# Chinese Music in Print From the Great Sage to the Lady Literata

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with contributions by Fong Sing Ha and Colin Huehns



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### Introduction

# Locating Books on Music Using Traditional Classification Systems

Yang Yuanzheng

The publication of Chinese Music in Print: From the Great Sage to the Lady Literata was inspired by the extraordinary response to an exhibition on the same subject prepared in collaboration with the Department of Music, University of Hong Kong, and the Preservation and Conservation Division, University of Hong Kong Libraries. The exhibition focused on the presentation of music's material culture in pre-modern China as told through books and bound manuscripts held in the University's Fung Ping Shan Library and Western Rare Book Collection. The starting point of the present volume is a scholarly desire to bring back to life these rare collection items that are entwined within the world of music. It views the library as a repository not of information but of artifacts, and engages with those artifacts as a means for generating a scholarly narrative.

For the three contributors to the current manuscript, a shared passion for rare and historic books is our primary link. Not only are books—as their authors intended—a source of information and enlightenment, but they exist to tell a story. Thus, we are interested not simply in the exegetical power of books, but also in layers of redactions and draft layouts, printings, introductions, colophons, marginalia, library stamps, typefaces, bindings, condition, and provenance. In shorthow has information come to be presented in this particular manner? In this way, the overall volume is concerned both with Chinese music and a particular form of bibliophilic fervor. Specimens found in American, British, and Asian repositories are provided for an international context, while books from the Fung Ping Shan Library (Fig. I.1) hold pride of place, appropriately given its 90th anniversary in 2022.

Another emphasis of the present study is that although the evolution of manuscript and printed culture in China has become more frequently discussed,<sup>2</sup> its dynamic interaction with the dissemination and transmission of music remains largely ignored.<sup>3</sup> This book seeks to address this

lacuna. The selection of materials gets to the heart of how Chinese music history has been constructed: When were the works created and

- 1. Yang Yuanzheng, Music in Print: Selections from the Fung Ping Shan Library and Western Rare Book Collection (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Libraries, 2021).
- 2. See, for example, K. T. Wu, "Ming Printing and Printers," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 7.3 (1943): 203-260; Thomas Carter and L. C. Goodrich, The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward (New York: Ronald Press, 1955); Sören Edgren, Chinese Rare Books in American Collections (New York: China Institute in America, 1984); Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Paper and Printing, in Science and Civilisation in China, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Sören Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou," Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Bulletin 61 (1989): 1-212; Frederick W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu, Calligraphy and the East Asian Book (Boston: Shambhala, 1989); Susan Cherniak, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Song China," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 54.1 (1994): 5-125; Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Publishing," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 56.1 (1996): 77–122; Lucille Chia, Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries), Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series No. 56 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002); Inoue Susumu 井上進, Chūgoku shuppan bunka shi 中国出版文化史 (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2002); Kai-wing Chow, Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004);Ōki Yasushi 大木康, Minmatsu Kōnan no shuppan bunka 明末江南の出版文化 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2004); Christopher Reed, Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, Written on Bamboo and Silk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Cynthia Brokaw and Kaiwing Chow, Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Joseph McDermott, A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006); Cynthia Brokaw, Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007); and Tobie Meyer-Fong, "The Printed World: Books, Publishing Culture, and Society in Late Imperial China," The Journal of Asian Studies 66.3 (2007): 787-817.
- 3. Musicologists and cultural historians working on European historical sources have started to take charge of this new scholarly field. See, for example, Roger Chartier, "Music in Print," in Music and the Cultures of Print, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 325–341; Kate van Orden, Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); and Kate van Orden, Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Fig. I.1: Renjing yangqiu (Mirror of Morality), juan 12, fol. 48r, woodblock engraving of Ma Shu (522–581) with his books (detail). Author: Wang Tingne (1573–1619). Date: 1600. Woodblock: 24.4 × 16.5 cm. Fung Ping Shan Library.

published? Who wrote them and why? Are the sources and their interpretations trustworthy? Studying these rare books about music brings one closer to understanding their authors, compilers, backers, printers, players, audiences, and sellers. Beyond these established lines of inquiry, it is possible to delve into the depiction of music in the visual arts—including the numerous woodcuts and engravings—and to consider how these representations have played into the development of instrumental technique, ensemble formation, and social context.

Before moving into a detailed analysis of raw materials, it would be wise to briefly introduce the traditional Chinese book classification system, in which the structure of the present volume is embodied.

The surviving records of Chinese book classification schemes begin with the father-andson team of Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE) and Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE-23 CE) and their Qilüe 七略 (The Seven Summaries, 5 BCE, see Table I.1).4 This text divides the totality of the Western Han (206 BCE-25 CE) imperial library into six categories or "summaries" 略. In addition to these six, which comprise summaries two to seven, the first acts as an explanatory introduction that details the significance and scholarly wellspring of each of the other categories, as well as outlining their relationship and the potential usage of the books classified therein. The first section is best regarded as an overarching "abstract" to the entire cataloged collection.

The six summaries are then subdivided into thirty-eight subcategories, making for two levels of classification. The first summary "Liuyi lüe" 六藝略 ("Six Arts") is divided into the nine subcategories given in the second line of the table; music is the fifth of these, placing it directly within the Confucian educational model.

The total number of titles represented in *The Seven Summaries* is 603, in which are 13,219 essays, and of these, music comprises 6 titles and 172 essays. When Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) compiled *Han shu* 漢書 (*The Official History of the Former Han Dynasty*), he took over Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's classification system with only minor alterations and reproduced it in *juan* 卷 30, "Yiwen zhi" 藝文 志 ("Monograph on Arts and Literature"). The six items on music that are listed by both texts are as follows:

- [1] Records of Music 樂記: 23 essays
- [2] Wang Yu's Records [of Music] 王禹記: 24 essays
- [3] Elegant Songs and Poems 雅歌詩: 4 essays
- [4] Master Zhao's Elegant Qin Music 雅琴趙氏: 7 essays
- [5] Master Shi's Elegant Qin Music 雅琴師氏: 8 essays
- [6] Master Long's Elegant Qin Music 雅琴龍氏: 106 essays<sup>6</sup>

As an illustration of *The Seven Summaries* template as a direct precursor to Ban Gu's version, the only discrepancy to report in respect of these six texts is the number 99 instead of 106, which he provides for the number of essays in *Master Long's Elegant Qin Music.* Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's commentary to this selection and categorization, which is reproduced intact by Ban Gu, reads:

The Book of Changes states: "The ancestral ruler created music in honor of virtuous morality; ardently, he presented it to the Supreme Emperor and to his ancestors." Therefore, from the Yellow Emperor through to the three dynasties of Xia, Shang [c. 1600–1046 BCE], and Zhou [1046–256 BCE], in each, music was called by specific names. Confucius writes: "For keeping the emperor at peace and governing the common people, nothing is more efficacious than the rites; for adjusting social mores and transforming customs, nothing is more efficacious than music;" the two are mutually compatible and march in step. When the Zhou dynasty declined, both the rites and music degenerated, and of these, music dwindled most palpably, almost to a state of non-existence; such discipline as had been required by the system of modes and melody was also disordered by the styles of the states of Zheng and Wei, and thus nothing now survives of its practice.

《易》曰:「先王作樂崇德,殷薦之上帝,以享祖考。」故自黃帝下至三代,樂各有名。孔子曰:「安上治民,莫善於禮;移風易俗,莫善於樂。」二者相與並行。周衰俱壞,樂尤微眇;以音律為節,又為鄭、衛所亂,故無遺法。7

Liu Xiang offers an account as to why nothing had survived of ancient ritual music. In the following section, he outlines two attempts to reconstruct the canon: With the establishment of the Han dynasty [206 BCE-220 CE], the Zhi clan, because they were musicians and proficient in the elegant music of Confucian ritual and its mode and melody, as had been transmitted through generations of professional court musicians, and though they could recall and reproduce the percussive sounds of drums and dances, they could not recount their inner meaning. Of the rulers of the Six States, Marquis Wen of Wei [472–396 BCE, r. 446-396 BCE] was fondest of ancient practices. At the time of the Han dynasty, Emperor Xiaowendi [Liu Heng 劉恒, 203-157 BCE, r. 180-157 BCE], the musician Dou Gong came into his service and offered him a book, namely a tract entitled "The Director of Music" from the chapter "The Supreme Minister" of Zhou guan [Zhou Officers, i.e., Zhou li 周禮, The Zhou Rites].

漢興,制氏以雅樂聲律,世在樂官,頗能紀其 鏗鏘鼓舞,而不能言其義。六國之君,魏文侯 最為好古,孝文時得其樂人竇公,獻其書,乃 《周官·大宗伯》之《大司樂》章也。<sup>8</sup>

In the time of Han dynasty Emperor Wudi [Liu Che 劉徹, 156-87 BCE, r. 141-87 BCE], the Prince of Hejian, Liu De 劉德 [160-129 BCE], had a deep admiration for Confucianism, and together with a scholar named Mao they extracted all of the passages from The Zhou Rites and the writings of various philosophers that discussed music, and used them to compose The Records of Music. They presented [to Emperor Wudi] the results of their research, including the performance of an eight-rowby-eight-column, sixty-four-person dance, which was nearly identical to the same dance as transmitted by the Zhi clan. Liu De's chamberlain Wang Ding was then charged with disseminating their findings and presented them to Wang Yu of Changshan. In the time of the Han dynasty Emperor Chengdi [Liu Ao 劉 鰲, 51-7 BCE, r. 33-7 BCE], Wang Yu was an official envoy and spoke loquaciously on their significance, presenting the Emperor with these Records organized into twenty-four juan.

武帝時,河間獻王好儒,與毛生等共采《周官》及諸子言樂事者,以作《樂記》,獻八佾之舞,與制氏不相遠。其內史丞王定傳之,以授常山王禹。禹,成帝時為謁者,數言其義,獻二十四卷《記》。9

Finally, Liu Xiang explains why the urtext of the *Records of Music* that he has provided (item 1) is different from the version transmitted by Wang Yu (item 2):

I, your humble servant, Liu Xiang, have collated and edited the text of this book, and upon obtaining *Records of Music* in twenty-three *juan*, found that it differs from Wang Yu's version; scholarship in this field is gradually becoming scarcer.

