Chinese Music in Print

From the Great Sage to the Lady Literata

YANG YUANZHENG

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, colophon, marginalia, library stamps, typefaces, bindings, condition, and provenance. In short—how 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. 1.1) 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, its dynamic interaction with the dissemination and transmission of music remains largely ignored. 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...
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-and-son team of Liu Xiang 刘向 (77–6 BCE) and Liu Xin 刘歆 (46 BCE–23 CE) and their Qilüe 七略 (The Seven Summaries, 5 BCE, see Table I.1). 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:


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.

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 刘恒, 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，頗能記其操鼓鼓舞，而不能言其義。六國之君，魏文侯最為好古，孝文時得其樂人虞公，獻其書，乃《周官·大宗伯》之《大司樂》章也。

In the time of Han dynasty Emperor Wudi [Liu Che 刘徹, 156–87 BCE, r. 141–87 BCE], the Prince of Hejian, Liu De 刘德 [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-row-by-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 刘骜, 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》。

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，其道寖以益衰。

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 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 poet-musician Yu Gong 虞公 and his lyric oeuvre, while Zhao Ding 趙定, Shi Zhong 施中, and Long De 龍德 whose repertoires comprise (3) all lived at the time of the Emperor Xuandi (Liu Xun 劉洵, 91–48 BCE, r. 74–48 BCE) and were contemporary musicians playing the qin music of their own times. 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 “雅” or “elegant” so as to imply their higher status and proximity to the

7. Ibid., 80; and Ban Gu, Han shu, vol. 6, 1711–1712.
8. Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, Qilüe yiwen, 80; and Ban Gu, Han shu, vol. 6, 1712.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
Table I.1: The Book Classification Scheme in *The Seven Summaries*

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<td>Book of Odes</td>
<td>Canon of Rites</td>
<td>Book of Music</td>
<td>Spring and Autumn Annals</td>
<td>Analects</td>
<td>Book of Filial Piety</td>
<td>Linguistics</td>
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<td>易</td>
<td>書</td>
<td>詩</td>
<td>禮</td>
<td>樂</td>
<td>春秋</td>
<td>論語</td>
<td>孝經</td>
<td>小學</td>
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Table I.2: The Book Classification Scheme in “Monograph on Books,” *The Official History of the Sui Dynasty*

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<td>Histories</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Buddhist Scriptures</td>
<td>Daoist Scriptures</td>
<td>Anthologies</td>
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<td>史部</td>
<td>子部</td>
<td>佛經部</td>
<td>道家</td>
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<td>Book of Music</td>
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<td>孝經</td>
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Table I.3: The Book Classification Scheme in “Monograph on Books,” *The Old Official History of the Tang Dynasty*

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<td>Histories</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Buddhist Scriptures</td>
<td>Daoist Scriptures</td>
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<td>圖說</td>
<td>經解</td>
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### Table I.4: The Book Classification Scheme in General Catalog of the Academy for the Veneration of Literature

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<td>Philosophy</td>
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1. Book of Changes  
2. Book of Documents  
3. Book of Odes  
4. Canon of Rites  
5. Book of Music  
6. Spring and Autumn Annals  
7. Book of Filial Piety  
8. Analects  
9. Linguistics  

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

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1. Confucianist Books  
2. Daoist Books  
3. Legalist Books  
4. Book of Music  
5. Spring and Autumn Annals  
6. Book of Filial Piety  
7. Analects  
8. Linguistics  
9. | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |

1. Calligraphy and Painting  
2. Qin Scores  
3. Seal Carving  
4. Vernacular and Miscellaneous Performance Skills

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

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1. Book of Changes  
2. Book of Music  
3. Confucianist Books  
4. Linguistics  
5. Divination  
6. Arts  
7. Daoist Books  
8. Poems of Chu  
9. Ci- and Qu-Type Lyrical Songs  
10. Calligraphy and Painting  
11. Qin Scores  
12. Seal Carving  
13. Vernacular and Miscellaneous Performance Skills
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).13

