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Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвящен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук, профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, блестяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права, этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большинство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

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A. West

Musical Notation for Flute in Tangut Manuscripts

Among the Tangut manuscripts and blockprints held at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg are two manuscripts that have unusual symbols written on them.¹ These symbols have been recognised as examples of musical notation since at least 1965, when Eric Grinstead from the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum visited Leningrad and noted their similarity to musical notation in manuscripts held elsewhere.² However, little progress has been made in understanding them since that time.

The first example of musical notation is found on the back of a Tangut document (ИНВ. № 4780³), where there are four lines of musical notation, in total about 40 signs.⁴ These signs largely correspond to the set of signs used on Tang dynasty manuscripts of *pipa* 琵琶 lute scores from Dunhuang (BnF, Pelliot chinois 3539, 3719, and 3808⁵), as well as in 9th century Japanese scores for four-stringed and five-string *biwa* lute,⁶ and are evidently examples of *pipa* lute notation. The lute notation on this manuscript will not be discussed further in this paper.

The second example of musical notation is found at the end of a manuscript book of Tangut rhyme tables, 僞韻彙編, *Dissected Rhymes of the Five Sounds* (call number ТаНГ. 22/1, new ИНВ. № 86, old ИНВ. № 620⁷). On the last page of this

¹ Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981, pp. 72–74; Terent'ev-Katanskij 2009, p. 69.

² Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981, p. 73.

³ The call number and new inventory number (ИНВ. №) of this item have not yet been assigned.

⁴ A copy of the musical notation on ИНВ. № 4780, made by A.P. Terent'ev-Katanskij, is reproduced in his works. See Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981, p. 71, table VI; Terent'ev-Katanskij 2009, p. 74, fig. 5.

⁵ See Facang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian 1994–2005, vol. 25, p. 212; vol. 27, p. 112; vol. 28, pp. 127–131.

⁶ For examples of surviving Japanese lute scores see Wolpert 1977; Wolpert 1981.

⁷ For a description of this manuscript, see Tangutskie rukopisi i ksilografy 1963, pp. 50–52. A reproduction of the manuscript is given in Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian 1996–2007, vol. 7, pp. 258–278.

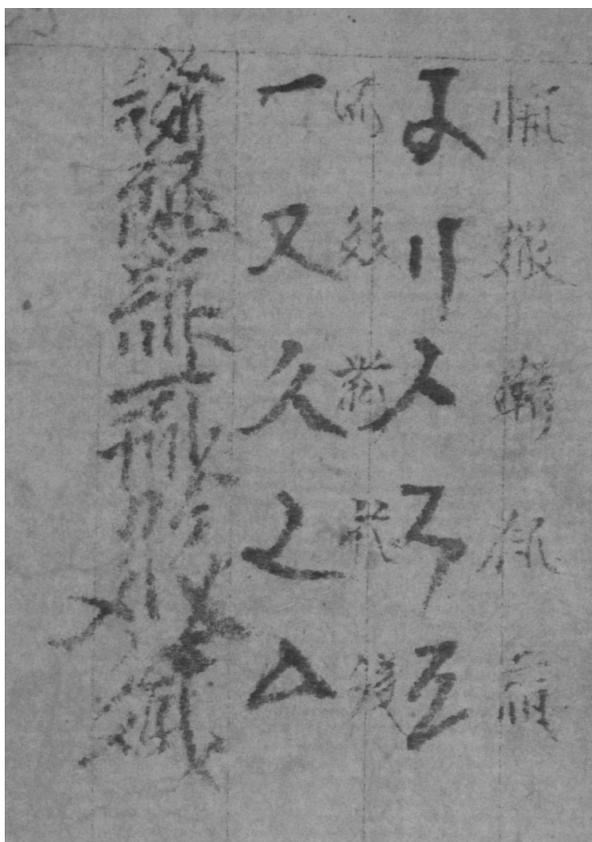


Fig. 1. Musical notation on page 39a of IOM Тагг. 22/1

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book (p. 39a) are two lines of musical notation, in total 10 signs (see Fig. 1), which are the subject of this paper. This page has six widely ruled columns (the same layout as the first seven pages of the book), comprising two columns of five large and boldly-written musical signs, followed by one column of six large and not very neatly written Tangut characters. On the right of each sign is a small Tangut character, written on the ruling lines separating the columns of text rather than in their own column.