臣向校書,得《樂記》二十三篇,與禹不同, 其道寖以益微。<sup>10</sup>

Liu Xiang's text focuses entirely on justifying the presence and provenance of only the first two of the six items on music—the two Records of Music that outline its role in Confucian ritual presumably to accentuate his catalog's compliance with official ideology, but the six items themselves fall naturally into three subdivisions, though this is not made explicit: (1) Records of Music (nos. 1–2); (2) songs and poems (no. 3); and (3) qin 琴 zither music (nos. 4–6). Of these, only (1) is dependent on pre-Qin dynasty textual sources, (2) stems principally from the early Han dynasty poetmusician Yu Gong 虞公 and his lyrical oeuvre,11 while Zhao Ding 趙定, Shi Zhong 師中, and Long De 龍德 whose repertoires comprise (3) all lived at the time of the Emperor Xuandi (Liu Xun 劉詢, 91-48 BCE, r. 74-48 BCE) and were contemporary musicians playing the qin music of their own times.<sup>12</sup> In order to legitimize situating nos. 3-6 alongside the first two and their weightier Confucian affiliations, Liu Xiang conceived the ploy of prefixing them with "ya" 雅 or "elegant" so as to imply their higher status and proximity to the

<sup>4.</sup> Liu Xiang 劉向 and Liu Xin 劉歆, Qilüe yiwen 七略佚文 (Aomen: Aomen daxue, 2007).

<sup>5.</sup> Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), vol. 6, 1701–1784.

<sup>6.</sup> Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, Qilüe yiwen, 99-100.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., 80; and Ban Gu, Han shu, vol. 6, 1711–1712.

<sup>8.</sup> Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, *Qilüe yiwen*, 80; and Ban Gu,  $Han \, shu$ , vol. 6, 1712.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid., 99. Liu Xiang 劉向 and Liu Xin 劉歆, *Qilüe bielu yiwen* 七略別錄佚文 (Aomen: Aomen daxue, 2007), 26.

<sup>12.</sup> Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, *Qilüe yiwen*, 99–100. Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, *Qilüe bielu yiwen*, 26–27; and Yang Yuanzheng 楊元錚 and Yang Jun 楊軍, "Haihun hou Liu He mu chutu de qixian qin yu Xihan qinzhi 海昏侯劉賀墓出土的七弦琴與西漢琴制," *Wenwu* 文物 (2022): forthcoming.

Table I.1: The Book Classification Scheme in The Seven Summaries



Table I.2: The Book Classification Scheme in "Monograph on Books," The Official History of the Sui Dynasty

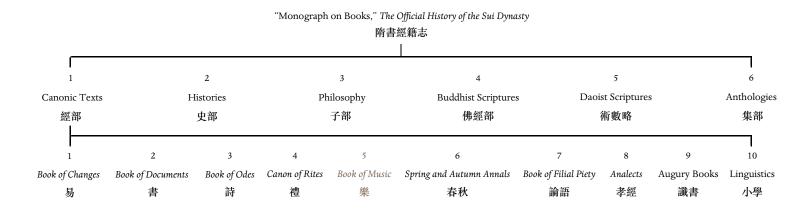


Table I.3: The Book Classification Scheme in "Monograph on Books," The Old Official History of the Tang Dynasty

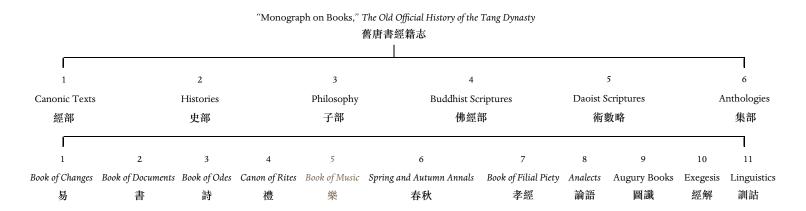


Table I.4: The Book Classification Scheme in General Catalog of the Academy for the Veneration of Literature

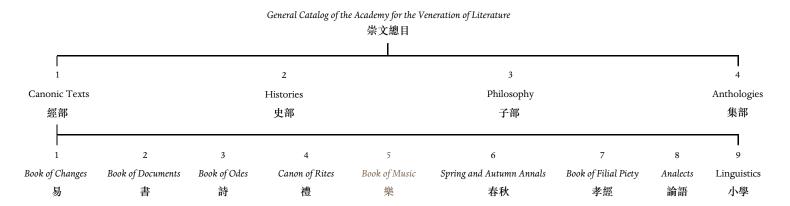


Table I.5: The Book Classification Scheme in Descriptive Catalog of the Zhizhai Studio

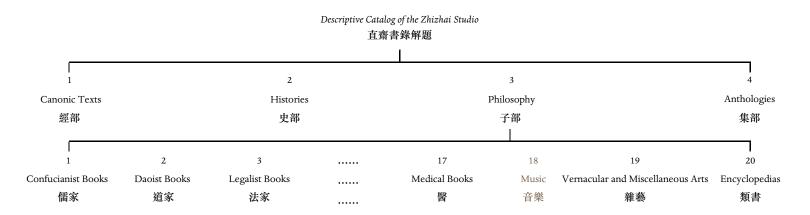
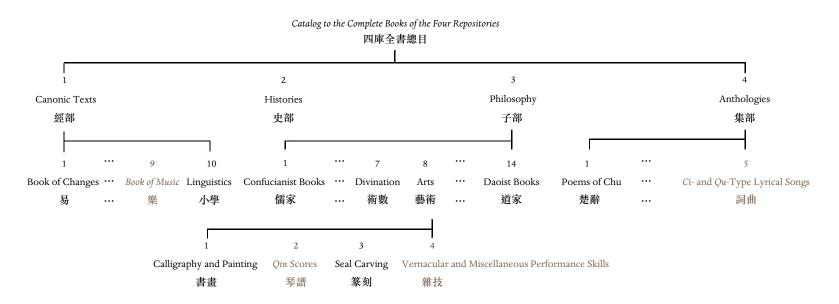


Table I.6: The Book Classification Scheme in Catalog to the Complete Books of the Four Repositories



official ideology of Confucianism. The promotion of this school of thought as the orthodoxy of the Chinese imperial state is a feature of the Western Han dynasty and has traditionally been associated with the philosopher-politician Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (c. 198–c. 107 BCE).<sup>13</sup>

In a later generation of classification, that of *Sui shu* 隋書 (*The Official History of the Sui Dynasty*, dated 629–636), the equivalent bibliographic section comprises *juan* 32–35 and is called "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 ("Monograph on Books," see Table I.2). <sup>14</sup> More extensive than its Western Han dynasty predecessor, it lists a total of 3,212 books comprising 36,708 *juan*; the total increases to 4,757 with the inclusion of titles of lost items listed and the *juan* count to 49,467. Of these, the section on music consists of 44 surviving books in 142 *juan*, 47 if lost books are included, for a total of 263 *juan*.

Like Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's Seven Summaries, the Sui dynasty (581-618) "Monograph on Books" is also divided into six sections (as given in the first line of Table I.2), but the configuration is now radically different. "The Six Arts" of The Seven Summaries has been renamed "Canonic Texts," though the overall second-level categorization inside the Sui dynasty equivalent, as given in the second line of Table I.2, is broadly similar. "Poetry" of The Seven Summaries has been renamed "Anthologies." "Philosophy" remains a discrete section, though books on military sciences, divination, and medical techniques have been scattered into it because separate sections on these have disappeared. New arrivals are "Histories" and sections on Buddhist and Daoist works, the latter two reflecting traditions that flourished at the time. In fact, "Daoist Works" was formerly a subcategory of the section "Philosophy" in *The* Seven Summaries that was upgraded.

Each of the six sections is further subdivided at a second level and music again finds its place within the first section as the fifth of ten subcategories. Of these, only the ninth, "Augury Texts," is without precedent.

A further hypothetical third layer of subdivision is available to the music section with items therein falling into three categories: (1) the theory of elegant music (nos. 1–16); (2) *qin* music (nos. 17–23); and (3) practical treatises on elegant music and banquet music (nos. 24–47). Of these, (3) was further divided by the late Qing dynasty

(1644–1911) bibliographer Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906) into historical records (nos. 24–35), repertoire lists (nos. 36-40), music of suspended instruments (nos. 41–43), and pitch standards (nos. 44–47).16 Apart from the spurious Yue jing 樂 經 (The Book of Music) in four juan (no. 16), which was afforded the status of a Confucian canonic text in 4 CE by the notorious usurper Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE-23 CE), all other books are either contemporary (i.e., Sui dynasty) or from the relatively recent Jin dynasty (265-420) or Northern and Southern dynasties (420-589). Their presence continues the precedent set by Liu Xiang of including texts on music of much less ancient provenance and parallels the Sui dynasty addition to the first level of organization of the third to sixth categories that are more strongly grounded in recent writing.

Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 (The Old Official History of the Tang Dynasty, dated 941–945) records the total number of items in the "Monograph on Books" 經籍志 (juan 46–47) as 3,060, comprising 51,852 juan, of which music contributes 29 items of 195 juan. Table I.3 sets out the overall classification; its fourpart division at the first level—Canonic Texts 經部, Histories 史部, Philosophy 子部, and Anthologies 集部—is the familiar categorization of more recent times.

The Buddhist section present in the Sui dynasty equivalent has been removed entirely. During the interim, ever-more-numerous Buddhist tomes had, by necessity, acquired their own independent three-layer system, and driven by concerns that its resultant complexity would overburden an already congested classification, it was simply excised.17 The section on Daoist works has been downgraded and once again becomes a subcategory of "Philosophy." Reorganization at the second level of "Canonic Texts" is less radical: the first nine sections are identical and the tenth is simply divided into "Canonical Exegesis" and "Etymological Origins," both exemplars of a rise in exegetical scholarship; The Book of Music remains fifth on the list.

