

The Peak Time of Entertainment in China

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*A Study of the Jiaofang during
the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD)*

By

Li (Ally) Wang

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For Yongtian, David Tianxing and my parents, Qixian and Wenliang Wang

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BLZ *Beili Zhi* 北里志 (Notes about the City Female Performers in Chang' an)
- JTS *Jiu Tang Shu* 旧唐书 (The Old Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty)
- CFYG *Ce Fu Yuan Gui* 册府元龟 (A Collection of Formal Histories before the Five Dynasties)
- JFJ *Jiaofang Ji* 教坊记 (The Story of the Jiaofang)
- TD *Tong Dian* 通典 (A Collection of the Rules and Regulations before the End of the Tianbao Era of the Tang Dynasty)
- TLD *Tang Liu Dian* 唐六典 (The Official System of the Tang Dynasty)
- XTS *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐书 (The New Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty)
- ZTLC *Zengding Tang Liangjing Chengfang Kao* 增订唐两京城防考 (The Revised and Enlarged Introduction to the Two Capitals of the Tang Dynasty)
- ZZTJ *Zi Zhi Tongjian* 资治通鉴 (History as a Mirror)
- THY *Tang Huiyao* 唐会要 (Summary of Official Documents of the Tang Dynasty)

PREFACE

When I began studying for my master's degree, I planned to research the performance of *Song Ci* 宋词. At that time, I had just begun to learn how to research, so I did not realize the breadth of this topic and that I needed to focus on one or two points. After discussing this with my mentor, Professor Dong, he explained that my topic was still too broad. I asked him if I could research the *yueji* 乐伎. He disagreed with my proposal for the same reason and suggested that I continue researching.

After several months of researching, I had made some progress. I told my professor that I would like to focus on the *guanji* 官伎 in the *yueying* 乐营 (the local government's entertainment institution). He agreed, so I concentrated on the Tang Dynasty instead of the Song Dynasty.

I never thought I would still be studying and focusing on the Tang Dynasty six years later. For my master's degree thesis, I wrote about both the *guanji* and the City Female Performers 市井伎 (the *yueji* supplied musical and/or sexual services to commoners) in Chang'an.

However, as regards the *Jiaofang Ji* 教坊伎, it was too confusing to proceed. When preparing the proposal for my Ph.D. study, with encouragement from Professor Dong, I selected the *Jiaofang Ji*. After gathering the main research documents and primary resources, it seemed that my brain was full, with no space for anything else. There were many pieces of puzzles in my brain which were like parts of a small universe that flashed before my eyes. I tried to focus on them but there was still too much to cover.

The only thing I could do was to continue reading books on the topic and other scholars' papers in order to make more progress. This was a tough period that every Ph.D. candidate has to experience. One night, I woke up suddenly from a dream and clearly understood the relationship between the Inner Jiaofang 内教坊 of Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762, r. 712-756) and the Left and Right Jiaofang 左右教坊. The system of institutions supplying musical services to the emperors during the Tang Dynasty appeared throughout my dissertation. Thus, after my Ph.D. study, I changed my way of thinking.

The original manuscript was in Chinese. Since the University of Malaya required an English version, I had another challenge: to translate my dissertation into English.

Actually, the translation helped me to reconsider the meaning of the classical Chinese materials 文言文 as I had not realized that sometimes, I had not fully understood the exact meaning of the original.

I received a lot of support from my family, especially from my husband, Yongtian 永田. He said that after six years of hard work, I could be a specialist in *yueji*. Cautiously, I told him that I had only done a small amount of study on the Tang Dynasty's *yueji*. If the reconstruction of the system of musical institutions is like building a house, then what I did was lay some foundations. For reasons that I will explain in the Introduction, there are few studies on the Jiaofang system in the Tang Dynasty, or in ancient China. Thus, the research in this book will be useful in that area.

In my opinion, studying history is like an old Chinese story where, “a blind man feels an elephant, only touching a part of it, and concludes what the elephant looks like” 盲人摸象. It is often easy for a scholar to draw some conclusions from incomplete data on the basis of a one-sided viewpoint, and those conclusions can be helpful to understanding the whole story.

Sometimes, when I close my eyes, I feel that I can actually see how people lived during the Tang Dynasty, and how they played music or enjoyed musical performances. As entertainment was an inseparable part of daily life during the Tang Dynasty, I think we can say that the Tang Dynasty was the best period of time for ancient Chinese entertainment, hence the title of the book.

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This book is a result of my graduate work and the research for my masters and doctorate degrees. I owe many people my deepest appreciation.

First, I would like to extend my gratitude to all those teachers in the Department of Chinese Studies and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Malaya. I gratefully acknowledge the help of my supervisor, Professor Fan Pik Wah 潘碧华, who provided instructive and useful suggestions for my book.

Meanwhile, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor Dong Xiping 董希平. Without his continuous support, my study would have been more difficult.

I would also like to acknowledge those people who gave me constant guidance: Professor Florence Chia-ying Yeh 叶嘉莹, Professor Wang Zhaopeng 王兆鹏, Professor Jerry Schmidt and Professor Mu Zhai 木斋. Thanks to Professor Ronald Egan and Professor Anna M. Shields for their inspiration as regards my studies. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Fan Pik Shy 潘碧丝, Professor Zhang Jing 张静 and Professor Bai Lanling 白岚铃 for their encouragement.

Special thanks should go to my schoolmates whose help helped me to successfully complete my studies in China, Malaysia and Canada. They are Chai Siaw Ling 蔡晓玲, Lam Chui Peng 蓝佩菱, Chong You Rui 张尤蕊, Lee Eng Hock 李荣福, Meng Meng 孟蒙, Zou Jing 邹菁, Chen Zhouyan 陈周燕, Zhuang Yong 庄勇, Dong Chen 董晨, Wang Tong 王彤 and Cheng Yanmei 程艳梅.

I appreciate my friends, Dr. Xie Gang 谢刚, Jiao Ming 焦明, Wang Yong 王勇 and Chen Liping 陈李平, who witnessed my transformation from working in the press industry to academia. And I want to thank Jeffrey Seaver and Eleanor Moore for their patience and professional editing of this book.

