ("Jié Fēng" is also the title of a tune) in the "Shànglín fù": "The customs of the Chǔ area are already by nature swift and rapid, and songs and music, on top of that, follow the whirling and tangling wind of the tempo. Hence music of the region features fast [tempo] and melancholic [emotion]" (*Chǔdì fēngqì jì zì piāojí, rán gēyuè zhě yóu fù yī jíjié zhī jífēng wèi jiē yě, qí yuè cùxùn āiqiē yě* 楚地風氣既自漂疾，然歌樂者猶復依激結之急風爲節也，其樂促迅哀切也) (*Wén xuǎn* [1] 8.375, n.).

黃鵠一遠別	Once a brown swan departs for a place afar,
千裏顧徘徊	A thousand miles would it gaze back and linger.
胡馬失其群	Once a *hú* horse loses its herd,
思心常依依	Its heart often fills with longing.
何況雙飛龍	Let alone the pair of flying dragons,
羽翼臨當乖	Their wings, when parting, would go awry.
幸有弦歌曲	Fortunately, there are stringed songs,
可以喻中懷	Whereby my inner mind can be expressed.
請爲遊子吟	I beg to cantillate for the traveler,
泠泠一何悲	How sad is its rippling?
絲竹厲清聲	The sounds of string and bamboo [instruments now] sharpen the clear voice,
慷慨有餘哀	Impassioned, with melancholy lingering on.
長歌正激烈	Just when the long song is raging,
中心愴以摧	My heart is broken with grief.
欲展清商曲	I want to unfold a pure *shāng*-mode tune,
念子不得歸	It occurs to me that you cannot return.
俯仰內傷心	Lowering my head and raising it again, I am saddened inside,
淚下不可揮	My tears stream down, and I cannot stop them.
願爲雙黃鵠	I hope to turn into a pair of brown swans,
送子俱遠飛	Accompanying you, together we fly away.[247]

The poem is recorded in the *Wén xuǎn* in a suite of four pentasyllabic poems without titles. It is attributed to Sū Zǐqīng 蘇子卿 (a.k.a. Sū Wǔ 蘇武, 140–60 BC), known for being a Western Hàn envoy who was detained on his mission to the Xiōngnú 匈奴 for nineteen years. The occasion, according to the Táng commentator Zhāng Xǐ 張銑 (n.d.), was when Sū was parting with his younger brother.[248] But the poetic form seems to betray a later dating to the Eastern Hàn at the earliest. The content suggests a

247 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 29.1354–1355.

248 *Wén xuǎn* (2) 29.544.

musical occasion saturated with sadness, possibly a banquet held before parting, on which there was singing and playing of stringed and bamboo instruments. The poem is typically well-crafted in that it adopts many imageries that are at the same time song titles. Discernable are at least *huánghú* 黃鵠 'brown swan' (L1, and *shuāng huánghú* 雙黃鵠 'a pair of brown swans' in the penultimate line),[249] *húmǎ* 胡馬 'horse from Central Asia' (L3),[250] *fēilóng* 飛龍 'flying dragon' (L5),[251] *yóuzǐ yín* 遊子吟 'to cantillate for the traveler' (L9) and *chánggē* 長歌 'long song/to elongate the singing' (L13).[252] While their literal meanings match well with the context, they probably refer to a series of specific *xiángē qǔ* 弦歌曲 'stringed songs' (L7) actually performed on this occasion. "Yóuzǐ yín," which becomes a popular poetic theme in later periods, finds its first occurrence in this poem (based on the received literature). The Yuán-Míng scholar Liú Lǚ 劉履 (fl. 1379) speculated that the tune/song, in its original form, was related to the "Chǔ yǐn" 楚引 [Chǔ Prelude], a zither tune/song composed by a Chǔ traveler on his homesickness.[253] *Yǐn* refers to 'to draw out long' or the opening section of an instrumental piece.[254] From

249 The *Hàn shū* records a song composed by the daughter of the Titulary King of Jiāngdōu 江都王 (?–121 BC) that contains the line *yuàn wéi huánghú xī guī gùxiāng* 願爲黃鵠兮歸故鄉 'I wish to turn into a brown swan and return to my hometown' (66b.3903). Gě Hóng 葛洪 (283–343) mentioned in the *Bàopǔ zǐ* 抱樸子 [Master Embracing Simplicity] that the founder and the first emperor of the Hàn dynasty Liú Bāng *fā huánghú zhī bēigē* 發黃鵠之悲歌 'sang the melancholic song of the brown swan,' which refers to the "Hónghú gē" 鴻鵠歌 [Song of the Swan] (2.76). Wáng Wéi had a "Shuāng huánghú gē sòngbié" 雙黃鵠歌送別 [Song on a Pair of Yellow Swans for Parting] (*Wáng Wéi jí* 2.141).

250 In the "Xuánlǎn fù" 玄覽賦 [Rhapsody on Profound Perception] by Xiāo Yì 蕭繹 (508–555), there is *yín zǐliú zhī chánggē* 吟紫騮之長歌 'cantillating the long song about the purple horse' (*Quán Liáng wén* 15.3b [QW 3036]). *Zǐliú* 紫騮 'purple horse' originates from the Hénán guó 河南國 (Azha) (*Nán shǐ* 南史 [History of the Southern Dynasties] 63.1544), hence a "foreign horse." Though the source is relevantly late, it may well suggest that there were songs about fine horses from Northwestern nomadic countries that could be performed in the mode of *yín*.

251 The song is mentioned in the "Qín fù," and it may refer to a Hàn ritual song, as pointed out by the *Wén xuǎn* commentator Lǐ Shàn 李善 (630–689) (*Wén xuǎn* [1] 18.845).

252 The "Chánggē xíng" 長歌行 [(lit.) Long Ballad] is categorized under the "Xiānghé gēcí" category in the YFSJ, together with the "Duǎngē xíng" 短歌行 [(lit.) Short Ballad] (YFSJ 30.441).

253 *Fēngyǎ yì* 風雅翼 [Compendium to the Air and the Elegantiae] 1.95. The "Chǔ yǐn" is attested in the *Qín cāo* 琴操 [Zither Tunes] (9–10, 23), attributed to the renowned Hàn literatus-scholar Cài Yōng 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192).

254 Wáng Kūnwú 1996: 273.

the "Chǔ yǐn" to the "Yóuzǐ yín," the song has probably undergone changes in form, while at the same time, it is suggested that the "Yóuzǐ yín" derived from Chǔ-style music. *Línglíng* 泠泠 (L10) refers to sounds that are clear (*qīng* 清), cooling and touching like the flowing water or the drifting breeze.[255] That is probably characteristic of the *yín* mode or the song titled with it. The instruments, then, "sharpened" (*lì* 厲 [L11]) the sorrowful singing and attached to it a *kāngkǎi* 慷慨 'strong-hearted and melancholic' aura – a term Lù Jī employed to describe his *chángyín* 長吟, lit. 'long cantillation' as well. That emotion has mounted to a climax in L13. The performance, too, has reached its apex at that point. But just when the singing was *jīliè* 激烈 'soaring, raging' (L13), the enduring, overwhelming sadness abruptly conflicted with the original intention of obtaining relief through music. Even the attempt to perform an emotionally suitable *qīngshāng* tune was hence suspended (L14).

The same applied to the cases of *yín* of Wú and Yuè. We will probably never arrive at a neat conclusion about the exact mode of the Wú-Yuè-origin of Zhuāng Xī's *yín*, that is, whether it was sighing, humming, cantillating in his mother tongue or singing the song of his homeland, etc. Yet, we see that Zuǒ Sī 左思 (ca. 250–305) paralleled *Jīng yàn Chǔ wǔ, Wú yú Yuè yín* 荊豔楚舞，吳愉越吟 'songs of Jīng and dances of Chǔ, lays of Wú and lyrics of Yuè' in his "Wúdū fù" 吳都賦 [Wú Capital Rhapsody].[256] Yú Xìn 庾信 (513–581) had a reversed *Wú yú Yuè yín, Jīng yàn Chǔ wǔ* 吳歈越吟，荊艷楚舞 'lays of Wú and lyrics of Yuè, songs of Jīng and dances of Chǔ' in his "Āi Jiāngnán fù" 哀江南賦 [Rhapsody on Sorrows over the Southland].[257] And in the *Zuǎnyào* attributed to the Emperor Yuán 元 of Liáng (508–555), the *Wú gē yuē yú, Chǔ gē yuē yàn* 吳歌曰歈，楚歌曰艷 'to sing in the tone of Wú is called *yú*, and to sing in the tone of Chǔ is called *yàn*'[258] seems to anticipate a *Yuè gē yuē yín* 越歌曰吟 'songs of Yuè are called *yín*' as well.

The earliest *Yuè gē* attested is the song referred to as "Yuèrén gē" 越人歌 [Song of the Man of

255 See the commentaries on the *yīn línglíng ér yíng'ěr* 音泠泠而盈耳 'the tones splash on, filling the ears' in the *Wén fù* (241–246, n., translation from Owen [1992: 175]).

256 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 5.231. In Lǐ Shàn's commentary to the "Qín fù," however, he glossed *Jīng yàn* as *Chǔ wǔ* 楚舞 'a dance of Chǔ' (*Wén xuǎn* [1] 18.845).

257 *Yú Xìn jí* 2.111.

258 YFSJ 83.1165.

Yuè] or "Yuèrén yōngjí gē" 越人擁楫歌 [Song of the Yuè Oarsman] dating from the Zhànguó period. It was sung by a boatman from Yuè of Prince Zǐxī 子晳, the Lord of È 鄂 (Chǔ) on an excursion. In the *Shuō yuàn* is recorded a transcription of the song in its unknown original language ("Yuè") with Chinese characters, and the rendering into the Chinese language in the poetic form of the *Chǔ cí* around 528 BC.[259] Of this song of Yuè, we only know that it is in a language different from "Chinese," it was impromptu on occasion, at which time it was probably unaccompanied by instrumental music,[260] and – of most interest to us – it is not referred to as *yín* in the Western Hàn collection.[261]

But when (folk) songs of the Wú-Yuè region, together with ancient tunes of the Central Plains as well as songs of the Chǔ area became integral parts of the dominant *qīngshāng* 清商 music by the Six dynasties period,[262] *yín* had become a common designation of Wú-Yuè music as well. Zhuāng Xì's *yín* must have played its role in that shift of usage.

It remains an open question of what kind of mode *yín* may suggest, if related to the Wú-Yuè region. A further *Yuè yín* occurs in the story recorded in the "Gōu Jiàn yīnmóu wàichuán" 勾踐陰謀外傳 [Outer Tradition of Gōu Jiàn's Secret Plots] in the Later Hàn *Wú Yuè chūnqiū* 吳越春秋 [Spring and Autumn Annals of Wú and Yuè]. It is said that the King of Yuè once sent more than three thousand woodsmen to the mountains in order to please the King of Wú with rare lumbers. A year had passed and yet the men did not find what they desired. They became so homesick and resentful that they sang (*gē*) "Mùkè zhī yín" 木客之吟 [Sighing of the Woodsmen/on the Mountain Guest of Wood].[263] Here, *yín*

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259 *Shuō yuàn* (11.277–279). Hence it has triggered the interest of historical linguists in their investigation into the archaic languages of this region.

260 Since the passage reads: *huì zhōnggǔ zhī yīn bì, bǎngyì Yuèrén yōngjí ér gē, gēcí yuē* 會鐘鼓之音畢，榜枻越人擁楫而歌，歌辭曰 'just when the sounds of bells and drums halted, the man from Yuè who rowed the boat held the oar and sang, whose lyrics are the following' (*Shuō yuàn* 11.278).

261 *Yín* does not occur *Yuè jué shū* 越絕書 [Recorded Documents on Yuè] (for the translation and the puzzle of the title see the "Yüeh chüeh shu 越絕書" by Axel Schuessler and Michael Loewe in Loewe [1993: 491], and here the translation follows Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng [1999: 7–8]), also a later Hàn compilation of essays on the pre-imperial states of Wú and Yuè.

262 YFSJ 44.638–639. This *qīngshāng*, as a categorial name, is different, and derives from those previously cited.

263 *Wú Yuè chūnqiū* 9.340. It is suggested that *mùkè* might be the name of the mountain (9.355, n. 41). In the *Shuǐjīng zhù* 水經注 [Commentary on the Classic of Waterways], the phrasing slightly varied, as *zuò "Mùkè yín"* 作《木客吟》 'they

is often read as a title marker in the literature. There is a dialogue between the King Huì 惠 of Wèi (r. 369–319 BC) and his minister Dí Jiān 翟煎 (n.d.) in the *Huáinán zǐ* also concerning the singing (*gē*) of lumberjacks:

> Now take those who haul heavy logs: those in front call out '*[G](r)A-q^{hʕ}aʔ,' while those behind respond to them. This is a chant to encourage the strength of those who haul heavy loads. Could it really be that they do not know either the melodies of Zhèng and Wèi or the [tune called] 'Whirling Chǔ'? They do not use them because they do not suit the circumstance as well as this chant does.
> 今夫舉大木者，前呼「邪許」，後亦應之。此舉重勸力之歌也，豈無鄭、衛、激楚之音哉？然而不用者，不若此其宜也。[264]

With this example, the minister illustrated to the king that laws should be implemented based on their suitability for governing a state rather than on the literary eloquence of the clauses. This chant to encourage physical strength, which is presumably melodically and lyrically quite simple, is referred to as a *gē*.[265] The "Mùkè zhī yín" serves a different function from this *gē*. Hence it is hard to decide whether the two bear any formal and modal similarities. It is likely, however, that the "Mùkè zhī yín" also features the form of *xiànghè*, where some harmonize with the singing of the others, as well as the simple musical structure, and also as *a cappella*.

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composed the "Sighing of the Woodsmen/on the Mountain 'Guest of Wood'" (9.340, n.). Besides, *Wú Yuè chūnqiū* contributes the most "sonorant" *yín* so far. It is said that in a war between Wú and Jìn, the king of Wú *qīn míng jīngǔ, sānjūn huáyín yǐ zhèn qí lǚ, qí shēng dòngtiān xǐdì* 親鳴金鼓，三軍譁吟，以振其旅，其聲動天徙地 'the king hit the golden drum personally, and the three armies hailed and howled, so as to boost their troops, whose voices shook the sky and moved the ground' (*Wú Yuè chūnqiū* 5.168). However, the *yín* is here substituted by *kòu* 釦 < **khuwX* < *k^{hʕ}oʔ, lit. 'the mouth of a metal object' in the corresponding passage in the "Wú yǔ" 吳語 [Discourses of Wú] section of the *Guó yǔ*, which probably refers to the noise made by striking a metal object, or it may be a phonetic loan of *hǒu* 吼 < **xuwX* <*q^{hʕ}oʔ 'to howl' (*Guó yǔ* 19.550, n.).

264 *Huáinán zǐ* 12.831. translation from Major et al. (2010: 441–442), slightly amended.

265 Again, we see the "Jī Chǔ" being categorized together with the music of Zhèng and Wèi, representing musical compositions (with dances) that are complicated in structure and appealing in comparison to ritual music.

Following the tradition of the singing woodsmen, we reasonably suspect that the *xíngyín* of Zhū Mǎichén, a woodsman, might be partly musical. This consequently corresponds to the preceding *yín* of Yuán Xiàn in the same quatrain. Moreover, Zhū came from the Kuàijì 會稽 commandery, belonging to the ancient Wú-Yuè region. Might his *yín* feature the tone of his hometown, or his mother tongue – can this *yín* be categorized under Wú-Yuè *yín*?

Gē and *yín*, separately or in collocation, are employed to refer to folk chants, of which the woodsmen's songs are vivid examples. In the *Hàn shū*, we see that when Empress Lǚ 呂 (d. 180 BC) was enraged by an envoy from Xiōngnú, general Fán Kuài 樊噲 (242–189 BC) proposed to lead large troops to conquer the northern nomad regime, which Jì Bù 季布 (221–101 BC) bitterly opposed:

> Kuài should be beheaded! Previously, Chén Xī[266] led a revolt in Dài. The Hàn soldiers amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand, and Kuài was their Generalissimo. At the time, the Xiōngnú besieged Emperor Gāo in the Píng city, but Kuài was unable to lift the siege. Those under heaven sang about in the following way:

	A	B	C	D	TRANSLATION
1	平	城	之	下	At the foot of the city walls of Píng,
OC (*)	breŋ	[d]eŋ	tə	gˁraʔ	
LHan (*)	biɛŋ	dźeŋ	tśə	ga^{B}	
2	亦	誠	苦		It is indeed miserable.
OC (*)	ɢ(r)Ak	[d]eŋ	kʰˁaʔ		
LHan (*)	jak	dźeŋ	kʰɑ^{B}		
3	七	日	不	食	For seven days they do not eat,
OC (*)	[tsʰ]i[t]	C.nik	pə	mə-ləkˁ	
LHan (*)	tsʰit	ńit	puə	źik	
4	不	能	彀	弩	They are unable to pull their bow to the full.
OC (*)	pə	nˁə(ʔ) (~ *nˁəŋ)	[k]ˁ(r)ok-s	*C.nˁaʔ	
LHan (*)	puə	nə(ŋ)	ko^{C}	nɑ^{B}	

Now the sound of the *singing and sighing* is lingering, and those wounded [in that war] cannot rise up. But Kuài is willing to bring All-under-Heaven into turmoil and boasts

266 ?–196 BC.

> that he can march onto the rampage with a crowd of a hundred-thousand. This is lying to Your Majesty to your face!
> 噲可斬也！前陳豨反於代，漢兵三十二萬，噲爲上將軍，時匈奴圍高帝於平城，噲不能解圍。天下歌之曰：「平城之下亦誠苦！七日不食，不能彀弩。」今歌唫之聲未絕，傷痍者甫起，而噲欲搖動天下，妄言以十萬眾橫行，是面謾也。[267]

Gēyín 歌唫 refers to the verse, which is well-patterned with possible line internal rhymes or assonances (1A-1B, 3A-3B[-3D], 3C-3D, 4A-4B), cross-line rhymes and resonances (1AB-2B, 1C-3C[D]-4AB), as well as end-rhymes (1D, 2C, 4D), which was performed musically to a certain degree.[268] It is likely to have become already a compound by this time. Like many pre-Qín *yín* mentioned, this *yín* is of "popular" origin, which usually mirrors or responds to the governance of the superiors. It also exhibits a certain discernible formal uniqueness. For instance, when the *Wénxīn diāolóng* stresses that the now lost 'lament' (*āicí* 哀辭) by Cuī Yuàn 崔瑗 (77?–143) ends with a pentasyllabic stanza that resembles the style of *gēyáo* 歌謠 – *gēyín* 歌吟 is used instead, in a Míng dynasty recension of the *Tàipíng yùlǎn*.[269] This offers a glimpse of a situation where the connotations of *gē*, *ōu*, *yáo*, and *yín* overlap, in that they can refer to orally transmitted folk songs/chants, which are plain in wording but refined in prosodic structure (in particular, rhyming, which presumably bears a mnemonic function). Their precise musicality is hard to trace, except that they can be performed individually *or* collectively, while instrumental accompaniments are not necessary.