The last column of six Tangut characters is relatively clear, and the first five characters have been read by Nevsky, Nishida and Li Fanwen as the date 𐞑𐞐𐞑𐞐𐞑𐞐, “Qianyou era, cyclical year *guisi*,” i.e. the 4th year of the Qianyou era [1173].⁸ The final character is not clearly written, but could be the character 𐞑 “month,” although Nevsky reads it as 𐞑 “up.” It is generally assumed that this date is the date that the book was written or copied, but as the Tangut characters are not

⁸ Nevsky 1960, p. 132; Nishida Tatsuo 1983, p. 83; Li Fanwen 2006, p. 275.

written as clearly or as neatly as the rest of the text it is also possible that they were not written at the same time as the rest of the book, and therefore the date records when the musical signs and associated Tangut characters were written into the manuscript at a later date.

The small Tangut characters next to the musical signs are very unclear, and it is difficult to read them with certainty. In his 1983 study of the Tangut rhyme tables, Nishida Tatsuo merely notes the presence of two five-syllable lines of Tangut characters and “unrecognisable writing”, but he makes no attempt to read the Tangut characters or explain the signs.⁹ Li Fanwen, in his 2006 comparative study of the *Dissected Rhymes of the Five Sounds* and the *Precious Rhymes of the Sea of Characters*, does give possible readings for all but one of the Tangut characters next to the signs, although he is unable to make any sense of them as a whole or explain the meaning of the corresponding symbols. He concludes by saying that “to this day the Tangut characters and symbols are a mystery.”¹⁰

I believe that the mysterious symbols in this manuscript are signs used in Song and Yuan dynasty notation of flute scores, as well as in an important treatise on music by Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248 – c. 1320) entitled *Ci yuan* 詞源 (*The origins of lyric poetry*). There are only three surviving sources for flute scores that use this system of musical notation.

The largest extant set of flute scores are preserved in a collection of songs and musical poetry of the Southern Song scholar, musician and poet, Jiang Kui 姜夔 (c. 1155 – c. 1221). In his *Baishi daoren gequ* 白石道人歌曲 (*Songs of the White Stone daoist*), which only survives in Qing dynasty copies of a now lost late Yuan manuscript copy of a Song dynasty printed edition first published in 1202, there are seventeen *ci* 詞 poems with musical notation, intended for accompaniment by the *xiao* 簫 (end-blown flute) or the *bili* 篳篥 (a double-reed woodwind instrument).¹¹

A set of seven flute scores (without lyrics) in the *Zhenggong* mode are preserved in Yuan dynasty editions of the Southern Song encyclopedia, *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (see Fig. 2).¹² These are examples of tunes used in the performance of a form of popular music known as *changzhuan* 唱賺 that was widespread during the Southern Song and Yuan periods. Unlike the literary music of Jiang Kui, which was performed with the *xiao* and *bili*, *changzhuan* music was performed by a trio of performers, one singing and beating time with bamboo clappers, one playing a drum, and one playing the *di* 笛 (transverse flute), as depicted in illustrations to Yuan dynasty books and in a number of Liao and Yuan dynasty murals.

⁹ Nishida Tatsuo 1983, p. 83.

¹⁰ Li Fanwen 2006, p. 275.

¹¹ During the Five Dynasties and Northern Song, *ci* lyrics were normally intended for accompaniment by the *pipa* lute, but by the Southern Song the *xiao* and *bili* had become the favoured accompaniment for the few poets such as Jiang Kui and Zhang Yan who still considered *ci* to be a musical form. See *Ci yuan* (Zhang Yan 1909, juan 2, p. 2a), and remarks by Jiang Kui in Xia Chengtao 1959, pp. 46, 130 and 133.

¹² Reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shiliao jiyao* 1962, pp. 703 and 720.