Lastly, my thanks go to my beloved family—my parents Wenliang 文亮 and Qixian 其先, my husband Yongtian and my son David 天行, for their great confidence in me throughout all these years. Without their support, I couldn't have reached my goals.

INTRODUCTION

The earliest evidence of the word *jiaofang* 教坊 (in this book, it means the royal entertainment institution) was first found in materials relating to the Tang Dynasty. The original meaning of *jiaofang* referred to a place for teaching and studying which gradually changed to a place for the special teaching of musical arts over time. Therefore, in the Tang Dynasty, *jiaofang* usually appeared alongside names of musical institutions in the palace and the court.

There were many musical institutions in the palace and the court during the Tang Dynasty. Most of these institutions existed to entertain the emperors. Some of them were known as *jiaofang*, such as the Inner Jiaofang set up during the Wude era 武德 (618-627), the Inner Jiaofang, including the Left and Right Jiaofang created during the Kaiyuan era 开元 (713-741), and the Imperial Army's Jiaofang 仗内教坊.

Other musical institutions of the palace and the court included: the Liyuan 梨园 (the royal musical institution in the Pear Garden of the Palace Park), the Liyuan New Court 梨园新院, the Liyuan Court of Special Instruction of the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices 太常梨园别教院, Yichun Court 宜春院 (a musical institution named Yichun inside the palace), Yunshao Court 云韶院 (a musical institution named Yunshao inside the palace) and Xianshao Court 仙韶院 (a musical institution named Xianshao inside the palace). There was no association between these institutions and that of the *jiaofang*.

However, there were Jiaofang in the Imperial Music Office 太乐署 and the Office of Drums and Fifes 鼓吹署 which had no relationship with the emperors' entertainment.

The historical materials from the period after the Tang Dynasty were often mixed up, which presented some challenges to future scholars in terms of uncovering their original meaning. Meanwhile, during the An Shi Rebellion 安史之乱 (755-763), the wars largely destroyed Chang'an and caused the loss of many formal documents relating to the palace and the court. Therefore, the lack of textual materials made research difficult.

Chinese ancient musical theories present another obstacle because they are too complex and obscure for today's scholars to understand. For example, the different types of music during the Tang Dynasty were complicated. They included: *yayue* 雅乐 (music for sacrificial ceremonies and the court's formal rituals), *sanyue* 散乐 (acrobatics and drama), *yanyue* 燕乐 (music for the formal feast), *fangzhongyue* 房中乐 (a kind of formal music performed by palace women in daily palace life), *faqu* 法曲 (a kind of musical entertainment created by Xuanzong) and *suyue* 俗乐 (popular music). They are not clear to today's readers.

In terms of current research, Ren Bantang 任半塘 (1897-1991) has written the most comprehensive discussion of music and musical institutions in the Tang Dynasty. He has created a new academic sector: Tangyi Xue 唐艺学 (the art and literature of the Tang). In his books, he systematically analyzes the musical institutions of the palace. His achievements form the basis for subsequent research done by other scholars such as Wang Kunwu 王昆吾 (1951-), Li Changji 李昌集 (1949-) and Bai Hongxiu 柏红秀 (1975-). Scholars who came after Ren Bantang inherited and expanded on his opinions and put Tangyi Xue forward in new research.

Ren divided these institutions into three systems: the Jiaofang, the Liyuan, and the Courts of the Imperial Sacrifices. The Jiaofang system included the Inner Jiaofang, Yunshao Court, Yichun Court, the Left and Right Jiaofang and the Imperial Army's Jiaofang. The Liyuan system contained the Forbidden Garden Liyuan 禁苑梨园 and the Inner Palace Liyuan 宫内梨园. The Forbidden Garden Liyuan was composed of the Pear Garden Pavilion 梨园亭 and Xianshao Court. The Inner Palace Liyuan contained the Liyuan Fabu 梨园法部 and the Pear Flower Yard Institution 梨花园. The Court of the Imperial Sacrifices system included the Liyuan Court of Special Instruction of the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices and the Pear Flower New Court 梨花新院.¹

Additionally, other pieces of research from Yang Yinliu 杨荫浏 (1899-1984), Yin Falu 阴法鲁 (1915-2002), and Kishibe Shigeo 岸边成雄 (1912-2005) are represented as well.

In Yang Yinliu's opinion, the Jiaofang included the Wude Inner Jiaofang, which was managed by the Courts of the Imperial Sacrifices. After Kaiyuan 2nd year (714), the Jiaofang was divided into five parts. The

¹ Ren, Bantang 任半塘, *Tang Xiong* 唐戏弄, (Shanghai: Shanggu 上海古籍出版社, 2006), 1133.

department in the palace was called the Inner Jiaofang 内教坊 and the other four departments which were outside the palace were called the Outer Jiaofang 外教坊. There were two Outer Jiaofang located in Chang'an 长安 and two in the Eastern Capital 东都. The Jiaofang included both *yuegong* 乐工 (male performers) and *yueji* 乐伎. *Yueji* were assigned by rank. *Neiren* 内人, the ladies of the palace of Yichun Court, were the highest in rank. The Liyuan was the place for learning *faqu*. It had three departments and the main department was the Palace Liyuan 宫廷梨园; the others were the Liyuan Court of Special Instruction of the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices and the Liyuan New Court. The Liyuan Court of Special Instruction of the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices was located in Chang'an and managed by the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices of Chang'an. The Liyuan New Court was in the Eastern Capital and was controlled by the Eastern Capital's Courts of Imperial Sacrifices.²

Yin Falu, in his paper, said that formerly, the Tang's musical institutions included the Imperial Music Office (performing *yayue*), the Office of Drums and Fifes (performing etiquette music) and the Jiaofang (performing *suyue*), which were all controlled by the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices. The Courts of Imperial Sacrifices organized the activities of etiquette and sacrifice. *Suyue* was sung and danced by ordinary people. The Jiaofang was small and was located in the royal palace. In Kaiyuan 2nd year (714), Xuanzong enlarged the Jiaofang. Besides the Jiaofang in the palace, he established another two Outer Jiaofang in Chang'an and the Eastern Capital which did not belong to the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices. The Jiaofang Commissioners 教坊使 (the director of the Jiaofang) were eunuchs from the palace and controlled the Outer Jiaofang. The Liyuan was also located in the royal palace and was a place for teaching the performers.³

The opinions of Yang and Yin are still very popular in the study of art history and they are always cited as authorities on the matter.