The music subsection can again be subjectively divided into three further subdivisions, though no such categorization is explicitly indicated: the first two (1) the theory of elegant music (nos. 1–15) and (2) qin music (nos. 16–21) are identical to those of *The Official History of the Sui Dynasty*, but (3) vernacular and Central Asian music (nos. 22–29) is a new departure and an indication of a rise

in textual records of vernacular sources, as well as a byproduct of growing cultural interaction between China and Central Asian neighbors.<sup>18</sup>

Chongwen zongmu 崇文總目 (General Catalog of the Academy for the Veneration of Literature, dated 1034-1041) is the principal contribution of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) to book classification.<sup>19</sup> Produced on imperial command by scholars of the Hanlin 翰林 Academy spearheaded by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003-1058), the book total is now 3,445, comprising 30,669 juan, of which music contributes 49 books in 302 juan. As given in Table I.4, the overall structure of the index has changed little from its Tang dynasty predecessor and employs the same four-part division at the first classification level. The Book of Music remains the fifth of nine subdivisions of the "Canonic Texts," and other than the omission of "Augury Books" these nine are an identical series to that found in the Sui dynasty classification. Again, the music subsection can be divided into three hypothetical categories, with the familiar elegant/banquet music (nos. 1-13) and qin music (nos. 14-44) comprising the first two, while the third is another new arrival, music for the ruan 阮 lute (nos. 45-49).20

The introductory preamble to the music section is written by no less of a luminary than the celebrated Northern Song scholar-official Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). In a similar fashion to Liu Xiang, he first outlines a rationale for the paucity of surviving pre-Qin dynasty writings on music:

The rites and music of the three ancient dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou] have, since the latter years of the Zhou dynasty, for the most part been lost, and likewise suffered the Qin dynasty's [221-206 BCE] violent extirpation of scholarship; however, The Book of Documents, The Analects, and The Book of Filial Piety were preserved in the ancestral dwellings of Confucius' family, and The Book of Changes as a divination text was not burnt along with the others, while The Book of Odes was grounded in recitation and not just written on bamboo slips and silk sheets, but instead transmitted by oral tradition; thus, of the Six Classics, The Canon of Rites was the one whose degradation was the most serious, and The Book of Music, as it was passed on by singing and the playing of instruments, was naturally the easiest to suffer loss. On the establishment of the Han dynasty when research into classical texts was

instigated, *The Book of Music* was found to be the most glaring lacuna. Scholars realized that it could no longer stand on its own, and it was thereupon combined with *The Canon of Rites*. Thus, the texts of only Five Classics survived and their scholarship remained classified in the Six Arts.

三代禮樂,自周之末,其失已多,又經秦世滅學之暴,然《書》及《論語》、《孝經》得藏孔氏之家,《易》以卜筮不焚,而《詩》本諷誦,不專在于竹帛,人得口以傳之,故獨《禮》之于六經,其亡最甚,而《樂》又有聲器,尤易為壞失。及漢興,考求典籍,而《樂》最缺絕。學者不能自立,遂並其說于禮家。書為五經,流別為六藝。21

The Sui and Tang (618–906) dynasties follow Liu Xiang's lead regarding tacit inclusion of more items of contemporary music, but make no attempt to justify their choice. It fell to Ouyang Xiu to attempt to address this issue, one that Liu Xiang had managed to avoid, and as a historian and musician to offer for the first time a convincing rationale for the inclusion of contemporary musical items:

The reason that music can connect to the harmoniousness of heaven and earth, and effect governance on the myriad things, lies principally in its ability to transform mankind

- 13. According to *Han shu*, Liu Xiang was an important figure who excessively admired Dong Zhongshu's views. See Michael Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu*, a "Confucian" Heritage and the Chunqiu Fanlu (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 337.
- 14. Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index* (London: Ithaca, 1984), 1–2.
- 15. Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗, Sui shu jingji zhi kaozheng 隋書經籍志考證, in Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書, ed. Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 續修四庫全書編纂委員會, vol. 915 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 83–90.
- 16. Ibid., 86–90.
- 17. Wang Zhongmin 王重民, Zhongguo muluxue shi luncong 中國目錄學史論叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 71–74. Su Bai 宿白, Hanwen foji mulu 漢文佛籍目錄 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 42–78.
- 18. Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), vol. 6, 1975–1976.
- 19. Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*, 6–8; and Yves Hervouet, ed., *A Sung Bibliography* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), 195.
- 20. Qian Tong 錢侗, *Chongwen zongmu jishi* 崇文總目輯釋, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 續修四庫全書編纂委員會, vol. 916 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 619–624.
- 21. Qian Tong, Chongwen zongmu jishi, 624; and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Ouyang Xiu ji biannian jianzhu 歐陽修集編年箋注 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2007), vol. 7, 77.

and the spirits and to manifest itself in worthy deeds and virtuous morality. The Records of Music gives: "After each of the Five Emperors had abdicated, because they lived in different periods, their music faded with them, and subsequent styles were fashioned afresh by new regimes;" later sage kings have therefore sanctioned a wealth of musical creation in response to the times they lived in; what need is there to painstakingly seek out the remnants of the ancients? As for modes and melodies once performed and the construction of musical instruments that played them, the practice of the sages, though having undergone changes through the generations, can still be investigated. From the Han dynasty [until the Wei and Jin dynasties, 220–420], explanation of the evolution of music can only be found in the musical monographs of official historiographers because no relevant book of this period has survived. The remaining books on the music of the Sui and Tang dynasties are thus recorded here.

夫樂所以達天地之和而飭化萬物,要之感格人神,象見功德,《記》曰:「五帝殊時,不相沿樂」,所以王者有因時製作之盛,何必區區求古遺缺?至于律呂鐘石,聖人之法,雖更萬世,可以考也。自漢以來,樂之沿革,惟見史官之志,其書不備。隋唐所錄,今著其存者云。22

For Ouyang Xiu, because sage kings had achieved sagehood, they could create anew the music of their own time according to the principles of their innate virtuous morality. The purpose of music was to "transform mankind and the spirits" and not to "seek out the remnant deficiencies of the ancients." This innovative philosophy rendered legitimate the inclusion of new materials.

After an interim of nearly a century, the next important catalog to appear was Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 (c. 1105–1180) Junzhai dushu zhi 郡齋讀 書志 (Records of Reading at the Prefectural Studio; preface written in 1151).<sup>23</sup> During the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), the advent of printing stimulated a revolution in the dissemination of texts, and private library catalogs assumed a new importance. The oldest surviving of these, it lists 1,461 books comprising 24,500 juan, of which only 6 were books on music that contained 17 juan. The Chao family was originally from northern China, but owing to the invasion of the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234), Chao Gongwu's father, Chao

Yuezhi 晁説之 (1059–1129), had led the family to settle in Sichuan. After obtaining the *jinshi* degree in the 1130s, Chao Gongwu acted as an official for many years in the province and it was at this time that he acquired the complete private library of Jing Du 井度 (act. 1141) as the basis for his own collection. The comment of these *Records* on the value of books on music is far from appreciative:

From the Han dynasty onwards, a point is often made that music is in fact no more than an empty vessel owing to a polluting admixture of sounds from the states of Zheng and Wei and barbarians from beyond the frontiers, and even if fashionable for a while, it is swiftly abandoned, lost, and can never be recovered, to say nothing of any relevant books. Here, a few paltry tomes are assembled simply to make up numbers in the index.

自漢以來,指樂為虛器,雜以鄭、衛、夷狄之 音,雖或用於一時,旋即放失,無復存者,况 其書哉!今裒集數種,姑以補書目之闕爾。<sup>25</sup>

Chao Gongwu's rasping tone expresses something deeper than mere disparagement, as at its core is dissatisfaction with the location of music within the "Canonic Texts" section of the traditional cataloging system, a status that nonetheless he retained. If music is not of sufficient Confucian gravity to be placed there, then where? Once more, after nearly a century had passed, the next book classification milestone emerged that did offer a solution. It was the Zhizhai shulu jieti 直齋 書錄解題 (Descriptive Catalog of the Zhizhai Studio) of the private collection of Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1179–1262).26 By this time, neo-Confucianism was becoming increasingly influential, as epitomized by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), and to some extent the new classification scheme reflects its ethos. When compared with Ouyang Xiu and earlier Confucian bibliographers' more humanistic view on the location of literature on music within the classification system, Zhu Xi's attitude is much more rigid. Whereas they had regarded the Five Classics (The Book of Odes, The Book of Documents, The Book of Changes, The Book of Rites, and The Spring and Autumn Annals) as canonic texts, Zhu Xi made it his life's work to replace them with the Four Books (The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean from The Book of Rites, The Confucian Analects, and *The Mencius*). His chief toolkit in this process of formulating his own systematic philosophical framework was his Sishu zhangju jizhu 四書章句集 注 (Interlinear Analysis of and Collected Commentaries on the Four Books). The central pillar of its essential rationalism was to regard the Confucian–Mencian lineage as the repository which "upheld heavenly principles and eliminated human desires." In his own words:

Confucius talks of "curbing one's self and returning to propriety," *The Doctrine of the Mean* speaks of "achieving the state of Mean and Harmony," "respecting the nature of virtuous morality," and "using the Way to enquire into scholarship;" *The Great Learning* talks of the "manifesting of one's bright virtue;" *The Book of Documents* gives: "The mind of man is restless—prone to err; its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform [in the pursuit of what is right], that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean." The sages' multiplicity of admonition simply teaches humankind to "uphold heavenly principles and eliminate human desires."

孔子所謂「克己復禮」,《中庸》所謂「致中和」、「尊德性」、「道問學」,《大學》所謂「明明德」,《書》曰「人心惟危,道心惟微,惟精惟一,允執厥中」,聖人千言萬言,只是教人「存天理、滅人欲」。<sup>27</sup>

In the field of music, Zhu Xi advocated an admiration of "elegance" and the elimination of "crudity," and that this was a fundamental prerequisite for the establishment of order in society. Under the guidance of this train of thought, Zhu Xi and his disciples took vernacular opera performances and other appreciative musical activities and classified them as "vagrant desires," frequently seeking to "prohibit opera" as public policy. Zhu Xi himself penned *Qin shuo* 琴説 (*On the Qin*), a text on music theory, and furnished his disciple Cai Yuanding's 蔡元定 (1135–1198) *Lülü xinshu* 律呂新書 (*New Book on Pitch-Pipes*) with an introduction.

