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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Tiger's Teeth: Local Gazetteers as Sources for Images Related to the Performance of Ritual

Anne GERRITSEN
University of Warwick, UK
A.T.Gerritsen@warwick.ac.uk

Local gazetteers often include images of ritual implements. This essay studies those images, asking when, where and why such images began to appear in local gazetteers and how these images relate to textual and visual representations of ritual implements in state-level illustrated ritual manuals. The argument this contribution seeks to make is that local gazetteers should be considered among the valuable sources for the study of Confucian ritual. When we look closely at the visual material about ritual in local gazetteers, we see that the process of the appearance of images of ritual implements in local gazetteers should not be understood simply as a top-down diffusion of state-level ritual instruction. The creators of these local illustrations were working within their own circumstances: their skills at creating the illustrations, the models they had to hand, and their understanding of their function were all distinct. While the ambitions of the Qianlong emperor are key to understanding the emphasis on ritual during his reign, as demonstrated by well-known ritual publications such as *Huangchao liqi tushi*, it is also clear that images related to rituals appeared in the local gazetteers at different times and in different cultural spaces from large-scale imperial projects. If we want to understand what local individuals thought about the importance of ritual in Qing society, we have to take the images of ritual implements included in local gazetteers seriously.

地方志中經常能看到禮儀器物的意象。本文旨在研究這些意象並探詢這些意象何時、何處以及為何開始出現在地方志中，以及它們與官方對相關禮儀圖文並茂的記載有何關聯。文章擬論證地方志應被視為研究儒家禮儀的寶貴資料之一。察看地方志中有關禮儀的視覺材料會發現，地方志中禮儀意象出現的過程並非是由朝廷禮部發出指令後自上而下傳播的。圖像的繪製人是獨立工作者：他們的創作技能、手頭的模型以及對圖像功能的理解都各不相同。雖然乾隆皇帝的雄心壯志是理解他統治時期對禮儀重視程度的關鍵，但同樣明顯的是，與禮儀相關的意象在地方志中出現的時間和文化空間與朝廷敕撰的項目並不相同。由此，如慾瞭解在清朝個體對禮儀重要性的看法，則須重視地方志中收錄的有關禮儀器物的意象。

Keywords: Local gazetteers, rituals, implements, musical instruments, manuals, images, stopper and starter

關鍵詞： 地方志，禮儀，器具，樂器，說明書，意象，擊柷，敲敔

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In 1756, a scholar by the name of Ouyang Zhenghuan 歐陽正煥 (1709-1760) published a new gazetteer for Xiangtan 湘潭 county in Hunan province (*Xiangtan xian zhi*, 1756). To modern historians, Xiangtan may be best known as the county of Mao Zedong's birth, but during the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736-1795), the county seems to have wanted to make a name for itself as a place with outstanding ritual implements. *Juan* 8 of this 1756 edition of the Xiangtan gazetteer has a large number of pages with detailed illustrations associated with the performance of Confucian rituals (*li* 禮). First, there is a page with the schematic lay-out of the implements required for the performance of ritual (*chenshe tu* 陳設圖) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.24a-b). Then follow 34 single pages depicting the full complement of ritual vessels (*liqi* 禮器), including such items as the bamboo bowl for food offerings (*bian* 籩), the tall dish (*dou* 豆) and the mountain vessel (*shanzun* 山尊) for offering wine (see Figure 1) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.27a-42b; Wu 2016, 233-53). These are followed by a further 19 single pages depicting the 21 separate musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器), including the starter (*zhu* 柷, a wooden crate or box) and the stopper (*yu* 敔, a wooden, tiger-shaped object), and the elaborate stands used for banners and flags (Figure 2) (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 8.48a-58a; Lam 2002, 148-50). Finally, there are 24 gazetteer pages with ritual postures or dance moves, each page displaying four separate postures, followed by a page depicting the feather plume (*di* 翟) and flute (*yue* 籥), to be held in the left and right hands, respectively, as well as the hat, belt, robe, and boots to be worn by the dancers (*Xiangtan xian zhi*, 8.58b-71b; Standaert 2006). The quality of the images is excellent: each of the objects is depicted in elaborate detail, as both figures show.

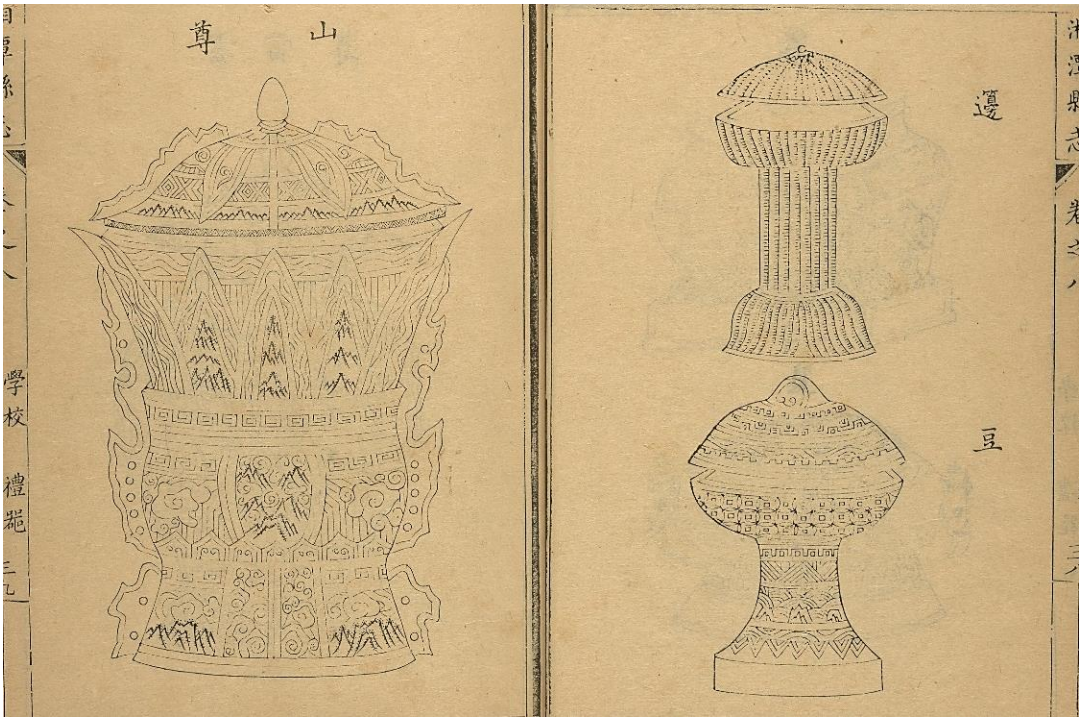

Figure 1: Bamboo bowl (*bian* 籩), tall dish (*dou* 豆) and mountain vessel (*shanzun* 山尊). *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), 8.28b–29a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13617473?n=204)

This extensive set of images depicts the lay-out of the rituals and all the objects that were to be used in the performance of Confucian rituals in Xiangtan. Their inclusion in the gazetteer of an otherwise hardly outstanding county raises several questions. What exactly is this category of objects, depicted in such detail in this gazetteer? When did images of ritual objects begin to appear in local gazetteers, and why are they included in this genre? How do these images in local gazetteers relate to the textual and visual representations of ritual implements in state-level illustrated ritual manuals? Generally speaking, rituals, ritual performance, ritual manuals, and ritual implements have garnered extensive scholarly attention, but gazetteers have rarely been seen as a particularly valuable source for approaching the topic. Kai-wing Chow's 1994 book on ritualism in late imperial China, for example, does not draw on the genre of local gazetteers (Chow 1994). Joseph Lam's 1998 work on the performance of state rituals during the Ming dynasty, with special focus on the role of music in the imperial sacrifice, does not use local gazetteers (Lam 1998). Nor does Angela Zito's book on Qing ritual of the same year (Zito 1998). Macabe Keliher's recent book (2019) on ritual and the Qing state focuses on the Board of Rites and demonstrates the importance of ritual in the shaping of a specifically Qing administrative order from Ming precedent, and its institutionalisation and codification in the second half of the seventeenth century, but local gazetteers do not feature (Keliher 2019). Nicolas Standaert's study of the visual representations of ritual dances does mention gazetteers (Standaert 2006). But these are very specific gazetteers, namely: *Queli zhi* 闕裡志 (Queli gazetteer), with a preface dated to 1505, which is the gazetteer for Qufu 曲阜, where Confucius was born, the *Nanyong zhi* 南廱志 (Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy in Nanjing), and *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* 皇明太學志 (Gazetteer of the National University in Beijing) (Standaert 2006, 90). These are rather exceptional texts, not typical examples of the genre of *difang zhi* 地方志 (local gazetteers). Lai Yu-chih's recent exploration of image and ritual in the formation and influence of one of the most extensive illustrated ritual manuals published in the mid-eighteenth century also does not take account of its impact on the genre of local gazetteers (Lai 2020).

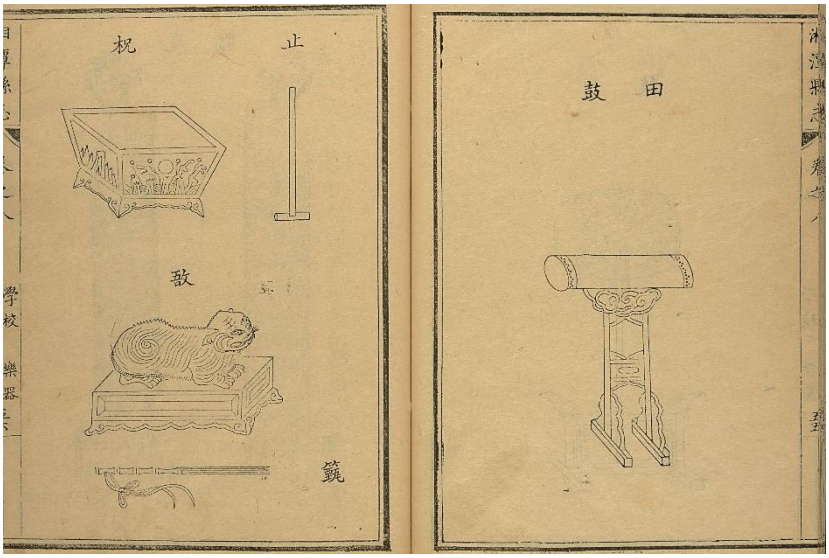

Figure 2: Drum (*tiangu* 田鼓), starter (*zhu* 柷), and stopper (*yu* 敔). *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), 8.55b–56a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library
(persistent link: nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:13617473?n=221)

The argument this contribution seeks to make, then, is that local gazetteers should be considered among the valuable sources for the study of Confucian ritual. When we look closely at the visual material about ritual in local gazetteers, we see, for example, that the process of the appearance of images of ritual implements in local gazetteers should not be understood simply as a top-down, or central to local, diffusion of state-level ritual instruction. Compilers of local gazetteers such as the 1756 gazetteer for Xiangtan county in Hunan province sourced the visuals to accompany textual information about rituals from other compilations that circulated locally before those visuals appeared in the higher-level compilations about rituals to be discussed below, such as *Huangchao liqi tushi* 皇朝禮器圖式 (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty) or (*Qinding*) *Da Qing huidian tu* (欽定)大清會典圖 (Imperially endorsed illustrated Collected Statutes of the Great Qing).

In what follows, we will begin with an exploration of the category of ritual implements as they appear over time in text and image. This survey focuses on the so-called higher-level publications, often sponsored by the state and disseminated for use throughout the empire. The second section will discuss the earliest appearances of visual information about rituals and ritual implements in local gazetteers. The final section will offer a visual analysis, comparing the images of ritual implements in local gazetteers with the illustrations of ritual objects in other genres of text, to determine how the gazetteer images relate to imperially-endorsed ritual compilations and consider the transmission patterns of visual information about ritual implements in local gazetteers.

Ritual implements (*liqi* 禮器) in text and image

To understand this category of objects illustrated in local gazetteers, we need briefly to look back to earlier sources. Three classical texts referring to the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046-256 BCE) form the basis of all discussions on ritual in China: the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou), and the *Yili* 儀禮 (Etiquette and Ceremonies). The terms *qi* 器 (vessels or insignia or instruments) and *li* 禮 (ritual, rite, or propriety) are ubiquitous throughout those texts. From as early as the Eastern Zhou period (fifth to third century BCE), those terms also appear throughout the writings of the scholars associated with the school of Confucians, or the so-called *Rujia* 儒家. Rituals and implements or vessels are inextricably connected, because, as Wu Hung states, drawing on the *Liji*: "vessels store essential ritual codes" (Wu 2019, 120):

> The idea that vessels store essential ritual codes is stated ... plainly in the *Book of Rites*: "The round and square food containers *fu* 簠 and *gui* 簋, the stand *zu* 俎, and the tall dish *dou* 豆, with their regulated forms and decoration, are the vessels (*qi*) embodying ritual propriety (*li*)" (Wu 2019, 120-121).