Their scarcity and ambiguity notwithstanding, there are cases that seem to signify the difference

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267 *Hàn shū* 94a.3755. Since we are treating an early Western Hàn verse recorded in an Eastern Hàn work, I cite both OC and LHan transcriptions.

268 Note that the words by Jì Bù are an elaboration of the corresponding passage in his biography in the *Shǐ jì* (100.2731–2731) (cf. also *Hàn shū* [37.1977]), while the sentence containing *gēyín* also finds a template in a different chapter of the *Shǐ jì*, which reads *kūqì zhī shēng wèi jué, shāngyí zhě wèi qǐ* 哭泣之聲未絕，傷痍者未起 'the sound of crying is lingering, and those who got wounded cannot yet stand up' (99.2716). That is, the *gēyín* (as well as the verse) is an innovation in the *Hàn shū*.

269 *Wénxīn diāolóng* 3.239–240.

between *gē* and *yín*. The "Zhēng fù" 箏賦 [Rhapsody on the Fretted Zither] by Xiāo Gāng 蕭綱 (503–551) contains two close juxtapositions of the two in the depiction of the performance of a fretted zither:

奏相思而不見	[The beauty] played a tune [on the fretted zither] about lovesickness when apart,
吟夜月而怨歌	Cantillated (to) the moon at night and sang resentfully.
[……]	[…]
抗長吟之靡曼	Matching with her cantillating voice, delicate and long-lasting,
雜新歌之可憐	Interwoven with a new song, so lovely.
歌曰	The lyric is the following:
[……]	[…][270]

Yín is again associated with sad feelings. The second *yín* has been pinned down as 'long-lasting' (*cháng* 長) and 'delicate and soft' (*mǐmàn* 靡曼).[271] Moreover, there is an interesting point that seems to differentiate *yín* and *gē*, that is, *yín* seems not to be followed with lyrics as *gē* does. Or, at least, the verbal content is not so worth mentioning as that of *gē*, which forms a six-lined pentasyllabic verse.[272]

Similarly, consider Zhāng Héng's 張衡 (78–139) "Sīxuán fù" 思玄賦 [Rhapsody on Contemplating the Mystery]:

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270 *Xiāo Gāng jí* 1.33–34.

271 For a discussion of the history and the aesthetic connotations of the term *mǐmàn* down to this period see Hóu Wénxué (2003). It is notable that the term has not been applied to the description of sound until the post-Hàn period.

272 Rén Bàntáng, in his discussion of the relationship between *yín* and *xiào*, briefly posed the question that since the Hàn, the two are frequently juxtaposed as referring to extemporaneous expression of feelings, and given that *xiào* is usually melodic but free from verbal content, it remains questionable whether the *yín* used in pair with it has the same features (2013: 21). I think it is a very insightful observation and I believe there must be cases that give an affirmative answer to his question. Besides, we have discussed why *yín* tends not to be followed by an object above.

素女撫弦而余音兮　The Pure Maiden strums a zither, oh how melody lingers on,
太容吟曰：「念哉」　Tairong cantillates, sighing, “Commit that to memory!”[273]

The lines derive from the imaginary travel of the personage to the celestial realm and there presented with musical performances. At the end, Tàiróng 太容, the musician of the legendary Yellow Emperor, concluded the performances with a *yín*. As the *yín* was performed by a musician and accompanied by zither music, it was likely to be in the form of a zither song. The lyric features a quite succinct interjection. Though the succinctness might be due to the restriction of the line length and the rime scheme, the use of short interjections is indeed typical for *xiānghè* songs.

As we may have discerned a vestige of the ‘not to speak’ connotation of *yín* here, in several other cases “humming” seems to be a preferable translation for the character:

> For this reason, if repeated performance on an instrument is insufficient, then one may hum or sing in order to release his feelings. If humming and singing are not sufficient, then one may entrust his words to writing in order to express his thoughts.
> 是故復之而不足，則吟詠以肆志，吟詠之不足，則寄言以廣意。[274]

> While the Grand Mentor Xiè[275] was in retirement in the Eastern Mountains, he was once boating on a lake for pleasure with Sūn, Wáng,[276] and others. When the wind arose and the waves tossed, Sūn, Wáng and the others all showed alarm in their faces and urged that the boat be brought back to the shore. But the Grand Mentor’s spirit and feelings were just beginning to be exhilarated, and humming and whistling, he said nothing.

273 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 15.673, translation from Knechtges 1996: 133.

274 From the preface of the “Qín fù” by Jí Kāng (*Wén xuǎn* [1] 18.836, translation from Knechtges [1996: 279–280]).

275 Xiè Ān 謝安 (320–385).

276 Sūn Chuò 孫綽 (314–371) and Wáng Xīzhī 王羲之 (303–361).

> 謝太傅盤桓東山時，與孫興公諸人汎海戲。風起浪涌，孫、王諸人色並遽，便唱使還。太傅神情方王，吟嘯不言。[277]

An epitome of all that "polarizes" the modes of *gē* and *yín* appears in the introduction of the *dúqǔ gē* 讀曲歌, lit. 'reading tune/lyric song' in the YFSJ:

> According to the "Treatises on Music" in the *Book of the Sòng*, "The 'Reading-tune song' was composed by the commoners for Yìkāng, Prince of Péngchéng.[278] The song goes, 'Commandant Liú should be sentenced to death, Liú the fourth is killed by mistake." The "Records of Music of the Past and the Present" say, "The 'Reading-tune song' [derives from the following circumstance]. In the seventeenth year of the *Yuánjiā* era,[279] Empress Yuán passed away, and [hence] the state officers dared not to sing/to enjoy singing performances. On occasions of banquets, musical pieces were only secretly read and cantillated in low voices. That is where the title came from." Note that the time Yìkāng was banished was also the seventeenth year.
> 《宋書·樂志》曰：「《讀曲歌》者，民間爲彭城王義康所作也。其歌云『死罪劉領軍，誤殺劉第四』是也。」《古今樂錄》曰：「《讀曲歌》者，元嘉十七年袁后崩，百官不敢作聲歌，或因酒讌，止竊聲讀曲細吟而已，以此爲名。」按義康被徙，亦是十七年。[280]

YFSJ collects eighty-nine pieces under the title "Dúqǔ gē," and in the category "Wúshēng gē" 吳聲歌

277 From the "Yǎliàng" 雅量 [Cultivated Tolerance] chapter of the *Shìshuō xīnyǔ* (2a.437), translation from Mather (2002: 201), slightly amended. In particular, I omitted the "poems" following "humming" in Mather's translation for the sake of the ensuing *bù yán*.

278 Liú Yìkāng 劉義康 (409–451).

279 440.

280 YFSJ 46.671.

'Songs in the Wú Tone.'[281] Most of these songs consist of four pentasyllabic lines, wherein Wú vocabulary occurs with high frequency.[282] Though a temporal connection between the two quotes about the origin of the *dúqǔ gē* is suggested here, the *Sòng shū* pinpoints a specific song that is titled as such, while the *Gǔjīn yuèlù* defines a group named after their mode of performance *qièshēng dúqǔ xìyín* 竊聲讀曲細吟, lit. 'in secret voice, read the song lyrics, cantillate in a minimized voice.' This *yín*, falling into the "category" of *Wú yín*, is hence opposite to *shēnggē* 聲歌 'vocal singing' by its relevance to a lowered, soft voice (reminiscent of the previous *wēiyín*), as well as to the mode designated as *dú* 讀.

One of the strands of the meaning of *dú* is 'to murmur (so as to memorize).'[283] It seems also tied to music or at least meter to a certain degree in the case of the Six dynasties *dúqǔ gē*, as the mode was employed as a substitution for the musical spectacle at banquets. There is also ample evidence for *yín* (individually or in compounds) during the period in question that favors an interpretation similar to this *dú*. See, for example, the *Yán tiě lùn* 鹽鐵論 [Discourses on Salt and Iron] of the Western Hàn, which exemplifies the use of *shēnyín* in this sense:

> Mumbling and cantillating [what is written] on the scorched bamboos, and reciting the discourses of the dead, then the officials are not comparable to the literati.
> 呻吟槁簡，誦死人之語，則有司不以文學。[284]

The *Lùn héng* 論衡 [Discourses in the Balance] of the Eastern Hàn, similarly, has:

> Liú Zǐzhèng[285] immersed himself in the study of the *Zuǒ Tradition*, and [even] his houseboys, his wife and children, were all cantillating and reciting it.

281 YFSJ 46.671–677.

282 See e.g. Gāo/Zhāng 2020.

283 Again, see Behr/Führer (2005) for the early development of the semantic field 'to read,' including terms like *dú*, *sòng* 誦, *niàn* 念 (also as *niàn* 唸 [2005: 21]) and *yǒng* etc., many among which are of interest to us.

284 *Yán tiě lùn* 10.603.

285 A.k.a. Liú Xiàng.

劉子政玩弄《左氏》，童僕妻子皆呻吟之。[286]

The *Lùn héng* passage is probably modeled on the *Xīn lùn* 新論 [New Treatise], whereby *shēnyín* has replaced the *dúsòng* 讀誦 'read and recited' of the original, and has henceforth assumed its meaning.[287] This *shēnyín* seems to be consistent with its application to the process of poetic composition mentioned previously. That means, the use of the term probably presupposes an *awareness*, as well as a *realization* of the metrical structure, while its juxtaposition with *dú* and *sòng* here has added a mnemonic function. The *Zuǒ Tradition* serves as the object of *yín* also in the well-known literatus-scholar Wáng Yún's own preface ("Zìxù" 自序), stating he *ài Zuǒshì chūnqiū, yínfěng chángwéi kǒushí* 愛《左氏春秋》，吟諷常爲口實 'favored the *Zuǒ Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, kept chanting and reciting and it has become my major subject for conversation.'[288]

Xíngyín occurs in a similar context. Wú Yòu 吳祐 (n.d., of the Eastern Hàn), for example, used to *xíngyín jīngshū* 行吟經書 'cantillate the classics as he went,' when he was tending the pigs.[289] Moreover, at last, the *Book of Odes* has become the object of *yín*(*yǒng*) used in this sense:

> The people of Bā, Shǔ, Yuèsuǐ, Yùlín, Annam, Liáodōng, Yuèlàng, in Zhōu times, wore their hair long and in tufts with hair-pins: today they wear fur-caps. In Zhōu times they

286 *Lùn héng* 29.1164.

287 See *Xīn lùn* (10.79). For this relationship between the two passages see *Lùn héng* (29.1164, n.). Alfred Forke (1867–1944) has translated the *wán nòng* 玩弄 'immersed himself in the study of' in the *Lùn héng* passage as 'mocked at,' based on the record in the *Hàn shū* that Liú Xiàng majored on the *Gǔliáng* 穀梁 commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (Forke 1907: 1.462, n. 6). For the *Xīn Lùn* passage, nevertheless, he rendered *dúsòng* as 'read and recited,' which was followed by Timoteus Pokora (1928–1985) (1975: 99). Besides, this usage of *shēnyín* is probably "anticipated" (there are controversies over the date) in the *Zhuāng zǐ*, in the "Liè yù kòu" 列御寇 under the "Zá piān" 雜篇 [Miscellaneous Chapter]. The *shēnyín* in the *Zhèngrén Huǎn yě, shēnyín Qiúshì zhī dì, zhǐ sānnián ér Huǎn wéi rú* 鄭人緩也，呻吟裘氏之地，祇三年而緩爲儒 '[t]here was a man from Zheng named Huan who, after three years of reciting and memorizing texts at a place called Qiushi, finally became a Confucian scholar' (*Zhuāng zǐ* 10a.1042, translation from Watson [2013: 280]).

288 *Nán shǐ* 22.611.

289 *Dōngguàn Hàn jì* 東觀漢記 [Records of the Hàn from the Eastern Library] 17.772.

required two interpreters, now they cantillate the *Odes* and the *Documents*.
巴、蜀、越嶲、鬱林、日南、遼東，樂浪，周時被髮椎髻，今戴皮弁；周時重譯，今吟《詩》、《書》。[290]

Now that Níng[291] has recovered from his old illness. He is turning eighty, [but] he has not lost his ambition. Earth walls all around and a twig-woven gate, he is living in that poor lane, eating porridge to stuff himself, and having meals [only] every two days. He cantillates the *Odes* and the *Documents*, not allowing his joy to be affected [by the meager living].
今寧舊疾已瘳，行年八十，志無衰倦。環堵蓽門，偃息窮巷，飯糲餬口，並日而食，吟詠《詩》、《書》，不改其樂。[292]

Both the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents* feature much richer aurally prominent prosodies than the *Zuǒ Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals*. It is thus uncertain whether they were cantillated and recited in the same mode. Nevertheless, the examples just cited suggest that *yínyǒng* had also acquired the meaning of 'to read' and 'to recite.'

The description of Guǎn Níng is comparable to that of Yuán Xiàn and Yán Huí, and Wú Yòu's *xíngyín* is similar to that by Zhū Mǎichén; hence we recall the metrical, or maybe musical, and mnemonical *yín*. To put an end to this long digression and return to the *Wú-Yuè yín*, let us consider one more case concerning Zhū Mǎichén's hometown Kuàijì. The Six dynasties poet Xiè Língyùn composed a "Kuài yín xíng" 會吟行 [Ballad on Kuài Cantillation] that opens with the following quatrain:

六引緩清唱　The clear singing of the six preludes fading,
三調佇繁音　A wide array of sounds of the three modes came to an end.

290 *Lùn héng* 19.833, translation see Forke (1962: 2.209), slightly amended.

291 I.e., Guǎn Níng 管寧 (158–241).

292 *Sānguó zhì* 三國志 [Records of the Three Kingdoms] 11.359.

列筵皆靜寂　The attendants at the banquet are all in total silence,
咸共聆會吟　Unanimously listening to the Cantillation on Kuài.[293]

Kuài 會 is generally regarded as referring to the toponym Kuàijì. And the rest of the poem is an appraisal of the geographical features and historical figures of the ancient Wú-Yuè area. The poem demonstrates a clear topical and structural resemblance with the "Wú qū xíng" 吳趨行 [Ballad on Wú Shuffling] by Lù Jī, detectable already by a comparison of the openings:

楚妃且勿歎　Lady of Chǔ, do not sigh for a moment,
齊娥且莫謳　Beauty from Qí, halt the singing briefly.
四座並清聽　All present, clear your hearing,
聽我歌吳趨　Listen to me singing the *Wú qū*.[294]

According to Cuī Bào's 崔豹 (n.d., of the Western Jìn) *Gǔjīn zhù* 古今注 [Notes on the Present and the Past], the people of Wú sang about their land with the "Wú qū qǔ" 吳趨曲 [Song on Wú Shuffling].[295] *Qū* 趨 means 'to hurry forward, to scuttle along with small steps and bowed head.' We have mentioned *qū* being used to name the coda-section of a grand suite. In the case of "Wú qū qǔ," the *qū* is interpreted as *bù* 步 'step' in the annotations of the *Wén xuǎn* by the five ministers (*wǔchén* 五臣).[296] Along this line, it has been suggested that "Wú qū" refers to a (kind of) dance, as for example *huìtóng xiǎngdí, zé yǐ Wú qū Chǔ wǔ wéi yāoyán* 會同饗覿，則以吳趨楚舞為妖妍 'when getting together at banquets and meetings, then the *qū* of Wú and the dances of Chǔ are the most fabulous' from the lost *Sòng Lüè* 宋略 [Outlines of the Sòng] by Péi Zǐyě 裴子野 (469–530), in a narrative that sets these appealing dancing performances against the ritual music.[297] We may recall the banquet dance "Jī Chǔ" at the juxtaposition

293 *Xiè Língyùn jí* 1.22–23.

294 YFSJ 64.934.

295 YFSJ 64.934.

296 *Wén xuǎn* (2) 28.525.

297 *Tōng diǎn* 通典 [Comprehensive Statutes] 141.3601, n.

of the dances of Wú and Chǔ. It is very likely that *Wú qū* shares with "Jī Chǔ" the similar element "fast(-tempo)," as for example indicated by their titles. However, as the Míng critic Yáng Shèn pointed out, (1) the description of a performance of two poetic lines accompanied by a zither in a voice that 'sounds between singing and crying' (*ruò gē ruò kū* 若歌若哭) in the *Zhuāng zǐ – qūjǔ qí shī* 趨舉其詩 'the lines were uttered in haste,' was interpreted by Cuī Zhuàn 崔撰 (n.d., of the Eastern Jìn) as *wú yīnqǔ* 無音曲 'without a melody'; (2) Liú Chénwēng 劉辰翁 (1232–1279) glossed *qū* as *qíng qiè ér cí pò* 情愜而詞迫 'the feeling is adequate and the words are in haste.'[298] That is, *qū* is probably depictive of the mode of the vocal performance rather than the dance. It is unknown whether the opening of Lù Jī's "Wú qū xíng" is descriptive, that is, whether he was really performing the song. If he was, what he performed was probably the new lyric he composed to the old tune.

The possibility of Xiè Língyùn's poem being a pure literarily crafted emulation notwithstanding, the "Kuài yín xíng," by analogy with the "Wú qū xíng," might be a popular song of the Wú-Yuè region, with *yín* signifying a mode of performance.[299] In the YFSJ, both "Wú qū" and "Kuài yín" are subsumed under the "Záqǔ gēcí" category, and are introduced as:

> There are those whose ancient lyrics are lost, but people of later periods have emulated and elaborated on them, based on which, their themes can be traced. Those are like [...] the "Qí song," the "Wú shuffling," the "Kuài cantillation," the "Woe" vel sim.
> 有不見古辭，而後人繼有擬述，可以概見其義者，則若[……]《齊謳》、《吳趨》、《會吟》、《悲哉》之類是也。[300]

The Sòng scholar Zhèng Qiáo 鄭樵 (1104–1162) asserted:

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298 *Shēng'ān shīhuà* 升庵詩話 [Remarks on Poetry by Shēng'ān] 4.715.