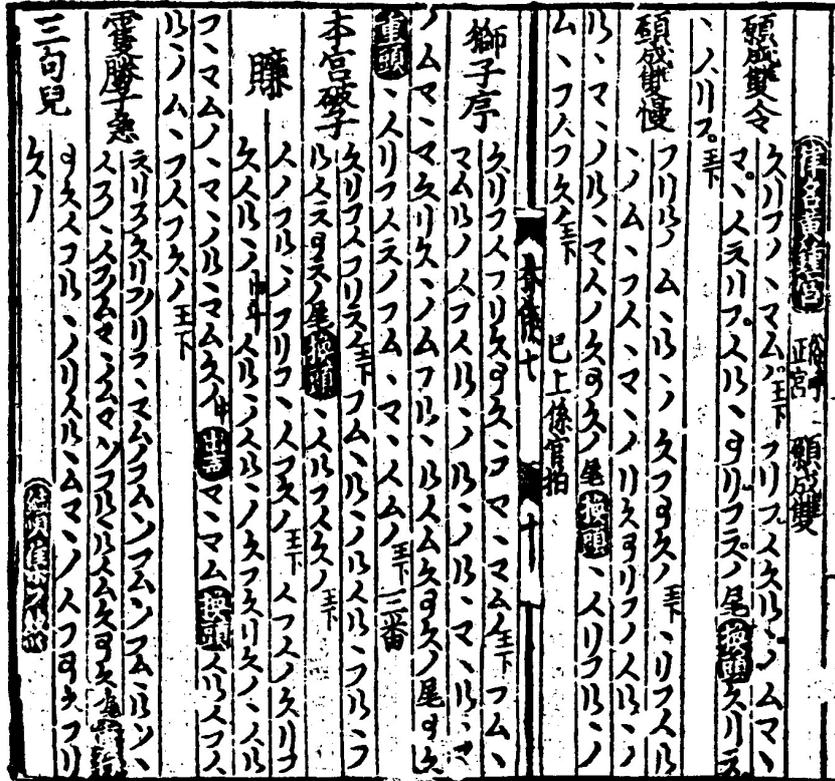


Fig. 2. Set of flute scores from the 1330–1333 edition *Shilin guangji*

In addition to these complete examples of flute scores, three very brief excerpts of flutes scores from a lost Yuan dynasty collection of music, *Yuefu huncheng ji* 樂府渾成集, are recorded by the Ming dynasty scholar Wang Jide 王驥德 (d. 1623).¹³

These three sources all use the same system of notation, comprising ten note signs derived from cursive or simplified forms of Chinese characters.¹⁴ They are similar to the note signs used for *pipa* lute notation, and four signs are common to both lute and flute notation. The signs used for both *pipa* lute notation and for flute notation during the Tang through Yuan dynasties represented systems of tablature, with each sign indicating the particular fingering required to produce a note. In the

¹³ See Wang Jide 1610, juan 4, pp. 1b–2a.

¹⁴ Theoretical discussions of flute music in Zhang Yan's *Ci yuan* (Zhang Yan 1909, juan 1, p. 6a) and *Shilin guangji* (see Zhongguo gudai yinyue shiliao 1962, pp. 691–693 and 722–724) state that there were sixteen notes, and modal tables in these two works have six extra note signs formed by circling some of the basic ten signs. However, this sixteen note system does not accord with actual flute scores, and would seem to be an artificial attempt to reconcile the system of popular music with the classical twelve-note system of music.

case of *pipa* notation, each of the twenty basic signs represents a particular finger position (open string or finger pressing on one of four frets) for one of the four strings. For flute notation, each of the ten basic signs represents a particular fingering required to produce a note, i.e. which of the six fingered holes of the *xiao* or *di* flute are open and which are closed (see Table 1).

Table 1. Song and Yuan flute notation

Relative Value	Notation Sign	Chinese Character	Pinyin	Fingering ¹⁵	Notes
2'	ㄅ	五	wǔ	●●●●●○	An octave above <i>sì</i>
1'	ㄆ	六	liù	○●●●●●	An octave above <i>hé</i>
7	リ	凡	fán	○●●○○●	
6	フ	工	gōng	●○○●●●	
5	人	尺	chě	●●○○●●	
4 [#]	ㄌ	勾	gōu	●●○●●●	The notes <i>gōu</i> and <i>shàng</i> are mutually exclusive, their usage depending on the mode of the tune.
4	么	上	shàng	●●●○○●	
3	一	一	yī	●●●●○○	
2	マ	四	sì	●●●●●○	
1	厶	合	hé	●●●●●●	

Nine of the ten Chinese characters corresponding to these signs are still used today in traditional Chinese musical notation (*gongchepu* 工尺譜), and some forms of religious and folk music still preserve signs that are the same as those used for Song and Yuan dynasty flute notation. However, the modern *gongchepu* notation and the notational systems used in religious and folk music are systems of pitch notation, not tablature as was the case for flute notation during the Song and Yuan dynasties.

¹⁵ Fingering is based on the diagram given in *Shilin guangi* (see Zhongguo gudai yinyue shiliao jiyao 1962, p. 721). Black circles represent closed holes, and white circles represent open holes; the blow hole is to the right of the six finger holes.