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).14 More extensive than its Western Han dynasty predecessor, it lists a total of 3,212 books comprising 36,708 juan; the total increases to 4,737 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, of which music contributes 29 items of 195 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 “Canonics,” 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. 1–15); (2) qin music (nos. 17–23); and (3) practical treatises on elegant music and banquet music (nos. 24–47).15 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 楽經 (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 four-part division at the first level—Canonics 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 “Canonics” 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.\textsuperscript{18}

Chongwen zongmu \textit{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.\textsuperscript{19} Produced on imperial command by scholars of the Hanlin \textit{翰林} Academy spearheaded by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–1058), the book total is now 3,445, comprising 30,669 \textit{juan}, of which music contributes 49 books in 302 \textit{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. \textit{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 \textit{ruan} 瑟 lute (nos. 45–49).\textsuperscript{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 欧陽修 (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 \textsuperscript{[221–206 BCE]} violent extirpation of scholarship; however, \textit{The Book of Documents}, \textit{The Analects}, and \textit{The Book of Filial Piety} were preserved in the ancestral dwellings of Confucius’ family, and \textit{The Book of Changes} as a divination text was not burnt along with the others, while \textit{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, \textit{The Canon of Rites} was the one whose degradation was the most serious, and \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{The Canon of Rites}.

Thus, the texts of only Five Classics survived and their scholarship remained classified in the Six Arts.

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:

\begin{quote}
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.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} According to \textit{Han shu}, Liu Xiang was an important figure who excessively admired Dong Zhongshu’s views. See Michael Loewe, \textit{Dong Zhongshu, a “Confucian” Heritage and the Chunqiu Fanlu} (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 337.
\textsuperscript{15} Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (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, \textit{The Book of Documents}, \textit{The Analects}, and \textit{The Book of Filial Piety} were preserved in the ancestral dwellings of Confucius’ family, and \textit{The Book of Changes} as a divination text was not burnt along with the others, while \textit{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, \textit{The Canon of Rites} was the one whose degradation was the most serious, and \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{The Canon of Rites}.

Thus, the texts of only Five Classics survived and their scholarship remained classified in the Six Arts.

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.

\textsuperscript{13} According to \textit{Han shu}, Liu Xiang was an important figure who excessively admired Dong Zhongshu’s views. See Michael Loewe, \textit{Dong Zhongshu, a “Confucian” Heritage and the Chunqiu Fanlu} (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 337.
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and the spirits 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.

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 賈氏（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.

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 shulü 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). 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」。27

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 琴說 (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 (jushi 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 魯九淵 (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 孝學記言 (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 bianbian juan, vol. 7, 77.
25. Chao Gongwu 晁公武, Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng 隱齋讀書志校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), vol. 1, 91–92.
28. Chen Zhensun’s grandmother was Zhou Xingji’s third daughter. See Hou Wailu 侯外廬, Song Yuan xue’an 宋元學案 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1960), 741.
omens of auspiciousness. This is particularly eschewed by those who truly wish to promote good governance through personal practice.

Chen Zhensun, however, regarded the Yongjia School of Thought as "insufficiently commensurate with anything that is pure and noble" and admired Zhu Xi most.31 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?

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-Confucians 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."
Locating Books on Music

Chunqiu orthodoxy, new resources emerged for the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE), and its espousal by the Confucian historiography in the Spring and Autumn period interest in artifacts had become a driving force, In the Song dynasty, imperial antiquarian chose to flex their intellectual muscles. to be an arena where the great minds of the day successive official histories, consistently proving on pitch standards remain common items in "Monograph on Pitch Standards". Monographs ("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 bo gu 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." 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 粵諺 (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 趙子庸 (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 qin 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 Liu jia Wen xuan 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 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.

52. See above.
53. *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.
54. 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 (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.