299 It throws new light on the understanding of the several *yín xíng* mentioned above. YFSJ 61.885.

300 YFSJ 61.885. The juxtaposition of the "Qí ōu," the "Wú qū," and the "Kuài yín" is notable since the first two are mentioned at the beginning of Lù Jī's "Wú qū xíng" (L2 and L4). The "Chǔfēi tàn" 楚妃歎 [Lament on the Lady of Chǔ] is also implied by L1 of the poem, but it belongs to the "Xiānghè gēcí" category, where *yín* often appears in the titles as a genre marker.

> A thousand years have passed, those who want to perform a "Qí Song" must employ the accent of Qí, and those who want to perform a "Wú Shuffling" must base themselves on the tone of Wú.
> 千載而下，欲爲《齊謳》者，必本齊音；欲爲《吳趨》者，必本吳調。[301]

This reveals the role accent and intonation play in the vocal performance of regional songs. Wáng Ào 王鏊 (1450–1524), a Míng scholar-official, addressed the problem in a more detailed way in his discussion of the songs of Wú:

> The language of Wú is pure and soft. To sing (in that topolect) sounds graceful and clear, deep and long-lasting, sincere in affection and admiration. Thus, in the Music Bureau collection, there are the "Ballad of Wú Shuffling," and the "Wú Musical Sounds, Small Piece." They are also referred to as "Wú yú," and are well-known by all under heaven for their accent. [People from] other commanderies, although repetitively practicing them, cannot match the original. Lū Jī's "Ballad on Wú Shuffling" is also modeled on the tradition of the ancient tune, to describe the beauty of the Wú region.
> 吳音清柔，歌則窈窕洞徹，沈沈綿綿，切于感慕，故樂府有《吳趨行》、《吳音子》，又曰「吳歈」，皆以音擅于天下。佗郡雖習之，不及也。陸機《吳趨行》，亦因古曲之餘，以道吳地之淑美。[302]

For *Kuài yín* we do not have evidence as rich as that for *Wú qū*. Yet, this analogy serves as an indication of the features of the *Kuài yín*, not just because of Xiè Língyùn's likely literary imitation, but also the regional relevance, as well as the idea that *yín*, might be compatible with *qū*, given its co-occurrence with *jī*, which also refers to a hurried movement, a fast tempo. Meanwhile, this *yín* seems to also become referential to the category of poems/songs which offers a panorama of a district. Of this type, there is, for example, Xiāo Gāng's "Shǔguó xiángē piān shíyùn" 蜀國弦歌篇十韻 [Stringed Songs on the State

301 *Tōng zhì* 通志 [Comprehensive Treaties] 49.917.

302 From the *Gūsū zhì* 姑蘇志 [Local Gazeteer of Sūzhōu].

Shǔ in Ten Rhymes],[303] also titled "Shǔguó xián" 蜀國弦 [Strings of the State Shǔ], which is categorized under the "Shǔ xiánqǔ" 蜀弦曲 [Stringed Tunes of Shǔ] in the YFSJ.[304] It has still another title, "Shǔguó yín" 蜀國吟 [Cantillation on the State of Shǔ], as in the *Wényuàn yīnghuá* 文苑英華 [Finest Blossoms of the Garden of Literature].[305] Opening with a couplet on the harsh roads to the Shǔ, the poem mainly describes musical spectacles and entertainments in the Shǔ area. *Xiángē* and *yín* in the titles may well be indicative of the mode of performing the lyrical poem.

* * *

Cobbling together these traces of the mode(s) *yín* might stand for, we are faced with the problem of whether they present a coherent usage of the term, or instead a range of the possible connotations it may have. Clearly, *yín* seems quite "musical" in some cases, while in others not. But the same problem applies to the concept of "musicality," as it is hard to demarcate precisely to what extent a cadential, rhythmic, or melodic intonation can be called a "song." To include more details still, the question arises with regard to *yín* on whether lyrics were necessary, or if fixed pitches and tempos etc. were prerequisites. Such questions were bound to arise at the very moment we decided to delve into the topic based on how the concept of *yín* is contextualized. It may well be the case that a unified understanding of the mode as implied by *yín* was neither intended nor achieved, let alone that the chasm between *míng* 名 'designation' (signifier) and *shí* 實 'reality' (signified) may never be filled. Literati have notoriously complicated the scene, first, by paying "respect" to the literary tradition. They either borrowed or alluded to previous usages of the term *yín* or, as is often the case with Music Bureau poems like the "Kuài yín xíng," they superficially modeled a poem on previous *yín*-works, while it is questionable whether they factually followed the mode(s) of that *yín*. Furthermore, they employed the term as a rhetorical or prosodic tool, and hence did not necessarily care as much about the exact mode(s) it might represent. Hence, for example, given the abundant examples of a rather "reserved" *yín*, one wonders how far expressions like *gāoyín* 高吟 'to cantillate loudly,' *kuángyín* 狂吟 'to cantillate wildly'

303 *Yùtái xīnyǒng* 7.276.

304 YFSJ 30.440.

305 *Wényuàn yīnghuá* 201.996–997.

and *chángyín mìngdí* 長吟命敵 'to cantillate long and to order the enemies' were descriptive,[306] or whether they were, to some extent, fruits of literary craftsmanship in search of novel and idiosyncratic expressions.

It is, nevertheless, delightful to find that prior to the Táng, when a "consensus" on the intimacy between *yín* and poetry had gradually been reached, a wide repertoire of *yín* of relevant usages of *yín* was available. In direct connection with poetic activities, we see, for example, Xiè Língyùn's *Kuài yín*, where the poem might be a new piece of lyric to the *yín*-mode performance; and we see Xiāo Gāng's *wúláo yèyóu qǔ / jìcǐ tuō wēiyín* 無勞夜遊曲 / 寄此託微吟 'no need for a night-reveling tune / song, I cantillate softly on this,'[307] where *yín* seems the "opposite" of a song (*qǔ*). Both of the two usages of *yín* hinged on the connotation of 'to compose.' We also see, however, that *yín* was used in the reception of a poem, where its connotation of a "repetitive" activity seems to be emphasized. For example, there is a description of an appreciation of Wáng Jí's famous "Rù Ruòyé xī shī" 入若邪溪詩 [Poem on Entering the Ruòyé Creek] by the same Xiāo Gāng, that he *yínyǒng, bùnéng wàng zhī* 吟詠，不能忘之 'cantillated and prolonged it, and could not forget about it.'[308]

The Taoist collection *Zhēn gào* 真誥 [Declarations by the Perfected] by Táo Hóngjǐng 陶弘景 (456–536) offers invaluable instances of poems being performed in the mode of *yín*. The compilation has long been famous for its abundance of metrical verses. These verses were, allegedly, orally bestowed upon the "shaman"-like Yáng Xī 楊羲 (330–386) by a group of Taoist *zhēnrén* 真人 'perfected people' in dream-like settings, and recorded by Yáng, or transmitted by him to Xǔ Mì 許謐 (303–376) and Xǔ Huì 許翽 (341–370). To acknowledge the divine authors of the poems, either *zuò* 'to compose' or terms indicative of the modes are employed, among which *yín* and *gē* hold an absolute majority. *Yín* seems to be used synonymously with *gē* as defining a melodic presentation of the poems, and sometimes also in collocation with the latter:

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306 From Lù Yún's 陸雲 (262–303) "Shèngdé sòng" 盛德頌 [Hymn on the Enormous Virtue] (*Quán Jìn wén* 103.12b [QW 2052]), Cáo Huá 曹華 (281–325) "Lántíng shī" 蘭亭詩 [Poem on Orchid Pavilion] (*Jìn shī* 13 [XS 917]), and Shì Dào'ān 釋道安 (312–385) "Xímó wén" 檄魔文 [Dispatch on the Demons] (*Quán Hòuwèi wén* 全後魏文 [Complete Later Wèi Prose] 59.5a [QW 3811]) respectively.

307 The ending couplet of "Nàliáng shī" 納涼詩 [Poem on Enjoying the Cool] (*Liáng shī* 21 [XS 1946]).

308 *Yánshì jiāxùn* 4.295.

> As she was about to leave, she instructed me to write a poem on paper. When I finished, she chanted:
> 臨去，授作一紙詩。畢，乃吟歌：[309]

> [T]he Perfected Man of Ultimate Primordiality and Director of Destinies wrote out these poems, saying that they are songs from the inner chambers of Blue Lad's palace, and that they are always to be cantillated in praise to harmonize one's spirits.
> 太元真人司命君書出此詩，云是「青童宮中內房曲」，恆吟讚此和神。[310]

Apart from its similarity to *gē*, what is also notable is that only *yín* is used in the two cases describing the repetitive chanting of the poems, as in *yín cǐ zàisān* 吟此再三 'to cantillate this two or three times.'[311] As pointed out by many scholars, the poems in this collection demonstrate features of the Wú topolect, which might be related to the provenance of Yáng Xī, Xǔ Mì and Xǔ Huì, as well as to the main region of transmission of the texts until the time of Táo Hóngjǐng's compilation.[312] Considering what has been discussed on the correlation between Wú-Yuè and *yín* above, it may not be a wild guess at all to attribute the frequent use of *yín* in this collection to the Wú-Yuè culture from which it stems, and thus also to imagine the mode of these *yín* accordingly.

Another work of this period, belonging to the sphere of religious literature, that offers informative descriptions of the mode(s) of *yín* is the *Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks], and below are some examples:

> To regulate the pipes and strings, to give up singing and dancing, [only] to cantillate/hum and to whistle – would it be correct to do so?

309 *Zhēn gào* 3.80, translation from Smith (2013: 154).

310 *Zhēn gào* 3.118, translation from Smith (2013: 225).

311 *Zhēn gào* 3.90, 4.130.

312 See e.g. Dīng Hóngwǔ (2011: 46–47); Xià Xiānzhōng (2012).

律制管絃，戒絕歌舞，一吟一嘯，可得爲乎？[313]

Each time Monk Huìqìng [...] cantillated [the *sūtras*] at night, he always heard the sound of snapping the fingers and sighed appraisals from the dark.
釋慧慶[……]每夜吟諷，常聞闇中有彈指讚歎之聲。[314]

When it comes to those chilling and tranquil evenings, those moonlit long nights, alone in an isolated room, one cantillates and recites the *sūtras*, in a voice loud and bright, clearly enunciating every single word. It suffices to light up the gloomy soul, and to cheer up the spirit. This is what is called singing, prolonging and reciting the words of the *dharma*, and to take this as music.
若迺凝寒靖夜，朗月長宵，獨處閑房，吟諷經典，音吐遒亮，文字分明。足使幽靈忻踴，精神暢悅。所謂歌詠誦法言，以此爲音樂者也。[315]

In the first example, *yín* is analogized with *xiào*, both of which are contrasted against musically complicated forms of performances in the preceding lines. The second and the third examples derive from the "Sòngjīng" 誦經 [(Specialists on) Cantillating the Sūtras] chapter, hence the object of *yín* being the *sūtras*. *Yín* here featured mnemonic and mood-boosting functions, different from the negative implications it has been so often associated with. As for its mode, this *yín* seemed no longer "*wēi*" 'subtle,' but strong and clear. It seemed to be melodic, by which this mode could be referred to as *gē* and *sòng*, and hence regarded as "music" (in the last example). It was rhythmic as well, to which the snap of the fingers must have followed. A *yín* accompanied by tempo-measuring seemed to be a common practice. Further examples include *kāngkǎi dùnzú yín* 慷慨頓足吟 'impassionedly and melancholically, stamping the feet and cantillating,'[316] *dǐjiē xínglù yín* 抵節行路吟 'beating the clappers and cantillating

313 *Gāosēng zhuàn* 7.277.

314 *Gāosēng zhuàn* 12.463.

315 *Gāosēng zhuàn* 12.475.

316 From Zhāng Huá's 張華 (232–300) "Bólíng wáng gōngxiá qǔ èrshǒu (qíyī)" 博陵王宮俠曲二首（其一） [Tunes on the

on the traveling,'[317] *diézú yín yōuchàng* 蹀足吟幽唱 'stamping the feet and cantillating a quiet chant/song,'[318] and similar expressions.

However, it is notable that, despite this development of *yín*, in which it seems to rival the S-terms in denoting vocal performances, it has not yet achieved any advantages over the other terms in such usages. We still see a mixed, casual use of *yín* and S-terms, of which the third example just cited is a good demonstration. When [+human] and [-human] vocalizations were juxtaposed, *yín* tends to be used for the latter, while S-terms still seem to exhibit a closer relationship with human voicing, such as in:

塗山有餘恨　The sorrow of the Lady of Mount Tú lingered,
詩人詠采葛　The poet chanted the "Gathering the Dolichos."
蜻蛚吟床下　Crickets chirped under the couch,
回風起幽闥　The whirling wind rose at the hidden door.[319]

非必丝与竹　No need [to play] the string and bamboo [instruments],
山水有清音　Mountains and rivers have clear sounds.
何事待啸歌　Why bother waiting for whistling and singing?
灌木自悲吟　Bushes and woods cantillated sadly by themselves.[320]

The *poet* practiced *yǒng* while the crickets *yín*, as in the former quatrain; there was no need for *xiào* and

Palace Paladin of the Prince Bólíng, Two Pieces (I)] (*Jìn shī* 3 [XS 612]).

317 From Bāozhào's 鮑照 (414?–466) "Nǐ xínglù nán shíbā shǒu (qíyī)" 擬行路難十八首（其一） [Imitating the Weary Roads, Eighteen Pieces (I)] (*Sòng shī* 7 [XS 1274]).

318 From the anonymous "Xīn Xuánzǐ zèngshī sānshǒu (qíyī)" 辛玄子贈詩三首（其一） [Poems Presented by Master Xīnxuán, Three Pieces (I)] (*Zhēn gào* 16.502).

319 From the "Zhāoshí piān" 朝時篇 [A Piece on the Dawn] (or titled as "Yuàn gē xíng" 怨歌行 [Ballad of the Song of Plaints]) by Fù Xuán 傅玄 (217–278) (*Jìn shī* 2 [XS 558]).

320 From the "Zhāoyǐn shī" 招隱詩 [Poem on Calling to the Recluse] by Zuǒ Sī (*Jìn shī* 7 [XS 734]).

gē here, because of the *yín* of the plants, as in the latter.[321]

Depicting poetic activities, *yín* seemed not yet necessarily the word of choice, either, as shown in the following narrative:

> Defense Commander of the Western Garrison Xiè[322] was once on a boating excursion, and on that particular night there was a fresh breeze and a bright moon. On one of the merchant ships moored along the river shore he heard the sound of someone chanting poems with very deep feeling. The five-word poems which were being intoned were, moreover, some he had never heard before, and he sighed endlessly in admiration over their excellence. Immediately dispatching someone to make more detailed inquiries, he discovered it was none other than Yuán[323] chanting his own "Chanted History Poems."
> 謝鎮西經船行，其夜清風朗月，聞江渚間估客船上有詠詩聲，甚有情致。所誦五言，又其所未嘗聞，歎美不能已。即遣委曲訊問，乃是袁自詠其所作《詠史詩》。[324]

321 Moreover, "cricket" frequently occurred with *yín* even in later periods, as alluding to the *Shī jīng* poem "Xīshuài" 蟋蟀 [Cricket] (no. 114); and the use of *yín* in the "Zhāoyǐn shī" was subject to prosodic considerations as well, concerning the rhyming position.

322 Xiè Shàng 謝尚 (308–357).

323 Yuán Hǔ 袁虎 (ca. 328–ca. 376).

324 *Shìshuō xīnyǔ* 1b.317, translation from Mather (2002: 146), slightly amended. The same applied to the narration of the same story in the *Xù Jìn yángqiū* 續晉陽秋 [Sequel to the History of Jìn] cited in Liú Xiàobiāo's 劉孝標 (462–521) commentary (*Shìshuō xīnyǔ* 1b.317).

3. THE TÁNG *YÍN* AND THE TÁNG POETIC AURALITY

When the Táng poets alluded to the story of Yuán Hǔ, Mèng Hàorán 孟浩然 (ca. 689–ca. 740) used the phrase *Niúzhǔ yǒng* 牛渚詠 'Ox Isle chant,' while Lǐ Bái employed the *Niúzhǔ **yín*** 牛渚吟 'Ox Isle cantillation.' Mèng Hàorán's use of *yǒng* is consistent with the original narration, and, at the same time, the word is prosodically fitting within the pentasyllabic regulated "Sòng Yuán shí Lǐngnán xúndì" 送袁十嶺南尋弟 [Seeing Off Yuán (Ten) to Find His Younger Brother South of the Ranges] poem,[325] as it is in the oblique tone. Meanwhile, in Lǐ Bái's "Láoláo tíng gē" 勞勞亭歌 [Song of the Pavilion of Deep Trouble], there is already a *yǒng* preceding the appearance of the Niúzhǔ story, and the choice of *yín* is thereby well-grounded.[326] Still, Lǐ Bái's innovative phrasing shows the development in the range of usage of *yín*, especially in relation to poetry.

We have seen that the pre-Táng literature has prepared a wide repertoire of usages of *yín*. Literati under Táng, indeed, were making full use of these sources, so that the term became so culturally saturated in this new period. In addition, while poetry had become probably the most prominent genre effective in personal, social and political lives, *yín* was also attaining a high frequency of occurrence in poetic contexts – which, however, seems to have been a gradual process.

In the following, I will take the QTS as the main source of investigation not only because, as a treasure preserving Táng linguistic phenomena, it encompasses a considerable number of usages of *yín*, but also that, in many cases, the poems contain usages which are themselves "self-referential" to the poetic activities, and to uncover the connotations of the *yín* used in such cases is our ultimate goal. Our discussion will roughly follow the sequence of the QTS, since the major part of the collection is chronologically compiled; this offers insights into the development in the usage of *yín*.[327]

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325 *Mèng Hàorán jí* 4.367, translation of the title from Kroll (2021: 363).

326 *Lǐ Bái jí* 7.398–399.

327 A few words are probably necessary on the database employed here: I searched *yín* in the QTS corpus in the Ctext repository (QTS [2]), and compared it with the "Xīnshī gǎi bà zì chángyín: *Quán Táng shī* jiǎnsuǒ xìtǒng" 新詩改罷自長吟——全唐詩檢索系統 [Finished Revising My New Poems, I Cantillate Them Long to Myself: Retrieval System for the Complete Táng Poetry] (QTS [3]). The former is helpful for exhibiting the original sequence, the latter for providing variants and annotations. Before the poems were quoted in the text, they were located in and proof-read against the published QTS

3.1. *YÍN* IN THE POEMS BY PALACE RESIDENTS IN THE QTS

The first nine chapters of the QTS are devoted to works by the imperial family and other residents of the palace. Though there are only nine occurrences of *yín*, these nonetheless very well exemplify some important aspects of *yín* under the Táng.