Curiously, the next important book collector, new-Confucianist Chen Zhensun, was born into and raised by a family of Confucians in Yongjia (now Wenzhou) opposed to the Zhu Xi School and was himself a grandson of Zhou Xingji 周行己 (jinshi degree 1091), 28 the main propagator of the Yongjia School of Thought. 29 The latter emerged in response to social and political crises in the Southern Song dynasty, more specifically the attempt on the part of Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1192) to establish authority over the Confucian Classics, while at the same time

the overall political situation was aggravated by military threats from the north and corruption in the government. Its wellspring was a need to contend with the changing intellectual climate's lurch towards neo-Confucianism, and in addition to Zhou Xingji, it included the materialist thinkers Ye Shi 葉適 (1150-1223) and Chen Fuliang 陳 傅良 (1137-1203), who advocated elevating the social status of those engaged in commercial and mercantile activities. Ye Shi is noted for amending mainstream Confucian ideology by focusing more on the pursuit of profit, and he rejected ideas such as giving a high priority to justice and a low priority to the accumulation of wealth, such as had been suggested by the neo-Confucianists. Regarding music, Ye Shi, in his Xixue jiyan 習 學記言 (Learning Notes), written in the twilight of his career, cunningly expresses his suspicion of Zhu Xi's narrow-minded value judgements by criticizing Dong Zhongshu, who had lived fourteen centuries earlier:

To evaluate the level of governing of a state by means of listening to and observing its music is entirely possible. In seeking to govern, however, [one should not only] rely on the primacy of music. How can the mere performance of bells, drums, pipes, and stringed instruments rescue the degeneration of virtuous morality? [Dong] Zhongshu also [seeks to govern] by advocating the primacy of music, [but he is confined to this superficial level] and disregards the practice of good governance. In addition, [Dong's superficial enterprise] concludes in interpreting

- 22. Qian Tong, Chongwen zongmu jishi, 624; and Ouyang Xiu, Ouyang Xiu ji biannian jianzhu, vol. 7, 77.
- 23. Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*, 25–27; and Yves Hervouet, ed., *A Sung Bibliography*, 196–197.
- 24. Peter K. Bol, "This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 60–75 and 345–352, especially 67 and 74–75; and Thomas H. C. Lee, Government Education and Examinations in Sung China (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1985), 293–299.
- 25. Chao Gongwu 晁公武, Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng 郡齋讀書 志校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), vol. 1, 91–92.
- 26. Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*, 27–28; and Yves Hervouet, ed., *A Sung Bibliography*, 198.
- 27. Zhu Xi 朱熹, Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 1, 365.
- 28. Chen Zhensun's grandmother was Zhou Xingji's third daughter. See Hou Wailu 侯外廬, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1960), 741.
- 29. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 et al., Song Yuan xue'an 宋元學案 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1127–1133.

omens of auspiciousness. This is particularly eschewed by those who truly wish to promote good governance through personal practice. 以樂論治可也,求治而以樂為先,鐘鼓管弦之存,何救于德之敗乎?而仲舒亦以樂為先,躬行之實廢矣。又終于祥瑞,尤躬行者之諱也。30

Chen Zhensun, however, regarded the Yongjia School of Thought as "insufficiently commensurate with anything that is pure and noble" 未得為純明正大 and admired Zhu Xi most.<sup>31</sup> Even larger than Chao Gongwu's collection, Chen Zhensun's contained 3,096 books in 51,180 juan, of which music comprised 26 books in 289 juan. As shown in Table I.5, the same first level division into four categories has been retained, but music is now shunted into the third of these ("Philosophy") as the eighteenth of twenty subcategories and no longer occupies a prime spot in the first category "Canonic Texts." The titles to these subcategories have themselves lost direct reference to the titles of the classic texts that form their basis and are now more generic in flavor. Daoist and Legalist works constitute the second and third subsections of "Philosophy," and encyclopedias are now so numerous and extensive as to make up a subcategory in their own right (the twentieth).

As before, texts on music readily lend themselves to subjective subdivision, here into *qin* music (nos. 1–15), vernacular and Central Asian music (nos. 16–17), and elegant music (nos. 18–26). The introduction to the music section in *juan* 14 justifies the overall re-positioning, first by criticizing the unsustainable position of retaining a subcategory in the "Canonic Texts" when no single appropriate text remained to fill it:

Although Liu Xin and Ban Gu took *The Canon of Rites* and *The Book of Music* and categorized them as belonging to the "Summary of the Six Arts," neither of these texts is as ancient as Master Confucius [551–479 BCE] himself; however, the *Three Rites* [Li ji 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*), *Zhou li* 周禮 (*The Zhou Rites*), and Yi li 儀禮 (*The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*)] remain in circulation entirely as if they were still in their older pre-Qin dynasty's format, whereas influence of the six texts on music [as listed by Liu Xin in *The Seven Summaries* and Ban Gu in *The Official History of the Former Han Dynasty*] is no longer apparent. Dou Gong's tract "The Director of Music" can already be

found in The Zhou Rites; the Prince of Hejian's Records of Music is already reproduced in Dai Sheng's 戴聖 [fl. first century] redaction of The Book of Rites; thus, ancient music is already bereft of the possibility of presenting itself as a complete book. Bibliographical monographs in the various official histories, as have existed hitherto, take from each other as their sources. however, the two institutions that provide music for entertainment, the Bureau of Music and the Imperial Music Academy, and barbarian music played on the pipa lute and Central Asian drum, are also tapped to supplement the genres of music available; placing these alongside the Canonical Texts of the sages—is this not an affront to reason!

劉歆、班固雖以《禮》、《樂》著之六藝略, 要皆非孔氏之舊也,然《三禮》至今行於世, 猶是先秦舊傳。而所謂《樂》六家者,影響 不復存矣。竇公之《大司樂章》既已見於 《周禮》,河間獻王之《樂記》亦已錄於《小 戴》,則古樂已不復有書。而前志相承,乃取 樂府、教坊、琵琶、羯鼓之類,以充樂類,與 聖經並列,不亦悖乎!32

Texts culled from other sources are then vilified as entirely inappropriate companions to Confucian canonic volumes. This view is diametrically opposed to that of Ouyang Xiu, who saw books on music as evolving according to the sagehood of successive rulers. Perhaps that is why he was only admired by the neo-Confucianists for his literary skills and not as a Confucianist. Furthermore, Chen Zhensun suggested following the book classification system of a Fujianese scholar-official Zheng Yin 鄭寅 (d. 1237), who adamantly insisted on the exclusion of books on music from the category of the Confucian canons:

Later, I obtained Zheng Zijing's [i.e., Zheng Yin] *Book Catalog*; it alone is not like this, and its argument in this respect runs: "State rituals' and 'Chronologies' are categories in their own right and should not be attached to *The Canon of Rites* or *The Spring and Autumn Annals*; similarly, later books on music should also not be packaged among the Six Arts." Here, this dictum is followed, and books on music are placed in the "Philosophy" section, immediately before "Vernacular and Miscellaneous Arts."

晚得鄭子敬氏《書目》獨不然,其為説曰: 「儀注、編年各自為類,不得附於《禮》、 《春秋》,則後之樂書固不得列於六藝。」今 從之,而著於子錄雜藝之前。<sup>33</sup> and its detailed description of ceremonies. This is followed by various interpretations of these texts, especially Zhu Zaiyu's 朱載堉 (1536-1611) Ming dynasty series Yuelü quanshu 樂律全書 (Collected Works on Music and Pitch-Pipes, 1595–1607) along with his detailed choreographic diagrams. Set against his earnest scholarship is Shen Cai's 沈彩 (c. 1748-?) exquisite calligraphy of her husband Lu Xuan's 陸烜 (1737-1799) treatise Shang shu yi 尚書義 (Meanings in the Book of Documents) and the heartfelt poems she included in the margins of the manuscript after copying out each section. Although the carping preaching of neo-Confucianism can become irksome, a humble spirit of scientific discovery and quest for truth is sometimes also self-evident, for example, in Zhu Zaiyu's experiments in equal temperament and Shen Cai and Lu Xuan's joint construction of their jian 簡 pentachord device.

The second section of Qianlong's book classification scheme comprises "Histories," and Chapter 2 thus deals with historical records of court music. As is stated by Ouyang Xiu: "From the Han dynasty [until the Wei and Jin dynasties], explanation of the evolution of music can only be found in the bibliographical monographs of official historiographers."52 With the advent of historiography in the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE), and its espousal by the Confucian orthodoxy, new resources emerged for the study of musical practice at court, in particular, Chungiu 春秋 (The Annals of the State of Lu). As is recorded in this text, on a diplomatic mission to the state of Lu 魯, the son of the ruler of Wu 吳, Ji Zha 季札 (576-484 BCE), was privileged to witness a complete performance of the entire 305 poems in The Book of Odes. He left an account of the experience that explicitly connected their aesthetic effect with aspects of statecraft.53 After the establishment of the Han dynasty and Confucianism as its official ideology, music came to occupy a vital role in the official histories of successive dynasties. Included in the oldest of these—Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 BCE) Shi ji 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian, completed in 91 BCE)—are two related works: "Yue shu" 樂 書 ("Monograph on Music") and "Lü shu" 律書 ("Monograph on Pitch Standards"). Monographs on pitch standards remain common items in successive official histories, consistently proving to be an arena where the great minds of the day chose to flex their intellectual muscles. In the Song dynasty, imperial antiquarian interest in artifacts had become a driving force,

as is illustrated in Xuanhe bogu tulu 宣和博古圖錄 (The Xuanhe Era Illustrated Catalog of Ancient Bronzes). Later in the Qing dynasty, the forces of antiquarianism, and a desire to clarify pitch relationships, combined forces to produce a series of works that sought to assert consistency in these areas. The first of these was Emperor Kangxi's Orthodox Meaning of Pitch Standards, which itself also absorbed music from an entirely new non-Han source, that of Jesuits active in China, principally the work of Thomas Pereira (1645–1708) and Theodorico Pedrini (1671–1746).

