

MUSIC, MEMORY, AND THE PRESERVATION  
OF MUSICAL TEXTS:  
A MUSIC-ORIENTED CASE STUDY OF *SHIJING*  
AND THE TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY BAMBOO SLIPS  
IN EARLY CHINA

## 1. Introduction

The study of music and memory is a popular topic in modern academia, especially with the recent development of cognitive science and brain studies. However, this topic has a long history and we can even find out this idea from the writing by Aristoxenus (circa. 360–300 B.C.), the famous Ancient Greek musicologist and philosopher:

Ὄγ δ' ἔστι τὸ ξυνέναι τῶν μελωδουμένων τῇ τε ἀκοῇ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατὰ πᾶσαν διαφορὰν τοῖς γιγνομένι νοις παρακολουθεῖν δῆλον—ἐν γενέσει γάρ δὴ τὸ μέλος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς μουσικῆς (...) ἐκ δύο γάρ τούτων ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς ξύνεσίς ἔστιν, αισθήσεως τε καὶ μνήμης: αισθάνε σθαι μὲν γάρ δεῖ τὸ γιγνόμενον, μνημονεύειν δὲ τὸ γεγονός. κατ' ἄλλον δὲτρόπον οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ παρακολουθεῖν.

It is clear that understanding melodies is a matter of following with both hearing and reason things as they come to be, in respect of all their distinctions: for it is in a process of coming to be that melody consists, as do all the other parts of music. Comprehension of music comes from two things, perception and memory: for we have to perceive what is coming to be and remember what has come to be. There is no other way of following the contents of music.<sup>1</sup>

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\* ORCID: 0000-0001-6446-9770

<sup>1</sup> From Aristoxenus, *Elementa harmonica*, II: 38–39. See *The harmonics of Aristoxenus, Edited with Translation Notes, Introduction and Index of Words*, ed. H.S. Macran, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1902, p. 129, and translation by Barker: *Greek Musical Writings*, Vol. 2: *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*, transl. A. Barker, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, p. 155.

This statement, despite being more than two thousand years before us, still sound very ‘modern’ in philosophical sense.<sup>2</sup> However, Aristoxenus’ sharp observation would not be the only writing within the history. For example, in almost a thousand years later, this statement echoed with the writing of Isidore of Seville (circa. 560–636 A.D.):

Musica est peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens. Et dicta Musica per derivacionem a Musis. Musae autem appellatae ἀπὸ τοῦ μάσαι, id est a quaerendo, quod per eas, sicut antiqui voluerunt, vis carminum et vocis modulatio quaereretur. Quarum sonus, quia sensibilis res est, et praeterfluit in praeteritum tempus, in primiturque memoriae. Inde a poetis Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt.

Music is the practical knowledge of melody, consisting of sound and song; its name is derived from ‘muses’. The muses were named [in Greek] ‘apo tou masai’, that is, from inquiring, because, as the ancients would have it, with the Muses’ assistance they inquired into the power of songs and vocal melody (modulatio vocis). The sound of these (sonus), because it is perceived by the senses, flows by into the past and is impressed upon the memory. For this reason, poets have written that the Muses are the daughters of Jove [Jupiter] and Memory [i.e. Mnemosyne]. Unless these sounds (soni) are held in human memory, they pass away, for they cannot be written.<sup>3</sup>

It is sadly true that, besides the oral tradition, the only sources that we have for historical study of music would be those written sources; they are potentially inaccurate, and as Isidore rightly pointed out that, a lot of features cannot be written down, and hence they are largely faded out from the history.

On the other side of the world, the East Asians also wrote numerous sources about features of music and memory. Such as, the Buddhist monk and scholar Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什 / कुमारजीव, 344–413 A.D.), whose main achievement was the translation of numerous Buddhist text from Sanskrit to Chinese, famously discussed about the difficulty of transmitting Buddhist chants (*Fanbai* 梵唄) because of the difference of language and custom, hence the original hymns in Sanskrit were pitifully lost:

天竺國俗，甚重文製，其宮商體韻，以入弦為善。凡觀國王，必有讚德，見佛之儀，以歌歎為貴，經中偈頌，皆其式也。但改梵為秦，失其藻蔚，雖得大意，殊隔文體。有似嚼飯與人，非徒失味，乃令嘔噦也。

<sup>2</sup> See T.J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre: Greek music and music theory in antiquity and the Middle Ages*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE 1999, p. 323 for a brief analysis.