The Early Táng period, if we again follow the "standard" quadripartite division of Táng poetry, only offers examples of [-human] *yín*, by birds,[328] gibbons[329] and instruments.[330]

One example of *yín* comes from the High Táng, in the poetic title "Kuǐlěi yín" 傀儡吟 [Cantillation on the Puppet] by Emperor Xuánzōng.[331] It is a four-lined heptasyllabic poem, which analogizes the short performance of a wooden puppet to the transient and "dream-like" lifetime. The poem is referred to as "Kuǐlěi" 傀儡 [The Puppet] and attributed to Lǐ Bái in the *Mínghuáng zálù* 明皇雜錄 [Miscellaneous Records of Táng Xuánzōng], where *yín* describes the mode of cantillating the poem.[332] Moreover, it is titled "Yǒng mù lǎorén" 詠木老人 [On a Wooden Old Man] and attributed to Liáng Huáng 梁鍠 (n.d.).[333] Hence, *yín* in the title is less likely to be a genre marker.

Here another case of *yín* appearing in the title is the "Xīhuā yín" 惜花吟 [Cantillation in Sympathy for Flowers] by the Mid-Táng female palace poet 鮑君徽 (fl. 798):

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version of 1960 (QTS [1]). When one of the variants of a poem contains the keyword *yín*, I take it into account in my discussion.

328 "Chūchūn dēnglóu jí mùguān zuò shùhuái" 初春登樓即目觀作述懷 [Climbing the Tower in the Early Spring, Giving an Account of My Thoughts Upon What I Saw] (QTS [1] 1.8).

329 "Liáodōng shānyè línqiū" 遼東山夜臨秋 [Night in the Mountains of Liáodōng, When the Autumn Is Impending] (QTS [1] 1.20).

330 "Cóngjià xìng Shàolín sì" 從駕幸少林寺 [Following His Majesty in His Visit to the Shàolín Temple] (QTS [1] 5.58).

331 QTS (1) 3.42.

332 *Mínghuáng zálù* "Bǔyí" 補遺 [Supplements] 981. It is situated in the background story the Emperor cantillated the poem frequently (*měi zì yín* 每自吟) in his last years, losing his dignity and power, trapped in the palace.

333 QTS (1) 202.2116.

枝上花花下人	(*nyin)	Upon the branch there are flowers, below the flowers there is the one,
可憐顏色俱青春	(*tsyhwin)	So lovable, that their complexions are both fresh.
昨日看花花灼灼	(*tsyak)	Yesterday, looking at flowers, the flowers took flame,
今朝看花花欲落	(*lak)	This morning, looking at flowers, the flowers are soon to fall.
不如盡此花下歡	(*xwan)	Best fully experience the pleasures underneath the flowers,
莫待春風總吹卻	(*khjak)	Do not wait until the spring wind to gust them all away.
鶯歌蝶舞韶光長	(*drjang)	Orioles sing, butterflies dance, lovely springtime linger long,
紅爐煮茗松花香	(*xjang)	Brewing tea on a red brazier, pine flowers smell sweet.
妝成罷吟恣遊後	(*huwX)	Makeup finished, cantillation dropped, done with roaming off at will,
獨把芳枝歸洞房	(*bjang)	Alone, holding a fragrant branch, she goes back to her chamber.[334]

The poem exhibits a particular form of folk song, based on the following features: (1) the first line is one syllable shorter than the other heptasyllabic lines, consisting of two trisyllabic half-lines; (2) the poem is trisected by the arrangement of rhymes, and the rime scheme is *aa bbxb ccxc*; (3) the intensive repetition of the word *huā* 花 'flower,' which is the topic of the poem and appears eight times, gives a "colloquial" feeling to the language. *Yín* in the title is hence very likely to be an indicator of the mode of this "song." Moreover, *yín* also occurs *within* the poem, in the penultimate line, which seems to be self-referential to the performance of this poem.

Coming to the Late Táng period, the famous mourning poem on the well-known poet Bái Jūyì by Emperor Xuānzōng 宣宗 (r. 846–859) offers the clearest example of *yín* as indicating the performance mode of a poem in the first section of the QTS. The couplet vividly shows the enormous popularity of Bái Jūyì's poetry at the time:

334 QTS (1) 7.69.

童子解吟長恨曲　Little children understand how to cantillate the song of everlasting pain,
胡兒能唱琵琶篇　Foreign lads are able to sing the piece about the pípá-lute.[335]

The poems, or more precisely, songs, mentioned in this couplet count the most celebrated works of the poet, the "Chánghèn gē" 長恨歌 [Song on Everlasting Pain] and the "Pípá xíng" 琵琶行 [Ballad of the Pípá-lute]. The *qǔ* that serves as its object, and the *chàng* it is paralleled to, suggest the mode of this "musical" *yín*.

The novel usage of *yín* as an *attribute* descriptive of the composing and cantillating activities, introduced in the first section of this paper, appears in the poem "Qiángwēi shī yī shǒu shíbā yùn chéng Dōnghǎi shìláng Xú Xuàn" 薔薇詩一首十八韻呈東海侍郎徐鉉 [A Poem on Roses of Eighteen Rhymes Presented to Vice Minister Xú Xuán from the Eastern Sea] by the Five dynasties poet Lǐ Cóngshàn 李從善 (940–987). *Yínzī*, lit. 'mustache of the cantillator,' presents a vivid image of the cantillating poet.[336]

The "not-speaking/humming" connotation of *yín* persists into this post-Táng period, making this term a kind of "Janus word." This usage appears in the "Guān qí" 觀棋 [Watching the Chase Game] by Lǐ Cóngqiān 李從謙 (946–995):

竹林二君子　In the bamboo grove there are two gentlemen,
盡日竟沉吟　All day long they are groaning in low voices.
相對終無語　Facing each other, they do not utter a word till the end,
爭先各有心　Each has his own ambition of surpassing the other.[337]

Chényín in L2 suggests a mode of deep and probably repetitive, and painful contemplation. Besides this, the immediately following line shows that the *yín* is "wordless."

335 "Diào Bái Jūyì" 弔白居易 [Mourning Bái Jūyì] (QTS [1] 4.49).

336 QTS (1) 8.76.

337 QTS (1) 8.76.

3.2. *YÍN* IN THE POEMS LABELED AS *YUÈFǓ* SONGS IN THE QTS

Notably, *yín* does not occur at all in the section of ritual songs ("Jiāomiào yuèzhāng" 郊廟樂章, Ch. 10–16) in the QTS.[338] On the contrary, "traditional" S-terms *gē*, *sòng*, *fù*, *yǒng* and also *chàng* do occur. In view of this, I tend to infer that *yín* is simply not included in a kind of 'refined speech' (*yǎyán* 雅言),[339] given that (1) *yín* is excluded from the pre-Qín S-terms depicting poetic activities of the elites; (2) *yín* is often related to regional/folk performances; (3) ritual music at the court often either derives from ancient forms or imitates a more archaic style. Or, as we have observed in previous discussions, *yín* usually depicts a lively, melodically complicated, and rhythmically rushing style of music, which is established as the opposite of elegant ritual music. Is the absence of the term in this section, then, a piece of evidence about its mode?

Yín does occur in the section of Music Bureau poems/songs ("Yuèfǔ" 樂府, Ch. 17–29). In the titles, we find "Lǒngtóu yín" 隴頭吟 [Cantillation on Lǒngtóu] belonging to the "Héngchuīqǔ cí" 橫吹曲辭 [Lyrics of Pipe Tunes] category;[340] "Báitóu yín",[341] "Liángfǔ yín" 梁甫吟 [Cantillation on Mount Liángfǔ] and "Dōngwǔ yín"[342] that belong to the "Xiānghè gēcí" category; and "Yóuzǐ yín,"[343] "Zhuàngshì yín" 壯士吟 [Cantillation on Bold Men],[344] "Yèzuò yín" 夜坐吟 [Cantillation on Sitting at Night], "Yèhán yín" 夜寒吟 [Cantillation on Chilling Was the Night][345] and "Chūnyóu yín" 春遊吟 [Cantillation on

338 Nor does *yáo* or *xiào* occur in this section. Note that the *sāo*-style songs (defined as *yáogē* 謠歌 'ballads' by Wáng Kūnwú), is prevailing as ceremonial songs composed by literati (Wáng Kūnwú 1996: 273–274, 347).

339 I am only borrowing the term metaphorical, as referring to possibly a kind of formal or prestige language. For the intricacies and controversies of this problematic concept, however, see Onishi (2019); Behr (2023).

340 QTS (1) 18.180–181.

341 QTS (1) 20.247–248.

342 QTS (1) 20.250.

343 QTS (1) 25.333–334.

344 QTS (1) 25.334.

345 QTS (1) 26.368. The "Yèhán yín" appears as "Hányè yín" 寒夜吟 [Cantillation on the Chilling Night] in the YFSJ 76.1074.

Spring Excursion][346] that belong to the "Záqǔ gēcí" category. We have encountered many of these titles in our previous discussions. *Yín* was used as a genre indicator in such titles, but when it comes to the Táng, it became further uncertain how far this *yín* was reflective of the musical performance of the contents. Táng poets very often borrowed ancient Music Bureau titles and topics and modeled their creations on these poems. But their original musical performances may not be resurrective. For instance, the "Liángfǔ yín xíng" was reported as no longer singable in the record on banquet music of 459.[347] Thus, for example, whether the lines like in Lǐ Bái's "Liángfǔ yín," *Liángfǔ yín, Liángfǔ yín, shēng zhèng bēi* 梁父吟，梁父吟，聲正悲 'cantillating on the Mount Liángfǔ, cantillating on the Mount Liángfǔ, the sound of it is right now so melancholic'[348] refer to real singing is questionable. Nonetheless, these lines by Lǐ Bái demonstrate what seems quite common in poems titled with genre indicators like *yín*, namely that these indicators are often directly or discursively referred back to within the poems, and that the contexts usually suggest the musicality of *yín*.

Since these Music Bureau poems appear again in the following section of the QTS where poets are chronologically listed, we will postpone our investigation into the use of *yín* within these poems to the following discussion dissected according to the quadripartite division of Táng poetry.

3.3. *YÍN* IN THE EARLY TÁNG POEMS

Seventy-five instances of *yín* are attested in the Early Táng poems (Ch. 30–106 in the QTS, till the poem by Zhèng Yīn 鄭愔 [?–710], plus an instance by Lǐ Huáiyuǎn 李懷遠 [?–706] in Ch. 882). Thirty-six (48%) are [-human] *yín*, 37 (49.3%) are [+human] *yín*, and two *yín* appear in the poetic title (2.7%). Among the cases of [+human] *yín*, however, around twenty (i.e., more than half) are either related to ancient Music Bureau titles, or appear as *Yuè yín*. We are not sure about the modes of these *yín* exactly because of their allusiveness. To again take the instance of *báitóu yín* that ends the "Qiūyè dúzuò" 秋夜

346 QTS (1) 26.371.

347 YFSJ 41.605. Of course, whether the "Liángfǔ yín" and the "Liángfǔ yín xíng" are identical or rather, the slight difference in their titles indicate differences in their musical styles remains a moot point.

348 QTS (1) 20.250. The two *fǔ* 父 are written as *fǔ* 甫 in QTS (1) 162.1682.

獨坐 [Sitting Alone at an Autumn Night] by Yuán Lǎng 袁朗 (n.d., active from the Chén dynasty to the beginning of the reign of Emperor Tàizōng 太宗 of the Táng [r. 626–694]) as an example:

危弦斷客心　Tremulous strings break the traveler's heart,
虛彈落驚禽　A feigned shot drops the startled bird.
新秋百慮淨　In new Autumn, hundreds of anxieties clean,
獨夜九愁深　At lonely night, numerous worries deepen.
枯蓬唯逐吹　Withered fleabanes only follow the blowing wind,
墜葉不歸林　Falling leaves do not return to their grove.
如何悲此曲　How to express my sadness over this tune?
坐作白頭吟　I sit and initiate a cantillation on white hair.[349]

The *báitóu yín* (L8) may be purely allusive to the old *Yuèfǔ* topos, whereby it can express the poet's longing for company and appreciation. Meanwhile, it seems that this *yín* was a spontaneous action in the present. It was evoked by the stringed music, and might well have been in the mode of a zither song. There persists, however, a third, literal interpretation of the last line, as 'I sat and cantillated for the white hair/as a white-haired man.'[350] Moreover, we should probably also keep in mind that it is always possible for *yín* to simply denote 'groaning, humming.'[351] This multi-layered understanding, possible even for a single character in a poem, along with the frequent intertextuality, are parts of the charm of

349 QTS (1) 30.432–433.

350 Even in an allusive usage, the poet is also entitled to borrow only one aspect of the original story, so that e.g. in the *wǔ*(*/wú*)*rán yōu chéng lǎo* / *kōng ěr báitóu yín* 憮（/無）然憂成老 / 空爾白頭吟 'startled, in worries I have come to old age (/pointless to come to old age in worries) / futile is the sighing of the white-haired' (QTS [1] 47.576; *wúrán* 無然 'no use' as in the *Zhāng Jiǔlíng jí* [4.322]) the aspect of "aging" as symbolized by the word *báitóu* is emphasized, corresponding to the first line. It is intriguing to find out when the literal meaning became dwelled on the *báitóu yín* with such an ancient origin. We see, e.g., Liú Xīyí 劉希夷 (651–?) famous "Dài bēi báitóu wēng" 代悲白頭翁 [Sadness of a White-haired Old Man] is also titled as "Báitóu yín" (QTS [1] 82.885).

351 Of this period, we see, e.g., *bàoyǐng yín zhōngyè* / *shuí wén cǐ tànxī* 抱影吟中夜 / 誰聞此歎息 'hugging my shadow I gasped in the midnight / who heard this sighing,' where *yín* equals with *tànxī* (QTS [1] 47.572).

this genre, for sure. But it poses a great problem for us in trying to pin down the meaning of our target term.

The remaining instances of the [+human] *yín* may at first sight seem not to be so directly allusive, but they are also intertextually embedded. The Táng readers, on balance, were prepared by the pre-Táng repository of possible *yín* semantics, and were ready for calling up the multiplied connotations of *yín* plainly or discursively embodied in Táng poetry. To take Sòng Zhīwèn's 宋之問 (ca. 656–ca. 712) twenty-two-lined pentasyllabic poem "Xià Guìjiāng Xuánlí bì" 下桂江縣黎壁 [Going Down the River Guì (Passing by) the Cliff of Fine Jade] as an example:

放溜覿前潊　Floating in the torrents, I see the shore ahead,
連山分上干　Linked hills massively soar up high.
江回雲壁轉　The river bends, and clouded cliffs take turns,
天小霧峯攢　The sky narrows, as fogged peaks cluster.
吼沫跳急浪　Roaring foams jump on swift currents,
合流環峻灘　Converging streams twist around forbidding rapids.
敧離出漩劃　Tilting, the boat rips through the vortexes,
繚繞避渦盤　Curving to avoid the eddies.
舟子怯桂水　Boatmen fear the River Guì,
最言斯路難　All saying: this is the harshest road.
吾生抱忠信　In my life I harbor integrity and trustworthiness,
吟嘯自安閒　Humming and whistling, I am content and at ease.
旦別已千歲　Since our farewell in the morning, thousands of years have passed,
夜愁勞萬端　Sorrows at night, toiling myself with their zillion sources.
企予見夜月　On tiptoe, I see the night moon,
委曲破林巒　Tortuously breaks through the woods and ridges.
潭曠竹煙盡　The pool stretches wide, smokes among the bamboo dispelling,
洲香橘露團　Isles' incense, dew on oranges globing.
豈傲夙所好　Do they surpass what I have always loved,
對之與俱歡　Facing them, we are all joyful.

思君罷琴酌　Thinking of you, I have to stop [playing the] zither and drinking,
泣此夜漫漫　I shed tears at this long night.[352]

Sòng Zhīwèn was sent into exile to the far southwest corner of the country, and he made the poem on his way. *Yín* appears in juxtaposition with *xiào* in the couplet (L11–12) which signifies a shift in the poem: while the preceding part is primarily a scenic description of the extreme hardships on the river road; the following part, on the one hand, involves more expression of the feeling, and on the other, unfolds a description of milder and more pleasant scenery. The first part of the poem is symbolic of the misfortune the poet was facing in his life, as well as his inner turbulence. The second part, then, seems to be a momentary relief from his raging feelings. But it in the end turns out to be a failed attempt to reconcile with himself. Hence, the *yín* and *xiào* at the turning point can be read as the poet's own way of contending with his unfair treatment, insisting as he did that he has held on to his belief and discretion, and boasting that he was carefree and at ease. The collocation of *yínxiào* is immediately reminiscent of the contexts it has so frequently been dwelled upon since the Hàn. It represents (1) a spontaneous expression of feelings as in Chénggōng Suí's 成公綏 (231–273) characterization of *xiào* "Xiào fù" 嘯賦 [Rhapsody on Whistling] with *chùlèi gǎnwù, yīn gē suí yín* 觸類感物，因歌隨吟 'moved by whatever he encounters, one responds in kind, sings and hums forth accordingly';[353] and the above-mentioned (2) *yī yín yī xiào* 一吟一嘯 'to hum and to whistle' which the Six dynasties monk, Shì Sēngchè 釋僧徹 (n.d.), deemed more natural than the more regulated and complicated forms of music and dance, also belongs to its connotations.[354] While it is legitimate to read the *yínxiào* in its allusive sense, it may well be descriptive of activities in the present, performed by the poetic self, or even by Sòng Zhīwèn, the poet. They were at first probably accompanied by zither and ale – zither being the old match of *yín*, and ale becoming an intimate pair of *yín* in this period as well – but later soaked in tears.

352 QTS (1) 51.624. For interpretation of the title, see *Sòng Zhīwèn jí* (3.568, n.1), and for a collation and a different interpretation of the title see Jīn Shíshēng (1982).

353 *Wén xuǎn* (1) 18.867, translation from Knechtges (1996: 317), slightly amended. To digress a little, I suspect that the second line might also suggest that *yín* follows and completes *gē*, and that they differ in modes, in the degree of musicality, or in the complexity of their verbal contents.

354 Note the question whether the *yín* in juxtaposition with *xiào* implies absence of words.

While it is not easy to imagine how he had access to zither and ale under such circumstances, an extemporaneous and perhaps slightly melancholic *yín* seems quite suitable. This is what keeps bothering us before we even delve into the mode of *yín*, that the use of the word oftentimes swings between allusive references and descriptions of actions on the scene.