Chapter 3 deals with vocal music, that is, opera and song. Catalog to the Complete Books of the Four Repositories gives: "Song genres and the performance skills of theatrical entertainers are all relegated to the subcategory "Ci- and Qu-Type Lyrical Songs."54 The advent of printing in the Song dynasty meant that lyric song began to achieve a much broader circulation. At the heart of this enterprise were poets and musicians such as Jiang Kui, whose Songs of the Whitestone Daoist (1202) retains the only surviving samples of musical notation of that era. This text was later reissued by eighteenth-century enthusiasts. In contrast to this genre's refinement, the Yue'ou 粵謳 (Yue Ballads) of the Qing dynasty was a narrative song form of the Pearl River Delta whose text was both classical and vernacular. An anthology of these compiled by Zhao Ziyong 招 子庸 (1786–1847) and published in Guangzhou in 1828 includes pedagogic diagrams of a pipa 琵琶 together with the finger positions used for gongche 工尺 notation indicated on the frets.

The dynamic between Confucianism and naturalism is the focus of Chapter 4, exploring gin music played by the literati. Confucius and the Confucians who followed claimed the qin as their cultural preserve. After the end of the Han dynasty, the scholar-official Ji Kang in his "Qin fu" 琴賦 ("Rhapsody on the Qin"), which is included in Liujia Wenxuan 六家文選 (Six Commentaries on Selections of Refined Literature), attempted to redefine qin music more as an aspect of personal expression, and as a result, the qin evolved into a literati instrument. Conversely, in the Song dynasty, Fan Zhongyan sought to reverse this process and to return the qin to its ancient roots as an aspect of statecraft, as is discussed in his essays preserved in Fan Wenzheng gong ji 范文正公 集 (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng). The dynamic between these two opposing schools of thought became a hallmark of subsequent discourse, for example, Zhu Changwen famously sided with Fan, while Yuan Jue was more practical and appreciative of the *qin*.

Taking an entirely different view of Chinese music in print, Chapter 5 considers the subject through European eyes. Given that the writer is an *erhu* 二胡 performer, he employs depictions in the visual arts found in printed books as a rich source for investigating historical performance practice. Initially considered an instrument of the rural poor, theatrical entertainers, prostitutes, or beggars, the *erhu* is rarely depicted in indigenous sources, especially not in texts with Confucian connections. It does routinely appear, however, in illustrations produced by European visitors to China who were unrestricted by Chinese conventions. Two eighteenth-century books are selected for their particular interest in this regard: Isadore Stanislas Helman's Conquêtes des Chinois and George Staunton's An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. This chapter assesses the extent to which, as cultural outsiders, these interlopers were in fact faithful observers, and discusses the value of their depictions as documentary evidence.

China's relationship with the outside world has at times been delicate and problematic, and at others engaged and accepting. So too, how music from outside China has been viewed. In the Middle Ages, the indigenous and foreign sat comfortably side by side, and both were performed and appreciated, while in the early modern period, a tendency grew to place anything distant from the Confucian psychological heartlands in positions of ever greater obscurity, at least in official records. Chapter 5 is grounded in a desire to express a reverse process by which those very outsiders sought to increase their engagement with the musical riches of the Middle Kingdom. The journey starts, however, with the Great Sage himself and the music that evolved around his lineage.

<sup>52.</sup> See above.

<sup>53.</sup> The Annals of the State of Lu was regarded as having been edited by Confucius himself and so was placed in the "Canonic Texts" section of the catalogs of imperial times. In our volume, based on content rather than editorial process, it is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>54.</sup> See above.

## Chapter 3

# Vocal Music: Opera and Song

Fong Sing Ha

On the relationship between Confucian music and its vernacular counterparts, seventeenth-century polymath Liu Xianting 劉獻廷 (1648–1695) in his Guangyang zaji 廣陽雜記 (Miscellaneous Jottings of Guangyang) remarks:

Of the common people that I have viewed, never have I observed any that did not like singing songs or watching dramas, and these are the ordinary world's *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Music*, and there has not yet been any that did not read novels or listen to storytelling, and these are the ordinary world's *The Book of Documents* and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. And there has not yet been any that did not trust divining or making sacrifices to ghosts and spirits, and these are the ordinary world's *The Book of Changes* and *The Canon of Rites*. The teachings of the Six Canons have their origins in human emotions.

余觀世之小人未有不好唱歌看戲者,此性天中之《詩》與《樂》也,未有不看小說聽說書者,此性天中之《書》與《春秋》也,未有不信占卜祀鬼神者,此性天中之《易》與《禮》也。聖人六經之教原本人情。

The second part of this book focuses on two themes: vernacular song and opera (Chapter 3) and literati music (Chapter 4). The audience for opera crossed numerous social boundaries, but the principal motivation of audience members was entertainment (Fig. 3.1). This resembled *qin* music of the literati, though enjoyment of the *qin* focused more on practicing the craft rather than viewing someone else's performance. Alongside these two themes, discussion will linger on the evolution of printing technology as it developed to satisfy the demands of consumers.

The earliest extant manuscripts of Chinese secular music genres were found in the Dunhuang 敦煌 caves and are now in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the British Library, and elsewhere.¹ Most are tablature for

pipa; they are generally accompaniments to songs, written on the reverse sides of fragments of discarded Buddhist sutras and local government documents.<sup>2</sup> With the advent of printing in the Song dynasty, the music of these genres began to achieve the wider circulation allowed by this new technology. The first organization to embark on this journey was the Xiuneisi 脩內司 (Department of Palace Supply), which assembled available material and issued it as Yuefu huncheng ji 樂府混成集 (The Music Bureau Multi-Genre Compendium).<sup>3</sup> Now sadly lost, according to the literatus Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298) of the late Southern Song and early Yuan dynasties, it extended to more than one hundred volumes.<sup>4</sup> Scholar-official Wang Jide 王

- 1. Among these Dunhuang sources are *pipa* notation: manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pelliot chinois 3808, 3719, and 3539; dance notation: manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pelliot chinois 3501; manuscripts London, the British Library, S.5643, 5613, and 785; manuscript Beijing, the National Library of China BD.10691; manuscript St. Petersburg, the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts Дх.10264; and the most recently published is manuscript Ōsaka, Kyōu Shooku 羽49; See Takeda Kagaku Shinkō Zaidan Kyōu Shooku 武田科学振興財団杏雨書屋, *Tonkō hikyū: Kyōu Shooku zō* 敦煌秘笈: 杏雨書屋蔵 (Osaka: Takeda Kagaku Shinkō Zaidan, 2009), vol. 1, 337–339.
- 2. Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, Gagaku: kogakufu no kaidoku 雅楽: 古 楽譜の解読 (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomosha, 1969), 202-234; Jao Tsong-yi and Paul Demiéville, Airs de Touen-houang (Touen-houang k'iu): Textes à chanter des VIIIe-Xe siècles (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1971), 31-34, 215-219, and plates LI-LVIII; Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, Dunhuang pipa pu 敦煌 琵琶譜 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1990); Jao Tsung-i 饒 宗頤, Dunhuang pipa pu lunwen ji 敦煌琵琶譜論文集 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1991); Chen Yingshi, "A Report on Chinese Research into the Dunhuang Music Manuscripts," Musica Asiatica 6 (1991): 61-72; Marnix Wells, "West River Moon: Great Music of Few Notes," CHIME: Journal of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research 7 (1993): 58-89; Laurence Picken, Noël Nickson, and Marnix Wells, "West River Moon': A Song-Melody predicted by a Lute-Piece in Piba Tablature," CHIME: Journal of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research 10/11 (1997): 172-185; and Chen Yingshi 陳應時, Dunhuang yuepu jieyi bianzheng 敦煌樂譜解譯辨證 (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2005).
- 3. Wang Guowei 王國維, *Liangzhe gu kanben kao* 兩浙古刊本考, in *Wang Guowei quanji* 王國維全集, ed. Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 and Fang Xinliang 房鑫亮 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009), vol. 7, 18.
- 4. Zhou Mi 周密, Qidong yeyu jiaozhu 齊東野語校注 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1987), 200.

Fig. 3.1: Zhang Shenzhi xiansheng zheng bei Xixiang ji (The Northern Version of Romance of the Western Wing annotated by Mr. Zhang Shenzhi), illustrations, fol. 4r, Kui jian (Reading a Letter).

Author: Wang Shifu (c. 1260–c. 1337).

Artist: Chen Hongshou (1598–1652).

Engraver: Xiang Nanzhou (c. 1615–1670).

Date: 1639.

Woodblock: 20.4 × 16.5 cm.

Peking Library (15086).

此一曲為石帚自製料律 字不次均非是主田改以曲 教夫和山詞於過片處國 至細州废四明積走吴 鲜色 菱胸中事雪雪穿頭以 荷花 与 孫子律 本如 在為红情照意以之財 字二叶以微砂爱知之者盖 西或有謂抑節獨全以 審之時中如却得除次 南龍砂好詞選布住又然入 尺三字逗皆用入降字旦 入住去精用者余寒曲中 入住平用暗香碎景二 首之魔字拉是至却又然

清寒與攀橋何遜而今漸老都忘却春風詞筆但 舊時月色莫幾番照我梅邊吹笛喚起王人不管 與路遥夜雪初積翠樽易泣紅萼無言耿相億 記曾攜手處千個壓西湖寒碧又片片吹盡也幾 怪得竹外疎花香岭入瑶席 久り久一つりあ山一么人とろっち久中的 マ与今的多々一あ久的今つム人々为不多山 一步久外今一日人生了七多山一么一么一 久り久ムーをつ久りつりるム つと今り久一ろりあ 暗香疎影 江國正寂寂歎寄 りあっつ 一么人么

秀句見說胡兒也學編中敬羽 然引去浮雲安在我自愛絲香紅舞容 幾度今古 分 今のか 2 73 あ久っ マ 盧溝舊曾駐馬為黄花開 明年定在槐 一ろなる人つ マシラ 13 今み 23 王友金蕉王人 ウスウス か

工後一左左数盖即三天端就你

音節諧

兩曲

Fig. 3.2: Baishi daoren gequ (Songs of the Whitestone Daoist), juan 4, fols. 3v–4r, Anxian (Secret Fragrance). Author: Jiang Kui (1155–1221). Editor: Lu Zhonghui (?–1761). Date: 1743. Woodblock: 18.5 × 11.8 cm. Jiaxing City Library (812.4/5).