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.2 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 睿内司 (Department of Palace Supply), which assembled available material and issued it as Yuefu huncheng ji 楼船城集成 (The Music Bureau Multi-Genre Compendium).3 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.4 Scholar-official Wang Jide 王

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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 (X.10264); and the most recently published is manuscript Osaka, Kyō Shooko 羽 49; See Takeda Kagaku Shinkō Zaidan, 2009), vol. 1, 337–339.


暗香疏影

舊時月色真幾番照我梅邊吹篳喚起玉人不管

清寒與攀摘何遙而今漸老都忘却春風詞筆但

怪得竹外疎花香冷入瑶席

江國正寂寂歎寄

記曾攜手處千樹壓西湖寒碧又片片吹盡也幾
Fig. 3.2: Bai shi 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. 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 lyric songs for which Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155–1221) provided notation in his 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.

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. 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 淡黄柳 (Pale Yellow Willows), 長亭怨 (Discontentment at the Long Pavilion), 角招 (A Shao in the Jue Mode), and 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:

§ 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
§ 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. 看盡鵝黃嫩緑，都是江南舊相識。
§ 4. 正岑寂，明朝又寒食。
§ 5. 強攜酒，小橋宅。
§ 6. 柏梨花，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.
§ 3. Kan jin e huang nen lu, dou shi jiang nan jiu xiang shi.
§ 4. Zheng cen ji, min zhou you han shi.
§ 5. Qiang xie ju, xiao qiao zhai.
§ 6. Pa li hua, luo jin cheng qiu se.

Fig. 3.4: Baishi daoren geju (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 × 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, 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 香港 (The Hall of Reading Canon 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, 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 a nian from the celebrated zaju 杂剧 opera Xi’erji 西厢記 (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 梨鶯燕. Leaning on a stone, she and her servant Hongniang 紅娘 are situated beneath a wutong 树桐 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 railing 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. 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. 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...
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 image 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.

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 崤曲, 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:

Wanhuazhuren 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 納書積曲譜 (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

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 重屏會棋圖 (The Ink Garden of the Cheng Family) in five colors in 1606. Examples of this technique of portraying events are applied evenly, with no gradations or shadings. 22. Wang Fang-yu suggests this technique of portraying events
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. 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; 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]).


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.
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 Mendoza (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 second-hand. 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: Together with the great riches, huge citties, politike gouvernement, and rare inventions in the same.*

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 eye-catching 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).

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).
Whether this illustration actually represents a *huqin* 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* 嘹吶, 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” 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 near-vertically 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

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3. “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.

4. “J. Haussard” is given as the engraver on the bottom right of the plate, that is, Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1679 or 1680–1749).
CHINESE AIRS

This Plate is inscribed to Edmund Browne of the City of Bristol Esq.
Fig. 5.11: “Chinese Airs.” From A Description of the Empire of China, vol. 2, unnumbered plate opp. p. 125.  
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. 5

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 huqin 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 huqin, 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 huqin 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 huqin; 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 EUCMHI 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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Fig. 1.14: Yi li tu (Diagrams for the Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial), Preface by Yang Fu, fol. 4r; author: Yang Fu (act. 1228); date: 1281–1380; woodblock: 18.4 × 12.4 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.15: Yi li jishuo (Collected Opinions on the Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial), juan 1, fol. 1r; author: Ao Jigong (act. 1301); date: 1297–1307; woodblock: 22.7 × 17.6 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.16: Yi li jishuo (Collected Opinions on the Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial), juan 4, fols. 17v–18r; author: Ao Jigong (act. 1301); date: 1297–1307; woodblock: 22.7 × 17.6 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.17: Fu shiyin Shang shu zhushu (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of the Book of Documents including Commentary and Additional Notes), juan 3, fol. 26r; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.4 × 13.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.18: Fu shiyin Shang shu zhushu (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of the Book of Documents including Commentary and Additional Notes), juan 3, fol. 1r; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.4 × 13.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.19: Fu shiyin Shang shu zhushu (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of the Book of Documents including Commentary and Additional Notes), juan 20, fol. 14v; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.4 × 13.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.20: Fu shiyin Mao shi zhushu (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of the Book of Odes including Commentary and Additional Notes), juan 1, fol. 1r; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1127–1129; woodblock: 6.3 × 4.1 inches; Ashikaga Gakkō. After Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., Ashikaga Gakki zenpō zaruoku (Ashikaga: Ashika Gagakkō Iseki Toshokan Köenkai, 1973), pl. 20.