The oldest material records that testify to the importance of rituals date to the Three Dynasties (the legendary Xia, the Shang, and the Zhou, *ca.* 2100 BCE to 771 BCE), although recent archaeological excavations suggest that a "ritual system centering on social distinction and hierarchy" had already emerged

in the millennium before 2000 BCE.[1] During this time, society was "regulated by the codified ritual system known as *li*" (Wang 2018, 17). The vessels used as part of this ritual system varied widely in material, form, size, and ornamentation, though the archaeological evidence clearly points to the prominence of bronze vessels during this time (Rawson 2015, 377). Bronze-making technologies had advanced significantly, and the wide range of forms of bronzes in use suggests the increased complexity of society during this time (Falkenhausen 2006). Vessels made of bronze, as with other implements made from jade, were considered especially suitable for use in ritual because of the combination of the aesthetic qualities, the rarity of the material, and the amount of labour and craftsmanship required to work them which they embodied (Rawson 2007, 44). Archaeological excavations have yielded thousands of such ritual vessels and other implements, clearly distinct from objects used in domestic, secular settings.

Despite this archaeological record, it was not easy to identify exactly how the objects used in the performance of rituals in the five categories (*ji li* 吉禮 or auspicious sacrifices, *jia li* 嘉禮 or joyous rites, *jun li* 軍禮 or military rituals, *bin li* 賓禮 or guest ceremonies, and *xiong li* 凶禮 or funerary rituals) should look. Thus, in the centuries that followed, scholars produced texts that sought to establish definitively how rituals should be performed, and what objects would have accompanied the performance of ritual during the Three Dynasties. In the second century AD, the Later Han dynasty commentator on the Classics Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) wrote his famous commentaries on the three classical texts on ritual. From then onwards, they were known collectively as the *San li* 三禮, and Zheng Xuan's commentary as the *Sanli zhu* 三禮注 (Commentaries on the Three Ritual Classics). Allegedly, Zheng Xuan also produced an illustrated version, known as the *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 (Illustrations to the Ritual Classics), though this text is not extant.[2] During the Kaiyuan reign period (713-741) of the Tang dynasty (618-907), the *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 開元禮 (Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Period in the Great Tang) was published. It described the *ca.* 150 separate rituals that formed the state ritual program, drawn from Confucian (rather than Buddhist or Daoist) textual sources such as the *Zhouli* and its commentary by Zheng Xuan (McMullen 2010, 217–20). This ritual code came to be seen as the basis for all later ritual codes, and provided detail on the correct performance of state rituals in the aforementioned five ritual categories, thereby anchoring the state in the textual traditions associated with Confucian cosmology and legitimising the political entity that authorised them.[3]

None of these texts was illustrated. It was clear that vessels "embodied ritual propriety" and "stored essential ritual codes", but the lack of agreement over what such ritual implements should look like caused a certain amount of anxiety. Therefore, much scholarly enterprise was spent searching through texts, images, and excavated objects for authoritative information on the correct size and shape of ritual implements, including visual representations of the correct vessels.

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[1] Archaeological excavations at the Taosi site in today's Shanxi province yielded "sets of food vessels, wine vessels, musical vessels (instruments), and weapons". Wu, 2022, 2.

[2] This was alleged by Nie Chongyi, although this was already called into question during the reign of Song Taizu. See Pian 1976, 801; Louis 2016, 22n13. Louis refers to the 2011 study by Jiao Hui 喬輝 on Zheng Xuan's *Sanli tu*.

[3] Ming and Qing scholars quoted extensively from this text. Lam 2002, 142; Wechsler 1985.

Zheng Xuan's *Sanli tu* is no longer extant, but Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (*fl.* 948-964)'s version of *Sanli tu* is.[4] Nie was a specialist in the Classics and "Professor of the Imperial Sacrifices" during the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960).[5] He was also involved in the "casting of a new set of ceremonial vessels" and the standardisation of "ceremonial jades" at the time of the establishment of the new Song dynasty (960-1279) (Franke 1976, 801). The illustrated text which he offered in 961 to the first emperor of the Song dynasty, Taizu (r. 960-976 CE), proposed several new interpretations of the design and standard measurements of the ritual implements, and thereby determined the fate of his text: it would remain associated with the ritual controversies that surrounded the founding of the Song empire.[6] According to recent studies of Nie's work, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Nie's illustrations were dismissed as "lacking classical foundation and ... an object of ridicule" (Hsu 2017, 227), and as "creative inventions with no scholarly basis" (Louis 2016, 2).

Nonetheless, Nie Chongyi's text was influential. Nie's illustrations in *Sanli tu* (or *Sanli tu jizhu* 三禮圖集注 (Collected commentaries on the Illustrations to Three Ritual Classics) as the text would later become known) were not his own invention: they were based on what he claimed were ten at the time extant illustrated versions that had been in circulation since the appearance of Zheng Xuan's comments and illustrations. Nie's 20-*juan* text consists of 362 entries, which explain and illustrate the paraphernalia associated with ritual, including over forty vessels, the types of jades, musical instruments, as well as ritual clothing to be worn, and the spaces used for ritual performances. During the reign of Song Taizu, the images of Nie's *Sanli tu* circulated throughout the empire in different ways. The images were painted, first on the walls of the Confucius Temple in the Directorate of Education, and then in 996 in the lecture hall of the State Academy (*guo xue* 國學) at the Directorate, so students could study the ritual texts and view the paintings as an aid to their readings. The images of *Sanli tu* were also distributed in printed form to Confucian schools in the provinces and prefectures, and it seems likely that in the decades that followed, *Sanli tu* images circulated through local schools both in printed form and by way of paintings on the walls of lecture halls.

The status of the *Sanli tu* as an authoritative source for the design of ritual implements which was disseminated in various ways beyond the court did not last. With the eleventh-century excavation of complete sets of bronze implements dating to the Shang (16th-11th century BCE) and Zhou (11th century-256 BCE) dynasties, and the focus being shifted towards what has become widely known as antiquarianism, Nie's *Sanli tu* came under renewed attack (Hsu 2010; Harrist 1995). Amidst extensive and factionalised debates at court and in private academies on ritual implements and music, revised illustrations of ritual implements began to circulate. In the twelfth century, starting in 1102, the last emperor of the Northern Song, Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1126), initiated an extensive ritual reform programme (Ebrey 2014, 244-52; Hsu 2013; Lam 2005). As a result, during the Zhenghe reign period (1111-1117) of Huizong's reign, the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 (New forms for the five rites from the Zhenghe reign period) was published, under the leadership of the ritual specialist Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 (1059-1123). Described as

[4] For a detailed discussion of the various extant editions that remain today, see Louis 2016, 128–30.

[5] For details, see the biography of Nie Chongyi by the ethno-musicologist Rulan Chao Pian. Franke 1976, 801–2.

[6] See the extensive discussion of these controversies in Louis 2016, 30–35.

"the first official ritual compendium that seriously attempted to provide ritual procedures for commoners", its over 200 *juan* provided practical detail under headings such as "capping ceremonies", "guest rituals", and auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies (i.e. weddings and funerals) (Liu Yonghua 2013, 5). This text, too, came under attack in later years, and a further revised handbook was subsequently published in the late twelfth century under the aegis of one of Nie's most vocal critics, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), entitled *Shaoxi zhouxian shidianyi tu* 紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖 (Shaoxi [reign] Illustrated Handbook for Worshipping Confucius in the Prefectures and Counties) (Louis 2016, 83; Hsu 2017, 230).

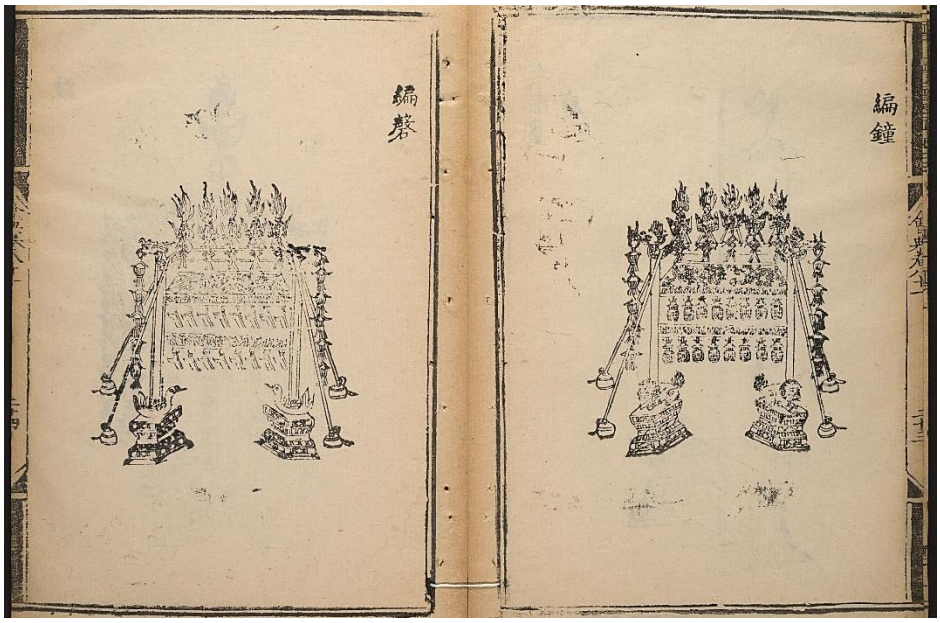


Figure 3: Set of bells (*bianzhong* 編鐘) (right) and set of chimestones (*bianqing* 編磬) (left). *Da Ming huidian* (1587), 81.23b–24a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077710430203941/catalog)

Over the centuries that followed, revised ritual codes were published with a certain regularity, all of them elucidating the topic of state ritual regulations through illustrations. During the Ming dynasty, new editions of extant works appeared, as was the case for *Sanli tu*, but important new compilations also appeared, such as *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming). *Da Ming huidian* was produced under the auspices of the Directorate of Ceremonial (*silijian* 司禮監), the most prestigious and powerful of the eunuch-run Directorates. Published under the name of the high official Li Dongyang (1447-1516), it had a preface dated to 1509. The original 180 *juan* of *Da Ming huidian* were subsequently revised and expanded to 228 *juan* by Grand Secretary Shen Shixing (1535-1614) in Wanli 15 (1587) (Figure 3).[7] This definitive edition brought together the information from several ritual compilations dated to the early decades of the Ming, such as the *Da Ming jili* 大明集禮 (Collected rituals of the Great Ming), first compiled during the Hongwu reign period in 1369-1370 by Xu Yikui 徐一夔 (1315-1400), with detailed instructions about music and ritual dance. It also drew on the *Hongwu lizhi* 洪武禮制 (The ritual system of the Hongwu reign period), and the *Liyi dingshi* 禮儀定式 (Regulations for rituals and ceremonies),

[7] Leiden University has a copy of the Zhengde edition. *Da Ming hui dian* 1509. See also *Da Ming huidian* 1587.

dated 1387 and reprinted in 1545 (Kerlouégan 2012, 16). *Da Ming huidian* went on to provide "knowledge about state structure and the duties and responsibilities of each board in the Ming government" into the Qing dynasty (Keliher 2019, 223n39; Yuan 2007, 181–212).

The 1587 edition of *Da Ming huidian* offers a rich set of illustrations of all aspects of rituals, with details on the hats, robes, and rank insignia (*juan* 60-61), the full set of musical instruments to be used in ritual performance (*juan* 81), and the lay-out to be used for setting out the implements and performing the ritual (*juan* 84-85). These illustrations were quite distinct from those included in *Sanli tu*. The Ming edition of *Sanli tu*, produced by Liu Ji 劉績 (*jinshi* 1490), included simple drawings, offering schematic views of objects and articles of clothing, while the illustrations in the Wanli edition of the *Huidian* are more elaborate and detailed. More importantly, many of the objects that are illustrated in *Sanli tu*, such as the ceremonial attire, the consorts' attire, the pitch pots and archery targets, the different types of bows and arrows, the flags and banners, the sacrificial jades, the wine utensils, the food offering utensils, the offering vessels for ancestral worship, and burial equipment, are not illustrated in *Da Ming huidian*.

In terms of ritual, the Qing system was largely based on its Ming precedent (Smith 2013, 91). The Qing compilations related to ritual implements that were published in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century drew in part on Ming ritual manuals, but also brought in significant new information, including objects and materials that had been collected (or better: looted) during Central Asian conquests (Yu 2011). Wu Hung refers to the eighteenth-century efforts of the Qianlong emperor as "the most ambitious project ever attempted to bring old and new materials into a contemporary ritual system".[8] The 50-*juan Qinding Da Qing tongli* (欽定) 大清通禮 (Imperially endorsed General Rituals of the Great Qing), compiled between 1736 and 1757, was the first outcome of this project.[9] In it, the Qianlong emperor hints at his own ambitions when he describes the purpose of the Sage Kings of the Three Dynasties in their regulation of ritual in accordance with people's sentiment, and their creation of ceremony on the basis of human nature, stating: "They could therefore unify the land within the seas and synchronize the population, and could prevent transgressions and rescue the country from decline" (Wu 2016, 250; *Da Qing tongli*, 413). *Da Qing tongli* includes specific detail on the size of the implements and their placement during the ritual but does not illustrate their appearance (Keliher 2016, 55).

New editions of the Collected Statutes also reveal this ambition of the Qianlong emperor to confirm a comprehensive ritual system. The first (Kangxi) edition of the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing) had appeared in 1690, with further editions appearing during the reigns of the Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Guangxu emperors. The full title of the Jiaqing version is (*Qinding*) *Da Qing huidian tu* (欽定)大清會典圖 (Imperially endorsed illustrated Collected Statutes of the Great Qing) in 132 juan, the first illustrated version of the Qing Collected Statutes (Figure 4a-b).[10] It has full

[8] Wu 2016, 249; on the integration of new (old) objects into existing ritual systems, see Yu 2009, 121–44.