Kishibe Shigeo, a Japanese scholar, presented his own point of view on the history of music in the Tang in *Tang Yinyue Shi Yanjiu* 唐代音乐史的研究 (A Study of the Tang Dynasty's Music History). He described the musical institutions as follows:

² Yang, Yinliu 杨荫浏, *Zhongguo Gudai Yinyue Shigao* 中国古代音乐史稿, (The History of Ancient Chinese Music), (Beijing: Renmin Yinyue 人民音乐出版社, 1981), 234.

³ Yin, Falu 阴法鲁, *Yin Falu Xueshu Lunwenji* (The Compilation of Yin Falu) 阴法鲁学术论文集, (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2008), 143.

The Jiaofang included the Wude Inner Jiaofang, the Left and Right Jiaofang⁴ 左右教坊 and the Kaiyuan Jiaofang 开元教坊, respectively.⁵ The purpose for establishing the Wude Inner Jiaofang was to teach *yayue* (*fangzhongyue*). This music was for etiquette instead of pleasure. The Left and Right Jiaofang were set up for the growth of *huyue* 胡乐 (Western music) which had no relationship to *sanyue*. The *yueji* were controlled by the Left and Right Jiaofang and were arranged in the palace and the Inner Jiaofang. The Kaiyuan Inner Jiaofang 开元内教坊 was built with the Left and Right Jiaofang at the same time. The Kaiyuan Inner Jiaofang was constructed beside the Penglai Palace 蓬莱宫 to replace the Wude Inner Jiaofang.⁶ In Yuanhe 元和 14th year (819), the Kaiyuan Inner Jiaofang became the Imperial Armies' Jiaofang. The Left and Right Jiaofang were combined into one during the Yuanhe era, which was called the Inner Jiaofang (or the Jiaofang). At the end of the Tang Dynasty, the Jiaofang was in decline. In Zhaozong's reign 昭宗 (866-904, r. 888-904), the Jiaofang and the Drum and Fife Service Section 鼓吹局 were located together in the East Market 东市.⁷

The Liyuan was built around Kaiyuan 2nd year (714). Its main section was in the Pear Garden 梨园 of the West Palace Park 西内苑 (a part of the Palace Parks). In the Tianbao era 天宝, the palace women were selected for the Pear Garden and lived in the Yichun North Court 宜春北苑. In Dali 大历 14th year (779), the Liyuan was reorganized. The performers who were not dismissed were sent to the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices. The Liyuan managed some *neiren* in Yichun Court. There were the Teenager Singers 小部音声 in the Liyuan, who were the Xiaoer of the Palace Parks and were killed by Zhu Quanzhong 朱全忠 (852-912) at the end of the Tang Dynasty. Besides the main section, the Liyuan also contained the Liyuan's Court of Special Instruction 梨园别教院 that was combined into the Jiaofang at the end of the Tang Dynasty. In Kaicheng 开成 3rd year (838), the Liyuan was renamed the Xianshao Court.⁸

⁴ Keishibe, Shigeo 岸边成雄, *Tangdai Yinyue Shi De Yanjiu* 唐代音乐史的研究 (A Study of the History of Music in the Tang Dynasty), (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua 台湾中华书局, 1973), 33-34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-63, 72.

The Court of Palace Attendants controlled the eunuchs. There were *faqu* performers in the Court of Palace Attendants who were on duty in shifts. In Kaicheng 3rd year (838), they were dismissed. Among them, some were selected into the Xianshao Court.⁹

In recent years, Chinese scholars have paid more and more attention to the research of Kishibe Shigeo. His conclusions form the basis of some new studies into the Tang Dynasty's arts, literature and other creative works.

Furthermore, Charles O. Hucker had different opinions on these institutions in his famous *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*:

The Chiao-fang (Jiaofang) was the "Music Office. The Left and Right Jiaofangs were established in 714 under the supervision of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices 太常寺 (t'ai-ch'ang ssu), and were soon made independent; they were specialized in the training of court entertainers including clowns, jugglers, etc. and came to be directed by one or more eunuch Commissioners 教坊使 (Shih)."¹⁰

Nèi-chiào fāng (the Inner Jiaofang) was the "Palace Music School, created in the 620s to train musicians for the emperor's private entertainment; from 692 to 714, it was called yün-shao fu 云韶府 (yunshao fu); it was loosely supervised by the Palace Domestic Service 内侍省 (nie-shi sheng). Originally staffed with professional, non-official erudites 博士 (po-shi), in 692 these were replaced with eunuchs."¹¹

Li-yüán (Liyuan) was "the Palace Theater, established by Hsüan-tsong 玄宗 (Xuanzong) as a resident troupe of actors, singers, acrobats, etc., in the palace for his personal entertainment; apparently it did not survive him. Its personnel were chosen from among skilled professionals, reportedly 300 in total, and also included large numbers of palace women. All participants were known as Members of the Palace Theater 皇帝梨园弟子 (disciples in the emperor's pear garden). It was the emperor's personal institution, and was not considered an agency of the government."¹²

Piéh-chiào yüàn 别教院 (Biejiaoyuan) was "the Court of Special Instruction, a unit of the Imperial Music Office 太乐署 (t'ai-yüeh shu); their staffing and functions were not clear, but it was possibly a section of the Office in which temporary instructors with specialized skills were housed,

⁹ Ibid., 73.

¹⁰ Hucker, Charles O., *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc. 南天书局有限公司, 1988), 141.

¹¹ Ibid., 343.