<sup>3</sup> In *Etymologiae*, III: 15. See *Isidori Hispaniensis Episcopi: Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, E Typographeo Clarendoniano, Oxford 1911; translated after Sullivan: *The unwriteable sound of music: the origins and implications of Isidore's memorial metaphor*, “Viator” 1999, Vol. 30, p. 1.

According to Indian literary customs, they pay great attention to the forms of the texts; its hymns, rhythms and cadence are particularly considered once they can be concorded with strings [i.e. in musical forms]. When seeking an interview with the king, a eulogy to his virtue is a must; the best rituals of meeting the Buddha contained songs and verses. The gathas in the sutras are all based on this tradition. Translating them from Sanskrit into Chinese removes their pleasing quality; although the meaning remains, the writing style has been changed. It is rather like chewing the dish first, then feeding it to others; not only the taste is gone, but it also makes people feel nauseous.<sup>4</sup>

Such obstructions are frequently observed when one was working with musical contexts. In Japan at several centuries later, when the Emperor Go-Shirakawa (後白河天皇, 1127–1192 A.D.) was so infatuated with the traditional Japanese folk songs, he then organised and compiled a song collection called *Ryōjin Hishō* (梁塵秘抄); in the last part of the book, he lamentedly concluded:

こゑわざの悲しきことは、我が身隠れぬるのち、とどまることのなきなり。  
其故に、なからむあとに人見よとて、未だ世になき今様の口傳をつくりおく所なり。

Tragic are the works of the voice, for after the body itself perishes, nothing of them remains behind. For this reason, I decided to write and leave behind a book of oral traditions of the present that have not yet been handed down to the world, so that others may see them in the years to come.<sup>5</sup>

Hence, we can see that from the above examples, there are philosophical discourse on the perishing of music, the difficulties of transmitting music in a cross-cultural perspective, and also the attempt to collect musical pieces when realising how perishable they are. All of them relied on the use of memory, then assisting with textual writing, in order to aim for the better preserving of music.

<sup>4</sup> From Huijiao (慧皎), *The Lives of Eminent Monks* (高僧傳 *Gaosengzhuan*), see *Gaosengzhuan* (高僧傳), ed. Y. Tang, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing 1992, p. 53; translated after Yang: *The Biographies of Eminent Monks*, transl. T. Yang, The University of Hong Kong Press, Hong Kong 2022, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> The edited text can be found at J. Usuda (白田甚五郎), S. Shinma (新間進一), N. Tonomura (外村南都子), *Kagurauta, Saibara, Ryōjin hishō, Kanginshū* (神樂歌・催馬樂・梁塵秘抄・閑吟集), *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (新編日本古典文学全集), Vol. 42, Shōgakukan, Tokyo 2000, p. 380. Translated after C. Inose, J. Knott, *Medieval Buddhism and Music: Musical Notation and the Recordability of the Voice* [in:] *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 3: *Interaction of Knowledge*, National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo 2020, p. 113.

## 2. Case study: The *Shijing*, and its memorative features

*Shijing* (詩經), or the Book of Odes, is considered one of the earliest poetry collections in early China. There used to be long debate about many details, but the current academia tends to agree that the poems from *Shijing* were collected by the ruling class of Zhou (周) kingdom and the surrounding feudal states; it includes ritual hymns (雅 *ya* and 頌 *song*) for official purpose, as well as folk songs from different regions (風 *feng*) for the kings and lords to compassionate the living status of ordinary people; some of the songs can be dated as early as in Shang dynasty (before 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) if considering the transmission is authentic. The *Shijing* was also famously compiled by Confucius (d. 479 B.C.), who has been criticised for deleting the majority of poems from more than three thousand to only 305 pieces.<sup>6</sup> After the burning books and live burial of Confucian scholars (焚書坑儒 *fenshu kengru*) in Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.), the transmission of *Shijing* was seriously interrupted; during the cultural revival in Han dynasty (202 B.C. – 220 A.D.), there were four schools of *Shijing* teaching, called the *Lu* (魯詩), *Qi* (齊詩), *Han* (韓詩) and *Mao* (毛詩). After centuries of war, only *Mao* version remained and the other three were then extinct.<sup>7</sup> Through these sad stories, we know that although there were textual editing and standardisation, variations still exist; considering that all the poems are accompanied by music, that is a highly oral culture with no way to record it in writing at that time;<sup>8</sup> and hence we know that those different ‘schools’ of *Shijing* transmission, will involve a lot of different memorative features that we have little clue to research for.