Nonetheless, there are cases of *yín* that seem more straightforwardly related to present poetic activities. For instance, the "Sòng yǒurén wèi Shǔzhōng" 送友人尉蜀中 [Sending My Friend to Take Position in Shǔ] by Xú Jīng 徐晶 (n.d.) opens with the following couplet:

故友漢中尉　My old friend is becoming the Guardian in Hàn,
請為西蜀吟　I beg to cantillate for Western Shǔ.[355]

The *wèi* 為 'for' points to the scene at the moment. Such an opening, which is further followed by a description of the Shǔ culture, should remind us of the "Shǔguó yín," which covers the same topic and was presumably musical.[356] Interestingly, the "Sòng yǒurén wèi Shǔzhōng" is also collected in the *Guóxiù jí* 國秀集 [A Collection of the Ripened Talents of the State].[357] Poems collected in this Táng anthology are supposedly *all* sung poems.[358] That speaks for the existence of a corpus of singable stringed songs on the state of Shǔ under Táng.[359] And it again connects *yín* with a mode of musical performance. Similarly, if the phrase *gūfèn xiáyín* 孤憤遐吟 'in my isolate rage, I cantillate remotely' in Chén Zǐ'áng's 陳子昂 (ca. 659–770/661–772) "Xǐ Mǎ cānjūn xiāngyù zuìgē" 喜馬參軍相遇醉歌 [Rejoicing

355 QTS (1) 75.818.

356 It is possible to read *wéi* in L2 as a verb 'to make, to perform,' and *Xīshǔ yín* 西蜀吟 – which might be an alternative title of the "Shǔguó yín" – as a proper noun is its object. In that way the *Xīshǔ yín* parallels with its counterpart in L1, the nominal *Hànzhōng wèi* 漢中尉.

357 *Guóxiù jí* 2.268. See Kroll (2014: 179) for translation of the title of the anthology.

358 According to the *kě bèi guǎnxián zhě dōuwéi yījí* 可被管絃者都爲一集 'poems that can be put to [the music of] pipes and strings make up a collection' in the "Preface" of the *Guóxiù jí* (217) , translation from Yu (1990: 191), slightly amended.

359 Yet the YFSJ does not append Xú Jīng's poem to Xiāo Gāng's "Shǔguó xián" (30.440–441).

Encountering Adjutant Mǎ, Getting Drunk and Singing][360] is self-referential, then the *gē* in the title signifies the mode of performance of this *sāo tǐ* 騷體 '*sāo*-style' poem, and also, the mode of *yín*:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	TRANSLATION
1	獨	幽	默	以	三	月	兮	Alas, alone in gloomy silence
*	*dɯwk*	*'iw*	*mok*	*yiX*	*sam*	*ngjwot*	*hej*	for three months;
2	深	林	潛	居				Deep in the forest, I live in
*	*syim*	*lim*	*dzjem*	*kjo*				seclusion.
3	時	歲	忽	兮				Alas, time passes swiftly;
*	*dzyi*	*sjwejH*	*xwot*	*hej*				
4	孤	憤	遐	吟				In my solitary rage, I cantillate
*	*ku*	*bjunX*	*hae*	*ngim*				long.
5	誰	知	我	心				Who knows my heart?
*	*dzywij*	*trje*	*ngaX*	*sim*				
6	孺	子						Young man,
*	*nyuH*	*tsiX*						
7	孺	子						Young man!
*	*nyuH*	*tsiX*						
8	其	可	與	理	分/兮			Alas, is it possible to put myself
*	*gi*	*khaX*	*yo*	*liX*	*pjun/hej*			at ease!

The poem ends with *fēn* 分 < **pjun* (8E) in the Míng dynasty recension *Chén Bóyù wénjí* 陳伯玉文集 [An Anthology of Literary Works by Chén Bóyù],[361] as well as in the QTS, while it ends with *xī* (8E) in the *Chén shíyí jí* 陳拾遺集 [An Anthology of Reminder Chén] preserved in the Qīng imperial library.[362]

360 QTS (1) 83.902–903.

361 *Chén Zǐáng jí* (2) 7.24.

362 *Chén Zǐáng jí* (1) 7.30.

The two possible variations of the last syllable are directly related to the understanding of the line-end rhyming and hence the subdivision of the poem. In the *Chén Zǐáng jí* 陳子昂集 [An Anthology of Chén Zǐáng] of 1960 edited by Xú Péng 徐鵬 (1926–2012), the poem, ending with *xī*, is trisected following the rhyming pattern:

> 獨幽默以三月[(a)]兮，深林潛居，時歲忽[(a)]兮。孤憤遐吟[(b)]，誰知吾心[(b)]。孺子[(c)]，孺子[(c)]，其可與理[(c)]兮！[363]

In the first section, the ends of L1 (*yuè* 月 < **ngjwot* 'moon' at 1F) and L3 (*hū* 忽 < **xwot* 'transient' at 3C) rhyme in the oblique tone (**-ot*), with that of L2 sharing the same main vowel as the rime (**-o-*). The two lines (L4 and L5) in the second section rhyme in the level tone (**-im*). And the rest three lines again rhyme in oblique tone (**-iX*). Neatly, the rimes of the poem hence feature an alternation of oblique and level tones. What's more, in this reading, the particle *xī* lies always at line-ends – and section two also appears to be an "intermission" between two *Chǔ cí*-style sections.

What if we take *fēn* as the last character of the poem? Unlike *xī*, it must take part in the rime scheme, and in fact, it rhymes with *shēn* 深 < **syim* 'deep' (2A), *lín* 林 < **lim* 'woods' (2B), *yín* (4D) and *xīn* (5D). Should not we read the poem in the way:

> 獨幽默以三月兮深林，潛居時歲忽兮。孤憤遐吟，誰知我心。孺子，孺子，其可與理分。

so that it becomes a mono-rime poem? The syntax, esp. of the first two lines, however, seems a little "distorted" in comparison to those commonly seen in the Chǔ songs.

More important, nonetheless, is that in either version do we see a delicate rhyming matrix in the poem:

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363 *Chén Zǐáng jí* (3) 2.52. This punctuation is followed by Wáng Kūnwú (1996: 272) in his attempt at proving the poem to be a zither song. A different punctuation is suggested in *Chén Zǐáng jí* (4): 獨幽默以三月[(a)]兮，深林潛居。時歲忽[(a)]兮，孤憤遐吟[(b)]，誰知我心[(b)]？孺子孺子[(c)]，其可與理[(c)]兮。 (2.470) – giving little consideration to rhyming, it seems.

1	***duwk***	***'iw***	***mok***		***yiX***	***sam***	***ngjwot***	***hej***				
2									*syim	*lim	*dzjem	*kjo
3	*dzyi	*sjwejH					*xwot	*hej				
4	*ku	*bjunX							*hae	*ngim		
5	*dzywij	*trje	*ngaX							*sim		
6	*nyuH				*tsiX							
7	*nyuH				*tsiX							
8	*gi		*khaX	*yo	*liX			*(hej)		*(pjun)		

In the table above, characters within the same boxes, or similarly marked (in bold-italic or with character border), rhyme with one another, namely (a) 1D-6B-7B-8D; (b) 1F-3C; (c) 1G-3D-(8E, if *xī*) (repetition); (d) 2AB-4D-5D-(8E, if *fēn*);[364] (e) 2D-8C; (f) 3A-5A-8A; (g) 5C-8B; (h) 6A-7A (repetition, also 6B-7B). The intricate matrix of rhyming words – not even to mention the abundance of alliteration and consonances – is definitely a most prominent aural characteristic of the poem, which enables a euphonic performance, but is at the same time demanding in such an oral performance.

The "Huáitíng yín" 淮亭吟 [Cantillation on the Pavilion Huái],[365] composed by Xú Yànbó 徐彦伯 (?–714), also features in the *sāo*-style:

	LINE	**SYLLABLES (per line)**	**MC (line end)**	**TRANSLATION**
1	貞寂慮兮淮山幽	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**'jiw*	My cares are pure and desolate; Mount Huái is secluded,
2	憐芳若兮攬中洲	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**tsyuw*	I pity the fragrant; gaze over the midstream isles.
3	崩湍委咽日夜流	σσσσσσσ	**ljuw*	Twirling torrents whimper, flowing day

364 Concerned here is the rhyming of *shēn* 深 < **syim* with *zhēn* 臻 < **trin* rime group, see e.g. Qiáo Quánshēng (2008: 208–211).

365 QTS (1) 76.823.

	LINE	SYLLABLES (per line)	MC (line end)	TRANSLATION
				and night,
4	孤客危坐心自愁	σσσσσσσ	**dzrjuw*	The lonely guest sits up, his mind worried on its own.
5	矧鶴唳兮風曉	σσσ 兮 σσ	**xewX*	More still, cranes screech; on this windy morning,
6	複猿鳴兮霜秋	σσσ 兮 σσ	**tshjuw*	On top of that, there are gibbons singing; in the frosty autumn.
7	熠耀飛兮蟋蟀吟	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**ngim*	Glowworms fly; crickets sing,
8	倚清瑟兮橫涼琴	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**gim*	Leaning on the clear psaltery; a cold zither stretches.
9	擷瑤芳兮吊楚水	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**sywijX*	Pick white flowers; mourn at the Chǔ river,
10	弄琪樹兮歌越岑	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**dzrim*	Play with the jade tree; sing to the Yuè hills.
11	山碕礒兮隈曲	σσσ 兮 σσ	**khjowk*	Mountains are craggy; winding,
12	水涓漣兮洞汩	σσσ 兮 σσ	**kwot*	Rivers are rippling; running swiftly.
13	金光延起兮驟興沒	σσσσ 兮 σσσ	**mwot*	Golden lights span; promptly they rise and fall,
14	青苔竟兮綠蘋歇	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**xjot*	Blue-green moss wanes; green water-clover withers.
15	綠蘋歇兮凋朱顏	σσσ 兮 σσσ	**ngaen*	Green water-clover withers; wrinkles form on the ruddy cheeks,
16	美人寂曆兮何時閑	σσσσ 兮 σσσ	**hean*	The beauty quietly ages; when will she have a rest?
17	君不見可憐桐柏上	σσσσσσσσ	**dzyangX*	Have you not seen, above the lovely paulownia and cypress,
18	豐茸桂樹花滿山	σσσσσσσ	**srean*	Cassias flourish and flowers fill the mountains.

The rime scheme is *a'aaaxa bbxb xccc d'dxd*, which divides the poem into four sections. Connections observable in each section include most of the unrhymed lines ending in the rising tone, and the repetition of *lǜpín xiē* 綠蘋歇 'green water-clover withers' (L14–15) straddling the last two sections.[366] The line lengths exhibit an uneven pattern: 7-7-7-7-6-6, 7-7-7-7, 6-6, 8-7, 7-8-8-7. With the irregular insertion of the particle *xī*, and that of *jūn bùjiàn* 君不見 'have you not seen' – a deictic subjectivity marker that is often used in *Yuèfǔ* poems and conveys an air of orality – the rhythm becomes rather fluctuating. The *sāo*-style, the unusual or rather free-styled prosodic pattern, as well as the use of the anadiplosis and the colloquial/performative marker *jūn bùjiàn*, all indicate that the *yín*-poem was probably a song – most likely a zither song.[367] Xú Yànbó was famous for his creation of the so-called *sètǐ* 澀體 'crabbed style.' Typical examples include the cases that Yùshān 玉山 'Jade mountain' became *qióngyuè* 瓊岳, and *fēngniú* 風牛'storming ox' became *biāodú* 飆犢 under his brush – that is, he preferred to employ uncommon and extremely learnèd expressions in substitution for simple ones.[368] I think we see that tendency in the phrasing of this poem as well. It is unknown whether such "unnatural," tongue-twisting language would have also affected the performance of the poem if it was sung.

In the Cuī Tàizhī's 崔泰之 (?–723) "Tóng guānglù dì dōngrì shùhuái" 同光祿弟冬日述懷 [In Response to the Grand Master My Younger Brother's on a Winter Day], we see the only instance of the attributive usage of *yín* in the Early Táng section of the QTS:

積德韋丞相　Great virtue resembles that of Counsellor-in-chief Wéi,
通神張子房　Exceptional talents rival those of Zhāng Zǐfáng.
吟草徧簪紱　Cantillated drafts spread widely among men of office,
逸韻合宮商　Lingering rhymes match with musical notes.[369]

366 Connections observed based only on the information offered in the table.

367 See e.g. Wáng Kūnwú (1996: 272).

368 Recorded in the *Cháoyě qiānzǎi* 朝野僉載 [Draft Notes from the Court and the Field] by Zhāng Zhuó 張鷟 (ca. 658–730) (see Zhào Shùyáng 2021).

369 QTS (1) 91.990–991.

Wéi Chéngxiàng 韋丞相 'Wéi Counsellor-in-chief' alludes to the story of the Hàn dynasty's Wéi Xián 韋賢 (143–62 BC) and his son Wéi Xuánchéng 韋玄成 (? –41? BC), as they both served in that position. It resembles the case of the poet's friend Wéi Sìlì 韋嗣立 (660–719) and his father 韋思謙 (611–689), both of whom also assumed high official ranks. Zhāng Zǐfáng 張子房 (667–731), the courtesy name of the eminent minister of the founder of the Hàn, Zhāng Liáng 張良 (250–186 BC), serves as a reference to Zhāng Yuè 張說 (667–731). According to the Sòng dynasty *Táng shī jìshì* 唐詩紀事 [Records of Táng Poetry and Background Stories] by Jì Yǒugōng 計有功 (n.d.), the poem derives from one of the several poem exchanges between Cuī Tàizhī, his younger brother is Cuī Rìzhī 崔日知 (?–728), Wéi Sìlì and Zhāng Yuè.[370] *Yíncǎo* 吟草, lit. 'cantillated draft' is an unprecedented usage of *yín* in the received literature. As mentioned before, the usage of *yín* as an attributive exhibits a special bond between the word and poetry. Since Cuī Rìzhī lived well into the *Kāiyuán* 開元 era (713–741),[371] it may be helpful to look into the following period.

3.4. *YÍN* IN THE HIGH TÁNG POEMS

Among the 289 cases of *yín* found in the High Táng poems (Ch. 113–235 in the QTS, from Sòng Dǐng 宋鼎 [fl. 736–745] to Jiǎ Zhì 賈至 [718–772], plus an instance from Ch. 869): (1) 20 attestations of *yín* appear in the titles (6.9%); (2) [-human] *yín* amounts to 63 instances (21.8%); while (3) [+human] *yín* amounts to 206 cases (71.3%).[372] The increase in the ratio of [+human] *yín* in comparison to the Early Táng is observable.

During this period, *yín* is frequently analogized with 'singing' or 'song.' Below are some examples from Lǐ Bái's poems:

閒作東武吟　In idleness, I composed the "Cantillation on Mount Dōngwǔ,"
曲盡情未終　The song came to an end [but] my emotion did not rest.

370 *Táng shī jìshì* 14.387.

371 *Quán Táng wén* 107.

372 There are cases where it is difficult to decide between a [±human] *yín*, but they are too scarce to make a difference to the overall statistics.

書此謝知己　I wrote this to part with my true friends,
吾尋黃綺翁　I would go looking for virtuous hermits.[373]

悲來乎，悲來乎　How sad, how sad!
主人有酒且莫斟　My host, hold your ale and do not pour it yet,
聽我一曲悲來吟　Listen to me singing a song about sadness looming.
悲來不吟還不笑　When sadness looms, [if] I neither sing nor laugh,
天下無人知我心　No one under heaven knows my heart.
　君有數斗酒　Sir, you have several gallons of ale,
　我有三尺琴　I have a zither, three-feet long.
琴鳴酒樂兩相得　The singing zither, the ale and music, both match together well,
一杯不啻千鈞金　One cup worth no less than thousands of catties of gold.[374]

客有桂陽至　A guest from Guìyáng arrives,
能吟山鷓鴣　Who is able to sing "Partridges in Mountains".
清風動窗竹　The cool breeze shakes the bamboos in the window,
越鳥起相呼　Birds of Yuè stir, calling on one another.
持此足為樂　Holding that is enough to enjoy oneself,
何煩笙與竽　Why bother to have reed-organ and pipes?[375]

As also recorded in the YFSJ, the first example here derived from a *Yuèfǔ* poem titled "Dōngwǔ yín". In the poem, the poet took the established theme under that title about a demoted meritorious statesman as his model. His glorious old-day and desolate present-time form such a sharp contrast, but he still longed for being put to use.[376] The background has been spelled out in the alternative and more

373 QTS (1) 20.250–251, 164.1704.

374 QTS (1) 166.1722.

375 QTS (1) 179.1828.

376 *Lǐ Bái jí* 5.311–312.

descriptive titles like "Chū jīnmén hòu shūhuái liúbié Hànlín zhū gōng" 出金門後書懷留別翰林諸公 [After Leaving the Golden Gate, Writing My Feelings on Parting with the Various Gentlemen of the Hànlín Academy] or "Huán shān liúbié Jīnmén zhījǐ" 還山留別金門知己 [Returning to the Mountains, Parting with My True Friends of the Hànlín Academy], that is, the poem was composed when the poet was dismissed from his post in the capital city (744).[377] Despite its allusive implications, the song (*qǔ*) "Dōngwǔ yín" seems to be self-referential of the poem, in which the poet "recorded" his compositional process in detail: a presumably oral improvisation is followed by writing (*shū* 書, 3A) down the text.

The "Bēi gē xíng" 悲歌行 [Ballad on Sadness] can be divided into four sections by the repetitive usage of the duplicated trisyllabic phrase *bēi lái hū* 悲來乎 'how sad.' The second example above is the first section, which serves as an introduction to the occasion. It differs from the other sections in that it is not followed by recounting cases that caused the sadness, but it describes the scene of composing and performing the poem. The song (*qǔ*) "Bēi lái yín" 悲來吟 [Cantillation on Sadness] (L3) is probably a paraphrase of the title. Or we can also read this *yín* as a verb, followed by an instant repetition in the succeeding line in the form of a negating conditional statement (L4), which also points to the direct connection between the word and sadness. The song is, moreover, accompanied by zither music, and ale. What we should also take into account is that *yín* appears in the rhyming position here.

The meaning of *yín* in the third example becomes clear with the help of the title "Qiūpǔ qīngxī xuěyè duì jiǔ, kè yǒu chàng 'Shān zhègū' zhě" 秋浦清溪雪夜對酒，客有唱《山鷓鴣》者 [On the Creek in Qiūpǔ, at a Snowy Night Facing Ale, A Guest Singing the "Mountain Partridges"]. "Shān zhègū" 山鷓鴣 [Mountain Partridges] was a new song of that time, deriving from the south.[378] Various Táng poets had been engaged in contributing new lyrics to the tune,[379] including Lǐ Bái, who wrote a "Shān zhègū cí" 山鷓鴣詞 [Lyric to the Mountain Partridges].[380] Here, *yín* is semantically identical to *chàng*. And it is notable that Lǐ Bái did not choose *gē*, which would be prosodically suitable as well. The guest was singing *a cappella*, echoed by the sound of the wind, the bamboo and the birds.