[9] *Qinding Da Qing tongli*. An expanded second edition of this text, with four new chapters, appeared in 1824; for an annotated translation of sections of this text, see Zito 1998.

[10] The Guangxu edition also has images. Ulrich Theobald, via the online encyclopaedia "Chinaknowledge.de", states the following: "Because the version from the Guangxu reign is the most up-to-date version, it attracted much more attention than the earlier versions from the Kangxi, Yongzheng 雍正 (1723-1735), Qianlong and Jiaqing reign-periods. All modern reprints of the canon accordingly made use of the Guangxu edition. The latest edition, published by the Xianzhuang shuju 綫裝書局 as Da-Qing wuchao huidian 大清五朝會典, includes the versions

details and illustrations on all ritual vessels and musical implements, as well as military banners, guns, cannons, and astronomical clocks.

Figure 4a: Ritual vessel (*deng* 登). *Da Qing huidian tu* (Guangxu edition), 23.17a. Digitised for Chinese Text Project. https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=25502&page=51

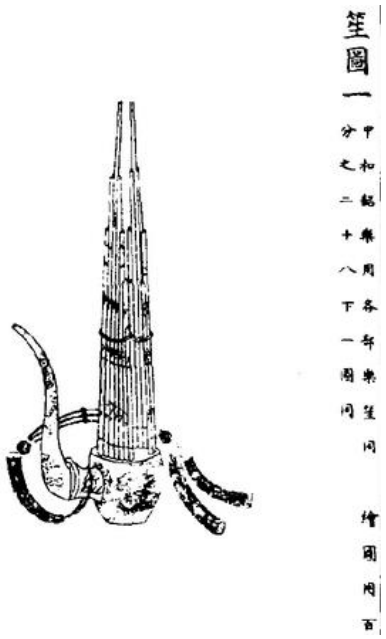


Figure 4b: Bamboo flute (*sheng* 笙). *Da Qing huidian tu* (Guangxu edition), 38. *shengtu* 1. Chinese Text Project. https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=25528&page=82

Da-Qing huidian from the Kangxi and Yongzheng reign-period, the (Qinding) Da-qing hudian (欽定)大清會典 from the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Guangxu reign-periods, the Da-Qing hudian tu 欽定大清會典圖 from the Jiaqing and Guangxu reign-periods, but not the (Qinding) Da-Qing huidian zeli (欽定)大清會典則例 from the Qianlong and the Da-Qing huidian shili 欽定大清會典事例 from the Jiaqing and Guangxu reign-periods. This is quite lamentable, as important sources are missing in the complete collection". http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Historiography/qinghuidian.html Consulted 8 March 2021.

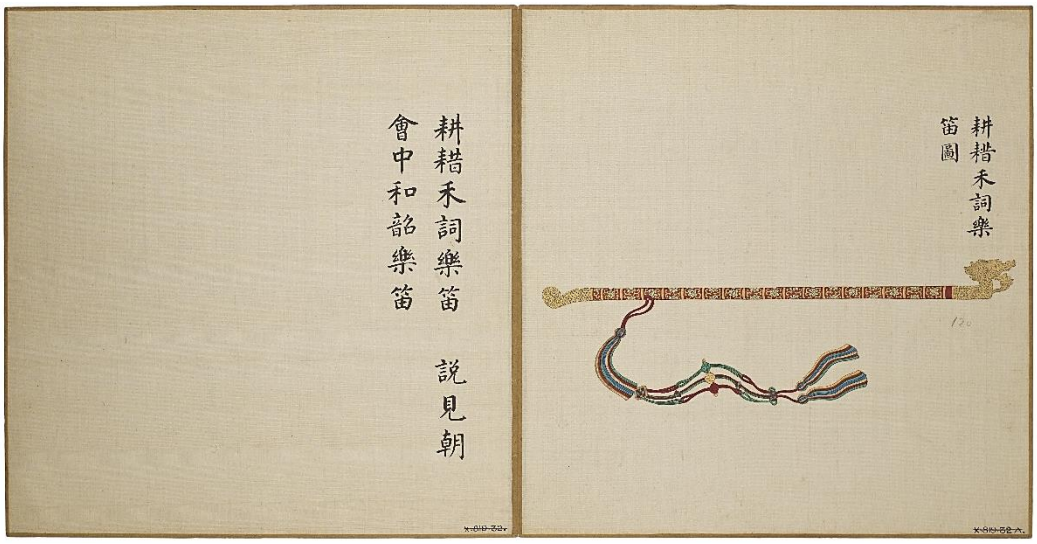


Figure 5: Illustration of the flute (*di* 笛) for the Music to Accompany the Ploughing of the First Furrow from *Huangchao liqi tushi*. Painting on silk album leaf. China, Qing dynasty, c. 1760–1766. © National Museums Scotland.

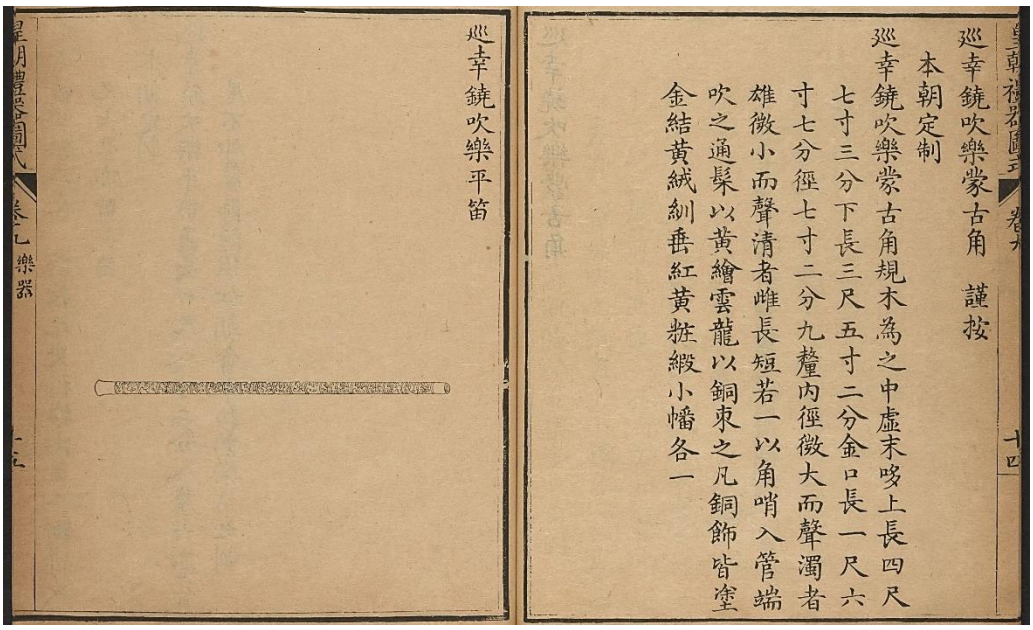


Figure 6: The bamboo flute (*di* 笛). *Huangchao liqi tushi* (1766), 9.14b–15a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

Most noteworthy for the study of Qing-era illustrations of ritual implements is perhaps the completion in 1759 of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* 皇朝禮器圖式 (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty) in 18 *juan*.[11] With 1,300 illustrated entries, this, arguably, was the culmination of the ritual reform efforts undertaken during Qianlong's reign (Lai 2020). The *Illustrated Regulations* comprise six separate sections of several *juan* each, covering the following topics: implements

[11] *Huangchao liqi tushi*. Copies of the manuscript are held at the Palace Museum in Beijing and the National Museum of China. Album leaves of a manuscript copy of this text with coloured illustrations are scattered over several libraries, including the Victoria & Albert Museum, the National Museum of Scotland, the National Museum of Ireland, the Mactaggart Collection of the University of Alberta Museums, and the British Library. *Huangchao liqi tushi*, British Library, OR 9430; for analysis of the provenance of these scattered album leaves, see Zhao 2020.

for sacrifice (*jiqi* 祭器), implements for ceremonies (*yiqi* 儀器), caps and robes (*guanfu* 冠服), musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器), insignia (*lubu* 鹵簿), and military implements (*wubei* 武備) (Zhang 2016). Each individual item is provided with an illustration; in the original 1759 version produced at the imperial court, these were colour illustrations (Figure 5). A second, monochrome version was produced with woodblock engravings in 1766, which is the version that was included in the *Siku quanshu* and circulated widely (Figure 6) (Zhao 2020). Each illustration is accompanied by a description of its appearance, its size, the materials of which it is made, decorations, and the ways in which the implement is to be used. The compilation even includes 50 optical and astronomical instruments and time pieces that originated in Europe, such as the Western clock (Figure 7). The instruments reflect the interest in Western science of the Qing emperors, while the clock, which was positioned next to the imperial throne, symbolised the emperor's "timely performance of his ceremonial duties" through which he could "figuratively rule the world" (Wu 2016, 250).

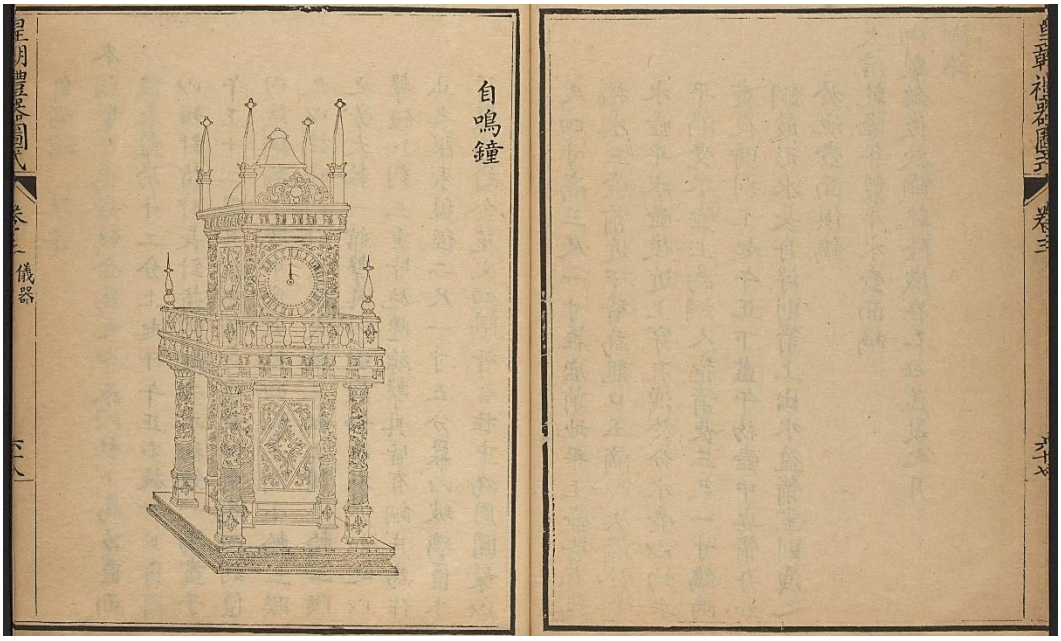


Figure 7: The self-chiming clock (*ziming zhong* 自鳴鐘). *Huangchao liqi tushi*, 3.68a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

It is clear, then, that the category of ritual implements includes a wide range of objects. They all relate to the performance of ritual, but in different ways, and over the centuries no agreement seems to have been reached about which implements should be used, what such implements should look like, what materials they were made from, what size and shape they had, and so on. Consecutive emperors and their scholarly advisers concerned themselves with this category of objects and produced texts to confirm their concerns, but none of them succeeded in establishing a definitive set of images that could stand the test of time. The idea of what ritual implements were and should look like continued to change throughout the dynasties. It is also clear that these ideas about ritual implements concerned the court, and the performance of ritual at the level of the state as a whole. This, then, brings us back to the question of the appearance of ritual implements in the genre of local gazetteers, to which we will turn in the following sections.

Images of ritual implements in local gazetteers: when and where

The first edition of the gazetteer for Xinchang 新昌 county may be the first extant local gazetteer with illustrations of ritual implements.[12] Dating to the Chenghua reign period (1477), this edition exists only in manuscript copy in Nanjing.[13] The first *juan* is entitled *tuxiang* 圖像 ("illustrations and portraits"). One or two maps are followed by depictions of the offices and school buildings, and then an image of ritual implements follows (Figure 8a). The Jiajing (1521) edition, which has recently been added to the Airusheng dataset, includes this same set of images (Figure 8b).[14] Also included in this *juan* are schematic depictions of the layout for rituals, landscape illustrations of the village, and a series of twenty official portraits. The ritual implements are not represented in much detail, and the accompanying text is difficult to read, but the standard shapes are all easily recognisable (*Xinchang xianzhi*, *juan* 1). Interestingly, none of the later Ming (Wanli) and Qing gazetteers for this county, dating to the Kangxi, Qianlong, Tongzhi, and Republican periods, includes any visual depictions of ritual implements. The ongoing relevance of the early Ming images becomes clear in a comparison with the Republican-era edition of the gazetteer (Figure 9).

Figure 8a: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1477), 1.6a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

[12] This gazetteer is the subject of extensive discussion in chapter 2 of Dennis 2015, 70–114.

[13] The manuscript copy, dated 1477, is held in the Nanjing Zhongguo kexueyuan dili yanjiusuo 南京中国科学院地理研究所. Dennis 2015, 349.