Let us find an example of *Shijing* poem, ‘*Xishuai*’, for the case study:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Initially mentioned in *Shiji* (史記) by Sima Qian (司馬遷, b. 145 B.C.): ‘古者詩三千餘篇，及至孔子，去其重，取可施於禮義，上采契后稷，中述殷周之盛，至幽厲之缺，始於衽席，故曰「關雎之亂以爲風始，鹿鳴爲小雅始，文王爲大雅始，清廟爲頌始」。三百五篇孔子皆弦歌之，以求合韶武雅頌之音。禮樂自此可得而述，以備王道，成六藝’; see *Shiji*, Vol. 6 (史記 第六冊), ed. Z. Shuju Bianjibu, Z. Shuju, Beijing 1959, pp. 1936–1937. For the argument of whether Confucius really deleted many poems, see S. Xu (许司东), *Kongzi Shanshi shuo Bianzheng* (孔子刪詩說辨正), “Dongyue Luncong” (东岳论丛) 1996, Vol. 1.

<sup>7</sup> As quoted in Book of Sui (隋書): ‘《齊詩》, 魏代已亡；《魯詩》亡於西晉；《韓詩》雖存，無傳之者。唯《毛詩鄭箋》，至今獨立。又有《業詩》，奉朝請業遵所注，立義多異，世所不行’; see *Sui Shu*, Vol. 4 (史記 第六冊), ed. Z. Shuju Bianjibu, Z. Shuju, Beijing 1973, p. 918.

<sup>8</sup> We may already remind what Aristoxenus and Isidore had said. For the singing and music accompaniment of *Shijing*, lots of ancient writings had mentioned e.g. by Mozi (墨子): ‘誦詩三百，弦詩三百，歌詩三百，舞詩三百’; see *The Mozi: A Complete Translation*, trans. I. Johnston, The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong 2010, pp. 684–685.

<sup>9</sup> This poem is called 蟪蟀 (*Xishuai*, lit. cricket) from 唐風 (*Tangfeng*). Chinese text from *Maoshi Zhengyi* (毛詩正義), *Shisanjing Zhushu* (十三經注疏), eds. K. Gong et al., Vol. 3, Peking

A1	蟋蟀在堂 dàng, 歲聿其莫 màks。 今我不樂 ngràwks, 日月其除 dras.	The cricket is in the hall, The year is drawing to a close. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have slipped by.
A2	無已大康 khàng, 職思其居 kas。 好樂無荒 mhàng, 良士瞿瞿 kwaks.	Do not be so riotous As to forget your homes. Amuse yourselves, but no wildness! Good men are always on their guard.
B1	蟋蟀在堂 dàng, 歲聿其逝 dats。 今我不樂 ngràwks, 日月其邁 mràts.	The cricket is in the hall, The year draws to its end. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have gone their way.
B2	無已大康 khàng, 職思其外 ngwâts。 好樂無荒 mhàng, 良士蹶蹶 gots.	Do not be so riotous As to forget the world beyond. Amuse yourselves, but no wildness! Good men are always on the watch.
C1	蟋蟀在堂 dàng, 役車其休 hou。 今我不樂 ngràwks, 日月其慆 lhòu.	The cricket is in the hall. Our field-wagons are at rest. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have fled away.
C2	無以大康 khàng。 職思其憂 ou。 好樂無荒 mhàng, 良士休休 hou.	Do not be so riotous As to forget all cares. Amuse yourselves, but no wildness! Good men are always demure.

Because of the unique nature of the Chinese ideograms, labelling the modern pronunciation makes no sense for the study of ancient sounds; so, I have noted the rhymes of the poetry according to the reconstruction of old Chinese phonology. Also for the convenience of analysis, the poetry can be categorised into three paragraphs, labelled as A, B, and C; each paragraph contains two sections, and section 1 and 2 both follow some certain repetitive patterns. We can see that, although there are irregularities, most verses followed a certain prosody: the rhymes changed and repeated among phrases, and the metric remains the same – the whole poem is consisted by four-character verses. Since the *Mao* version of this poem was the

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University Press, Beijing 1999, pp. 442–445; translation from A. Waley, J.R. Allen, *The Book of Songs*, Grove Press, New York 1996, pp. 90–91. Phonetic reconstruction of rhymes according to G. Sampson, *Voices from Early China: The Odes Demystified*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne 2020, pp. 139–140.

only surviving sources that we have for millennium, we then may have lost a lot of memorative features by not knowing how other schools of thought may practice it.