¹² Ibid., 308.

supplementing the regular, permanent staff.”¹³

Hsién-sháo yüan (Xianshao Court) was “the Bureau of Taoist Music, before 837 it was called fa-ch’ ü so-ch’u yüan 法曲奏处院 (faqu zouchu yuan)—a unit of the Imperial Music Office (t’ai-yüeh shu) in the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices (t’ai-ch’ang ssu).”¹⁴ Yün-sáo fū (yunshao fu) was “the Bureau of Natural Harmony, a school for training musicians in the emperor’s private apartments staffed with eunuchs of the T’ang Palace Domestic Services (nei-shih sheng); T’ang was a variant of nei chiao-fang (the Inner Jiaofang) from 692 to 714.”¹⁵

Charles O. Hucker’s dictionary is one of the basic reference books for research into Sinology in the English world so his explanations have greatly influenced Western scholars.

There are some studies by other scholars in these areas which did not change the aforementioned research.

During the last twenty years, there have been some dissertations written on this topic. Zuo Hanlin’s 左汉林 (1968-) “Tang Yuefu Zhidu Yanjiu” 唐代乐府制度研究 (A Study on the System of the Musical Institutions of the Court and the Palace of the Tang Dynasty) focused on these institutions.¹⁶ But his study included the Courts of Imperial Sacrifices. He did not realize that some musical institutions in the palace were especially for the emperors’ entertainment and were not related to etiquette.

Meanwhile, other papers in this area have often neglected the study of the musical institutions themselves. For example, Bai Hongxiu’s “Tang Gongting Yinyue Yanjiu” 唐代宫廷音乐研究 (A Study of the First Jiaofang Commissioners of the Tang Dynasty) only focused on programs played in the royal palace.¹⁷ Li Jingrong’s 李静蓉 (1981-) “Tang Gongting Youling Yanjiu” 唐代宫廷优伶研究 (A Study of the Actors in the Tang

¹³ Ibid., 380.

¹⁴ Ibid., 242.

¹⁵ Ibid., 599.

¹⁶ Zuo, Hanlin 左汉林, *Tangdai Yuefu Zhidu Yanjiu* 唐代乐府制度研究 (A Study on the System of the Musical Institutions of the Court and the Palace of the Tang Dynasty), Ph.D. Dissertation, (Beijing: Capital Normal University, 首都师范大学博士论文, 2005).

¹⁷ Bai, Xiuhong 柏秀红, *Tangdai Gongting Yinyue Yanjiu* 唐代宫廷音乐研究 (A Study on the First Jiaofang Commissioners of the Tang Dynasty), Ph.D. Dissertation, (Yangzhou University, 扬州大学博士论文, 2004).

Dynasty's Palace) solely described the performers in the palace.¹⁸ Wang Anchao's 王安潮 (1975-) "Tang Daqu Kao" 唐大曲考 (A Study on Complex Music) simply analyzed the resources of the Tang's Daqu.¹⁹ Lastly, Liu Yang's 刘洋 (1978-) "Tang Gongting Yueqi Zuhe Yanjiu" 唐代宫廷乐器组合研究 (A Study on the Instrument Combination in the Tang Palace) simply showed different instruments in different institutions.²⁰

Institutional research into entertainment during the Tang Dynasty is very limited and less integrated.

Firstly, the definition of musical institutions is not clear enough. This lack of definition has led to confusions between the different institutions of the Wude Inner Jiaofang and the Inner Jiaofang, the Inner Jiaofang and the Left and Right Jiaofang, the Liyuan and the Courts of Imperial Sacrifice's Fabu 太常寺法部, Yichun Court and Jiaofang, Yichun Court and Yunshao Court, the Imperial Armies' Jiaofang and the Jiaofang.

Secondly, some institutions, such as the Palace Women's Musical Institution and the Palace Park's Xiaoer have been neglected.

Meanwhile, performances in these institutions have not been adequately considered. For instance, the Inner Jiaofang controlled the *sanyue* and the Liyuan exclusively played *faqu*—these facts have not been well described.

Additionally, the existing studies on music are insufficient. For example, *yanyue* has been misunderstood as the generic term for all music in the Tang Dynasty and incorrectly regarded as pop music. *Faqu* is confused with *daqu* (masterpieces of music with some steady structure) and *yanyue* as well.²¹ These omissions have slowed the progression of research in both music and literature.

Consequently, all these inadequacies regarding musical institutions

¹⁸ Li, Jingrong 李静蓉, *Tangdai Gongting Youling Yanjiu* 唐代宫廷优伶研究 (A Study on the Actors in the Tang Dynasty's Palace), Master's Dissertation, (Fujian: Fujian Normal University, 福建师范大学硕士论文, 2006).

¹⁹ Wang, Anchao 王安潮, *Tang Daqu Kao* 唐大曲考 (A Study on Complex Music), Ph.D. Dissertation, (Shanghai: Shanghai Conservatory of Music, 上海音乐学院博士论文, 2007).

²⁰ Liu, Yang 刘洋, *Tangdai Gongting Yueqi Zuhe Yanjiu* 唐代宫廷乐器组合研究 (A Study on the Instrument Combination of the Tang Palace), Ph.D. Dissertation, (Beijing: Chinese National Academy Art 中国艺术研究院博士论文, 2008).

²¹ Wang, Weiyong 王伟勇, Naiwen Xue 薛乃文, "Zonglun Ci De Qiyuan" (An Overview of the Origin of Lyrical Works) 综论词的起源, *Journal of Chinese Verse Studies* 中国韵文学刊, No.3 (2012): 4-13.

have led to misunderstanding the historical facts and have obstructed our full comprehension of the literature. Moreover, this lack of thorough research stands in the way of understanding how arts and literature were created and spread.

The Tang Dynasty was 2500 years later than the Xia Dynasty. The Xia Dynasty was considered to be the real beginning of Chinese history. The Tang Dynasty fell almost in the middle of Chinese ancient history.²² Actually, the Tang was the peak time of Chinese history. China was also the most developed country in the world during that era. China had a great impact on the world from the Roman Empire to Japan via the Silk Road. It influenced both the economy and the culture of other countries. Neighboring countries, such as Japan, North and South Korea, and Vietnam copied Chinese culture during the Tang Dynasty.