[14] *Xinchang xianzhi* 1521. The Airusheng set also includes the Wanli (1579), Qianlong (1793), Tongzhi (1872), and Republican (1919) editions of this gazetteer. LoGaRT does not quite match that list: it includes a Kangxi (*shanben*) edition (1671) from the Harvard digitisation project, but it does not have the Jiajing edition.

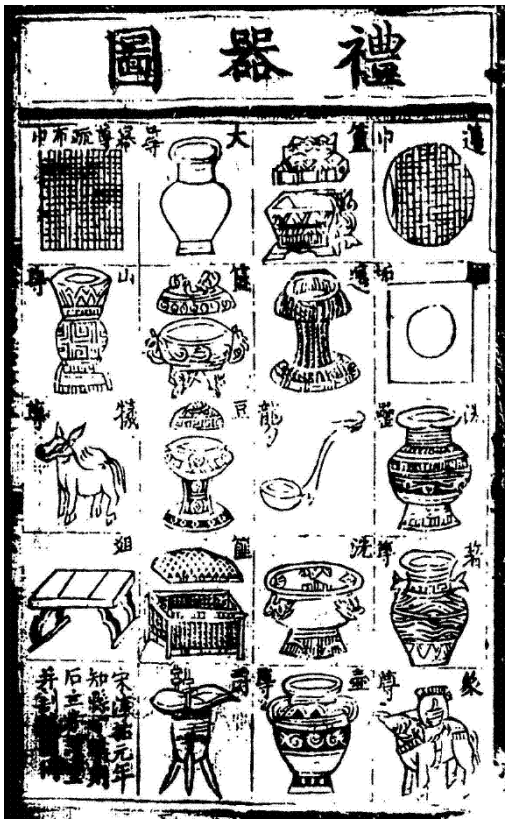


Figure 8b: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1521), 1.6a.

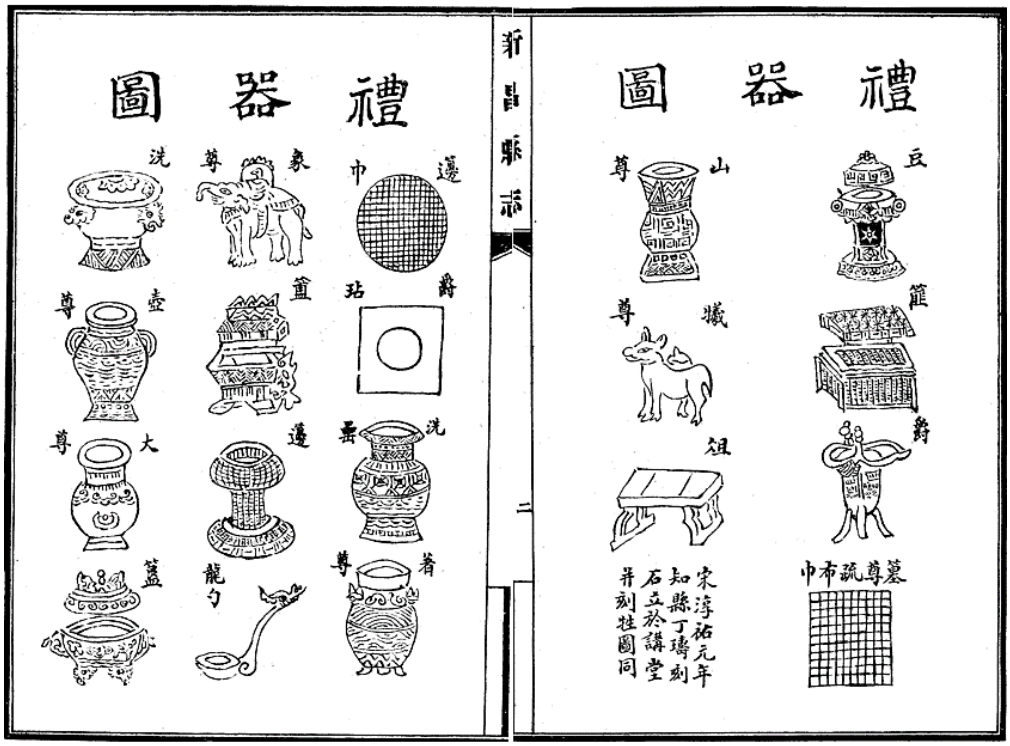


Figure 9a–b: Ritual implements (*liqi tu* 禮器圖). *Xinchang xian zhi* (1914), *tuhua*.16a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Instead of including the ritual implements in the *tuxiang* 圖像 (illustrations and portraits) section, as was the case in the Chenghua and Jiajing editions, the Republican-era edition creates a new section entitled *tuhua* 圖畫 ("pictures") (*Xinchang xian zhi*, "tuhua"). The sequence of the implements is also not quite the same, but a close comparison of individual items of the Chenghua and Republican editions confirms that the selected shapes and text are largely the same. To illustrate the similarity of the Chenghua and Republican editions, Table 1 features a selection of objects from these two editions, and contrasts these with the shape and design of the same ritual objects chosen from a very different gazetteer. The contrasting images in the third column are entirely unrelated to the images in the first two columns; they simply serve to highlight the closeness of the Xinchang gazetteer images and the contrast with the different gazetteer images. The juxtaposition reveals that the Republican gazetteer editors took the images from the Chenghua gazetteer as their source, and re-carved blocks to approximate the original images.[15]

(Chenghua) *Xinchang xianzhi*	(Minguo) *Xinchang xianzhi*	(Guangxu) *Huazhou zhi*
		
		
		

Table 1

[15] The text reads: "In the first year of the Chunyou reign period of the (Southern) Song dynasty (i.e. 1241), the county magistrate, Ding Shu, had [these] carved in stone and erected in the lecture hall. He additionally carved the images of the sacrificial animals and [did] the same there." 宋淳祐元年知縣丁璹刻石立於講堂并刻牲圖同.

Before we return to the Qing-era Xiangtan gazetteer with which we opened the discussion, it is worth noting that the Ming gazetteers are poorly represented amongst the gazetteers with illustrations of ritual vessels included in the LoGaRT tool. Only two Ming dynasty gazetteers have such illustrations. The first of these is the Jiajing-era (1535) *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 廣東通志初稿 (Preliminary draft of the Guangdong gazetteer). The five images related to ritual do not illustrate the objects *per se* but offer schematic representations or maps for the set-up for five separate rituals: capping ceremonies, marriage ritual, funerary rites, sacrifices, and archery rituals (*sheli* 射禮). Objects are included, but only in very small form, and for the purpose of illustrating their placement, not their size or detailed appearance (Figure 10).

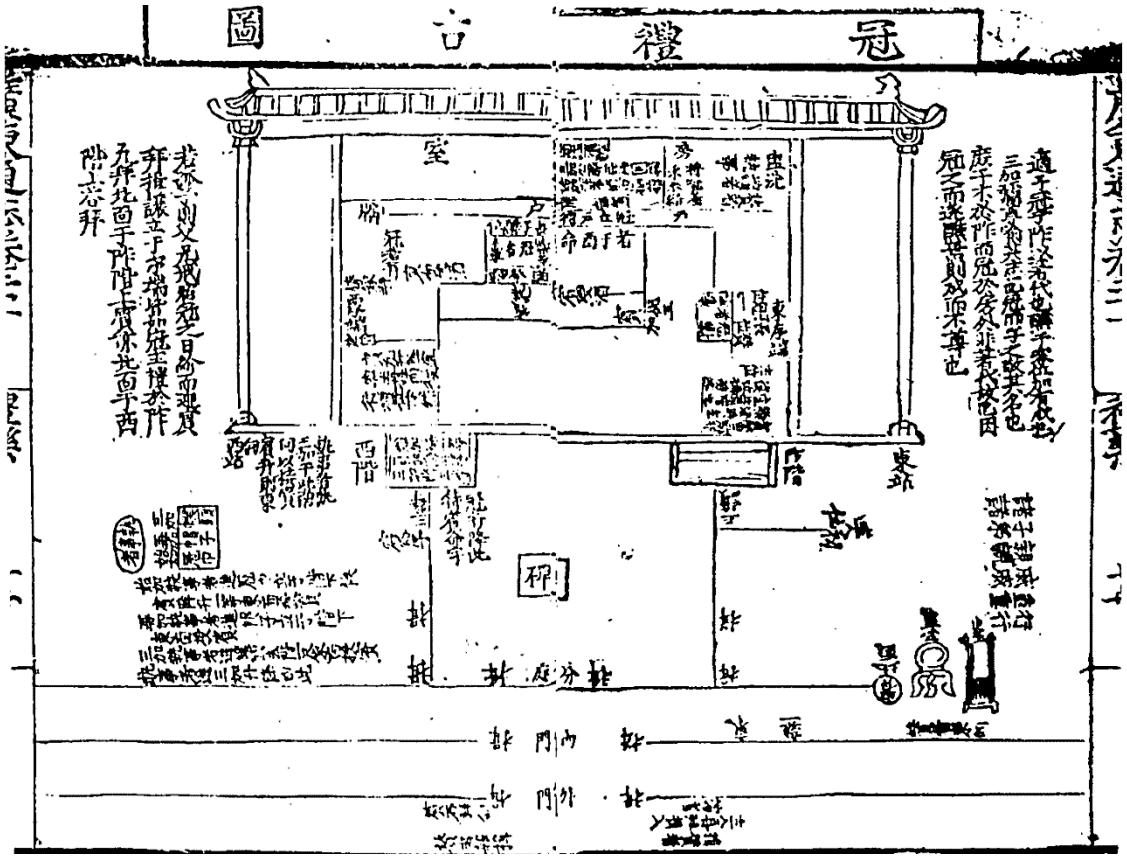


Figure 10: Lay-out for capping ritual (*guan li* 冠禮). *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* (1535), 21.11b–12a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

The marriage ritual map includes no objects, and the maps for the funerary rituals and for sacrifices again only very small images of objects. A variety of ritual implements is included in the lay-out for the archery ritual (Figure 11), though the quality of the image makes it hard to see the details. There are musical instruments and vessels, bows, arrows, and stands, demonstrating who stands where and does what. The other Ming gazetteer with images depicting ritual dates from the end of the sixteenth century and offers the exact opposite of this 1535 gazetteer. This is the Jiajing edition of the Sichuan provincial gazetteer, entitled *Sichuan zongzhi* 四川總志 (General gazetteer of Sichuan), which includes detailed illustrations of eight large vessels (Figures 12 & 13). Oddly, the Wanli edition of the same gazetteer does not include these images. The eight vessels of the Jiajing edition stand out for several reasons: they cover a full page (recto and verso), while most illustrations of objects in the gazetteer fit on half of the page (recto or verso),

and the ornament on the surface of the vessels is provided in great detail. Surprisingly, there is no accompanying text, no description of the object, no name, and no detail in terms of size, shape, material, or use. In both cases, then, we are dealing with representations of implements dating to the Ming that are exceptional or deviate from the usual pattern.

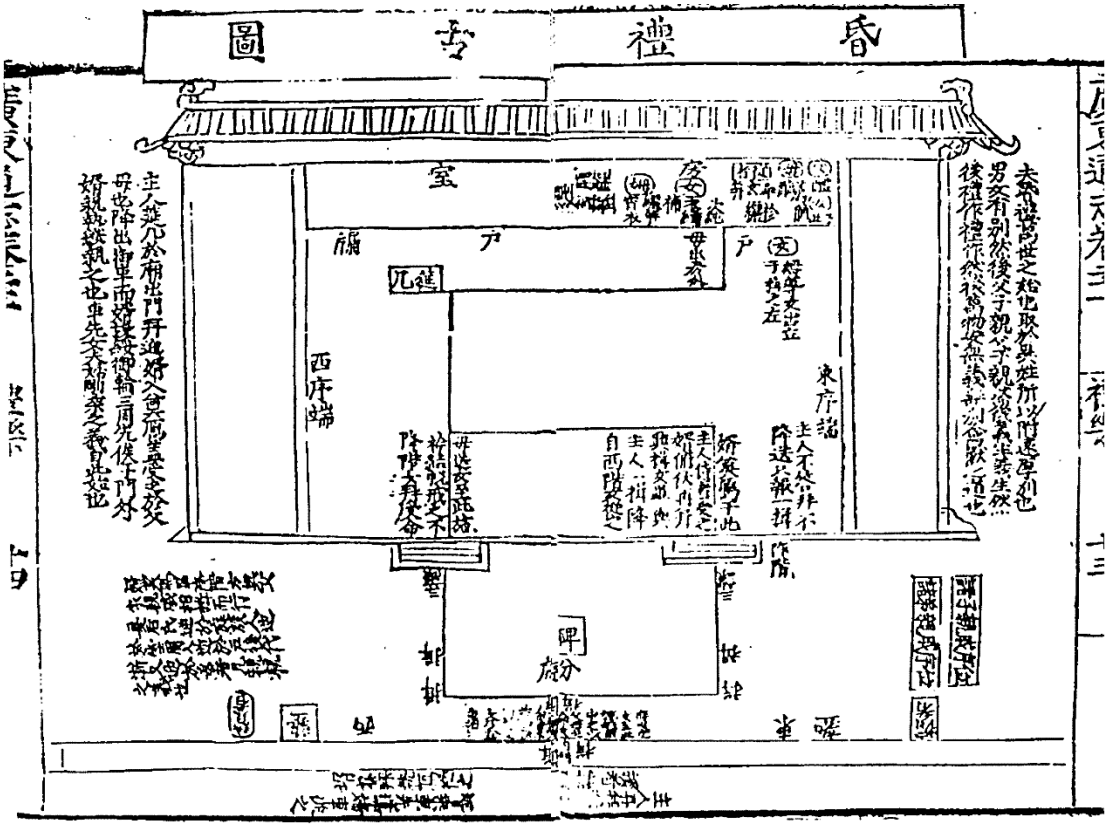


Figure 11: Lay-out for archery ritual (*she li* 射禮). *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* (1535), 21.13b–14a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