The recent research shed a new light on further study on the memorative tradition of *Shijing*: with the development of preservation technology and the increasing discovery of archaeological sites, many old bamboo slips are found in tombs from Pre-Qin dynasty. Many findings are extremely precious and gave unimaginatively rich information about the authentic view of Pre-Qin society;<sup>10</sup> among them, some rare copies of *Shijing* poems that especially helped our work. In our case of the *Xishuai* poem, the late Warring States Bamboo slips collection stored at Tsinghua University (usually known as *Qinghuajian* 清華簡, dated circa. 305±30 B.C.<sup>11</sup>), one compiled article known as *Qiyé* (耆夜) get into our focus. The original bamboo slips are attached in the *Appendix*.<sup>12</sup>

As we may see from those facsimiles of the bamboo slips, those texts are written in some archaic paleography, and that style was simplified in the Han dynasty (that process is known as *Liding* 隸定), and those scripts are written in local Chu (楚) kingdom style and had not been standardised (known as *Shutongwen* 書同文) during that time; hence, normal literate people afterwards will not be able to identify those non-*Liding* texts. It is not difficult to imagine that, the modern experts had great difficulties to read those texts, and currently we can reconstruct most of the contents, except for those damaged parts of the bamboo slips (usually labelled as □ symbol); also, a few variations of scripts were no longer used, in the reconstructed text, scholars used modern characters that was identical to its meaning to represent it.

*Qiyé* talked about the story of a royal banquet, where several officers recited poems from *Shijing* for alcohol drinking, and a variation of *Xishuai* is recited within this context. For further studies, I will provide a line-to-line comparison of the *Mao* version and Tsinghua bamboo slip version parallelly, with their similar contents in bold:<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For a general review, see G. Xie (谢桂华), S. Shen (沈颂金), W. Wu, (邬文玲), *Ershi Shiji Jianbo de Faxian yu Yanjiu* (二十世纪简帛的发现与研究), “*Lishi Yanjiu*” 2003 (历史研究), Vol. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See S. Xiong (熊崧策), *Qinghua Zhubian: Dianfu Shanggushi* (清华竹简:颠覆上古史), “*Guojia Renwen Lishi*” 2011 (国家人文历史), Vol. 6, for the dating provided.

<sup>12</sup> For the bamboo facsimile, see *Qinghua Daxue Cang Zhanguo Zhubian, Yi* (清華大學藏戰國竹簡 壹), ed. X. Li (李學勤), Shanghai Wenyi Chuban Jituan, Shanghai 2010, pp. 63–74.

<sup>13</sup> The reconstructed text written in modern orthography is from *Qinghua Daxue Cang Zhanguo Zhubian...*, pp. 149–156 and M. Kern, “*Xi Shuai*” 蟋蟀 (“Cricket”) and its Consequences: Issues in Early Chinese Poetry and Textual Studies, “*Early China*” 2019, Vol. 42, p. 42, with my own modification. The symbol “□” indicates that the character is missing or unrecognised in the bamboo slip.

	Mao	Tsinghua
A1	蟋蟀在堂， 歲聿其莫。 今我不樂， 日月其除。	蟋蟀在堂， 役車其行。 今夫君子， 不喜不樂， 夫日□□， □□□荒。
A2	無已大康， 職思其居。 好樂無荒， 良士瞿瞿。	毋已大樂， 則終以康， 康樂而毋荒， 是爲良士之方方。
B1	蟋蟀在堂， 歲聿其逝。 今我不樂， 日月其邁。	蟋蟀在席， 歲喬云落。 今夫君子， 不喜不樂。 日月其滅， 從朝及夕。
B2	無已大康， 職思其外。 好樂無荒， 良士蹶蹶。	毋已大康， 則終以祚。 康樂而毋□， 是唯良士之懼懼。
C1	蟋蟀在堂， 役車其休。 今我不樂， 日月其慆。	蟋蟀在舌， 歲喬□□， □□□□， □□□□。 □□□□， □□□□。
C2	無以大康。 職思其憂。 好樂無荒， 良士休休。	毋已大康， 則終以懼。 康樂而毋荒， 是唯良士之懼懼。