The Tang not only had silk and porcelain but also a marvelous culture from art to literature, such as music, dance, calligraphy and architecture. In terms of literature, the two most famous types during the Tang were poetry and *ci* 词 (a form of poetry written as lyrics with tight restrictions regarding creation) which were closely related to music. As Luo Di 洛地 (1930-2015) wrote, Chinese ancient literature, drama and music are all connected.²³ If we want to explore the facts of ancient literature and drama, research into ancient music is quite necessary.

In fact, the palace musical institutions and the music of the Tang Dynasty greatly influenced the Tang's art and literature. For example, *ci* is thought to be related to a special kind of music in the Tang Dynasty. In the past, it was believed that *ci* were the lyrics of *yanyue*. But now, some scholars believe that *ci* was made for *faqu*.²⁴ So the music of *yanyue*, *faqu* and their related musical institutions should also be studied.

This book covers all of the musical institutions related to the emperors' entertainment during the Tang Dynasty. Some of the musical groups were built especially for the palace's entertainment, such as the Wude Inner Jiaofang 武德内教坊 (the Inner Jiaofang set up in the Wude era), the Inner Jiaofang, the Liyuan, the Palace Women's Musical Institution 宫廷女乐系统 (the musical system made up of the palace women), the Palace Parks *xiaoer* 内园小儿 (underaged male performers of the Palace Parks), and the

²² See Appendix.

²³ Luo, Di 洛地, *Ci Yue Qu Chang* 词乐曲唱, (Beijing: Renmin Yinyue 人民音乐出版社, 1995), 2.

²⁴ Mu Zhai 木斋, *Quci Fashengshi* (The History of Quci's Evolution) 曲词发生史, (Beijing: Guangming Ribao 光明日报出版社, 2011), 84-94.

musical Institution of the Court of Palace Attendants 宣徽院. Some of them belonged to the court and were not initially set up for the emperors' pleasure, such as the Imperial Army's Jiaofang. None of these institutions were established for sacrificial ceremonies and their performances were not *yayue*. Besides these, this book also includes *guanji* and City Female Performers.

This book includes the following information on the institutions: the time and purpose of their creation, evolution, management system, staff composition, performance system, performances, and their influence on art and literature.

Additionally, this study also includes two institutions with the word *jiaofang* in their names: the Palace School 翰林内教坊 (the institution for teaching the palace women cultural knowledge) and the Jiaofang of the Office of Drums and Fifes 鼓吹署教坊, which had no relationship to the emperors' entertainment.

Nowadays, people seldom know that in ancient China, the development of music was always controlled by the emperor and the palace, especially during the Tang Dynasty. In ancient China, society had different social strata. As stated, there was a kind of people called *yuehu* 乐户 (the performers) who could only make their living by playing music. During the Tang, the *yuehu* system became very strict and all *yuegong* and some *yueji* had to provide a service for both the palace and the court several months of the year. So, it was the palace and the court that educated and trained the performers, and thus they learned and performed the programs that the palace and court loved. Because of this, the palace and the court had total control of both the performers and the development of the music. The management that the palace used for the *yuehu* system had an impact on the regional governments after the Mid-Tang, and through the following dynasties: Song, Yuan and Ming.

Generally, the Tang is divided into four periods which are: the Early Tang 初唐, the Sheng Tang 盛唐, the Mid-Tang 中唐 and the Late Tang 晚唐. There were twenty-one emperors during the 289 years, including the only female emperor in Chinese history, Wu Zetian 武则天 (624-705, r. 690-705). The emperors' passion for entertainment, such as music, singing, dancing, drama 戏曲 and acrobatics 杂技 was very strong. All these different forms of entertainment needed music and were cataloged as different musical styles. Each emperor had his favorite musical style and institution. Thus, the study of the entertainment institutions is not only necessary but also significant as regards further research on the history and development of art and literature.

Additionally, the performers were devoted to the creation, development and spread of these works of art and literature. Therefore, this book on the palace's musical institutions would be helpful to understanding the works of art and literature of that time. It is also helpful or even indispensable to find out the truth and the facts of how those works were created.

This study also helps us to understand research into the palace entertainments of future dynasties because the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties copied the Tang Dynasty's palace institutions in terms of their creation, management system and performances. This book also sheds light on the related research into the literature, history and music of those dynasties.

This book has nine chapters as well as two supplements that cover the Palace School and the Jiaofang of the Office of Drums and Fifes.

The first chapter, following the Introduction, introduces the *yuehu* system, the *yueji* and other social customs of the Tang Dynasty, which have rarely been considered in studies.

The second chapter discusses the political characteristics related to the emperors' entertainment in the Tang Dynasty and the main venue for their entertainment. Certain political factors influenced the emperors' entertainment including several conspiracies by the eunuchs and the military commissioners 节度使 to try to take power from the royal palace. Also, because several emperors escaped from Chang'an due to the fear of war, those institutions were destroyed. Consequently, reference is made to the different locations for entertainment, including Chang'an and the Eastern Capital's palaces, the Three Palace Parks 三苑 and the Wenquan Palace 温泉宫.

Chapter III focuses on the Wude Inner Jiaofang. Information relating to the Wude Inner Jiaofang is carefully examined and includes the time and purpose of its setup, its structure, its administrative hierarchy, its locations in Chang'an and the Eastern Capital, and its influences on the Tang Dynasty's art and literature.

The fourth chapter explores the Inner Jiaofang. Besides the similarities with the Wude Inner Jiaofang, the relationships between the Inner Jiaofang and the Left and Right Jiaofang are thoroughly studied. Furthermore, how Xuanzong controlled the *sanyue* is also covered as were the effects of the Jiaofang on the art and literature of the Mid-Tang period.

The fifth chapter covers the Liyuan. The structure of the Liyuan is the key point of this chapter. Other research concentrates on *faqu* and the *faqu* institutions. The definitions of *faqu* and *yanyue* are very important and are closely related to the origin of *ci*.

The sixth chapter's emphasis is on the Palace Women's Musical Institution. This chapter examines the Yichun Court and the Yunshao Court. The palace women's performances are also closely studied.