The ten signs found on the last page of IOM Таңг. 22/1 are identical or very similar to the note signs used in the flute scores found in Jiang Kui's musical poems and in *Shilin guangji*, and therefore must represent a form of flute notation. Furthermore, each of the ten note signs is given once and only once, and as all ten notes cannot occur together in the same tune (the *shàng* and *gōu* signs are mutually exclusive, the choice of which to use depending upon which mode a tune is set in), we can deduce that the signs cannot represent a fragment of a tune, but must simply be a list of the ten individual note signs. In this case, it is probable that the Tangut characters next to the signs are the corresponding name of the sign in Tangut. There are several possibilities: a) the Tangut name is a transliteration of the Chinese name; b) the Tangut name is a translation of the Chinese name; or c) the Tangut name is unrelated to the Chinese name. In fact, looking at the more easily identifiable Tangut characters, it quickly becomes apparent that the characters are transliterations of the Chinese note names, and with this knowledge it is possible to identify the remaining characters (see Table 2).

The Tangut characters corresponding to the note signs *wǔ*, *sì*, *liù* and *hé* are unproblematic as they are all used as transliteration characters for the corresponding Chinese characters.

The Tangut characters corresponding to the notes *gōng* and *chě* are next to the wrong signs: 𐰇 is used as a transliteration character for the Chinese character 工 and so should correspond to the note sign *gōng*, but it is actually next to the note sign *chě*. Likewise, 𐰈 is used as a transliteration character for the Chinese character 尺 and so should correspond to the note sign *chě*, but it is actually next to the note sign *gōng*. Therefore, either the note signs have been written the wrong way round or the order of the corresponding Tangut characters has been inadvertently reversed (I will argue below that the order of the Tangut characters is correct, and that the notes signs have been misordered). It should also be noted that the modern Mandarin pronunciation of the character 尺 as *chě* when used as a note sign (in contrast to its normal pronunciation as *chǐ*) is not reflected in the reconstructed reading of the Tangut character 𐰈 (*tshji*), suggesting that at this time the character 尺 did not have a special reading when used as a note sign.

The Tangut character 𐰉 corresponding to the note sign *fán* is a borrowing of the Chinese character 花 *huā* “flower,” but Tangut *xiw-/xw-* is also used to transliterate Chinese *f-*, and the reading of this character (*xiwā/xwā*) is phonetically very close to the reading of the Tangut character that is normally used to transliterate Chinese 凡 *fán*: L2052/K0404 𐰊 *xiwā/xwān*. Moreover, the character 𐰉 is used to transliterate the Chinese character 翻 *fān* in the name Guo Fan 郭翻, so it is a plausible transliteration of Chinese 凡 *fán*.

The Tangut character corresponding to the note sign *shàng* is not used to transliterate any Chinese characters, but its reading (*sjwo/sjo*) is phonetically close to those of characters that are used to transliterate Chinese *shàng* 尙 and *shàng* 上, such as L3774/K0893 𐰋 *sjow/sjon*, so it is a possible transliteration of Chinese 上 *shàng*.

Table 2. Correspondence between flute notes and Tangut characters in IOM Тагг. 22/1

Flute Notation ¹⁶				Tangut Characters ¹⁷				
Manu- script Sign	Standard Sign	Chinese	Pinyin	Tangut	Refs.	Read- ings	Meaning	Translitera- tions
ㄩ	ㄅ	五	wǔ	𐰇	L1915 K4305	·u ·u	salt	五吳烏吾
リ	リ	凡	fán	𐰇	L2476 K2760	xiwa xwā	flower	翻項
人	人	尺	chě (chǐ)	𐰇	L3738 K0557	kow kon	merit	工公翁軍 貢功
フ	フ	工	gōng	𐰇	L4018 K5009	tshji tshje	origin, base, root	尺赤齒滯 痴治持池 直
么	么	上	shàng	𐰇	L0009 K5475	sjwo sjo	to arise, to appear, to raise	
一	一	一	yī	𐰇	L1544	·ji	(translit.)	夷依噫
マ	マ	四	sì	𐰇	L2460 K3107	sə sə	(translit.)	四斯嗣奴 氏司思巳 絲死賜
久	久	六	liù	𐰇	L4153 K0151	ljiw ljeu	to gather	六略柳陸 綠錄
厶	厶	勾	gōu	𐰇	L1429 K4586	kjiw kjeu	(translit.)	鳩驕拘高 究韭九
厶	厶	合	hé	𐰇	L3540 K3252	xa xa	(surname)	合哈褐皓 闔河和

¹⁶ The column headed “Manuscript Sign” gives the form of the sign as written in Тагг. 22/1. The column headed “Standard Sign” gives the form of the sign given in Jiang Kui’s *Baishi daoren gequ*.