It is worthy to point out that it is not a simple one-to-one correspondence between those two versions: by analysing the rhymes, *Mao A* is closest to *Tsinghua B*, and less closer to *Tsinghua C*; then, the relation of *Mao B* and *Tsinghua B*, as well as *Mao C* and *Tsinghua A*, have a few in common but vary by majority,<sup>14</sup> besides, the rhymes in *Mao* are much complex than *Tsinghua*. Hence, we can summarise that the stemmatology of both versions are complex, and it is difficult to determine which version is the variation of the other.

In addition, this comparison gives us huge amount of information, but mainly: the *Mao* version is more likely to be textually edited, as the verses are more regular (all are four-character lines), more tendency of repetition (such as in *Mao* version, the cricket at *hall 堂* is mentioned for all three times, but in *Tsinghua* version, the

<sup>14</sup> See P. Chen (陈鹏宇), *Qinghuajian zhong Shi de Taiyu Fenxi ji Xiangguan Wenti* (清华简中诗的套语分析及相关问题), PhD Thesis, Tsinghua University, Beijing 2014, p. 45.

only the first was at *hall 堂*, then followed by at *seat 席* and at *tongue 舌*); the *Mao* version are more reduced in context, as some contents in *Tsinghua* version take two verses, but it became only one in *Mao* (such as 今我不樂 If we do not enjoy ourselves now in *Mao* was 今夫君子, 丕喜丕樂 For the men of virtue now, [they] do not feel happy nor enjoy themselves) – clearly, this changes its accompanied musical features. A more obvious detail is that they are ‘filler’ words to use for changing the prosody, such as in *Mao*, the eight-character phrases ‘好樂無荒, 良士蹶蹶’ was slightly modified, and added ‘而’ (and), ‘是唯’ (so that), ‘之’ (somebody’s) in *Tsinghua* version – we can imagine that, the poetic connotation of two versions could be quite similar, but the related musical feature of them could be highly different.

Another side-evidence can be found at another text of *Tsinghua* bamboo slip, *Zhonggong zhi Qinwu* (周公之琴舞), several *Shijing*-like poems are featured, and one of them is a variation of *Jingzhi* (敬之), another poem collected in *Shijing*:<sup>15</sup>

*Mao, Jingzhi*

敬之敬之，天維顯思，命不易哉！  
無日高高在上，陟降厥土，日監在茲。  
  
維予小子，不聰敬止。  
日就月將，學有輯熙于光明。  
佛時仔肩，示我顯德行。

*Tsinghua, Zhonggong zhi Qinwu*

元納啟曰：

敬之敬之，天惟顯市，文非易市。  
毋日高高在上，陟降其事，卑監在茲。  
  
亂曰：  
訖我夙夜，不逸敬之。  
日就月將，教其光明。  
弼持其有肩，示告余顯德之行。

Similarly, we can observe that both versions of *Jingzhi* in *Mao* and *Tsinghua* shows variations regarding oral features; furthermore, the *Tsinghua* version is further divided into two sectors, *qi* 啟 and *luan* 亂 – as both indicate a certain form of music performed in the royal court, proves the musical function of the text.<sup>16</sup> Such oral and musical features showed distinction as some *Shijing* texts found in other excavated evidences, such as the *Anhui University* bamboo slips (安大簡), are rather regulated and featured more in written transmission.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Text edited after L. Liu (劉麗文), L. Duan (段露航), *Qinghuajian Zhonggong zhi Qinwu dui Shijing Liuchuan yu Bianding de Qishi* (清華簡《周公之琴舞》對《詩經》流傳與編定的啓示) [in:] *Qinghuajian Yanjiu: Di'er Ji.* (清華簡研究 (第二輯)), eds. X. Li, (李學勤), Z. Chen, (陳致), Zhongxi Shuju, Shanghai 2015, p. 78.

<sup>16</sup> The study of *qi* and *luan*’s musical significance can be found at X. Yao (姚小鷗), X. Meng (孟祥笑), *Shilun Qinghuajian Zhonggong zhi Qinwu de Wenben Xingzhi* (試論清華簡《周公之琴舞》的文本性質) [in:] *Qinghuajian Yanjiu...*, pp. 57–76.