Figure 12: Ritual vessel. *Sichuan zongzhi* (1566), 56.4a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

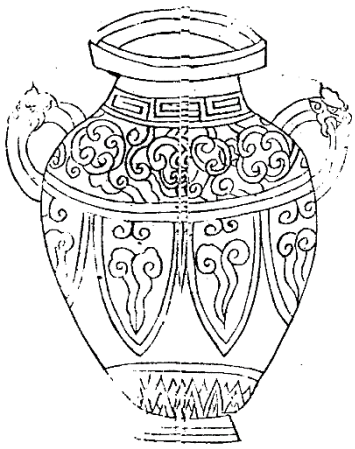


Figure 13: Ritual vessel. *Sichuan zongzhi* (1566), 56.9a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

If during the Ming few gazetteers included visual information about ritual, during the Qing dynasty, this changed dramatically. A total number of 164 separate gazetteer titles includes 1,717 separate images depicting an aspect of the performance of ritual. As some of these separate gazetteer titles encompass more than one edition, the overall total number of gazetteers is even larger. As Figure 14 shows, there is a vast difference between the reign periods of the Qing in terms of the appearance of images associated with rituals in local gazetteers. It is an oddly fluctuating publication pattern. The single image related to ritual that was published during the Shunzhi reign period (1643-1661), does not concern an object: it is a schematic representation of the lay-out of the village drinking ritual (*xiang yin zhi tu* 鄉飲之圖).[16] In contrast, during Kangxi (1661-1722), a total of 150 pages with images related to ritual appeared. During Yongzheng (1722-1735), only 48 images were published, while the Qianlong reign period (1735-1796) saw the appearance of 313 images; Jiaqing (1796-1820) 84, Daoguang (1820-1850) 93, Xianfeng (1850-1861) 77, Tongzhi (1861-1875) 494, Guangxu (1875-1908) 453, and finally, during Xuantong (1908-1912), 4. Four reign periods clearly stand out: Kangxi (150), Qianlong (313), Tongzhi (494) and Guangxu (453). These four reign periods, with 1,410 images all together, make up 82% of all the pages with images related to ritual dated to the Qing period.

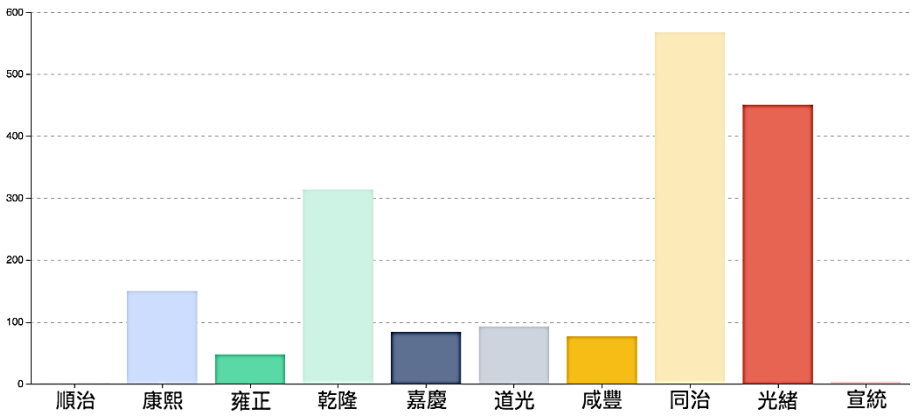


Figure 14: Pages with Images related to ritual, based on LoGaRT database, listed according to reign period.

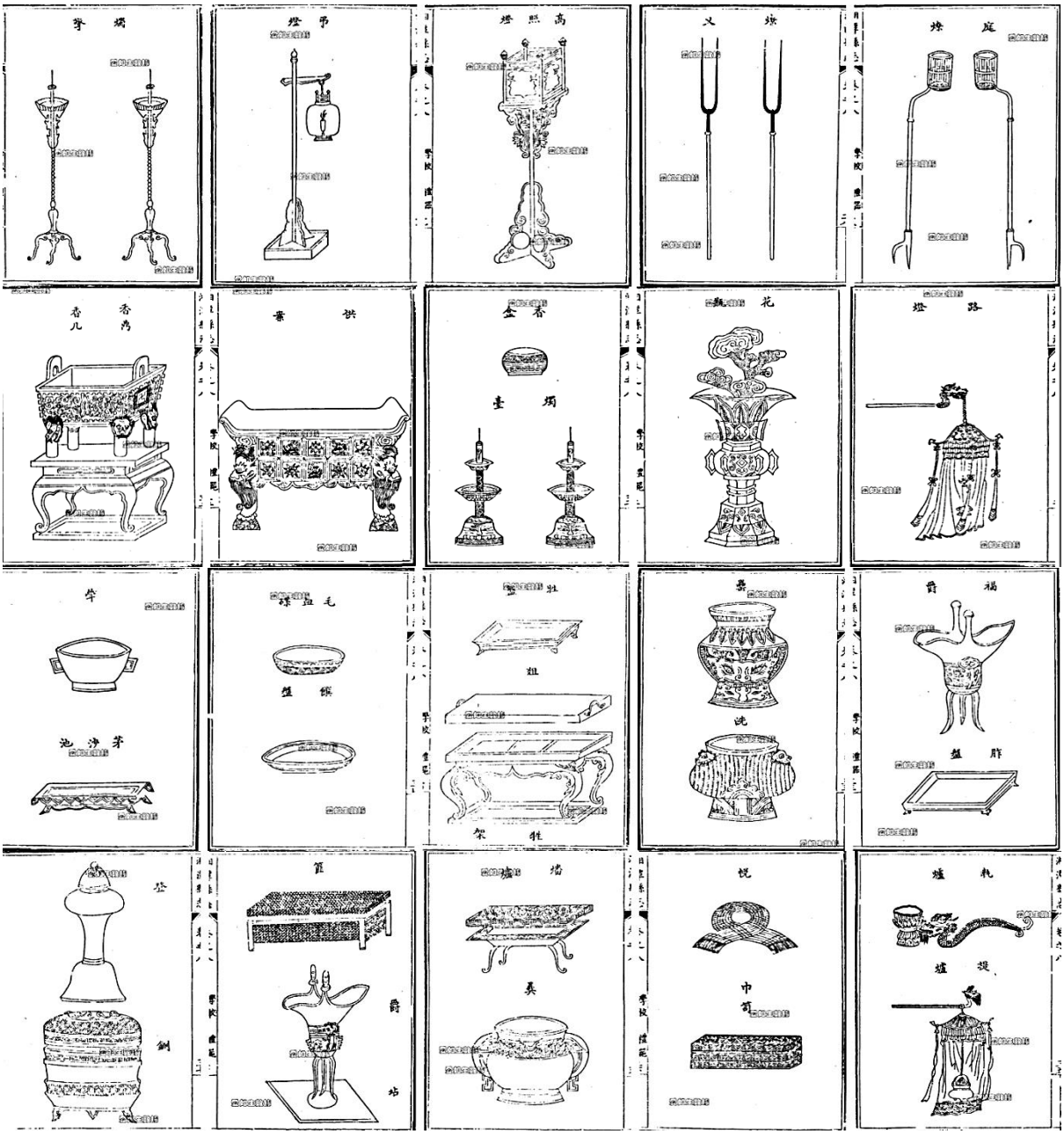
[16] *Pucheng xian zhi.* This ritual was performed to confirm the ritual distinction between elder and younger community residents. Smith 1991.

During the Kangxi reign period, 25 gazetteers were published with visual materials concerning rituals. More than half of these include only one or two images, while four out of 25 gazetteers are responsible for 91 of the 150 images (or 60%). These four Kangxi gazetteers are the *Yunmeng xian zhi* 雲夢縣志 (Yunmeng county gazetteer) of 1668, the *Hanyang fu zhi* 漢陽府志 (Hanyang prefectural gazetteer) of 1669, the *Baoqing fu zhi* 寶慶府志 (Baoqing prefectural gazetteer) of 1684, and the *Dongye zhi* 東野志 (Dongye gazetteer) of 1689. It is worth looking at this last publication in greater detail, because, out of these four Kangxi publications, this gazetteer is the only publication with illustrations of ritual implements. The others have images related to rituals, such as the schematic lay-out of the ritual space and the dance moves, but no implements. The Kangxi edition of the *Dongye gazetteer*, however, includes this set of images of 30 individual ritual objects (Figure 15) (*Dongye zhi* 1689, *juan* 1). The notes underneath the illustrations generally provide detail on weight, height, depth, width, and diameter. Further detail on the performance of ritual in Dongye is provided, but not illustrated.

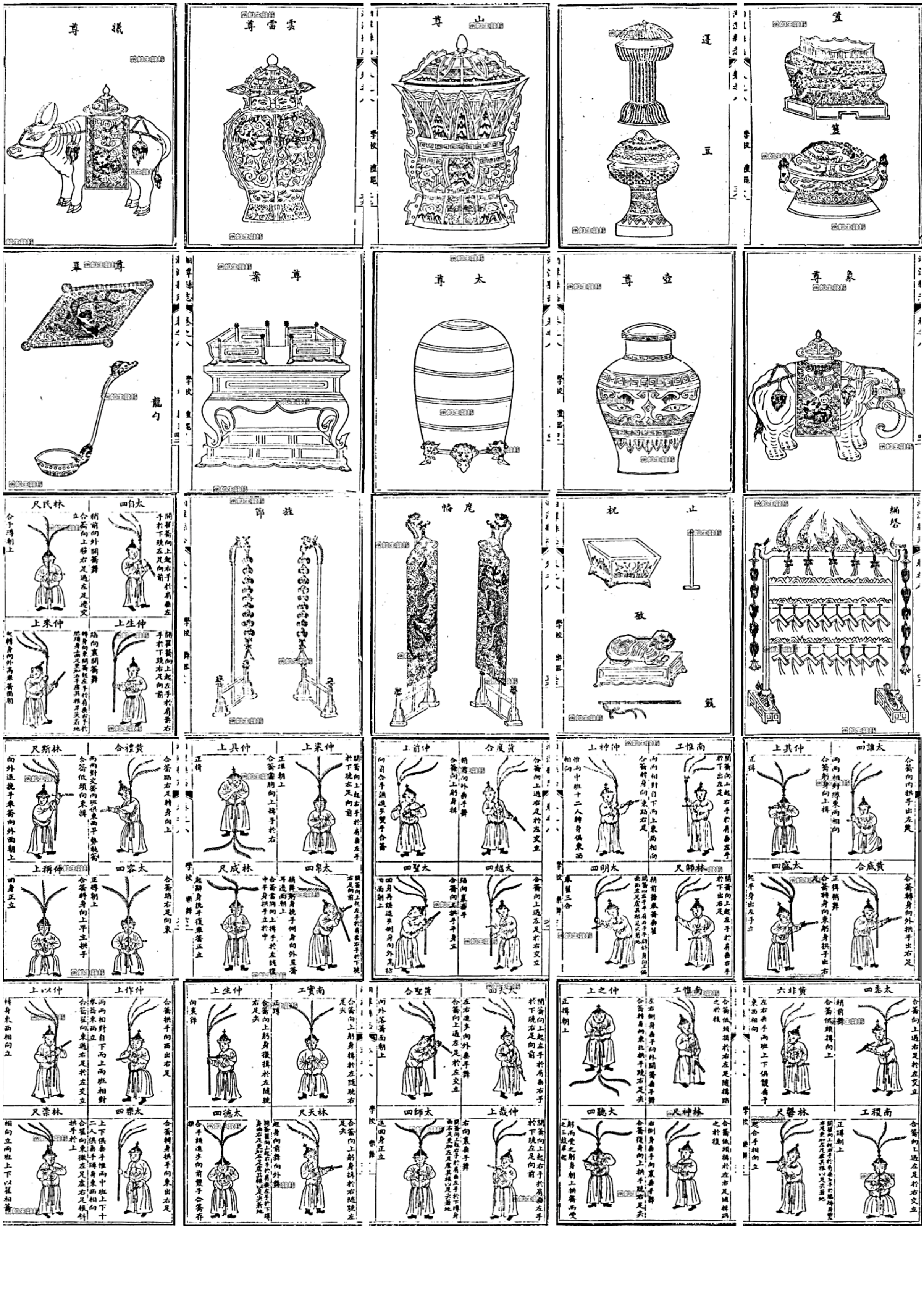
Figure 15a–i: Ritual implements. *Dongye zhi* (1689), 1.14a–21a. Image source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:5112649?n=31 until 39)

The next significant increase occurs during the Qianlong reign period. During this period, 52 separate gazetteers with images of ritual-related content were published. Again, not all of these have extensive sets of images: 43 of 52 (or 82%) of those gazetteers have fewer than 10 images, and 43% only one single image. But if we focus again on the four gazetteers with the greatest number of images, that set includes the Xiangtan gazetteer of 1756 with which we opened this piece, which has 63 pages with images related to ritual, as well as the *Guangzhou gazetteer* 光州志 of 1762 (20 pages with images), the *Jiahe county gazetteer* 嘉禾縣志 published in 1766 (27 pages with images), and the *Panyu county gazetteer* 番禺縣志

of 1774 (23 pages with images). To contrast the Xiangtan set, with its very extensive set of images, with the Kangxi-era Dongye gazetteer set, with its far smaller set (Figure 15), and to provide a sense of the sheer quantity of images, an overview image of the Xiangtan images is included (Figure 16). Comparing these two figures reveals that while the *Dongye gazetteer* has an extensive set of objects, much of what is not included amongst the illustrations in the Dongye set, such as musical instruments, robes, and the full complement of dance moves, is illustrated in the Qianlong-era *Xiangtan gazetteer*.[17] The exceptional nature of the *Xiangtan gazetteer* becomes more manifest through such comparison. Before we return to the question of the sources for these images and the motivations behind their inclusion in local gazetteers, a brief investigation of the location of these publications is necessary.