¹⁷ The column headed “Refs.” gives the character numbers in Li Fanwen 2008 (prefixed ‘L’), and Kychanov 2006 (prefixed ‘K’). The column marked “Readings” gives the reconstructed pronunciations for the Tangut character as given in Li Fanwen’s dictionary (top) and in Kychanov and Arakawa’s dictionary (bottom). The column marked “Transliterations” gives a list of Chinese characters that the corresponding Tangut character may be used to transliterate, according to Li Fanwen’s dictionary and Kychanov and Arakawa’s dictionary.

The Tangut character corresponding to the note sign *yī* is written in cursive script, and is not easy to read, but I tentatively identify it with L1544 𐞑, which is used to transliterate characters which would have been homophonous or near-homophonous to Chinese 一 *yī* in northwestern Chinese of the time.

The Tangut character corresponding to the note sign *gōu* is not clear, but I tentatively identify it with L1429/K4586 𐞑, which is used to transliterate a variety of Chinese characters which would have been phonetically close to the pronunciation of 勾 *gōu* in northwestern Chinese of the time, although most of the Chinese characters it transliterates have palatization that is absent in 勾. However, as the Tangut character L2074/K5424 𐞑 *kew/keu* is used to transliterate both 高 *gāo* and 勾 *gōu*, and 𐞑 may occasionally be used to transliterate 高 *gāo*, it seems possible that it could also have been used to transliterate 勾 *gōu* in this manuscript.

The order of the signs (*wǔ, fán, chě, gōng, shàng, yī, sì, liù, gōu, hé*) is rather interesting as it matches the natural order of notes, from high to low, shown in Table 1 above (*wǔ, liù, fán, gōng, chě, gōu, shàng, yī, sì, hé*), except that the note signs *liù, chě, and gōu* are out of order. However, if we assume that the mismatch between the *gōng* and *chě* signs and their corresponding Tangut characters is due to the *gōng* and *chě* signs having been accidentally written in the wrong order, and that the order of the note signs should follow the order of the Tangut characters, then only the signs *liù* and *gōu* are out of order. This corrected order (*wǔ, fán, gōng, chě, shàng, yī, sì, liù, gōu, hé*) is still incorrect (*liù* and *gōu* are misplaced), but now it exactly matches the order of notes given in the *History of the Liao Dynasty*, where the description of “Great Music” (*dayue* 大樂) lists the ten notes as: *wǔ* 五, *fán* 凡, *gōng* 工, *chě* 尺, *shàng* 上, *yī* 一, *sì* 四, *liù* 六, *gōu* 勾, and *hé* 合.¹⁸ It cannot be a coincidence that both the editors of the *History of the Liao Dynasty* (composed 1342–1343) and the scribe of the Tangut manuscript, writing in 1173, used the same incorrect order, and suggests that they were both copying from a common source, perhaps a Liao dynasty work on Khitan music or the lost *History of the Liao Dynasty* compiled during the Jin dynasty.

Dated at 1173, some thirty years before the first publication of Jiang Kui’s lyrics with flute notation, IOM Таңг. 22/1 is the earliest extant example of the ten-note simplified character system of flute notation. However, it may not be the only example of flute notation on a manuscript from Kharakhoto. A Tangut manuscript fragment held at the British Library (call number Or. 12380/21) has a single line of partially obliterated signs that are very similar to those on IOM Таңг. 22/1 (see Fig. 3 and Table 3). It is difficult to be certain, but the line of signs on Or. 12380/21 look as if they are also a list of the ten signs used in flute notation, in almost the same order as given in IOM Таңг. 22/1.

¹⁸ Liao shi 1974, vol. 2, juan 54, p. 891. Apparently some editions of the *Liao shi* have the notes written as simplified note signs (see Li Shigen 1987, p. 6), but the only editions I have seen give the notes as standard Chinese characters.

**Table 3. Comparison of note signs
in BL Or. 12380/21 and IOM Tang. 22/1**



Or. 12380/21	Tang. 22/1	Chinese	Pinyin
■	ㄅ	五	wǔ
リ	リ	凡	fán
□	人	尺	chě
フ?	フ	工	gōng
フ or 么?	么	上	shàng
一	一	一	yī
人?		尺	chě
フ or マ?	マ	四	sì
久?	久	六	liù
厶	厶	勾	gōu
厶	厶	合	hé

Fig. 3. British Library Or. 12380/21
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The fact that the list of ten flute notation signs are found on two different Tangut manuscripts makes it seem highly likely that the form of popular flute music prevalent in the territories of the Song and Liao empires was also practised within the Tangut state. This raises the intriguing possibility that somewhere, waiting to be discovered, are manuscript flute scores with accompanying Tangut lyrics.

Abbreviations & References

BL — British Library

BnF — Bibliothèque nationale de France

IOM — Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences

refs. — references

translit. — transliteration

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