驥德 (c. 1540–1623) of the Ming dynasty had also caught sight of it, but the copies he viewed were already fragmentary and incomplete.5 Given the paucity of surviving sources of musical scores, all that is left to the modern scholar from the early centuries of printing are the seventeen ci 詞 lyric songs for which Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155–1221) provided notation in his Baishi daoren gequ 白石 道人歌曲 (Songs of the Whitestone Daoist), first published in Shanghai in 1202. This edition also does not survive, but a copy of it made by the Yuan dynasty hermit-scholar Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316–1403) was fortuitously discovered during Qianlong's reign in the mid-Qing dynasty. The published result of editorial work on this discovery, which was issued in 1743 (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3), and the working manuscript used for this publication are discussed here.6

A thorough comparison between this working manuscript (Fig. 3.4) and the early modern editions published since 1743 reveals examples of textual and musical editing by the early modern collators.7 Among these discrepancies, one that is of particular interest to Chinese music historians concerns manipulation of the stanzaic divisions of four of Jiang's seventeen songs that he furnished with musical notation, namely Danhuangliu 淡 黃柳 (Pale Yellow Willows), Changtingyuan 長亭怨 (Discontentment at the Long Pavilion), Jueshao 角招 (A Shao in the Jue Mode), and Nishang zhongxu diyi 霓裳中序第一 (Rainbow-Skirt: Middle Prelude, First Section). Our discussion dwells first on Pale Yellow Willows and is then followed by an examination of metrical and tonal pattern:8

- § 1. In the desolate city, the daybreak horn blows over the street of hanging willows
- § 2. On horseback in thin clothes sorrowfully cold
- § 3. Having looked around, the goose yellow and tender green are my old acquaintances from South of the River
- $\S$  4. I am lonely and tomorrow is again the Cold Eating Festival
- § 5. With great effort I carry wine to younger Qiao's house
- § 6. I fear, the pear blossom having fallen completely, all will become autumn in color

- § 7. The swallows fly back asking where is spring?

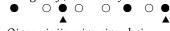
  but there is only the pool's green
- §1. 空城曉角,吹入垂楊陌。
- § 2. 馬上單衣,寒惻惻。
- §3. 看盡鵝黃嫩綠,都是江南舊相識。
- § 4. 正岑寂,明朝又寒食。
- §5. 强攜酒,小橋宅。
- § 6. 怕梨花,落盡成秋色。
- § 7. 燕燕飛來,問春何在?唯有池塘自碧。
- § 1. Kou cheng xiao jiao, chui ru chui yang mo.
- § 2. Ma shang dan yi, han ce ce.

| ıu | Jimitz | nui | ı yı,    | imii | u | CC. |
|----|--------|-----|----------|------|---|-----|
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§ 3. Kan jin e huang nen lü, dou shi jiang nan jiu xiang shi.



§ 4. Zheng cen ji, min zhou you han shi.



- § 6. Pa li hua, luo jin cheng qiu se.
- § 7. Yan yan fei lai, wen chun he zai? wei you chi tang zi bi.



- 5. Wang Jide 王驥德, Wang Jide Qu lü 王驥德曲律 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), 206–208.
- 6. A complete facsimile of the working manuscript of the 1743 edition can be found in Yang Yuanzheng, Plum Blossom on the Far Side of the Stream: The Renaissance of Jiang Kui's Lyric Oeuvre with Facsimiles and a New Critical Edition of the Songs of the Whitestone Daoist (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 191–254
- 7. Yang Yuanzheng, Plum Blossom on the Far Side of the Stream, 42–58 and 89–187.
- 8. With slight modifications, the English translation of the *Pale Yellow Willows* is from Yang Yuanzheng, *Plum Blossom on the Far Side of the Stream*, 43. Following conventional Chinese practice since the early modern period, tones are indicated by a system of circles: for a level tone, for a deflected tone, and line division by an underdot ▲ for the end-rhyme. Clause division within a line is shown by △, which denotes a pause within a line. For further information on the metrical pattern of *ci*, see Glen William Baxter, "Metrical Origins of the *Tz'u*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16.1/2 (1953): 108–145; and Shih-chuan Chen, "The Rise of the *Tz'u*, Reconsidered," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90.2 (1970): 232–242.

塘 松 マ 翻 14 自 然 2 江 マ 3 碧 怕梨花落盡成秋色燕燕飛來問春何在唯 るか 煙浦是千古三高遊行住處須信石 引去浮雲安在我自愛緑香紅舞客與看世間 43 ナカタ 今 石 盧 湖 7, 4 溝舊曾駐馬為黃花開吟秀句見說 仙越調壽石湖居士 个 マ 47 人 ろ ムフー フ 23 1. -2 1 7 2 久 1 -) かり 14 1 7 -2 多丁了一 7 4 14 LA 湖 あ 仙 1) 人 似人 久 人 鸽 1) 7 与 14

Fig. 3.4: Baishi daoren gequ (Songs of the Whitestone Daoist), juan 5, fols. 2v-3r, Danhuangliu (Pale Yellow Willows). Author: Jiang Kui (1155-1221). Editors: Li E (1692–1752), Min Hua (1697-after 1773), and Wang Zao. Date: c. 1736. Border:  $18.2 \times 12.8$  cm. Private collection.

comprising eight volumes. On examining the Fung Ping Shan Library copy, the print quality strongly indicates that the two portions belong to impressions made at different times. In this respect, the Fung Ping Shan Library rare book catalog entry (enlarged version) is flawed, as it regards the first set of the eight volumes as containing both the northern and southern portions, and the second set of eight volumes as a duplicate, 15 whereas this is not in fact the case.

In the Southern Ci Lyrics section, the seal of an early nineteenth-century bibliophile Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794-1857) can be found, and on a page preceding the first printed folio is an anonymous handwritten collector's note that tells the story of how the book was bought and how precious it has proved to be, followed by a stamp showing it as an item in the collection of the Nanhai dujing tang 南海讀經堂 (The Hall of Reading Canonic Texts of the Southern Sea). Influenced perhaps by the collector's note, Jao Tsung-i recorded that the book is not furnished with any illustrations, 16 but in fact, in the sixth juan of the Northern Ci Lyrics portion is a woodcut spanning a double page (Fig. 3.9). The subject of this picture appears to be an aria from the celebrated zaju 雜劇 opera Xixiang ji 西廂記 (Romance of the Western Wing) by Yuan dynasty playwright Wang Shifu 王實 甫 (c. 1260-c. 1337) called "Fenxiang baiyue" 焚 香拜月 ("Burning Incense and Praying to the Moon") sung by the principal female protagonist Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯.17 Leaning on a stone, she and her servant Hongniang 紅娘 are situated beneath a wutong 梧桐 tree. Appearing distracted, she gazes out over the water, perhaps thinking of what to write with the brush and inkstone placed on the rock beside her. On her other side is an incense burner resting on a long-legged stand that is tended by her maid. Zigzagging railings divide the bank from the gently rippling waters and the cloudscape above them, in which a full moon shines resplendently; the constellation of the Big Dipper is visible immediately to its left. Carefully graded thicknesses of intricate lines and swirling patterns of water, rock, leaf, and cloud make this a fine example of the Nanjing style of woodcut illustration.

The popularity of this most celebrated of dramas, as art historian Wang Fangyu has aptly remarked, "stretched the imagination of the illustrator." Its narration of the romance between the young girl Cui Yingying and the young scholar Zhang Gong

張珙 is portrayed in more than twenty different illustrated editions of the Ming and early Qing, including a beautifully designed and executed specimen in color containing twenty-one prints issued in 1640 by Min Qiji 閔齊伋 (1580–after 1661), a highly respected publishing lineage of Wuxing in Zhejiang.<sup>19</sup>

As an important example of early multiple-block coloring, the only surviving copy of this edition is in the collection of Cologne's Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst.<sup>20</sup> At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, woodblock color printing technology developed to its apotheosis. The Min family and other private publishing houses in Zhejiang printed several hundred classics, illustrated novels, dramas, and medical books in two to five colors. Among members of the clan, the most celebrated was Min Qiji, who at that time, together with others, published no fewer than one hundred books. In 1581, Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580–1684) printed

15. Jao Tsung-i, Li Zhifang, and Zhang Lijuan, Xianggang daxue Feng Pingshan tushuguan cang shanben shulu, enlarged ed., 335–336. The original bibliographical record is correct; see Jao Tsung-i, Xianggang daxue Feng Pingshan tushuguan cang shanben shulu, 109–110.