[17] For extensive discussion of the sources of these images, their annotations, and their circulation history, see Standaert 2006.



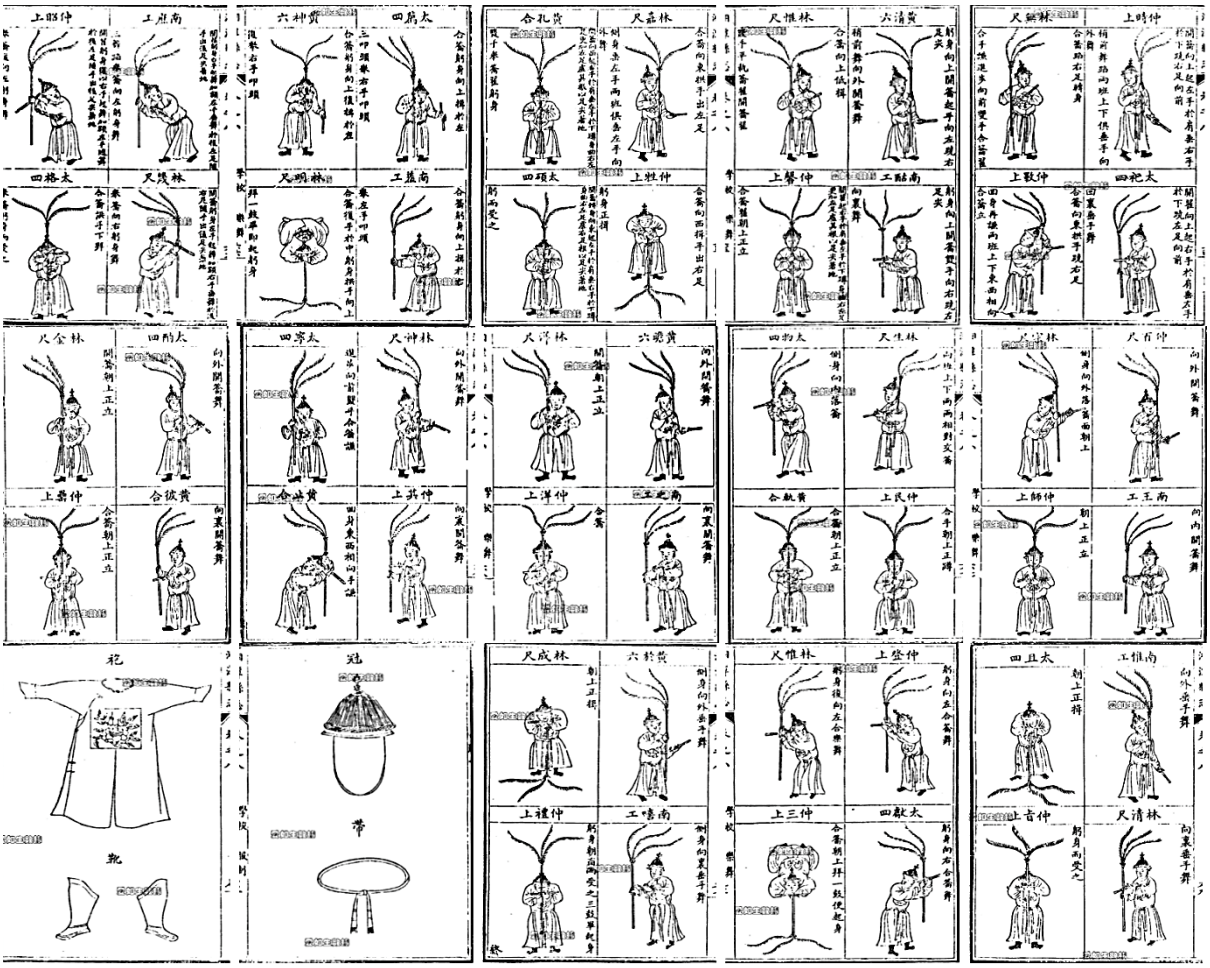
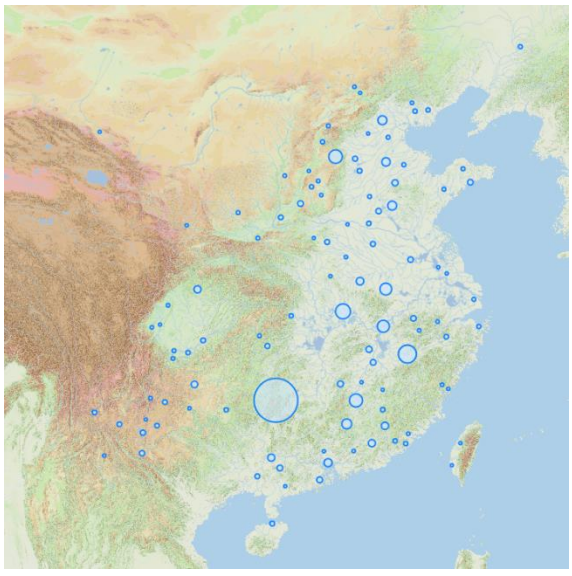


Figure 16: Overview image (contact sheet) of images related to ritual in *Xiangtan xian zhi* (1756), *juan* 8. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku. Screenshots based on CHMap (https://chmap.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de).



Map 1: Distribution of Qing gazetteers containing pages with images related to ritual. Based on LoGaRT database.

Qing gazetteers with images related to ritual appear scattered all over the empire (Map 1). However, when we zoom in more closely, it becomes clear that, in fact, a single province hosts most of the gazetteers with images related to ritual: Hunan province. Of the 1,717 pages with images appearing in Qing gazetteers, over one third (636, or 37%) appeared in Hunan province alone. Moreover, well over half (58%) of the total number of pages with images originated in only three provinces: Hunan, Jiangxi, and Hebei. Why Hunan, specifically? This is not a function of gazetteer production in general: less than 6% of all gazetteers published during the Qing related to Hunan. It is, in part, a function of Hunan's general prowess in producing gazetteers with images: of all 55,420 pages with images in Qing gazetteers included in the LoGaRT system, just over 10% stem from Hunan; more images were produced in Hunan than in any other single province. But if 10% of all Qing gazetteer images stem from Hunan, and 37% of all images related to ritual stem from Hunan, then there is a significant concentration of images of ritual produced in Hunan (Figure 17 & 18), spread fairly evenly over the counties of Hunan. The *Xiangtan county gazetteer*, with its extensive set of images of ritual implements, thus fits into this wider context of a practice that was reasonably widespread throughout Hunan during the reign periods of the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors. That Hunan was an exceptional place has already been established, for example, by the scholarship of Patrice Fava on the existence of what he calls Daoist society in Hunan and of Alain Arrault on the history of Daoist statuary and cultic images in Hunan (Fava 2013; Arrault 2020). That Hunan was also exceptional in terms of practices associated with Confucian orthodoxy is suggested by these gazetteer images of ritual objects.

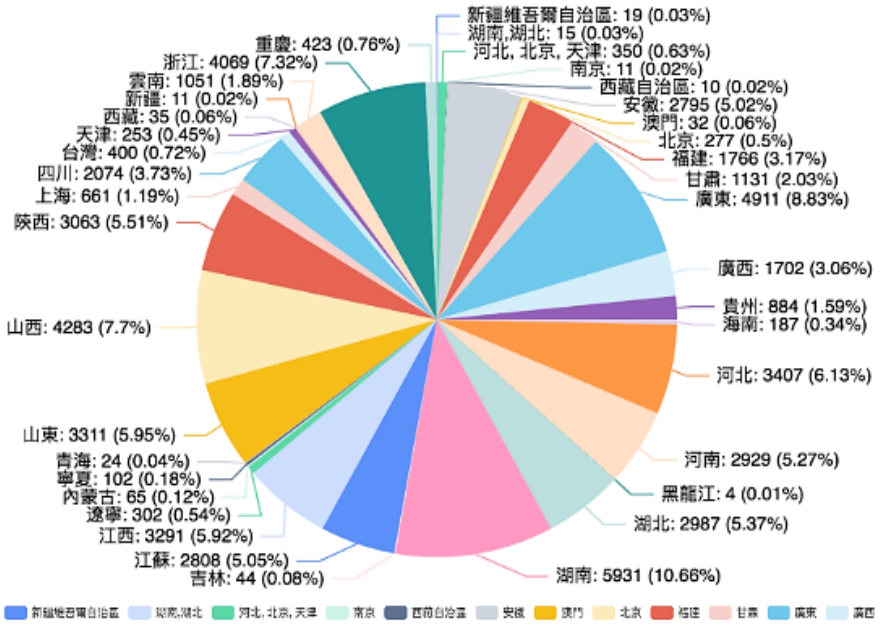


Figure 17: Division of pages with images of ritual implements in Qing gazetteers divided across the provinces. Based on LoGaRT database.

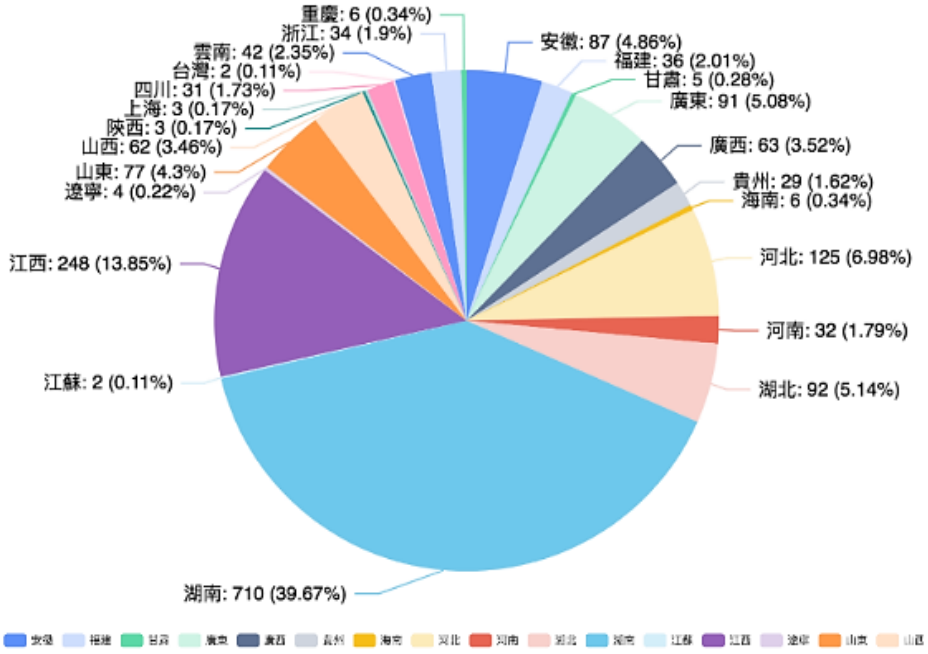


Figure 18: Division of pages with images in Qing gazetteers divided across the provinces. Based on LoGaRT database.

Like most gazetteers, the *Xiangtan county gazetteer* of the mid-eighteenth century included a list of Confucian (or orthodox) rituals to be performed in the area, as well as extensive lists of religious sites such as shrines, monasteries, and temples. In fact, the ritual system of Xiangtan county, as it is presented in the gazetteer, is organised around religious spaces. *Juan* 8 of the 1756 edition, which contains the discussion of the county's institutions of learning (*xuexiao zhi* 學校志), begins with a listing of the sites used for religious performances, and provides brief indications of major changes that took place within the organisation of ritual space. For the main hall of the Confucian temple, the gazetteer adds that from the 9th year of Jiajing (1530), this space was no longer allowed to be called a hall (*dian* 殿) but should be called a temple (*miao* 廟); that several four-character imperial inscriptions were received during the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, for display in the spaces; that the bells and drums were kept in the east and west wings of the main hall, and that the ritual implements and musical instruments were kept on the left and right sides of the main hall (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 1756, 8.2a-4b). Detailed information about the implementation of changes following central government commands is included in the descriptions of all the ritual institutions that fall under the broad heading of institutions of learning in Xiangtan, suggesting a close integration in terms of ritual between central orders and local implementation. The description of the storage spaces used for drums, bells, and other ritual and musical implements also suggests that these objects were actually held and used for the performance of ritual in the county, not merely stated as (unattainable) ideals. Some of the rituals performed at the local level were more or less direct copies of the rituals performed at state level, such as the sacrifice to Confucius (*jikong*); other rituals, especially from the Ming dynasty onwards, were intended specifically for local performance, such as the community libation ceremony (*xiang yinjiu li* 鄉飲酒禮) and the rituals performed at the altars of soil and grain (*shejitan* 社稷壇) (Liu Yonghua 2013, 6; Bol 2008, 259). In Qing Xiangtan, rituals were performed not only for empire-wide prescribed cults such as at the altar for soil and grain, the altar for hungry ghosts

(*litan* 厲壇), and the Confucius temple (*wenmiao* 文廟), but also at various altars for Song dynasty scholars and worthies and locally revered figures with a specific link to Hunan (*Xiangtan xian zhi* 2002, 7.1a-8b).