Chapter VII concentrates on the Palace Park's *xiaoer* 宫苑小儿, the Court of Palace Attendants' musical institution, and the Imperial Armies' Jiaofang which were established to provide a service to the emperors after the Mid-Tang period. The differences between the Palace Park's *xiaoer* and the Teenager Singers, and the relationship between the Imperial Armies' Jiaofang and the Inner Jiaofang are covered.

Chapters VIII and IX analyze *guanji* 官伎 and City Female Performers 市井伎. These two kinds of *yueji* were not well known for a long time which made it difficult to understand the complete meaning of the literature.

The Palace School and the Jiaofang of the Office of Drums and Fifes did not provide musical services to the emperor for entertainment purposes, but their names were embedded in the word *jiaofang*. This book takes all of this into consideration to clearly and completely describe the "*jiaofang* system."

During the Tang Dynasty, the emperors frequently changed the musical institutions according to their wishes. This was mainly due to the fact that musical institutions lacked political influence and they only worked for the emperors' pleasure. These changes included the scope of the services of the institutions, which could be enlarged, and the number of staff in the institutions, which could also be increased. Institutions could be disbanded or combined with other institutions and new institutions could be created.

This book mainly focuses on the institutions providing entertainment to the emperors of the Tang Dynasty, though two facts should be clearly understood: one is that the institutions were subject to change according to the emperors' wishes, and two, there were no established laws for these institutions, unlike the Three Departments and Six Ministries 三省六部 (the political institutions in the court). Thus, this book will only focus on the analysis of the historical texts.

CHAPTER I

THE YUEHU AND THE YUEJI

1. A Brief Introduction to the Yuehu

The history of Chinese recorded music can be found very early in Chinese historical materials. At first, the function of music was for entertainment. As written in *Shang Shu* 尚书, “In the 28th year, Emperor Yao died. People felt as sad as if their parents had died. No music was played in the entire country for three years.”²⁵ When Emperor Shun 舜 used music for education, he asked Kui 夔 to use music to teach the children of the nobles.²⁶ At that time, music in ancient China had two functions: entertainment and etiquette.

Music as regards etiquette had a high status and was managed by specialized agencies. When a new dynasty began, the emperor usually discussed the music with certain ministers to set a benchmark, as well as to ascertain the types of *gongdiao* 宫调 (modes of ancient Chinese music). In the formal history books of most dynasties, the records of “etiquette music 乐志” are important.

However, music for entertainment purposes had different uses. Performers who played music for entertainment belonged to the *yuehu*, a humble social stratum.²⁷ There wasn’t a clear idea about when and how the *yuehu* stratum started, but from “Li Yannian, his parents and brothers were

²⁵ “二十有八载，帝乃殒落。百姓如丧考妣。三载，四海遏密八音。” Sun, Xingyan 孙星衍, *Shang Shu Jin Gu Zhu Shu* 尚书今古注疏 (The Explanation of Shang Shu), (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 1986), 58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁷ Although there were *guan nubi* 官奴婢 (slaves belonging to the government) or common people among those performers, the main part was made up of *yuehu*. The social stratum of *yuehu* was higher than *guan nubi* and lower than the common people. There is information on the introduction of pariahs in the Tang Dynasty in Li, Jiping 李季平, *Tangdai Nubi Zhidu* 唐代奴婢制度 (The Slave System in the Tang Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin 上海人民出版社, 1985).

yuehu,”²⁸ it was understood that during the Han Dynasty, *yuehu* already existed.

Du You 杜佑 (735-812) in *Tong Dian* 通典 (A Collection of the Rules and Regulations before the End of the Tianbao Era of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *TD*) during Dezong’s reign 德宗 (742-805, r. 779-805) summarized *yuehu* as:

From Yu to the dynasties of Xia, Shang and Zhou, the court made the descendants of nobilities be dancers of etiquette in order to teach them manners and principles. Blind people played the music because it was easier for them to become absorbed in the music. However, from the Han and Wei Dynasties, most of the performers of etiquette musical programs were pariahs or slaves and only *yawu* 雅舞 (a kind of etiquette dance) dancers were descendants of the noble class. The court examined *sinong hu* 司农户 (a kind of slaves that belonged to the government) and then placed the good-looking people into the Imperial Music Office. These performers were called singers 音声人 (*yinsheng ren*) with *yuehu* whose identity had been previously determined in earlier dynasties. Their numbers totaled nearly ten thousand.²⁹

Generally speaking, the social status of *yuehu* was very humble, although it varied in different dynasties. People in the *yuehu* class had many restrictions on their lives. For example, they were prohibited from marrying a commoner, they couldn’t study to sit for the imperial examination, and could only make a living by providing musical entertainment. Additionally, they couldn’t give up their *yuehu* identity 脱籍 automatically.

During the Han Dynasty, the *yuehu*’s social status was higher than the *nubi* class 奴婢 (slaves and maid-servants). Even though Jia Yi 贾谊 (200-168 B.C.) thought “the entertainers were humble,”³⁰ there were other records which indicated that the male entertainers could be the wife of the emperor, or even the queen. For instance, “Emperor Cheng 成帝 (51-7 B.C.,

²⁸ “(李延年)身及父母兄弟皆故倡。” Ban, Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 (The History of the Han Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 2759.

²⁹ “昔唐虞讫三代，舞用国子，欲其早习于道也；乐用瞽师，谓其专一也。汉魏以来，皆以国之贱隶为之，唯雅舞尚选用良家子。国家每岁阅司农户，容仪端正者归太乐，与前代乐户总名音声人。历代滋多，至有万数。” Du, You 杜佑, *Tong Dian* 通典 (A Collection of the Rules and Regulations before the end of the Tianbao Era of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *TD*), (Hangzhou: Zhejiang古籍出版社, 2000), 761.