### 16. Ibid.

- 17. For an English translation of Wang's opera, see Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *The Story of the Western Wing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). For further information about *zaju*, see Wilt L. Idema, "Why you have never read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court," in *Studi in onore di Lionelle Lanciotti*, ed. S. M. Carletti et al. (Naples: Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996), 765–791.
- 18. Wang Fang-yu, "Book Illustration in Late Ming and Early Qing China," in *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections*, ed. Sören Edgren (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), 33.
- 19. Tao Xiang 陶湘, Mingdai Wuxing Minban shumu 明吳興閔板書目, in Tao Xiang 陶湘, Taoshi shumu congkan 陶氏書目叢刊 (Wujin: Taoshi, 1933), vol. 1; and Wang Rongguo 王榮國, Wang Xiaowen 王筱雯, and Wang Qingyuan 王清原, Mingdai Min Ling ke taoyinben tulu 明代閔淩刻套印本圖錄 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2006).
- 20. For a beautiful colored facsimile of the twenty-one illustrations in this album, see Edith Dittrich, ed., *Hsi-hsiang chi, Chinesische Farbholzschnitte von Min Ch'i-chi* (Köln: Museum für Ostasiatische der Stadt Köln, 1977). Fan Jingzhong suggests the album might have been published in Nanjing and not Wuxing. See Fan Jingzhong 范景中, "Taoyin ben he Min keben jiqi *Huizhen tu* 套印本和閔刻本及其《會真圖》," *Xin meishu* 新美術 (2005) 4: 77–82. For more information on multi-colored woodblock printing, see, for example, James Cahill, "The Shibui Printed Books in Chinese and Japanese Erotic Pictorial Art," *Orientations* 40.3 (2009): 43–48; and Sören Edgren, "The Bibliographic Significance of Colour-Printed Books from the Shibui Collection," *Orientations* 40.3 (2009): 30–37.

Shishuo xinyu 世説新語 (A New Account of the Tales of the World), a collection of fifth-century short stories in blue, red, yellow, and black. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, well-known Huizhou ink maker Cheng Dayue 程大約 (1541–1616) issued Chengshi moyuan 程氏墨苑 (The Ink Garden of the Cheng Family) in five colors in 1606. In these publications, however, solid colors in the illustrations are applied evenly, with no gradations or shadings.<sup>21</sup>

The coloring of the twenty-one prints of *Romance* of the Western Wing differs from these specimens. Its new technique is characterized by painting colors of varying gradations directly onto the wooden plates, so that the prints exhibit diverse shades. The most intricate composition of these coloring techniques is a scene depicting Zhang Gong climbing over a garden wall beneath a full moon to meet Yingying (Fig. 3.10). Zhang's image is reflected in the pool and his shadow is projected behind him. The depth of the courtyard is layered in winding paths, a small bridge and flowing water, a lotus pond reflecting the moon, ancient willows, strange rocks, and clusters of flowers. The scene is complex but not cluttered; it focuses on Zhang's shadow and his reflection in the water. Another fine specimen is a scene of Yingying listening to Zhang Gong's qin playing (Fig. 3.11).

Not only are the carving and coloring superbly executed, but so too the compositions of the pictures. Nearly half of the play's twenty scenes are illustrated in arrangements that focus on a particular *objet d'art*, with the relevant scenes painted directly onto the objects in question.<sup>22</sup> The initial flowering of the romance between Cui Yingying and Zhang Gong is portrayed on an opened handscroll. Another scene involving the evocation of spirits (in this case, Yingying's deceased father) is depicted around a compass (Fig. 3.12). In one scene, the two main protagonists stand on an actual stage; in another, the characters are impersonated by a group of six puppets handled by two puppeteers whose heads are poking out of a curtain (Fig. 3.13). These illustrations exemplify the finest aspects of late Ming woodblock printing, as well as the inspirational power the literature it portrayed had on the artists.

In the Ming dynasty, emanating from two places in Jiangsu—Kunshan and Suzhou—sanqu and related opera forms achieved a particular generic

definition that has come to be known as *kunqu* 崑曲, which spread out across a wide swath of southern China. Examples of this style of opera as performed in the Qing dynasty can be found in *Shenyin jiangu lu* 審音鑒古錄 (A Record of Examining Music and Assessing Antiquity), of which the Fung Ping Shan Library also has a copy.

This book contains a selection of some of the most popular arias of the genre, with a total of sixty-five scenes to be found from nine operas. No precise information is given regarding the editor who made the selection, but from a preface written by Qinyin weng 琴隱翁 ("The *Qin-Playing Old Hermit*"), the intention behind assembling the anthology can be understood:

Wanhua [zhuren] recorded the operas but did not provide musical notation; Huaiting [jushi] furnished musical notation but eliminated the dialogue in recitative; and Liweng gave a rich theoretical account but did not include the actual scenes themselves.

玩花錄劇而遺譜,懷庭譜曲而廢白,笠翁又泛 論而無詞萃。<sup>23</sup>

Wanhua zhuren 玩花主人 was the compiler of an opera anthology *Zhui baiqiu* 綴白裘 (*Sewing together the White Fur Coat*), and although he presents many operas in his book, none is furnished with musical notation and only the lyrics are provided, so their format is similar to the librettos or synopses of later generations. Huaiting jushi's 懷庭居士 (i.e., Ye Tang 葉堂, 1724–1795) opus, *Nashu ying qupu* 納書楹曲譜 (*Musical Scores of Shelving Books*), simply includes the notation of some two hundred or more arias as instructions on how the music should be performed, but none carries stage directions or an intervening recitative. [Li] Liweng's 李笠翁 (Li Yu 李漁, 1611–1680) text

- 21. Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Paper and Printing, in Joseph Needham, ed., Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). 283.
- 22. Wang Fang-yu suggests this technique of portraying events and characters on *objets d'art* is distantly related to the fashion of painting a screen within a screen, that is, the tenth-century painter Zhou Wenju's 周文矩 (fl. 940–975) *Chongping huiqi tu* 重屏會棋圖 (*Playing Chess in front of Double Screens*). See Wang Fang-yu, "Book Illustration in Late Ming and Early Qing China," 33.
- 23. Wang Jishan 王繼善, ed., *Shenyin jiangu lu* 審音鑑古錄 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), vol. 1, preface, fol. 2r.

# Chapter 5

# Chinese Music through Western Eyes

Colin Huehns

Bowed instruments of the *erhu* 二胡 family, now known collectively as huqin 胡琴 (Fig. 5.1) and distinguished by placement of the bow-hair between the strings, first appeared in Chinese documents and iconography during the Song dynasty.1 Up until the nineteenth century, information concerning their construction, playing technique, and role in instrumental formations and societal activities was comparatively scarce in indigenous sources. This could simply be because they were rare. Even so, such material as is available indicates they were associated with the rural poor, theatrical entertainers, "ladies of the entertainment industry," and beggars, and thus may have been deemed unsuitable for depictions commissioned by the ruling class or texts composed for their edification. Books in Western languages compiled and written by visitors to China, whose eyes were unsullied by such prejudices, are therefore an extremely useful supplement. This chapter concentrates on two late eighteenth-century texts in the Hong Kong University Libraries (HKUL) collection—one in French and the other English—that depict bowed Chinese instruments. Discussion will include the information that the texts provide, an assessment of their significance, and codicological details accounting for their presence in the collection:

Isadore Stanislas Helman, Suite des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine avec leur Explication; Paris: chez Helman and chez Ponce, 1788 (ULB 769 944 H4).

George Staunton, An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; four copies are under the same classmark, as discussed further (U[LB] 951.074 S79 a [1797/1798]).

To give a context to this pair, four other texts in the HKUL collection are also touched on:

Giovanni Gonzalez di Mendozza, *Dell'Historia Della China*; Venice: Appresso Andrea Muschio, 1588 (U 915.1 G643a).

Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *A Description of the Empire of China*; as will be discussed, three copies (ULB 951.3 D86 [1738/1741], and called *The General History of China* U 951 D86g [1739] and U 951 D86 [1741]).

John Barrow, *Travels in China*; London: for Cadell and W. Davies, 1806 (U 915.1075 B2).

G. T. Lay, "Musical Instruments of the Chinese," *The Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII (1839): 38–54 (US 951 C54 R4).

The modern *erhu*, the quintessential Chinese bowed instrument, is shown in Fig. 5.2. Formed of a cylindrical soundbox, often octagonal or hexagonal, it is wedged on the player's left upper thigh. Through the soundbox a spike passes that extends upwards. Two strings run from pegs at its far end that are gathered along the spike by a string loop or qianjin 千斤. The strings then pass over a bridge situated in the center of a python skin membrane on the front of the soundbox and a felt pad so as to absorb impurities in the tone; they are finally attached to the bottom face of a supporting wedge on which the soundbox rests. The bamboo bow is normally a straight stick slightly curved at either end and equipped with horsehair that is inserted between the two strings. It is drawn horizontally by the player's right hand with the stick resting on the soundbox. Left-hand fingertips press the strings, though there is no fingerboard. The wooden wedge on which the soundbox is mounted is a modern innovation

1. The Northern Song dynasty: 960–1127; the Southern Song dynasty: 1127–1279. Yue shu 樂書 (The Book of Music) by Chen Yang 陳暘 (1064–1128), juan 128 (folio numbers are not indicated), of which an edition published in 1347 (and perhaps an earlier one) survives, contains a picture of a xiqin 奚琴 that resembles a huqin, though no bow is depicted. The accompanying description mentions bamboo slips inserted between the strings as the means for causing them to vibrate and emit sound. This illustration is widely regarded by modern scholars as the earliest indication of huqin in China and its caption notes that the xiqin had come with the Xi 奚 people from Central Asia.

Fig. 5.1: Beautiful ladies playing the two-string fiddle *erhu*, the vertical end-blown flute *xiao*, the threestring lute *sanxian*, the transverse flute *dizi*, and the mouth organ *sheng* (detail).

Date: early eighteenth century.

Artist: unknown.

Dimensions: 220 × 268 cm.

After Christopher Bruckner,

Chinese Imperial Patronage: Treasures from Temples and Palaces, vol. 2

(London: Asian Art Gallery, 2005),



Fig. 5.2 (left): The modern *erhu*, a fine model of black rosewood from the workshop of Lü Jianhua in Beijing.

Fig. 5.3 (right): The rebec, a modern reconstructed model.

designed to weight the instrument down so that it sits more securely, and is absent on all historic specimens.