Instructions for the performance of state rituals were not just relevant for the imperial court but also needed to be cascaded down to the lower administrative levels and disseminated to those responsible for the performance of rituals at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels. During the Ming dynasty, these instructions seem on the whole to have remained limited to textual instructions, or to schematic illustrations with indications of the placement of specific objects, without detailed illustrations of individual objects. During the Qing, however, such illustrations began to appear in significant numbers, especially during the reign periods in which ritual was considered significant, both at the imperial level, such as during the reigns of the Qianlong and Guangxu emperors, and at the local level, especially, as we have seen in Hunan.

Images of ritual implements compared: the tiger and his teeth

It is clear from the above that gazetteers belong amongst the genres of text that provide information about what ritual implements should look like. This, of course, raises further questions. What does the genre of local gazetteers have to do with these illustrated ritual guidelines? Why are images published in gazetteers and how do those gazetteer images relate to the type of texts outlined in this survey? For whom was this information intended, and why? And where did the Qing gazetteer compilers find the necessary information to produce these gazetteer images? To answer such questions, I focus on a smaller subset of images related to ritual: the depictions of musical instruments, and specifically on the so-called stopper (*yu* 敔): the tiger-shaped wooden instrument with teeth running along the back of the tiger. Music, and musical instruments such as the stopper, played a key role in state rituals at court as well as in local rituals.

As Joseph Lam and others have shown, instructions for performing music and dance on ritual occasions had begun to be mandated in the early Ming by Zhu Yuanzhang, but it was not until the late Ming that such musical performances really began to flourish. Numerous publications were produced to offer guidance for the correct performance of music at the Ming court (Lam 1998; Lam 2002; Lam 2011; Wu 1998). These included the *Dacheng yuewu tupu* 大成樂舞圖譜 (Illustrated manual of Confucian rites and music) by Zhang E 張鶚, and the 1609 treatise on ritual music by Qu Jiusi 瞿九思 (1546-1617), entitled *Kongmiao liyue kao* 孔廟禮樂考 (Study of the rites and music of the Confucius Temple), which has no illustrations.[18] Ming publications on music also included the Wanli era *Records on the rites and music of the Confucian Temple* (*Wenmiao liyue zhi* 文廟禮樂志) by Pan Luan 潘鑾 and the *Study of sacrificial rites by early masters* (*Xianshi jidian kao* 先師祀典考) by Ma Po 馬樸, but these are all better known through references integrated into *Collection of documents on the Confucian rites and music* (*Dacheng liyue ji* 大成禮樂集) by Shi Jishi 史記事 (Lam 2011; Wang & Wang 2017). The latter includes

[18] *Dacheng yuewu tupu*, with a 1520 preface, is available only in the Naikaku bunko in Japan. Lam 1998, 78.

illustrations of the schematic lay-out of the instruments, of the suspended bells and chime stones, the zithers and flutes, as well as the starter and the stopper (Figure 19).[19]

Figure 19: The stopper. *Dacheng liyue ji* (1622), 4.28b–29a. World Digital Library.

During the early reign periods of the Qing dynasty, too, materials specific to the performance of music were published. These included, for example, the *Pangong liyue quanshu* 頖宮禮樂全書 (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), which appeared in 1656.[20] The *Lülü zhengyi* 律呂正義, a short work (5 *juan*) on the correct use of the pitch pipes (*lülü* 律呂) was compiled between 1713 and 1722, under the auspices of the Kangxi emperor. It was printed in 1724, after Kangxi's death, by the Yongzheng emperor, with volumes on astronomy and mathematics, which included information provided by the Jesuits at Kangxi's court. The second of the three sections of *Lülü zhengyi* provided an overview of the eight categories of musical instruments. These categories were material categories, so they distinguished metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, clay, leather (or hide), and wood. Then followed an introduction to the 14 main types of instrument used: the pan pipes (*paixiao* 排簫), vertical bamboo flute (*xiao* 簫), transverse bamboo flute (*di* 笛), the mouth organ (*sheng* 笙), the cylindrical double-reed pipe (*touguan* 頭管), the transverse bamboo flute (*chi* 篪), the egg-shaped flute (*xun* 壎), the zithers (seven-stringed *qin* and 25-stringed *se*), the bells (*zhong* 鐘), chime stones (*qing* 磬), drums (*gu* 鼓), and the starter (*zhu*) and stopper (*yu*) (Wu 1998, 33-34). This text was extended during the eighteenth century, when a volume entitled *Yuzhi Lülü zhengyi houbian* 禦製律呂正義後編 (Sequel to the Imperially approved standard interpretation of music theory) was published in 1746. In this version, the text was reorganised, and extended with sections on other musical instruments (*yueqi* 樂器) and on pieces of music (*yuezhang* 樂章). The text went from 5 *juan* to 120 *juan* and became an important reference work for discussions on ritual at the imperial court (Standaert 2006).

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[19] *Dacheng Liyue ji*, *juan* 2,3, 4. No illustrations are found in *juan* 1 or 5.

[20] *Pangong liyue quanshu*; the Qing publication largely follows its Ming precedent: *Pangong liyue shu* 1618; see also Standaert 2006, 96.

Figure 20: The starter (right) and stopper (left). Lin Changyi, *Sanli tongshi* (1863), 274.15a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://fig.lib.harvard.edu/fig/?bib=007718466)

Throughout the nineteenth century, even whilst the empire faced severe threats from many different directions, scholars continued to produce illustrated publications, on music specifically, but also on the importance of ritual in general. The scholar-official Lin Changyi 林昌彝 (1803-1876), for example, a male relative of the even more famous Lin Zexu 林則徐, published not only descriptions of his experiences of the Opium War, but also a volume entitled *Sanli tongshi* 三禮通釋 (General commentaries on the Three Rites), which included illustrations of musical instruments (Figure 20). The correct performance of ritual was important, at court and throughout the empire. And thus, music, musical instruments, and the choreography of movement also featured in the guidelines for the performance of rituals at the level of prefectures and counties. More than static objects like sacrificial vessels, music, instruments, and movement required elaborate instruction to ensure correct performance, and thus serve our purpose well. Rather than considering the significance of music in ritual *per se*, the discussion below will focus on the visual information on musical instruments provided in gazetteers, to evaluate the significance of the genre of local gazetteers as source of information on the performance of ritual. The LoGaRT database contains 571 pages with images of musical instruments. Most (over 50%) of these date from two reign periods only: Qianlong and Guangxu.[21] The set generally includes the following types of instruments: suspended chime stones, including both single suspended chime stones (*texuan qing* 特縣磬) and sets of chime stones (*bianqing* 編磬); suspended bells, including both single suspended bells (*texuan zhong* 特縣鐘) and sets of bells (*bianzhong* 編鐘); two kinds of zither (*se* 瑟 and *qin* 琴); wind and percussion instruments of various kinds; and the starter and stopper, the two instruments that were used to mark the beginning and end of a ritual musical performance. The stopper, about which more below, always appears in the shape of a crouching tiger on a more or less elaborate pedestal with metal spikes or "teeth" along the ridge of the tiger's back (formally, 27 teeth), accompanied by a small bamboo brush. Using the brush to hit the tiger's head and then running the bamboo brush three times over the teeth on the tiger's back makes the characteristic sound that marks the end of the ritual. The 1890 gazetteer for Huazhou 化州 includes a

[21] The total number of pages with images of musical instruments breaks down as follows over the reign periods: Kangxi: 26; Yongzheng: 49; Qianlong: 141; Jiaqing: 55; Daoguang: 38; Xianfeng: 47; Tongzhi: 51; Guangxu: 164.

two-page illustration of the entire set of musical instruments used in ritual, showing not only their physical form but also the quantities of the items to be used (Figure 21) (*Huazhou zhi* 6.33a-b).

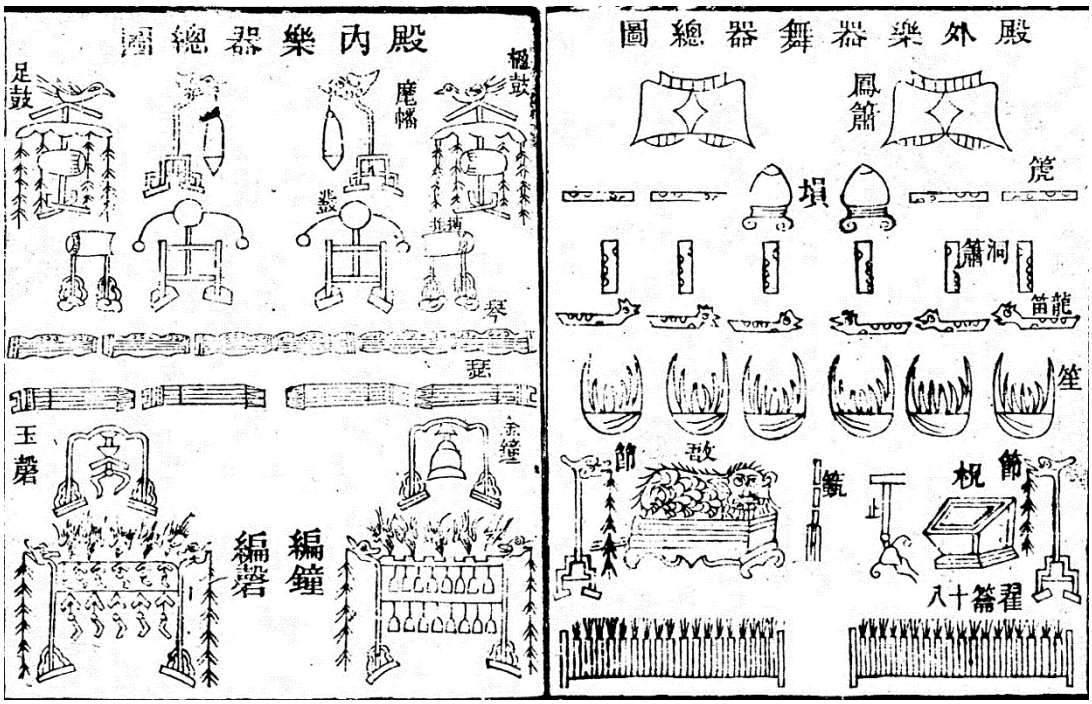

Figure 21: Musical instruments. *Huazhou zhi* (1890), 6.33a–b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

The oldest gazetteer depicting musical instruments included in the LoGaRT database is the 1690 edition of the *Shangcai county gazetteer*. The wooden tiger faces towards the right, crouching low but stretched out, with its belly flat on the pedestal. The teeth of the tiger are not as clearly visible in this illustration, but they seem to follow the slight curve in the back of the tiger. The tiger is covered with a striped pattern, including a distinct twirl in the fur on the stifle (knee-joint) of the tiger. The pedestal it sits on is single layered, with a decorative skirt at the bottom of the pedestal (Figure 22).

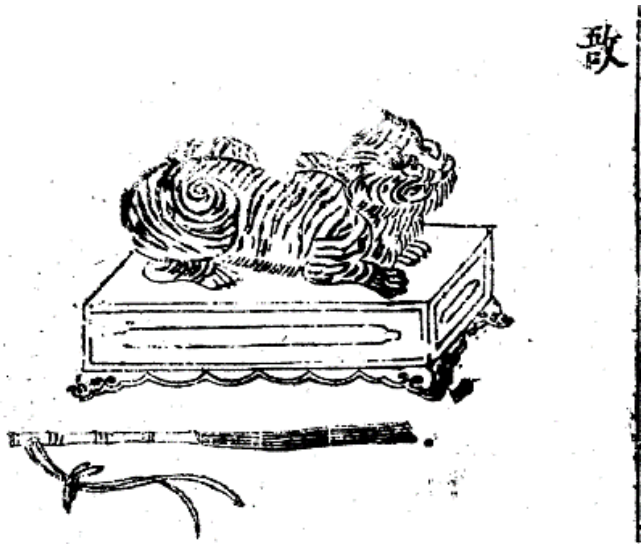

Figure 22: The stopper. *Shangcai xian zhi* (1690), 2.25b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

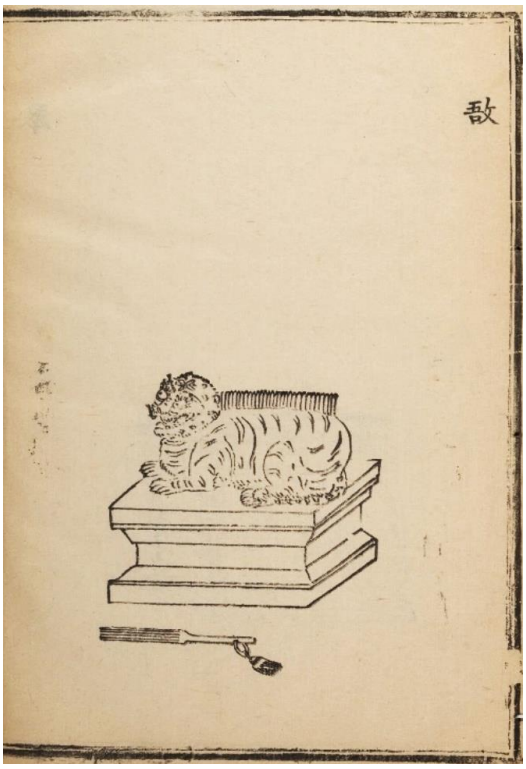

Figure 23: The stopper. *Da Ming huidian* (1587), 81.26a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077710430203941/catalog)

If we compare this late seventeenth-century image with some of the precedents in circulation at this time, its distinctiveness becomes more manifest. The illustration of the stopper in the 1587 edition of *Da Ming huidian*, for example, is very different (Figure 23). This tiger faces towards the left, and is more condensed in its crouch, with its back paws nearly touching the elbow of its front paws. The teeth of the tiger stand proud on its back, all the same length and in a straight row. Its fur is less busily marked and lacks the distinctive twirl on the stifle. Its pedestal is multi-layered but undecorated. The stopper in the 1622 compilation *Dacheng liyue ji* at first glance seems very different from the example appearing in the Shangcai county gazetteer: facing towards the left, on a decorative, multi-layered panel, with very distinct whiskers that are absent in the other examples. On the other hand, there are some similarities: the teeth follow the curve along the tiger's back, and there is a distinct twirl on the stifle of the tiger. Moreover, the pedestal has a similar decorative skirt at the bottom of the pedestal.