<sup>17</sup> For the study of *Shijing* texts in *Anhui University* bamboo slips, see D. Meyer, A.C. Schwartz, *Songs of the Royal Zhou and the Royal Shào: Shi 詩 of the Anhui University Manuscripts*, Brill, Leiden & Boston, MA 2022 for more details.

We then reminded the oral-formulaic theory famously purposed by Milman Parry;<sup>18</sup> the theory creatively referred to the study of Yugoslav oral epics and its ‘formula’ as memorative pattern, then applying that into the analysis of Homeric epic and argued that the comparability feature proved that it is orally transmitted. This theory was so successful and has been applied on the study of Gregorian chants;<sup>19</sup> then, Wang Ching-hsien argued that the *Shijing* also followed the oral-formulaic pattern.<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that, the oral-formulaic theory also echoed with the traditional Chinese hermeneutics, as it purposed that there are three main ‘techniques’ of the *Shijing* composition: *fu* (賦), the flat narrative as rhetorical method; *bi* (比), the analogy, or the figurative comparison of person or thing to make the characteristics more distinct; *xing* (興), to refer to something else as a starting point in order to arouse the content of the poem.<sup>21</sup> Clearly, our case study that refers *xishuai*, ‘cricket’ as the object of *xing* and the repetitive usage of cricket make perfect sense in both traditional Chinese and Parry’s theory.

The recent study made more progressions: Martin West argued that the study of oral-formulaic theory can be used to reconstruct the music in Homeric period by cross-referring some other studies in Ancient Greek music theory;<sup>22</sup> Alexander Beecroft compared the oral-formulaic feature of both Homer and *Shijing* to directly build up a parallel;<sup>23</sup> the more recent discovery of bamboo slips did cause great academic focus, yet the result of study is still relatively few; but still, some study focused on the oral-formulaic feature of poems in Tsinghua bamboo slips and gave more possibility of further comparative studies.<sup>24</sup> By standing on the shoulder of those giants, what further discoveries can be made?

<sup>18</sup> See M. Parry, *Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style*, “Harvard Studies in Classical Philology” 1930, Vol. 41, pp. 73–147 and M. Parry, *Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. the Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry*, “Harvard Studies in Classical Philology” 1932, Vol. 43, pp. 1–50.

<sup>19</sup> See L. Treitler, *Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant*, “The Musical Quarterly” 1974, Vol. 60(3), pp. 333–372.

<sup>20</sup> See C.H. Wang, *The Bell and the Drum: Shih Ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA 1974.

<sup>21</sup> See X. Li (李芳), R. Lu, (卢锐), *Zhongguo Gudai Shige Chuangzuo de Sankuai Jishi: Shijing Fu Bi Xing Biaoqian Shoufa Tantao* (中国古代诗歌创作的三块基石——《诗经》赋, 比, 兴表现手法探讨), “Xichang Xueyuan Xuebao: Shehui Kexue Ban” (西昌学院学报: 社会科学版) 2005, Vol. 17(2), for a brief review.

<sup>22</sup> See M.L. West, *The singing of Homer and the modes of early Greek music*, “The Journal of Hellenic Studies” 1981, Vol. 101, pp. 113–129.

<sup>23</sup> See A.J. Beecroft, *The Birth of the Author: Oral Traditions and the Construction of Authorial Identity in Ancient Greece and China*, PhD Thesis, Harvard University, Harvard 2003.

<sup>24</sup> See P. Chen (陈鹏宇), *Qinghuajian zhong Shi...*

### 3. Conclusion

The parallel comparison of both version of *Xishuai* and *Jingzhi* provided crucial information: those memorative patterns of texts did determine how the musical pattern may look like. A single, ‘standardised’ example after textual editing may lose quite a lot of oral features, especially when the text includes hints of musical morphology. However, in some lucky cases, we may be able to reconstruct the memorative feature and oral patterns when finding new variations of texts, so that those ‘perishable’ music of the past can also be reconstructed some day in not fully authentic (which is impossible), but some reasonable forms that based on our new knowledge.

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## STRESZCZENIE

### MUZYKA, PAMIĘĆ I ZACHOWANIE TEKSTÓW MUZYCZNYCH. *KSIĘGA PIEŚNI* I BAMBUSOWE LISTWY PRZECHOWYWANE W UNIWERSYTECIE TSINGHUA – MUZYCZNE STUDIUM PRZYPADKU

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