Dell'Historia Della China by Giovanni Gonzalez di Mendozza (1545-1618) is the oldest book in a Western language in the HKUL collection, and an Italian translation published in 1588 in Venice of the Spanish original of 1585. Juan González de Mendoza, his Spanish name, was an important ecclesiastical figure in the early period of Spanish rule of Latin America. He served as a bishop of several of the newly created dioceses of the region, yet apparently never set foot in China, so the sources for his information are all secondhand. Although unillustrated, his narrative reads with the freshness and vivacity of someone who has had a close experience with his subject matter, and with its Italian translation comprising 462 pages, it is a substantial text. A popular book and now commonly found in repository libraries of Europe and North America, an English translation by Robert Parke appeared soon afterwards in 1588, titled The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof: Togither with the great riches, huge citties, politike gouernement, and rare inventions in the same.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 5.4: Street name sign from the island of Taipa, Macau: Travessa da Rebeca ("Huqin xiang" or "Huqin Lane").

Three passages can be identified as possibly referring to bowed instruments that are found in the HKUL edition on pages 132–133 (Parke: 107–108), 250–251 (Parke: 207–208), and 266–267 (Parke: 221). Likely contenders for renderings of "huqin" among lists of instruments seen in Chinese ensembles described in the first two of these passages are given below for the Italian, English, and Spanish editions respectively. Particularly eyecatching is the recurrence of a term now normally rendered as "rebec."

Fig. 5.5: "A Plan of the City and Harbour of Macao" (detail). From An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, folio volume, plate 11.

Date: 1797.
Author: George Staunton (1737–1801).

Dimensions: 57 × 43 cm.

Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 951.074 S79 a).



Fig. 5.6 (next spread): "The Procession of a Chinese Wedding when a Bride is brought home to her Husband." From *A Description of the Empire of China*, vol. 1, unnumbered plate opp. p. 303 (although the plate itself is labeled as opposite "p. 304," it is in fact opposite page 303).

Dates: 1738/1741.

Author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde

Author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743).
Artists: drawn by Antoine Humblot (?–1758), engraved by Charles Mosley (c. 1720–1756).
Dimensions: 40 × 25.5 cm.
Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 951.3 D86).

Italian English Spanish

first passage:
violini vyalles duzaynas raueles
lironi rebukes

second passage:

rebeche rebuckes rabeles

A plausible modern reconstruction of a Medieval or Renaissance European rebec is shown in Fig. 5.3. Especially noticeable are its three strings, pear-shaped resonating chamber, and a bow that is not inserted between the strings.

Surprising evidence supporting the hypothesis that the term "rebec" was used for "huqin" has unexpectedly come from an entirely different source. Several years ago, my first serious *erhu* student taking elective classes at the Royal

Academy of Music, Hong Kong-born Jacqueline Leung, sent a photograph of the street name sign on the island of Taipa, Macau, that is reproduced as Fig. 5.4. It gives three Chinese characters 胡琴巷, which are translated into Portuguese (as is customary on such signs) as "Travessa da Rebeca" and could be rendered into English as "Huqin Lane."

"Erhu" as the name for the instrument in fact only attained currency in the last century, and before that the more generic "huqin" is commonly found

2. The frontispiece states that it was "Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke" and published in London "Printed by I. Wolfe for Edward White, and [copies of which] are to be sold at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. 1588." A facsimile of a Cambridge University Library copy with an accession stamp of "2 Jul 1973" has been reproduced as: The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, no. 522 (Amsterdam and New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Da Capo Press, 1973).



Fig. 5.10: The *erhu* bow-hold. The index finger curls around the stick, the second and third fingers press the hair to regulate its tension during performance, and the little finger hangs loose and has no function.



Whether this illustration actually represents a hugin is a moot point. The French original is a truly magnificent engraving that fills an entire double-page spread with a myriad of detailed and subtle shadings in a rollercoaster mix of Chinese custom and flagrantly European styles. Taking inspiration from generic eighteenth-century European landscape paintings, in authentic rococo fashion, the composition comprises a lengthy procession snaking like an inverted letter S from the background to foreground. Romantic foliage frames the entire image, while the horses depicted, one even leaping, are all the heavy steeds of European knights and not Mongolian ponies. Yet Chinese aspects are still present, for example, pagoda-like structures in the background, a circular arched bridge, the costumes worn by the gentlemen, and parasols. In the background, a lady mounted on a horse is plucking a stringed instrument, but the principal musical ensemble is in the foreground towards the front of the procession on the left of the picture. From left to right, the instruments are: huqin, suona 嗩吶, cymbals, side-blown flute, gong, sheng 笙, yunluo 雲鑼 bell-tree, plucked instrument, trumpet, and suona.

Is the bowed instrument a *huqin*? My contention is that in the context of the overall impact of

the illustration, after peeling away the layers of prejudice implanted by among others "A. Humblot" who drew the plate and "J. Haussard" 4 who engraved it, a huqin is intended, and a critical mass of the instrument's essential elements is indeed present to permit a case for this to be made. Referring to the photograph of an erhu in Fig. 5.2, Du Halde's specimen has the required characteristically round (or octagonal or hexagonal) soundbox and spike pointing upwards from it, albeit with the soundbox appearing disproportionately large. Crucially, there are two pegs, indicating two strings, and both pegs are on one side of the instrument rather than placed one on either side. The soundbox is correctly positioned next to the left hip, the spike held nearvertically with the left-hand fingers pressing the strings; no fingerboard, with or without frets, is suggested. Although played standing, such practice is common in historical depictions and photographs, and sometimes still found on the

<sup>3. &</sup>quot;A. Humblot" is given as the drawer on the bottom left of the plate, that is, Antoine Humblot (?–1758). No evidence suggests he ever went to China, though it is possible; the original artist was probably a French Jesuit stationed in China at the time, of which there were many.

<sup>4. &</sup>quot;J. Haussard" is given as the engraver on the bottom right of the plate, that is, Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1679 or 1680–1749).



Fig. 5.11: "Chinese Airs." From *A Description of the Empire of China*, vol. 2, unnumbered plate opp. p. 125.
Dates: 1738/1741.

Dates: 1738/1741. Author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743).

Artist: "This Plate is inscrib'd to Edmund Browne of the City of Bristol Esq." Edmund Browne cannot be traced.

Dimensions: 39.8 × 25.5 cm. Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 951.3 D86). concert platform. Most importantly, the right elbow is held low and the forearm horizontal, as is customary with modern technique and the only possible way to play without producing a scratchy tone; by contrast, violin and cello bow-arms are now held much higher, though this is not the case when playing the viol. Notably, the bow evinces the strongly arched convex curve of surviving late eighteenth-century *huqin*. <sup>5</sup>

Arguing against this likelihood, the following can be cited: The two pegs are inserted into a scroll, in shape much like that of the violin, not a spike that tapers elegantly back as is normal on the erhu. At the other end and over the soundbox, the strings are wound onto a tailpiece, a component entirely absent on huqin, where traditionally they were bound to the spike as it emerged from the bottom of the instrument or on modern versions to the wedge positioned there. Largely because the soundbox is too big in Du Halde's illustration, the bow cuts the strings across it, whereas a crucial feature of hugin is that the bow rests on the soundbox so that it can stroke the strings at an angle such that they vibrate directly into the front plate, as this produces the most pleasing sound. Simply put: if the bow is not positioned above the soundbox, the hair cannot be between the strings and will stroke them so that they vibrate parallel to the front plate, as is the case on the violin or Mongolian fiddle (see Fig. 5.18). On hugin, whether the front face is python skin or a wooden plate, there are never any sound holes. The sound always emerges from the empty or latticed hole at the reverse of the instrument, yet on Fig. 5.9, there are two f-holes in the front plate, which also means it must have been made of wood. The left hand looks more like one used to play a guitar as it curls around the neck to play chords, whereas huqin technique requires it to be situated further forward so that the fingers can all point along the string. The right-hand bow-grip has all of the fingers over the stick, as is customary for the modern cello, whereas with huqin, one or more fingers (usually the second and third) pass under the stick so as to apply pressure directly to the hair and to regulate its tension in performance (see Fig. 5.10), a technique impossible with the fingers and thumb gripping the stick as is shown by Du Halde.

Sadly, the original drawings to all of those in Du Halde's book seem not to have survived.

Charles Mosley's engraved version in the 1738/1741 English translation (Figs. 5.6 and 5.8)

is a reasonably faithful rendition of the French original, albeit occupying only one face of the large volume, whereas the magnificent French prototype spans the whole of two pages. Although somewhat cruder in execution, it is still finely carved, but crucially, all the players of bowed or plucked stringed instruments (including the huqin player) have had their bodies inverted and now bow or pluck their instruments with their left hands and finger it with their right. The round shape of the hugin has not been lost, however, and the bow still cuts the string perpendicularly as it should, though now right over the center of the soundbox. Some details have been omitted completely, such as the f-shaped sound-holes and scroll, though both, as has been discussed, are inauthentic to hugin; also, the two pegs cannot be discerned, so this defining characteristic has also been lost. In fact, the player's arms seem generically positioned in a flowing manner of playing, rather than the more cramped and convincing posture of the French original. All the other instrumentalists are present, and no other inversions have taken place.

Moving on to volume 2, in the section "Of the Skill of the *CHINESE* in the other Sciences" (pages 124–139) is an important subsection on music (pages 124–125), after those on logic and rhetoric, and before those on arithmetic, geometry, mathematics, and astronomy. It details Chinese musical instruments and practice more carefully than hitherto in non-Chinese sources, and also unprecedentedly quotes five Chinese melodies in Western staff notation that, in their pentatonicism, fluid melodic lines, and soft, graceful cadences, are recognizably Chinese (see Fig. 5.11).

Importantly in Fig. 5.11, the treble or G-clef is placed on the bottom line of the stave, making notes on this line G, a feature preserved from the French original. Unlike Chinese notation systems that often list a series of pitches, normally with no rhythmic arrangement explicit in the system, and

5. For example, *huqin* in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments nos. 435, 438, and 441. There is evidence that these instruments and others in the EUCHMI collection were themselves brought back by the British Embassy to China of 1792–1794 that is described by Staunton and Barrow in their books discussed here. Depictions of them may also be pictures 9 and 14 of Chinese album 27 in the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester. See Colin Huehns, "Dating Old *Huqin*: New Research on Examples of pre-1949 Instruments in Three Major British Collections," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 28 (2002): 118–173.

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