³⁰ “倡优下贱。” Ban, Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 (The History of the Han Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 1722.

r. 33-7 B.C.) watched the dancer, Zhao Feiyan's 赵飞燕 performance then slept with her."³¹ "Madam Chen 陈夫人, who lived in Wei Jun 魏郡 when she was young, was selected by Xiaowang's 孝王 palace because she was good at singing. Xiaowang slept with her and she gave birth to the future Emperor Zhi 质帝."³² "Empress Bian 卞, the wife of Cao 曹操 (155-220) and the mother of Emperor Wen 曹丕 (187-226, r. 220-226), was born and grew up in an entertainer's family in Langya Kaiyang."³³ From these examples written in formal histories, we can understand that the management of *yuehu* during the Han and the Three Kingdoms Eras was not as strong as in later dynasties.

No historical records show that the court asked family members of criminals or prisoners of war to change their identity to *yuehu* in *Han Shu* 汉书 (The History of the Han Dynasty). During that time, captives were often killed and their heads were cut off to be counted among the winner's achievements.³⁴ Not until the Northern Wei Dynasty 北魏 (386-534) were there formal historical accounts of arranging for the family members of criminals to become *yuehu*:

Robbers who killed someone would be beheaded and their wives and children's identities would be changed to *yuehu*. The head of a group of robbers who did not kill anyone and only stole some goods that were worth no more than five *pi* 匹 would be beheaded and the other members would be put to death. Both the identities of the leader and the members' wives and children would be changed to *yuehu*. The head of thieves whose stolen goods cost more than ten *pi* would be killed and his wife and children would be given to the soldiers/servants of courier stations as slaves. The other members of the band of thieves would be exiled.³⁵

³¹ "(成帝)见舞者赵飞燕而幸之。" Ibid., 1138.

³² "陈夫人者, 家本魏郡, 少以声入孝王宫, 得幸, 生质帝。" Fan, Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 (The History of the Eastern Han Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 293.

³³ "武宣卞皇后, 琅邪开阳人, 文帝母也, 本倡家。" Chen, Shou 陈寿, *San Guo Zhi* 三国志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 117.

³⁴ Ban, Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 (The History of the Han Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 121.

³⁵ "诸强盗杀人者, 首从皆斩, 妻子同籍, 配为乐户; 其不杀人, 及赃不满五匹, 魁首斩, 从者死, 妻子亦为乐户; 小盗赃满十匹已上, 魁首死, 妻子配驿, 从者流。" Wei, Shou 魏收, *Wei Shu* 魏书 (The History of the Northern Wei Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 1930.

However, from the previous paragraph, one cannot conclude that the *yuehu* system began with Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Just as Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (1775-1840) wrote, “this is the first record of somebody who was forced to change their identity to *yuehu*.”³⁶ In later dynasties, such as the Northern Qi Dynasty 北齐 (550-577), there was also a law about forcing the family members of criminals to become *yuehu*.³⁷

Emperor Sui Yang 隋炀帝 (569-618, r. 604-618) greatly loved and promoted entertainment in the palace. He also increased the membership of the *yuehu* to expand the entertainment institutions in his palace. According to *Sui Shu* 隋书 (The History of the Sui Dynasty):

The number of performers in each dynasty were similar from the Han to the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 (420-589). Until recent decades, the new dynasty inherited the performers from previous dynasties. Most of those performers belonged to the *yuehu*. In Daye 6th year (610), Emperor Sui Yang assembled performers and their offspring to work in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and to live in the special area in Chang’an, which enlarged the *yuehu*’s membership enormously.³⁸

The punishment of family members of criminals was strictly regulated in the laws of the Tang Dynasty. Those people’s identities weren’t changed to *yuehu*.³⁹ Moreover, Gaozu 高祖 (566-635, r. 618-626) added restrictions regarding the *yuehu* system in order to ensure their descendants kept their identity. In his edict, he wrote:

The performers in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, the family members of criminals, and other performers kept their identities for generations. Some offspring of nobility or officers who changed their identity to *yuehu* could never change it back. A *yuehu*’s identity was different from that of the commoners. A *yuehu* was unable to marry a commoner. They were shamed

³⁶ Xu, Zhengxie 俞正燮, *Guisi Leigao* 癸巳类稿 (A Study on Social Knowledge Written about the Guisi Year), (Shenyang: Liaojiao 辽宁教育出版社, 2001), 427.

³⁷ *TD*, 868.

³⁸ “自汉至梁陈乐工，其大数不相逾越。及周并齐，隋并陈，各得其乐工，多为编户。至六年，帝乃大括魏、齐、周、陈乐人子弟，悉配太常，并于关中为坊置之，其数益多前代。” Wei, Zheng 魏徵, *Sui Shu* 隋书 (The History of the Sui Dynasty), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 250.

³⁹ Li, Linfu 李林甫, *Tang Liu Dian* 唐六典 (The Official System of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *TLD*), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 1992), 193.

and pitied. Being the emperor, I want to make some changes for the *yuehu*. Those performers who work in the Imperial Music Office and the Office of Drums and Fifes can change their old identity to that of a commoner. However, because the singers' skills and performances were so specialized, they were not permitted to change their identity. If the performer had been made an officer, he could keep his title. Those people who have been a part of the *yuehu* system since Wude 1st year (618) are not covered by this edict.⁴⁰

Although Gaozu pardoned some performers regarding their *yuehu* identity, he stressed that the “newcomer” *yuehu* couldn't change their identity and must remain *yuehu* for generations, which helped to increase their numbers. He also emphasized that the *yuehu*'s role was to serve the palace. After this edict, the identity of the *yuehu* became fixed and was difficult to change.