The illustration of the stopper in the aforementioned *Pangong liyue quanshu*, published in 1656 and intended to provide instruction on the performance of music in local schools, has an entirely different stopper yet again. The tiger is not crouching but lying flat and at rest. Facing leftwards, the face is turned towards the viewer, and whiskers stick out away from the snout. The 27 flat-topped teeth are set in a straight line, and the length of the body seems to be determined by the teeth on the back. A long tail lies in front of the resting tiger, and the single-layered pedestal is undecorated except for a simple skirt.

Recognisable, with elements that are similar (the whiskers, and the pedestal), and yet a very distinct and individual shape (Figure 24).

Figure 24: The stopper. *Pangong liyue quanshu* (1656), 15.20a. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

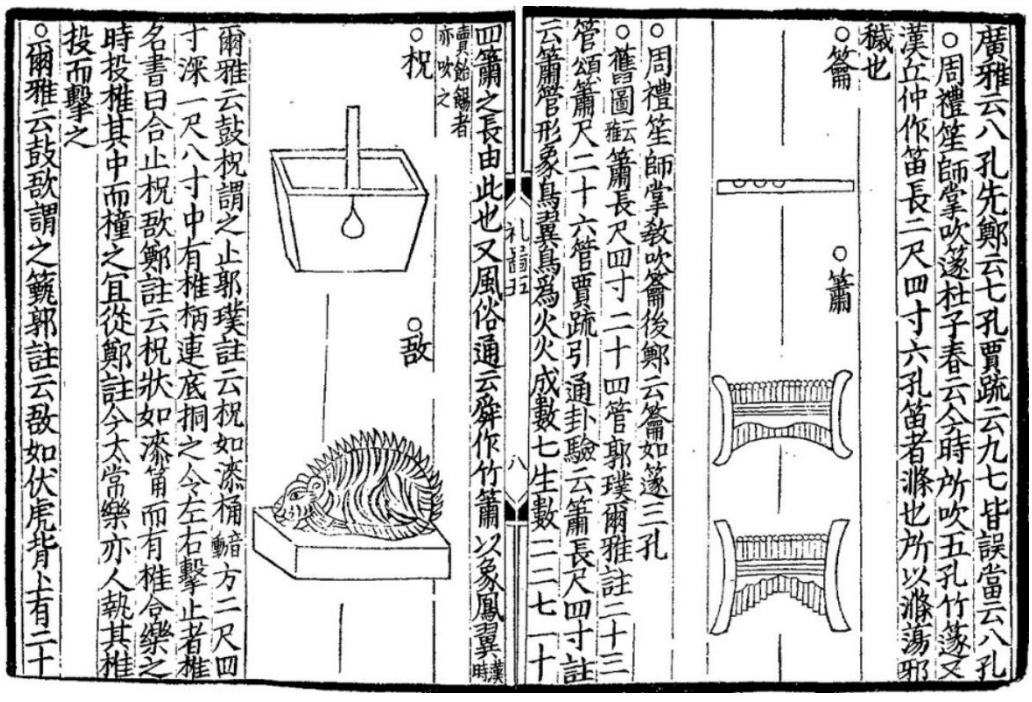

Figure 25: Flutes, the starter and the stopper. *Xicheng Zhengshi jiashu chongjiao Sanli tu* (1247), 5.8a–b. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

Figure 26: The stopper. *Sanlitu jizhu* (961, reprint, *Siku quanshu*), 5.25a. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

In fact, the images of the stopper included in the depictions of musical instruments in gazetteers are all quite different. If we take the example of the stopper in the versions of the *Sanli tu* that were in circulation during the Ming dynasty, we see the shape of the tiger in simple form, almost curled into a ball, and on a single-tiered pedestal (Figures 25 & 26). The spiky teeth of the tiger follow the curve of the back, and we only see the face side-on. No distinct front or back paws are visible, because of the crouching tiger's compactness. This image found some followers. The nineteenth-century gazetteer for Changsha county, for example, includes an image of the stopper that copies this example in some ways (*Changsha xian zhi*, 72.39b). The gazetteer for Yuanjiang county, published in the same year and in the same province, also has more or less the same image, roughly based on the *Sanli* tu example.

Figure 27: The stopper. *Da Ming jili* (1530), 50.12b–13a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/99007771143020394l/catalog)

Other representations of the tiger follow a very different model, for example with ornate and multi-tiered pedestals. The stopper in the 1530 edition of *Da Ming jili*, for example, has the flecked tiger crouching on a three-tiered elaborately decorated pedestal, with a long, flecked tail draped along its flank. The teeth follow the curve of the back, the face of the tiger is slightly turned upwards, and small whiskers are discernible (Figure 27) (*Da Ming jili* 50.12b). It is a type of *yu* that appears in several Qing-dynasty gazetteers also (*Qianyang xian zhi* 6.30a). Another set of gazetteer images of the stopper closely follows the image of the stopper from the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Figure 28).

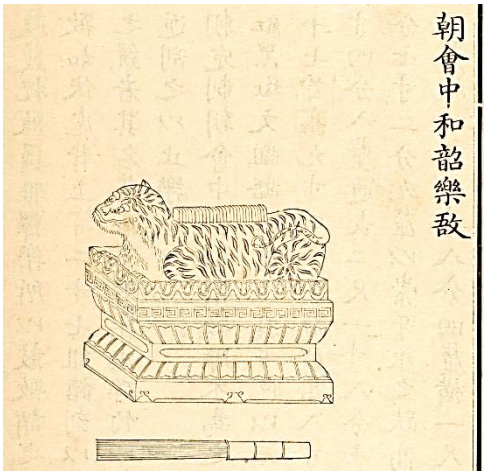

Figure 28: The stopper. *Huangchao liqi tushi* (1766), 8.67a. Image Source: Harvard Yenching Library (persistent link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:10012889)

Recognisable by the upright position of the head, the straight row of teeth along the tiger's back, and the intricately decorated multi-tiered pedestal, with the layers flaring inwards and out again towards the foot, the image included in the *Da Qing huidian* follows this example closely (Figure 29).

Figure 29a–b: The stopper. *Qinding Da Qing huidian tu* (Jiaqing edition), 33.18a–b. Image credit: Diaolong Zhong Ri Guji Quanwen Ziliaoku.

The *Huangchao liqi tushi* stopper also inspired numerous gazetteer illustrators (*Qianyang xian zhi* 6.30a; *Qufu xian zhi*, tukao.31a; *Pingshan xian zhi* 4.74a; *Gu'an xian zhi* 4.71a; *Anfu xian zhi* 16.62a; *Wuqiao xian zhi* 2.69a; *Liping fu zhi* 4.31b). See, for example, the illustration included in the Guangxu-era *Wuqiao county gazetteer* (Figure 30): it shares the raised head, the straight row of teeth, the indistinct limbs, and the highly decorated pedestal with flaring layers. But it is also distinct: the mouth is open and has teeth, but the face has no whiskers; the tail is striped rather than flecked, and the decorations on the pedestal follow a different decorative scheme.

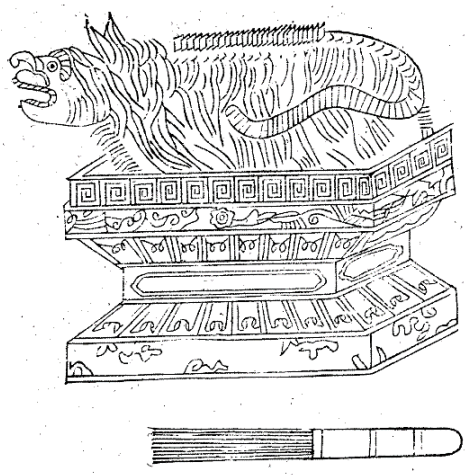

Figure 30: The stopper. *Wuqiao xian zhi* (1875), 2.69a. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

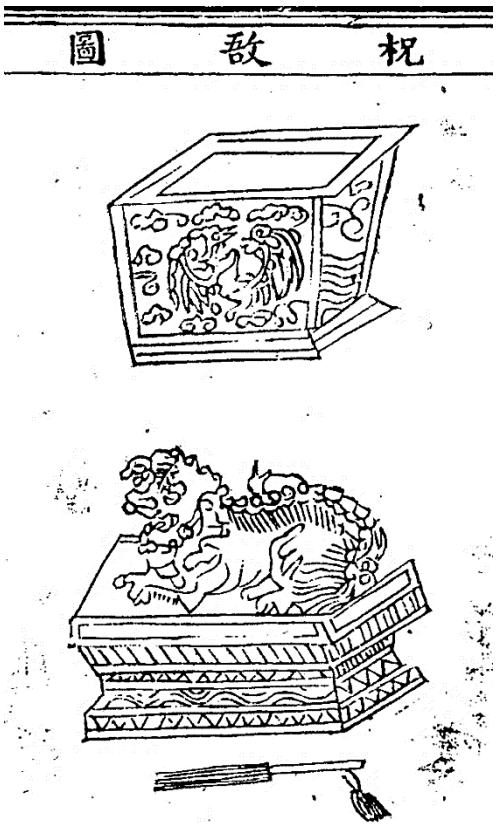

Figure 31: Starter and stopper. *Cangxi xian zhi* (1783), 1.30b. Image credit: Zhongguo Fangzhi Ku.

One final image (Figure 31) serves to confirm the wide range of images in circulation, and the distinct nature of the gazetteer illustrations. The image of stopper and starter shows that the illustrator had some difficulty with perspective: neither the box for the starter nor the pedestal for the stopper are entirely successful in creating the shape. And while we know the image of the stopper represents a tiger, seeing this image without others would make it less easily recognisable. The curved [?] shapes of the teeth on the tiger's back also suggest the illustrator had little sense of what these teeth were intended to do. The illustrator may have seen a model and known the intention was to create a pedestal with a tiger but not had a model close to hand. In their own way, the tigers all form part of a distinct repertoire of images. At the same time, it is also clear that the creators of these illustrations were working within their own circumstances: their skills at creating the illustrations, the models they were working with, and their understanding of the function of the musical instruments were all distinct. That, alone, makes these a very interesting set of sources to consider in discussions of ritual and the genre of local gazetteers.

Final thoughts

The Xiangtan images with which we started this essay now make more sense, and we understand them in a different way. The compilers of that gazetteer, under the leadership of Ouyang Zhenghuan, clearly had access to sophisticated illustrators, with a great deal of skill and understanding, who worked as part of a well-resourced project that aimed to show the extent of ritual performance in accordance with the empire-wide emphasis on ritual. The ambitions of the Qianlong emperor are key to understanding the emphasis on ritual during the Qing dynasty, and the publications produced during his reign period, such as the *Illustrated Regulations*, were an important part of his ambitions, as scholars have pointed out. However, it is also clear that the pages with images related to rituals appeared in the local gazetteers at different times and in different cultural spaces from a large-scale imperial project like *Huangchao liqi tushi*. The *Xiangtan gazetteer* from Hunan province dated 1756 that opened this essay underscores this point. Published three years before the appearance of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* of 1759, and long before the appearance of *Qing huidian tu* in 1811, the images in the *Xiangtan gazetteer* were created by local men who made their own choices and revealed their own ambitions. The comparison of the tiger and its teeth has shown this to be the case not just for Xiangtan, but for counties scattered throughout the empire. The *Huangchao liqi tushi* is unmistakably a key source for understanding the repertoire of ritual implements during the Qing dynasty, but we cannot rely on it exclusively. If we want to understand what local individuals thought about the importance of ritual in Qing society, including not only those who were responsible for sophisticated gazetteers such as Ouyang Zhenghuan but also the craftsmen responsible for the tiger in Figure 31, we have to take the images of ritual implements included in local gazetteers seriously.

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