377 *Lǐ Bái jí* 35.1593.

378 See *Lǐ Bái jí* 8.454, 20.945.

379 YFSJ 80.1131–1132.

380 *Lǐ Bái jí* 8.454.

Apart from being analogous to 'singing,' one of the indications of the mode of *yín* appears in Wáng Wéi's "Wén Péi xiùcái Dí yínshī yīn xìzèng" 聞裴秀才迪吟詩因戲贈 [Hearing Flourishing Talent Péi Dí Cantillating a Poem, I Then Playfully Presented This to Him]. It is also one of the earliest occurrences of the compound *yínshī* 吟詩 'to cantillate, to compose a poem':

猿吟一何苦　How wretched is the singing of the gibbons?
愁朝復悲夕　They grieve the morning and are again saddened by the night.
莫作巫峽聲　Don't make these Wū Gorge sounds,
腸斷秋江客　They break the heart of the autumn river travelers.[381]

It is a *xìzèng* 戲贈 'playfully presented' poem, where the singing of the gibbons is presented as a *parody* of the cantillating of poems by the poet's close friend Péi Dí 裴迪 (716–?). Down to this period, the call of gibbons encountered in the Three Gorges (Wū Gorge [L3] being one of them), through which the Yangtze River cruises pass, has long been firmly associated with sad emotions (*kǔ* 苦 in L1, *chóu* 愁 and *bēi* 悲 in L2).[382] We have speculated that [-human] *yín* might share palpable similarities with [+human] *yín*, when discussing examples from the pre-Táng period. This parody, hence, may offer insights into the actual mode of Péi Dí's cantillation. Nonetheless, what is emphasized in the parody by Wáng Wéi is still the evocativeness of sadness through the use of *yín*.

Gāo Shì 高適 (ca. 704–765) had a line *gǎnxìng píngyín cáizǐ shī* 感興平吟才子詩 'stirred and cantillated the poems by talents smoothly,' where the *píng* 平 < **bjaeng* 'level, smooth, calm' seems descriptive of the mode of *yín*.[383] This reading remains doubtful, however, since there is an alternative version with *pín* 頻 < **bjin* 'frequently.'[384] While *pín* matches well with the repetitive manner suggested by *yín*, a "smooth" *yín* seems to be an innovative combination. Questions remain: (1) when one is stirred to a state of outer expression, whether the more "uncontrollable" *pín* is more imaginable than the 'calm,

381 QTS (1) 128.1303, translation from Rouzer (2020: 97), slightly amended.

382 More on this topic see Gulik (1967).

383 QTS (1) 213.2220.

384 *Gāo Shì jí* 53, n. 4.

unfluctuating' way of cantillating; and of (2) whether there was indeed a specific mode of *yín* identifiable as *píng*, which represented the easy-going nature of the protagonist in this "Jìsù tiánjiā" 寄宿田家 [Lodging in a Farming Home], the *tiánjiā lǎowēng* 田家老翁 'old farmer.' Meanwhile, *píngyín* also occurs in the Dūnhuáng collection, where it probably belongs to notes on the methods of Buddhist chanting.[385] But the precise definition of the practical notes is still disputed, as is its relation to the instance in literary poetry discussed here.

There are two *duǎncháng yín* 短長吟, lit. 'short and long cantillation' by Dù Fǔ, which seem to be descriptive:

窮途衰謝意　At the journey's end, thoughts on the decline,
苦調短長吟　My short and long cantillations are in a bitter mode.[386]

不知雲雨散　Not knowing the clouds and rain had dispersed,
虛費短長吟　I spent myself in short and long cantillations for naught.[387]

Chángyín is a frequently used compound, while *duǎnyín* 短吟, lit. 'short cantillation' and *duǎncháng yín* are rarely seen. In the *Dù shī xiángzhù* 杜詩詳注 [Dù Fǔ's Poetry with Comprehensive Annotations], the *Yuèfǔ* titles "Chánggē xíng" and "Duǎngē xíng" are introduced as relevant to the *duǎncháng yín*.[388] The commentary on the *duǎncháng yín* in the second example here even suggests that *gǔshī yǒu "chángduǎn yín"* 古詩有《長短吟》 'in ancient poems there was a "Long and Short Cantillation."'[389]

385 See Wáng Kūnwú (1996: 390–412).

386 From "Sòng Yán shìláng dào Miánzhōu tóng dēng Dù shǐjūn jiānglóu (dé xīn zì)" 送嚴侍郎到綿州同登杜使君江樓（得心字） [Seeing Off Vice-Director Yán as Far as Miánzhōu, Together Climbing to the Upper Storey of Prefect Dù's River Mansion (I Received Xīn as the Rhyme)] (QTS [1] 227.2457, translation from Owen [2015: 3.129], slightly amended).

387 From "Yúzhōu hòu Yán liù shìyù bù dào xiān xià xiá" 渝州候嚴六侍御不到先下峽 [At Yúzhōu I Awaited Censor Yán (6), He Didn't Come so I Went Ahead Down the Gorges] (QTS [1] 229.2488, translation from Owen [2015: 4.71], slightly amended).

388 *Dù Fǔ jí* (1) 11.916, n. 2.

389 *Dù Fǔ jí* (1) 14.1223, n. 2.

Though I have not yet found the relevant *sous-texte*, it seems that the *Dù shī xiángzhù* reads the *duǎncháng yín* as referential to poems, with musical implications. In the *Dú Dù xīnjiě* 讀杜心解 [Reading Dù Fǔ: An Interpretation from Heart], however, the *duǎncháng yín* is glossed as *cháng yín fù duǎnyín, chényín zhī wèi yě* 長吟復短吟，沈吟之謂也 'sighing long and again sighing short, it means to ponder and to grieve.'[390] In fact, in analyzing the couplet in the second example, the Southern Sòng commentator Fàn Xīwén 范晞文 (n.d.) has spilled considerable ink on the juxtaposition between *yúnyǔ* 雲雨 'clouds and rain' and *duǎncháng* 短長 'short and long.' The two are not precise semantic or syntactic correspondences – nonetheless, *jùyì shìrán, bùjué qí wéi piānkū* 句意適然，不覺其為偏枯 'the meaning of the lines is coherent, rather than one-sided or worn.'[391] Here, *duǎncháng yín* is regarded as a literary device, innovated to complete the parallelism. Since no other cases for comparison are available, a ready interpretation of the phrase is pending. Dù Fǔ does seem to have spared some thoughts on the formal suitability, as (1) *yín* is in the rhyming position in both cases; (2) *duǎncháng* < **twanX-drjang* is always in an exact *píngzè*-contrast with its counterparts in the corresponding line of the couplet, *shuāixiè* 衰謝 < **srwij-zjaeH* 'declining and withering' and *yúnyǔ* < **hjun-hjuX*, which also fit into the prosody pattern of the couplets; (3) even the *kǔdiào* 苦調 'bitter mode' in the first example that also seems indicative of the characteristics of *yín*, is a perfect syntactic correspondence to *qióngtú* 窮途 'dead-end route,' featuring an adjective (with negative implication)+noun structure. On balance, since Dù Fǔ employed the contextually fitting phrase twice, the possibility remains that it referred to a specific mode of expression.[392]

Although we can find few further examples from this part of the QTS that seem to be indicative of the mode of *yín*, it is apparent that the term was, by that time, widely applicable in poetry-related contexts, including, for example, the 'cantillation' of a poem by a friend:

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390 *Dù Fǔ jí* (3) 3.487, n. 3.

391 *Duìchuáng yèyǔ* 2.420.

392 For comparison, Dù Fǔ has a *chánggē duǎnyǒng*(*gē*) 長歌短詠(歌) in his "Kuáng(Duǎn) gē xíng zèng sì xiōng" 狂(短)歌行贈四兄 [A Wild (Short) Song to My Older Brother] (QTS [1] 234.2583).

愛君有佳句　I loved your refined lines,
一日吟幾迴　Each day, how many times would I cantillate them![393]

自蒙蜀州人日作　Since I received in Shǔzhōu that composition on the Day of Mankind,
不意清詩久零落　I had not thought that this pure poem would have slipped from attention so long.
今晨散帙眼忽開　This morning I spread my manuscript covers and my eyes were suddenly opened,
迸淚幽吟事如昨　Shedding tears and quietly cantillating as if it were just yesterday.[394]

The two examples come from well-known Táng poets Cén Shēn and Dù Fǔ's oeuvre respectively. They offer a quick glimpse of the increasingly important role poetry was playing in the social life of Táng poets. Besides, *yín* has actively participated in the poets' compositional process as well. We may reflect briefly on how Lǐ Bái has probably practiced *yín* to the song on Mount Dōngwǔ, and thereafter wrote the words down in the "Dōngwǔ yín." But, a freshly composed poem would frequently be performed in the mode of *yín* too:

新詩吟未足　The new poem, I have not cantillated it enough,
昨夜夢東還　Last night, I dreamt of returning to the East.[395]

我有新詩何處吟　Whenever I have new poems, where will I cantillate them?

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393 From Cén Shēn's 岑參 (715–770) "Liángzhōu duìyǔ huái Qū èr xiùcái, biàn chéng Qū dà pànguān, shí jí, zèng yú xīnshī" 梁州對雨懷麴二秀才便呈麴大判官時疾贈余新詩 [In the Liáng Prefecture, Facing the Rain, Thinking of the Flourishing Talent Qū the Second, Hence Presenting to the Administrative Assistant Qū the Eldest, Who Was at the Time Unwell, Gifting Me a New Poem] (QTS [1] 198.2026).

394 From "Zhuīchóu gù Gāo Shǔzhōu rénrì jiàn jì" 追酬故高蜀州人日見寄 [A Retrospective Answer to the Late Gāo of Shǔzhōu's Poem Sent on the Day of Mankind] (QTS [1] 223.2382), translation from Owen (2015: 6.165–166), slightly amended.

395 From Cén Shēn's "Jìngchóu Lǐ pànguān shǐyuàn jíshì jiànchéng" 敬酬李判官使院即事見呈 [A Respective Answer to the Poem Presented by the Administrative Assistant Lǐ, an Impromptu in the Police Office] (QTS [1] 200.2066).

草堂自此無顏色　From this point on my thatched cottage lacks all attraction.[396]

賦詩歌句穩　Composing a poem, its lyrical lines are steady,
不免自長吟　I cannot keep from cantillating it long.[397]

The first example is again by Cén Shēn and the other two by Dù Fǔ. In particular, Dù Fǔ has mentioned his *shī chéng yínyǒng* 詩成吟詠 'when a poem is done, I cantillate it'[398] on several occasions. This "habit" of revisiting and revising one's own composition through oral performance – telling evidence of poetry being an au/oral art – is often read as a reflection of the great poet's meticulous attitude toward poetry. For instance, regarding the last couplet above, ancient commentators have expressed their profound admiration for the fact that the poet would vigorously cantillate his poem even when the lines are already (prosodically) fitting (*wěn* 穩 'steady'). Besides, the expression *gējù* 歌句, lit. 'singing lines' seems indicative of the mode of *yín*, but there is the variant *xīnjù* 新句 'new lines.'

In the rich cases of *yín* the work by Dù Fǔ offers, an interesting shift in the mood attached to the term comes to light:

種藥扶衰病　I plant medicinal herbs to nurse me in age and illness,
吟詩解歎嗟　I cantillate poems to relieve my sighs.[399]

歡劇提攜如意舞　In the height of joy I will take your hand and dance as suits my mood,
喜多行坐白頭吟　So much happiness that a white-haired old man cantillates, standing or sitting.[400]

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396 From "Nánshù wéi fēngyǔ suǒ bá tàn" 柟樹為風雨所拔歎 [A Lament for My Nanmu Tree Uprooted by Storm] (QTS [1] 219.2309), translation from Owen (2015: 3.41), slightly amended.

397 From "Chángyín" 長吟 [A Long Cantillation] (QTS [1] 234.2581).

398 From "Zhì hòu" 至後 [After the Solstice] (QTS [1] 228.2485), translation from Owen (2015: 4.41), slightly amended.

399 From "Yuǎnyóu" 遠遊 [Traveling Far] (QTS [1] 227.2454), translation from Owen (2015: 3.189), slightly amended.

400 From the second "Shèdì Guān fù Lántián qǔ qīzǐ dào Jiānglíng, xǐ jì sān shǒu" 舍弟觀赴藍田取妻子到江陵喜寄三首

Yín, or *yínshī*, becomes the *cure* for *tànjiē* 歎嗟 'to sigh' in the first example, which formerly was its "synonym." In the second example, *báitóu yín*, which could hardly be free from its negative associations, is connected with the exact opposite emotion – *xǐ* 喜 'happiness.' It seems this positive effect was what Dù Fǔ expected from poetry, and in particular, from *orally* performed poetry. And that did not have to be his own poem. Witness for instance the line *huì qī yínfěng shuò* / *yì pò lǚchóu níng* 會期吟諷數 / 益破旅愁凝 'I look forward to cantillating them frequently / ever more breaking my obsession with travel's sorrows,'[401] which describes what cantillating a friend's poem meant to him.

A comparable case is encountered in the lines by Lǐ Qí 李頎 (ca. 690–ca. 754) in praise of Péi Dí's cantillation/poem:

清吟可愈疾　Your pure cantillation can cure sickness,
攜手暫同歡　Holding hands, let us enjoy ourselves for a while.[402]

This is quite different from Wáng Wéi's teasing of Péi Dí, playfully parodying the latter's cantillation with the singing of the gibbons. More importantly, it can be situated in a tradition of the curative function of literary works, and notably, the *oral* performance of literary works. The epideictic Hàn rhapsodist Wáng Bāo 王褒 (90–51 BC) was among those assigned to *zhāoxī sòngdú qíwén jí suǒ zì zàozuò* 朝夕誦讀奇文及所自造作 'chant and read-aloud novel texts as well as their own compositions day and night' in order to cure the crown prince's illness.[403] Also, Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155–220), suffering from the *tóufēng* 頭風 'head-wind' syndrome, rose from his illness after reading (*dú*) the works by Chén Lín 陳琳 (?–217), claiming *cǐ yù wǒ bìng* 此愈我病 'these have cured my illness.'[404] Examples like these embody the

[My Brother Guān, Who Went to Lántián to Retrieve His Bride, Has Reached Jiānglíng; Happy, I Send These Three Poems] (QTS [1] 231.2541), translation from Owen (2015: 5.367), slightly amended.

401 From "Jì Liú Xiázhōu Bóhuá shǐjūn sìshí yùn" 寄劉峽州伯華使君四十韻 [Sent to Liú Bóhuá, Prefect of Xiá Prefecture: Forty Couplets] (QTS [1] 230.2515–2516), translation from Owen (2015: 5.213), slightly amended.

402 From "Shèngshàn gé sòng Péi Dí rù jīng" 聖善閣送裴迪入京 [Seeing Off Péi Dí to the Capital in the Pavilion of the Sagely-good Temple] (QTS [1] 134.1364).

403 *Hàn shū* 64b.2829.

404 *Sānguó zhì* 21.601, n. 2.

connection between *xiūshēn* 修身 'self-cultivation' and *zhìguó* 治國 'governing a state,' and at the same time, exemplify the aesthetic effects of (the oral performance of) literary works (especially in the case of Wáng Bāo).[405]

The *yín* employed in this context signifies a bond with poetry. Works in this specific genre, performed in this specific mode have this specific "positive" function, so that the negative implications, or even the ancient usage as the designation of a kind of illness, were no longer in effect. Based on the received QTS, Dù Fǔ surely contributed greatly to tying up *yín* and poetry, while loosening it from its negative associations. It is in his poems that we see how his positive view toward poetry has been attached to *yín*. This applies even to the following examples, where his expectation seems to have failed:

愁極本憑詩遣興　At sorrow's height I always rely on poems to vent my mood,
詩成吟詠轉淒涼　When a poem is done and I cantillate it, I get even more gloomy.[406]

照我衰顏忽落地　It shines upon my wasted face, then sinks into the earth,
口雖吟詠心中哀　Though I'm cantillating poems with my mouth, I'm mournful in my heart.[407]

Judging from *zhuǎn* 轉 'to shift to, to turn out to be' and the concessive conjunction *suī* 雖 'though' in the two examples respectively, his expectation of poetry, as well as of cantillating poetry, to be a form of self-expression and hence a relief from sufferings, clearly surfaces.

In Dù Fǔ's poems, we see S-terms used in poetry-related contexts as well, like the *yǒng* in compounds with *yín* here, for syntactic and prosodic considerations. Using *sòng* in the preface of the "Sū dà shìyù fǎng jiāngpǔ fù bā yùn jì yì" 蘇大侍禦訪江浦賦八韻記異 [Attendant Censor Sū Visited the River's Shore, Composing Eight Couplets to Record the Wonder], Dù Fǔ recorded the background

405 See e.g. Zhèng Yùyú (2007).

406 From "Zhì hòu."

407 From "Wǎnqíng" 晚晴 [Clear Skies Late in the Day] (QTS [1] 222.2365), translation from Owen (2015: 5.373), slightly amended.

story recounting that *yú qǐng sòng jìn shī, kěn yín shù shǒu* 余請誦近詩，肯吟數首 'I asked him[408] to recite his recently [composed] poems, and he was willing to cantillate several pieces.' In this poem, Dù Fǔ referred back to the action as *zài wén sòng xīnzuò* 再聞誦新作 'I then listened to him chanting his new compositions.'[409] I use two different renderings of the *sòng* here, since its meaning 'to recite' fits well into the context, while it seems to be interchangeable with *yín* as well, both of which probably refer to the mode of this poetic recitation. Dù Fǔ also had examples like the following:

伶官詩必誦　The officers of music surely must chant your poems,
夔樂典猶稽　And you still investigate the canon of Kui's music.[410]

In this appraisal of Zhāng Jì 張垍 (fl. 738–745), who served as the Chamberlain for Ceremonials, his poems must have been performed musically by the *língguān* 伶官 'officers of music.' The oblique-tone *sòng* has been chosen here also for prosodic reasons. In this example, we nonetheless caught a glimpse of the position of *yín* in relation to the S-terms in this period.