Jiu Tang Shu 旧唐书 (The Old Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *JTS*) contains the schedules of the *yuehu*'s training and performances: “All of the performers and singers should be taught and should practice, including those whose names are registered to train and carry out duties.”⁴¹ The records in *Tang Liu Dian* 唐六典 (The Official System of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *TLD*) are more detailed:

All of the performers and singers were given instructions in the court. All of their names were recorded and there were rules for their training and their performance schedules. (Original Note: The one thousand *sanyue* performers who participated in short-term training and performances were made up of a specific number from each Zhou 州. The Courts of Imperial Sacrifices' officers went around the country to find qualified performers to participate as long-term *sanyue* performers. Performers and singers from different areas had different schedules for training and performances. Those from outside of

⁴⁰ “太常乐人，今因罪谪入营署，习艺伶官，前代以来，转相承袭。或有衣冠世绪，公卿子孙，一沾此色，后世不改。婚姻绝于士类，名籍异于编。大耻深疵，良可哀愍。朕君临区宇，思从宽惠，永言沦滞，义存刷荡。其大乐鼓吹诸旧人，年月已久，世代迁易，宜得蠲除，一同民例。但音律之伎，积学所成，传授之人。不可顿阙，仍依旧本司上下。若已仕官见入班流，勿更追呼，各从品秩。自武德元年以来配充乐户者不入此例。” Song, Minqiu 宋敏求, *Tang Da Zhaoling* 唐大诏令 (Imperial Edicts of the Tang Dynasty), (Beijing: Shanggu 商务印书馆, 1954), 465.

⁴¹ “凡乐人及音声人应教习，皆著簿籍，核其名数，分番上下。” Liu, Xun 刘昫, *Jiu Tang Shu* 旧唐书 (The Old Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *JTS*), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 1278.

Hangu Pass 函谷关 area did six rotations each year. Those who lived inside of Hangu Pass did five rotations each year. The members from Jingzhao Fu 京兆府 did four rotations each year. Each rotation lasted one month. Those members who came from an area 1500 *li* 里 away from Chang'an combined their two rotations into one. When they arrived for training, those coming six times a year had to study until 5 pm. Those coming four times a year had to study until 12 pm.) All of them were tested to make sure they were ready to perform. (Original Note: Those who passed the exam but were unable to perform would be fined to pay for costumes and instruments.)⁴²

Performers not only paid money when they were absent, but also paid “taxes” every year. However, some types of performers could avoid their work or military obligations. According to the book, *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐书 (The New Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *XTS*), “Each *sanyue* performer paid 150 *qian* 钱 (copper coin); long-term performers could avoid their labor or military obligations; and each singer paid 2000 *qian* every year.”⁴³

When a senior parent of a performer needed to be cared for, the performer could ask other family members to replace him when he needed to carry out his work obligations.

According to the edict in May, Qianyuan 1st year 乾元元年 (666), collected in *Tang Huiyao* 唐会要 (Summary of Official Documents of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *THY*): “For singers and *yuehu*, when his grandparents or parents were sick and needed to be cared for by him, he could find another good qualified young person to replace him on his work obligations. If he could not find a proper replacement, the officer in charge could arrange a qualified person from the family to be a substitute for the performer’s job.”⁴⁴

⁴² “凡乐人及音声人应教习，皆著簿籍，覆其名数而分番上下（原注：短番散乐一千人，诸州有定额。长上散乐一百人，太常自访召。关外诸州者分为六番，关内五番，京兆府四番，并一月上；一千五百里外，两番并上。六番者，上日教至申时；四番者，上日教至午时。），皆教习检察，以供其事。（原注：若有故及不任供奉，则输资钱以充伎衣、乐器之用。）” *TLD*, 406.

⁴³ “散乐，闰月人出资钱百六十，长上者复徭役，音声人纳资者岁钱二千。” Ouyang, Xiu and Qi Song 宋祁, *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐书 (The New Edition of the History of the Tang Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *XTS*), (Beijing: Zhonghua 中华书局, 2005), 816.

⁴⁴ “音声人及乐户，祖、母老病应侍者，取家内中男及丁壮好手者充。若无所取中、丁，其本司乐署博士及别教子弟应充侍者，先取户内人及近新充。” Wang, Pu 王溥, *Tang Huiyao* 唐会要 (Summary of Official Documents of the Tang

The *yuehu* during the Tang Dynasty were given vacations that included: “Three days for the New Year, the Midwinter Day and the Cold Food Day, along with a month off following the birth of a baby, a parent’s death or a wedding, and seven days after the death of a close family member.”⁴⁵ Besides these, the *yuehu* did not receive any other formal benefits.

The *yuehu* had to make a living by themselves. They would do this by:

1. Supplying musical services for a commoner’s funeral or wedding. “Recently, there have been musical performances for parties in the market mall.”⁴⁶ “Commoners’ funeral ceremonies were too elaborate because they made sacrifices and performed music along the funeral route.”⁴⁷
2. Performing in the market mall or in someone’s home. “Pang San’niang 庞三娘 was good at singing and dancing, ...once the emperor gave permission for commoners and the local government of Bian Zhou 汴州 to have huge parties, Pang was hired to perform because of her famous reputation.”⁴⁸
3. Asking for a gift of money from officers who were newly promoted. “When Kong Zhaowei 孔昭纬 (?-?) was promoted, performers in the Jiaofang arrived separately to ask for monetary gifts. Shi Yezhu 石野猪 arrived at Kong’s home first and he was given rewards.”⁴⁹

Dynasty, abbreviated in this book as *THY*), (Shanghai: Shanggu 上海古籍出版社, 2006), 733. Males aged over 11 years are called *zhong*, and those over 20 years are called *ding* 丁. See “男十一以上为中，二十以上为丁。” *TLD*, 193.

⁴⁵ “官户、奴婢，元日、冬至、寒食放三日假，产后及父母丧、婚放一月，闻亲丧放七日。” *TLD*, 194.

⁴⁶ “近日坊市聚会，或动音乐。” *THY*, 437.

⁴⁷ “缘百姓厚葬，及于道途盛设祭奠，兼置音乐等。” *Ibid.*, 815.

⁴⁸ “庞三娘善歌舞...尝大酺汴州，以名字求雇。” Cui, Lingqing 崔令钦, *Jiaofang Ji* 教坊记 (*The Story of the Jiaofang*, abbreviated in this book as *JFJ*), (Shenyang: Liaojiao 辽宁教育出版社, 1998), 130.

⁴⁹ “又孔昭纬拜官，教坊优伶继至，各求利市。石野猪独先行到，公有所赐。” Sun, Guangxian 孙光宪, “Beimeng Suoyan” 北梦琐言 (*Stories of Emperor Wuzong of the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties*), *Tang Wudai Biji Xiaoshuo*