* * *

In High-Táng poetry, there is again a single case where *yín* appears to be an attribute, namely the expression *yínchuāng* 吟窗 in Cén Shēn's "Sòng Yáng lùshì chōng Tóngguān pànguān (dé jiāng zì)" 送楊錄事充潼關判官（得江字） [Seeing off the Administrative Supervisor Yáng to Serve as Administrative Assistant at Tóng Pass (I Received Jiāng as the Rhyme)].[411] At first sight, it seems to be a succinct and vivid description of a scene where a window framed a poet – or, probably, the shadow of the poet – who very often cantillated there. But there are two variants, *shūchuāng* 書窗, lit. 'book window' and *gāochuāng* 高窗 'high window,' making us doubt that this was the original of the expression.

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408 Sū Huàn 蘇渙 (fl. 766).

409 QTS (1) 223.2383.

410 From "Fèngzèng tàicháng Zhāng qīng èrshí yùn" 奉贈太常張卿二十韻 [Respectfully Presented to Chamberlain for Ceremonials Zhāng: Twenty Couplets] (QTS [1] 224.2389), translation from Owen (2015: 1.169), slightly amended.

411 QTS (1) 200.2069.

3.5. *YÍN* IN THE MID-TÁNG POEMS

The proportion of [-human] *yín*, counting only sixty-four instances, decreases markedly against the overall usage of the character in the QTS chapter 235 to 473 (from Qián Qǐ 錢起 [ca. 713–?] to Mèng Jiǎn 孟簡 [?–823/824], plus instances from Ch. 788, 790, 791, 794), which we categorize under the Mid-Táng poetry (811 instances of *yín* in total), that is, 7.9%; while 132 instances of *yín* appear in the titles (16.3%) and [+human] *yín* amounts to 615 (75.8%). On top of that, [-human] usages begin to accompany poetic *yín* by human beings, as in lines like *lǚyín huányǒu bàn* / *shāliǔ shùzhī chán* 旅吟還有伴 / 沙柳數枝蟬 'cantillating on the trip, I do have company / the cicadas on several branches of the willows,'[412] or *kè zuì huā néng xiào* / *shī chéng huā bàn yín* 客醉花能笑 / 詩成花伴吟 'the guests drunk, the flowers can laugh / the poems completed, the flowers accompany [us] cantillating.'[413] For one of the most renowned poets of this period, Bái Jūyì, the picture is still different:

> 酒熟憑花勸　When the ale is ripe, I let the flowers urge me [to drink],
> 詩成倩鳥吟　As my poem is completed, beautiful birds cantillate it.[414]
>
> 若稱白家鸚鵡鳥　When talking about the parrots in Bái's house,
> 籠中兼合解吟詩　In the cage, the two of them know how to cantillate poems.[415]

412 From the "Jiāngxíng wútí yībǎi shǒu" 江行無題一百首 [Strolling along the River, a Hundred Pieces] (XLI) (QTS [1] 239.2679). It is attributed to Qián Xǔ 錢珝 (*jìnshì* 879) as well, which would bring this instance into the Late Táng category (QTS [1] 712.8193).

413 From the "Huāxià yàn sòng Zhèng liànshī" 花下宴送鄭鍊師 [Banquet under the Flowers to See the Alchemist Zhèng off] by Róng Yù 戎昱 (744?–800?) (QTS [1] 270.3020). In an alternative version, *jiǔ* 'wine' is used in replace of *huā* 'flower,' which would result in a semantic repetition with the *zuì* 'drunk' in the preceding line. It seems not as appealing as the repetition of *huā* in the same position of the two lines in the couplet. Besides, there is a third *huā* two lines ahead of this couplet, and this heavy repetition of the character is probably a strategic emphasis on the topic, as shown in the title.

414 "Tí dōng Wǔqiū sì liù yùn" 題東武丘寺六韻 [On the East Wǔqiū Temple, Six Couplets] (QTS [1] 447.5031).

415 "Shuāng yīngwǔ" 雙鸚鵡 [A Pair of Parrots] (QTS [1] 449.5058).

The birds in the first example are personified. The parrots in the second one are juxtaposed with the "literate" ox of the renowned Confucian scholar Zhèng Xuán – a story we wouldn't have known if it were not for the poet's own annotation[416] – and a legendary crane that could sing. That the parrots could cantillate poetry could be merely descriptive, but what Bái Jūyì intended to show here was probably how his own hobbies and habits have influenced even his pets. What we see, then, is that the [-human] *yín* was becoming "centripetal," that is, instead of being a phenomenon that may be discursively related to poetic activities (e.g., evocative and initiating a composition), the [-human] *yín* has become affiliated to the [+human] *yín*, and, in particular, to poetry.

That is one aspect of the clear difference this corpus of *yín* demonstrates from its usage in the previous periods, i.e, *yín* has become more and more frequently dedicated to referring to poems and poetic activities at present. It is in this period that we attain rich cases of *yín* used in detailed descriptions of the compositional process of poetry. That process is usually fashioned as an enduring hardship, and yet, an obsession. There are ample examples of how Mid-Táng poets fought against hunger, cold and sleep, for the sake of *yín*:

苦調竟何言　In this bitter tone what more could I say?
凍吟成此章　Cantillating in the cold, I created this piece.[417]

痛飲困連宵　Drinking myself sick, I stay drowsy night after night,
悲吟飢過午　Cantillating sadly, I am hungry over the noon.[418]

Mèng Jiāo may have chosen the "Xiānghè gēcí" title/topic "Kǔhán yín" 苦寒吟 [Cantillation on the Bitter Coldness] for a reason, namely that he was likely to suffer from the cold (*dòng* 凍 'freeze' in the first

416 *Bái Jūyì jí* (2) 26.2046.

417 QTS (1) 372.4180.

418 From the "Hè Wēizhī shī èrshísān shǒu: hè zhù Cānghuá" 和微之詩二十三首：和祝蒼華 [Harmonizing with Wēizhī's Poems, Twenty-three Pieces: Harmonizing with the Invocation on the God of Hair Cānghuá] by Bái Jūyì (QTS [1] 445.4982–4983).

example) in reality, when he composed the poem, orally. However, Bái Jūyì's suffering as in the second case largely results from what he called *shīpǐ* 詩癖 'a fetish about poetry' or *shīmó* 詩魔 'the poetry demon.'[419] Bái Jūyì named himself *zuìyín xiānshēng* 醉吟先生 'Boozed Mr. Cantillate,'[420] and indeed, ale and *yín* seem to be two major elements in his poems as well as in his life. At the same time, Mèng Jiāo has traditionally been categorized under the rubric of *kǔyín* poets, who are excessively meticulous in the individual characters they choose in their poems.

Shifts in aesthetic and social values are visible in these examples. Poetry was then worth devotion and striving, while spontaneity seems not to have been appreciated in the same way as during the times of, for example, Lǐ Bái. *Yín*, as connected with negative emotions, and with its repetitive actions/efforts, matched the aesthetic values of the poets of this period.

Along the same line, the Mid-Táng poets' awareness of the process of composing poems is reflected in the detailed description of the procedure of composition unfolded in their poems. *Yín* frequently appears in the first stage. In other words, the process of composing a poem began *orally*. And then, the judgment would be made about whether the cantillation forms a self-sufficient piece, as described by the phrase *yínǒng rù piānzhāng* 吟詠入篇章 'cantillation entered literary/poetic works,'[421] and the many cases of *yín* that 'by chance' (*ǒu* 偶) 'created a poem' (*chéng shī* 成詩), as seen in narrative titles. In a manuscript culture that deemed literary achievements a way to attain immortality (*bùxiǔ* 不

419 See e.g. "Shí nián sān yuè sānshí rì, bié Wēizhī yú Fēng shàng; Shísì nián sān yuè shíyī rì yè, yù Wēizhī yú xiá zhōng, tíng zhōu Yílíng, sān xiǔ ér bié, yán bù jìn zhě, yǐ shī zhōng zhī, yīn fù qī yán shíqī yùn yǐ zèng, qiě yù jì suǒ yù zhī dì yǔ xiāngjiàn zhī shí, wèi tānián huìhuà zhāngběn yě" 十年三月三十日，別微之於灃上；十四年三月十一日夜，遇微之於峽中，停舟夷陵，三宿而別，言不盡者，以詩終之，因賦七言十七韻以贈，且欲記所遇之地與相見之時，為他年會話張本也 [On the Thirtieth Day of the Third Month in the Tenth Year, I Parted with Wēizhī above Fēng; at the Night of the Eleventh Day of the Third Month in the Fourteenth Year, I Came Across Wēizhī in the Gorge, We Anchored Our Boats in Yílíng, and Spent Three Nights Together before We Parted, What We Didn't Finish in Words, We Completed with Poetry, Hence I Composed Seventeen Heptasyllabic Couplets to Present to Him, Also to Record the Place We Met and the Time We Enjoyed Together, Which Will Be the Basis of Our Chats in Another Time] (QTS [1] 440.4914) and "Zuì yín èr shǒu" 醉吟二首 [Cantillating When Drunk, Two Pieces] (II) (QTS [1] 440.4906).

420 See "Zuìyín xiānshēng zhuàn" 醉吟先生傳 [Boozed Mr. Cantillate] (*Bái Jūyì jí* [1]70.1485–1486).

421 From Bái Jūyì's "Xiàrì dú zhí jì Xiāo shìyù" 夏日獨直寄蕭侍禦 [Alone on Night Duty on a Summer's Day Sent to Attendant Censor Xiāo] (QTS [1] 428.4716).

朽), the Mid-Táng poets also show in their poems how they made a fuss over the transmission of their works. "Boozed Mr. Cantillate" cantillated/composed his poem with the necessary supplies at hand, including brush, inkstone and notepaper.[422] And the bitterly cantillating Mèng Jiāo sighed over:

無子抄文字　I have no son to copy my words down,
老吟多飄零　Most of my cantillations in my old age came adrift.[423]

This is probably also a crucial step in how *yín* became identical to poetry: *Yín*, denoting a phase and the mode of the process of composing, hence also became a synecdoche of poetry, just as how *lǎo yín* 老吟 'old-age cantillation' here refers to both Mèng Jiāo's poems as well as to the mode in which he composed these poems.

Still, the mode of *yín* as unfolded in the poems of this period refuses a coherent interpretation. There are instances of *yín* that were songs or meant to be songs. Zhāng Jí 張籍 (ca. 767–ca. 830), for example, opened the fourteen-lined heptasyllabic *Yuèfǔ* poem "Báitóu yín" with the following pentasyllabic couplet:

請君膝上琴　I beg you, Sir, [to strum] the zither on your knees,
彈我白頭吟　And play my "Cantillation on White Hair."[424]

Tán 彈 'to play (the zither music)' in L1 seems to suggest that this "Báitóu yín" has a settled tune. Similarly, Sīkōng Shǔ 司空曙 (ca. 720–ca. 790) had *xiū yín "Báixuě gē"* 休吟白雪歌 'do not cantillate the "Song

422 See e.g. his "Chóngxiū Xiāngshān sì bì tí èrshíèr yùn yǐ jì zhī" 重修香山寺畢題二十二韻以紀之 [After the Renovation of the Xiāngshān Temple Completed, Composing Twenty-Two Couplets in Memory of It] (QTS [1] 454.5138–5139) and "Xīnchāng xīnjū shūshì sìshí yùn yīn jì Yuán lángzhōng Zhāng bóshì" 新昌新居書事四十韻因寄元郎中張博士 [Sketching What Happened in My New Residence in Xīnchāng into Forty Couplets, Hence Sent to Director Yuán and Academician Zhāng] (QTS [1] 442.4940).

423 From his "Lǎo hèn" 老恨 [Regrets in Old Age] (QTS [1] 374.4202).

424 QTS (1) 20.248–249, 382.4286.

on the White Snow,'"[425] where, as we have encountered before, a *gē* can be performed in the mode of *yín*. Gěng Wéi 耿湋 (*jìnshì* 763), in response to the poem sent by a friend, humbly confessed *xiányín guǎ hè qǔ* 閒吟寡和曲 'my casual cantillation hardly harmonizes with a tune.'[426] *Qǔ* in this context may refer to the *sung* poem by his friend. Moreover, we see that Liú Yǔxī 劉禹錫 (772–842) referred to his reception of the poem presented by his friend as *yī yín xiāngsī qǔ* 一吟相思曲 'once I cantillate your song on longing,' in which the *xiāngsī qǔ* 相思曲 'song on longing' was also a *Yuèfǔ* song in the *Wú shēng* 吳聲 'Wú tone,' originally called "Àonóng gē" 懊儂歌 [Song on My Remorse].[427] And Yuán Zhěn 元稹 (779–831) described the occasion presented in the title "Lú shíjiǔ Zǐméng yín Lú qī yuánwài Luòchuān huáigǔ liùyùn mìng yú hé" 盧十九子蒙吟盧七員外洛川懷古六韻命余和 [Lú (19) Zǐméng Cantillated Supernumerary Lú (7)'s Six Couplets on Thinking of the Past, Asking Me to Compose a Poem in Response] as follows:

> 子蒙將此曲　Zǐméng took this song,
> 吟似獨眠人　And cantillated it to the one who sleeps alone.[428]

Once again, a poem is referred to as *qǔ*. There may be prosodic considerations in effect, so that, at the end of odd-numbered lines, the oblique-tone *qǔ* has been chosen in substitution for the level-tone *shī* 'poem,' in order to create a tonal contrast with the level-tone rime at the end of even-numbered lines. Still, there also must have been substantial similarities between *qǔ* and *shī* so that they could be used interchangeably, which is suggestive of the mode of *yín*.

Yuán Zhěn, when harmonizing with the "Gǎn hè" 感鶴 [Stirred by the Cranes] by Bái Jūyì,

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425 See the "Xiánjū jì Miáo Fā" 閑居寄苗發 [Living in Idleness, Sent to Miáo Fā] (QTS [1] 292.3316).

426 "Chóu Zhāng shǎoyǐn qiūrì Fèngxiáng xījiāo jiànjì" 酬張少尹秋日鳳翔西郊見寄 [Answering What Was Sent by Vice Governor Zhāng on an Autumn Day in the West Meadow of Fèngxiáng] (QTS [1] 269.2994).

427 "Chóu Lìnghú xiànggōng qīnrén Guōjiā huāxià jíshì jiànjì" 酬令狐相公親仁郭家花下即事見寄 [Answering to the Poem Presented by Minister Lìnghú, an Impromptu under the Flowers in the House of the Guō Family in the Ward of Cultivating-Friendship-of-the-Good] (QTS [1] 358.4033). See YFSJ (46.667).

428 QTS (1) 422.4640.

referred to his reception of the original piece as *yín jūn "Gǎn hè" cāo* 吟君感鶴操 'I cantillate your zither song "Stirred by the Cranes."'[429] In harmonizing with Bái Jūyì's "Bié shèdì hòu yuèyè" 別舍弟後月夜 [The Moonlit Night after Parting with My Younger Brother], moreover, Yuán Zhěn had:

聞君別愛弟　I heard that you parted with your dear younger brother,
明天照夜寒　When the moon lit up the sky and shone on the chilling night.
秋雁拂簷影　Shadows of autumn geese brush the eaves,
曉琴當砌彈　I play the zither on the stairs at dawn.
悵望天澹澹　Gazing sadly into the gloomy sky,
因思路漫漫　I, therefore, think of the road, far and wide.
吟為別弟操　Cantillating [your poem] into a zither song on parting with the younger brother,
聞者為辛酸　Whoever hears it, gets pained by it.
況我兄弟遠　What's more, my brothers are far away,
一身形影單　I myself being all alone.
江波浩無極　River waves are vast and endless,
但見時歲闌　I only see the passing of time.[430]

Bái Jūyì's composition happened at night, while the *xiǎo* 曉 'dawn' signifies that the *yín*-performance of the poem to a zither was Yuán Zhěn's (re-)formulation. *Yín* in these two cases refers to performances of *cāo* 操 'zither songs.'

There are, however, examples where *yín* seems "incompatible" with songs or instrumental music. Bái Jūyì offered many such examples. He had phrases like *tánxiào ōuyín jiàn guǎnxián* 談笑謳吟間管弦 'chatting and laughing, singing and cantillating alternate with the [music of] pipes and stringed instruments,'[431] *tīng yín gē zàn chuò* 聽吟歌暫輟 'listen to the cantillation, and drop the singing for a

429 "Hè Lètiān 'Gǎn hè'" 和樂天感鶴 [Harmonizing with Lètiān's Stirred by the Cranes] (QTS [1] 397.4459–4460).

430 "Hè Lètiān biédì hòu yuèyè zuò" 和樂天別弟後月夜作 [Harmonizing with Lètiān's Composition on a Moonlit Night after Parting with His Younger Brother] (QTS [1] 401.4488).

431 "Huìchāng yuánnián chūn wǔ juéjù: Zèng Jǔzhī púyì" 會昌元年春五絕句・贈舉之僕射 [In the Spring of the First

moment,'[432] or *jiǔ hān hòu, gē xiē shí* / *qǐng jūn tiān yī zhuó* / *tīng wǒ yín sì suī* 酒酣後，歌歇時 / 請君添一酌 / 聽我吟四雖 'after getting tipsy with ale, and when the singing stops / I urge you, Sir, to add another draught / and listen to me cantillating the four "although."'[433] The occasion was usually a banquet at which *yín* and other musical performances *must* proceed alternatively. In his "Qīngmíng rì guān jì wǔ tīng kè shī" 清明日觀妓舞聽客詩 [On the Clear and Bright Festival Watching Musical Girls Dancing and Listening to the Poem by the Guests], Bái Jūyì held that *xiánguǎn bùfáng yín* 弦管不妨吟 'stringed and pipe-music do not conflict with the cantillation,'[434] and in the piece "Sù húzhōng" 宿湖中 [Staying Overnight on the Lake], we read *zòngyǒu shēnggē bùfèi yín* 縱有笙歌不廢吟 'although there are reed organ songs, I do not give up cantillating.'[435] The overtones, however, remain that the performances by musicians and the *yín* by the literati at banquets, as described in these examples, did not quite harmonize with one another. I suppose that these examples also suggest the musicality of *yín*, due to which *yín* and a musical performance would "compete" with one another, potentially resulting in a disturbance.

In light of this, the comparison implied by *zuìtīng qīngyín shèng guǎnxián* 醉聽清吟勝管弦 'while drunk I listen to pure cantillation, which is more appealing than the sound of pipes and strings' becomes more imaginable.[436] Similarly, we should read *dúbào suìyàn hèn* / *sìyín bùchéng yáo* 獨抱歲晏恨 / 泗吟不成謠 'alone harboring the grief of the end of the year / my cantillation in tears does not

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Year of the Huìchāng Era, Five Quatrains: Gifted to the Administrative Assistant of the Vice-Director Jǔzhī] (QTS [1] 458.5210).

432 "Liùnián Hánshí Luòxià yànyóu zèng Féng Lǐ èr shǎoyǐn" 六年寒食洛下宴游贈馮李二少尹 [On a Banquet in Luòyáng on the Cold Food Festival of the Sixth Year, Gifted to the Two Assistant Magistrates Féng and Lǐ] (QTS [1] 445.4997).

433 "Yín sì suī" 吟四雖 [Cantillating the Four Although] (QTS [1] 452.5115). These uneven lines offering an overview of the poem whose main part features four concessive constructions, are reminiscent of the openings in *Yín*-poems on regional culture and landscape. This colloquial introduction to (the performance of) a piece must have served to catch the audience's attention.

434 QTS (1) 443.4958.

435 QTS (1) 447.5024

436 "Yǔ Mèngdé gūjiǔ xiányǐn qiě yuē hòuqī" 與夢得沽酒閑飲且約後期 [Buy Ale and Have a Casual Drink with Mèngdé, And We Made a New Appointment] (QTS [1] 457.5191).

form a lay'[437] or *chóuzuì fēiyīn jiǔ, bēiyín bùshì gē* 愁醉非因酒 / 悲吟不是歌 'sorrowful drunkenness does not come from ale / sad cantillations are not songs'[438] in the sense that *yín* was "by nature" (similar to) *yáo* and *gē*, but under certain circumstances, for example, when grief was overwhelming, it failed to take such forms.

There is, however, a further explanation possible. The preface to Bái Jūyì's "Quànjiǔ shísì shǒu" 勸酒十四首 [Urging to Drink, Fourteen Pieces] goes:

> In idleness, I always drank [ale], and when I got drunk I always cantillated. I regretted the fact that there were no lyrics, and thus [my cantillations] did not form songs. Each time an idea struck me, I completed a piece. There are fourteen pieces altogether, and they all have ale as the topic: so I urge myself [to drink].
> 閒來輒飲，醉後輒吟。苦無詞章，不成謠詠。每發一意，則成一篇。凡十四篇，皆主於酒。聊以自勸。[439]

The *yín* did not produce self-sufficient songs for lack of *cízhāng* 詞章 'lyrics.' This is, as discussed above, one of the innate connotations of *yín*. But this connotation is not expected in this context – or else we should probably reinterpret Bái Jūyì's famous pseudonym *Zuìyín xiānshēng* as 'Boozed Mr. Humming.' There is an alternative version of *kǔwú* 苦無 'I regretted it bitterly that there were no' as *ruòwú* 若無 'if there were no,' which seems to suggest that a *yín* became a song only when words were added. In a 238-word long *kuánggē* 狂歌 'wild song,' Bái Jūyì also posed the dichotomy between *yín* and *yán*:

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437 "Shòu'ān xīdù fèngbié Zhèng xiànggōng" 壽安西渡奉別鄭相公 [Respectfully Seeing Off Minister Zhèng Crossing to the West from Shòu'ān] (II) (QTS [1] 379.4256–4257).

438 "Wǎnchūn dēng Dàyún sì nánlóu zèng Cháng chánshī" 晚春登大雲寺南樓贈常禪師 [In Late Spring Climbing the South Tower in Dàyún Temple, Gifted to the Chán Master Cháng] (QTS [1] 439.4881).

439 *Bái Jūyì jí* (2) 27.2143.

暫停杯觴輟吟詠　Stop the cups and halt cantillating for a while,
我有狂言君試聽　I have wild words, Sir, please try to listen.[440]

It is an intriguing question whether the relationship between *gē*, *yínyǒng* and *yán* is based on substantial differences in oral performances on the scene, or to what extent they are figurative expressions.

There are also expressions like *yīnyīn xué Chǔ yín* 咽咽學楚吟 'sobbingly and chokingly I learned the cantillation of Chǔ,'[441] *Wúyīn yín* 吳音吟 'to cantillate in the Wú accent,'[442] *Wúdiào yín* 吳調吟 'to cantillate in the Wú mode,'[443] *qīng yín* 清吟 'pure cantillation,'[444] *qīngdiào yín* 清調吟 'to cantillate in the pure mode,'[445] *xìyín* 細吟 'to cantillate meticulously,'[446] and *dìngyín* 定吟 'to cantillate in meditation,' etc. All of these seem to be referring to a related mode, but it is hard to dispel the ambiguity. For instance, in the traditional annotated version of Lǐ Hè's 李賀 (790–816) anthology, *Chǔ yín* is glossed as *xué Chǔ cí āiyuàn zhī yín* 學《楚辭》哀怨之吟 'to imitate the mournful rancor of the Songs of Chǔ,'[447] but it is uncertain whether the object the poet was practicing is this specific anthology, or a genre, or a style or mode of oral performing. Yuán Zhěn noted that his "Bìngzuì" 病醉 [Sick from

440 "Qiūrì yǔ Zhāng bīnkè Shū zhùzuò tóngyóu Lóngmén zuìzhōng kuánggē fán èrbǎisānshíbā zì" 秋日與張賓客舒著作同游龍門醉中狂歌凡二百三十八字 [On an Autumn Day, Roaming Lóngmén Together with Adviser to Heir Apparent Zhāng Shū, the Editorial Director, A Wild Song in Tipsiness of 238 Characters Altogether] (QTS [1] 452.5111).

441 From Lǐ Hè's "Shāngxīn xíng" 傷心行 [Ballad on the Broken Heart] (QTS [1] 391.4406).

442 From Bái Jūyì's "Guò Lǐ shēng" 過李生 [Dropping by Youth Lǐ] (QTS [1] 430.4744–4745).

443 From Bái Jūyì's "Chóngdá Rǔzhōu Lǐ liù shǐjūn Jiàn hè yì Wúzhōng jiùyóu wǔ shǒu" 重答汝州李六使君見和憶吳中舊遊五首 [Again in Reply to Governor of Rǔzhōu Lǐ (6) Jiàn's Harmonizing with the Recalling Past Travels in Wú, Five Pieces] (QTS [1] 449.5059).

444 See e.g. Láng Shìyuán's 郎士元 (?–780?) "Sòng Péi bǔquè rù Hénán mù" 送裴補闕入河南幕 [Seeing off Rectifiers of Omissions Péi to the Hénán Headquarters] (QTS [1] 248.2782).

445 From Bái Jūyì's "Qīngdiào yín" 清調吟 [Cantillation in the Pure Mode] (QTS [1] 431.4758–4759).

446 From Bái Jūyì's "Ǒuzuò jì Lǎngzhī" 偶作寄朗之 [Offhand Composition Sent to Lǎngzhī] (QTS [1] 460.5237).

447 *Lǐ Hè jí* 2.116, n. 1.

Drinking] was *xìzuò Wú yín* 戲作吳吟 'playfully creating a Wú cantillation.'[448] While the heptasyllabic truncated verse clearly borrows such Wú vocabulary as the first person pronoun *nóng* 儂 'I, me,' and exhibits a strong colloquial flavor, it is unknown whether Yuán Zhěn composed the poem while playfully cantillating in the Wú accent or style. If so, it would be comparable to Bái Jūyì's *héyǐ xǐng wǒ jiǔ* / *wúyīn yín yīshēng* 何以醒我酒 / 吳音吟一聲 'with what to sober me up / a single sound of cantillation in the Wú accent.'[449] *Qīng* in *qīng yín* can refer to the pleasing quality of a cantillation,[450] though, when Bái Jūyì compares it with *guǎnxián*, it probably suggests a form of oral performance without musical accompaniment. Still, *qīng* may refer to a specific *diào* 'mode' as in the *qīngdiào yín*, also referred to as *qīngshāng diào* 清商調 'pure *shāng* mode.' This would be comparable to the phrase *wén jūn dāng shì xī* / *yǐsè yín shāngshēng* 聞君當是夕 / 倚瑟吟商聲 'I heard that you, Sir, at this twilight / cantillated the *shāng* sound to the psaltery,' as seen in Liú Yǔxī.[451]

There are also several cases of *yín* produced after entering into the state of *dìng* 定, lit. 'being settled, composed.' This concept could be seen as being related to the Confucian *zhī zhǐ ér hòu yǒu dìng* 知止而後有定 'only when one knows where to rest, there arises inner security,'[452] but it is more likely referring to a Buddhist state of mind. Translating Sanskrit *samādhi* 'the contemplative state of the consciousness being perfectly absorbed into the object of meditation,' it gestures to the tranquility of mind often attributed to Buddhist masters or monks. It must, however, have been a substantial difference from the mode of *kuángyín*, which also refers to the great length of the poem composed. For comparison:

448 QTS (1) 411.4562.

449 From Bái Jūyì's "Guò Lǐ shēng".

450 See *Lǐ Qí jí* 3.708, n. 6.

451 "Chóu Lètiān qīyuè yīrì yè jíshì jiànjì" 酬樂天七月一日夜即事見寄 [Answering to Immediate Experience on the Night of the First Day of the Seventh Month Sent by Lètiān] (QTS [1] 355.3985). *Shāngshēng* 商聲 is alternatively glossed as *qiūshēng* 秋聲 'sounds of the Autumn.'

452 *Lǐ jì* 60.1859.

閒吟定後更何事　Reaching the calm state, nothing else remains except for cantillating casually,
石上松枝常有風　The pine twigs, above the stones, oftentimes swinging in the wind.[453]

狂吟驚林壑　My wild cantillating shocked the woods and the ravines,
猿鳥皆窺覷　Alps and birds all snuck a peek at me.[454]

Yín duàn 吟斷, lit. 'to cantillate, and to cease' came into use also in this period, as we see in Dòu Xiáng 竇庠 (ca. 766–ca. 828) "Dōngyè yùhuái jì Wáng hànlín" 冬夜寓懷寄王翰林 [On a Winter Night, Sent to the Hànlín Academician Wáng What Dwells on My Mind]:

滿地霜蕪葉下枝　Frosts and weeds filling the earth, leaves fell off the branches,
幾回吟斷四愁詩　How many times have I cantillated the poem on the four sorrows yet choked off![455]

Yín duàn like *píngyín*, was also used to indicate a mode of Buddhist chanting. Again, we are not sure about its relationship to what appears in the poems. These expressions seem to resemble the previous cases where we saw *yín* as impeded by the surge of negative emotions, but in a more abrupt fashion.

3.6. *Yín* in the Late Táng Poems

We have seen a brief overview of the Late Táng usages of *yín* at the beginning of this paper, taking Dù Xúnhè as an archetype. Here, no further detailed exploration of the *yín* in the Late Táng poems is intended. *Yín* well preserved the features it has been equipped with throughout the literary tradition. Especially in some of its innovative usages (e.g. as an attribute), it has demonstrated an increasing

453 From Quán Déyú's 權德輿 (759–818) "Qīxiá sì yúnjū shì" 棲霞寺雲居室 [Yúnjū Room in the Qīxiá Temple] (QTS [1] 329.3682–3683).

454 From Bái Jūyì's "Shānzhōng dúyín" 山中獨吟 [Cantillating Alone in the Mountains] (QTS [1] 430.4752).

455 QTS (1) 271.3047. It may refer to the "Sì chóu shī" 四愁詩 [Four Sorrows] by Zhāng Héng (*Zhāng Héng jí* 1.1).

intimacy with poetry as well as with the activities of the poet. The proportion we charted in this section is illuminating, because, during this period, the percentage of the [-human] *yín* is shown to have decreased to a mere 6.1% (103 against 1690). Not many traces of the mode of *yín* can be pinpointed in the Late Táng section of the corpus. In general, negative feelings have again spread across *yín* in this period: "coldness/chilling" along with "bitterness/melancholy" has become frequently described as a quality of *yín*. In the phrase *yín hán yīng chǐluò* 吟寒應齒落 'your cantillation is chilly, your teeth must have fallen,'[456] we see both *chǐ yīn yín hòu lěng* 齒因吟後冷 'my teeth feel chilled after I cantillated,'[457] where symbolism and reality collapse; and *niánchǐ yín jiānglǎo* 年齒吟將老 'I am getting old as I cantillate,' which reflects how composing and cantillating poems have become a life-long devotion of men of letters.[458] And private *yín* has become interfering for those under the same roof or even for neighbors, which might suggest the *sonority* of the *yín*. There is a *zuòjiǔ yín yídiào* 坐久吟移調 'sitting for a long time, the mode of my cantillation is transgressed.'[459] The multiple *diào* of *yín* is certainly worth further exploration.

456 From Yáo Hé's "Jì Jiǎ Dǎo, shí rèn Pǔzhōu sīcāng" 寄賈島時任普州司倉 [Send to Jiǎ Dǎo, Who Is at the Time Director of Granaries of the Pǔ Prefecture] (QTS [1] 497.5640).

457 From Lǐ Dòng 李洞 (?–897?) "Sòng Yuǎn shàngrén" 送遠上人 [Seeing Reverend Yuǎn off] (QTS [1] 721.8274)

458 From Dù Xúnhè's "Zèng Xuānchéng Mí míngfǔ" 贈宣城麋明府 [Gifting to Magistrate Mí of Xuānchéng] (QTS [1] 691.7936). See also Dù Fǔ's *zì yín shī sòng lǎo* 自吟詩送老 'I myself cantillate poems to go along with me through old age' ("Yàn Wáng shǐjūn zhái tí èr shǒu" 宴王使君宅題二首 [Written on a Feast at Governor Wáng's Residence, Two Pieces] (II) (QTS [1] 232.2565), translation from Owen 2015: 6.26, slightly amended.

459 From Fāng Gān's 方干 (d. 885?) "Chóu gùrén Chén Àidū" 酬故人陳乂都 [In Reply to My Old Friend Chén Àidū] (QTS [1] 649.7453).

4. BUT A GLIMPSE OF *YÍN*

I have tried to disentangle a multi-faceted linguistic phenomenon determined by a wide spectrum of idiosyncratic, linguistic, cultural factors, etc., which is only to be pieced together from materials ambivalent, sporadic and discursive by nature. At the end of this long-winding *tour d'horizon*, unsurprisingly, I have not arrived at a linear semantic development of *yín* or a clear demarcation of the semantic range of the word. This diachronic sketch of the usages of *yín* from the pre-Qín to the Táng period, nonetheless, presents telling minutiae pertinent to the research questions.

The first question I set out to explore at the beginning of this study is: what has brought about the exclusive correlation between *yín* and poetry during the Late Táng period in particular? It is against the light of the pre-Qín usages of the word that a development in its semantic range with regard to its relationship to poetry unfolds. Paleographic and morphological features of the archaic form of *yín* have been shown to have a profound impact on this process. Its embryonic connotations of 'mouth-closed' and 'without words' and its early implications of negative emotions and moral standards have played significant roles in its "rise." What can also be seen in this process is the rise of poetry – that a unique reference has become necessary because of the prominence and prevalence of the genre. At the same time, the fact that *yín* departed from its negative associations and began to have positive implications is revealing of the awareness of as well as the attitude toward poetic activities. By referring to themselves, their belongings and their surroundings using *yín*, a word denoting the mode of poetic composition and performance, Táng poets demonstrated their self-recognition and self-identification.

What is probably easy to underestimate is the influence of individual poets on the development of *yín*. As we have seen, many innovative usages of *yín* stem from influential poets like Dù Fǔ and Bái Jūyì, such that we could expect someone like Dù Xúnhè to follow along.

The second question this study ventures to resolve is the nature of *yín* under the Táng. In answer, I have presented my observations that even the remote etymological details of *yín* are suggestive of its practical mode(s) in later periods. Moreover, the panoramic messiness of its semantic development, which I have strived to pin down, is explanatory of the rich cultural associations and semantic potentials it has been imbued with.

The correlation between *yín* and poetry as well as music has probably been anticipated by the

classical schema: the outer world stirs the inner world that gives rise to feeling, which in turn brings about outer expressions (music/poetry). Táng dynasty *yín* tended to be musical. Still, whether the musicality was intrinsic to *yín*, and whether it bore a special relationship with southern regions (Wú, Yuè, Chǔ) remain open questions; the degree of the musicality is also pending. We often see *yín* performed "on the move," and in collocation with *bù* 步 'step,' probably because the poet was compelled to act creatively in deep interiority while performing an oral mode that invited beat-measuring. When we read *xíng yín* in a Táng poem, it readily projects the mind image of Qū Yuán, while, at the same time, it is more and more about the poet/poetic image on the scene, who trod back and forth as s/he was composing and cantillating a poem. *Yín* is hence not just intertextual, but also is oriented toward the poet's presence.

Based on what has been observed and presented here, I am not yet able to decide whether *yín* under the Táng referred to a specific technique or mode of vocalization/of performing poems orally. Nor can I support a hypothesis such as the idea that the rise of *yín* approximately accompanied the rise of recent-style poetry, because it was the preferred mode of presenting recent-style prosody – *yet*. An interesting comparison can be drawn between *yín* and *xiào* 嘯 < **sewH* < *sˤiw(k)-s, which bear a rather close relationship: apart from the frequent paralleling of the two, there is a questionable gloss of *xiào* in its large seal script (*dàzhuàn* 大篆 or *zhòuwén* 籀文) variant form of 歗 as *yín* in the SW,[460] and, further, *xiào* was also related to negative emotions in pre-Qín literature.[461] If *yín* had a distinguishing nature, as in the case of *xiào*, one would expect there to exist at least one or two ancient treatises taking

460 In the Xú Kǎi 徐鍇's (920–974) recension of the SW, however, 歗 is glossed as *chuī* 吹 'to blow' (SW [2] 8b.3879), of which the *Yù piān* offers more detail interpretation as *cǔkǒu ér chūshēng* 蹙口而出聲 'to pucker the lips and make a sound' (*Yù piān* 9.1928, probably following Zhèng Xuán's commentary on the *Shī jīng* [2] 1.116). One other opinion on distinguishing the two variants is based on their length: that which lasts shortly is referred to with the 'mouth'-*xiào* while that which lasts for a longer time is referred to with the 'yawn'-*xiào* (Liú Zhìjī et al.2008: 279).

461 See the *qí xiào yě gē* 其歗也謌 'she blew that feeling away, and sang' in the "Jiāng yǒu sì" 江有汜 [The Jiāng Has Branches] in the "Shàonán" 召南 [Airs of Shào and the South] section (*Shī jīng* no. 22, translation from Legge [1991: 33]) and the *xiàogē shānghuái* 嘯歌傷懷 'I whistle and sing with wounded heart' in the "Báihuá" 白華 [White Flowered Rush] in the "Xiǎo yǎ" 小雅 [Lesser Elegantiae] section (*Shī jīng* no. 229, translation from Legge [1991: 417]).

the technique of *yín* as the topic, like the "Xiào fù" of the Jìn or the *Xiào zhǐ* 嘯旨 [Whistling Pointers] by Sūn Guǎng 孫廣 (fl. 765–780) of the Táng.

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