Fig. 1.21: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), preface, fol. 2v (right), and juan 1, fol. 1r (left); author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.22: Meigu shizhong shu (The Plum Valley: Ten Books), title page and table of contents, fol. 1r; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); date: 1766–1768; woodblock: 16.8 × 11.7 cm; Harvard-Yenching Library (T 9118 7191).

Fig. 1.23: Meigu shizhong shu (The Plum Valley: Ten Books), Mengying ci (Dreamed Reflections: A Song Lyric Anthology), the scribe Shen Cai’s note on juan 3, fol. 12v (right), and postscript, fol. 1r (left); author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); date: 1766–1768;

woodblock: 16.8 × 11.7 cm; Harvard-Yenching Library (T 9118 7191).

Fig. 1.24: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), the original blue silk cover of fascicle 10; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; dimensions: 27.2 × 15.4 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.25: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), juan 58, fol. 4v (right), and postscript by Shen Cai, fol. 1r (left); author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.26: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), postscript by Shen Cai, fol. 1v; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.27: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), juan 1, fol. 14v; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.28: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), juan 23, fol. 8v; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.29: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), juan 33, fol. 9v; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.30: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), juan 6, fol. 1r; author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 1.31: Shang shu yi (Meanings in the Book of Documents), a list of errata compiled by Lu Xuan’s two sons, Lu Tan and Lu Fang, bound into the back of volume 12 (right), and modern collector Zhu Hongyi’s handwritten colophon (left); author: Lu Xuan (1737–1799); scribe: Shen Cai (c. 1748–?); date: 1787; border: 17.1 × 12.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.1: Shi ji (Records of the Grand Historian), juan 24, fol. 1r (detail); author: Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE); date: 1194–1196; woodblock: 19.9 × 12.6 cm; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Gakkō. After Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., Ashikaga Gakki zenpō zaruoku (Ashikaga: Ashika Gagakkō Iseki Toshokan Köenkai, 1973), pl. 20.

Fig. 2.2: Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), preface, fol. 1r; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.0 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.
Fig. 2.3: *Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Explanatory Material on Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), juan 26, fol. 29v; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.0 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.4: *Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Explanatory Material on Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), juan 1, fol. 1r (detail); annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.0 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.5: *Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Explanatory Material on Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), juan 1, fols. 6r–v; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.0 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.6: *Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Explanatory Material on Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), preface, fol. 5v; publisher’s note; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1127–1279; woodblock: 6.3 × 4.05 inches; Ashikaga Gakkō. After Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., Ashikaga Gakkō zenpō zuroku (Ashikaga: Ashika Gagakkō Iseki Toshokan Köenki, 1973), pl. 39.

Fig. 2.7: *Fu shiyin Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* (Supplementary Explanation and Pronunciation of Explanatory Material on Exegetical Notes to the Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), juan 39, fols. 8v–9r; annotator: Kong Yingda (574–648); date: c. 1323–1328; woodblock: 19.0 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.8: *Shi ji* (Records of the Grand Historian), juan 24, fol. 1r; author: Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE); date: 1525; woodblock: 20.1 × 12.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.9: *Wenxuan zhu* (Commentary on the Selections of Refined Literature), table of contents, fol. 34r; publisher’s advertisement (right), and juan 1, fol. 1r (left); author: Xiao Tong (501–531); date: 1523; woodblock: 20.4 × 13.6 cm; The Chinese University of Hong Kong Library (PL.2450.H7 1522).

Fig. 2.10: *Shi ji* (Records of the Grand Historian), preface, fol. 1r; author: Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE); date: 1525; woodblock: 20.1 × 12.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.11: *Hou Han shu buzhi* (The Official History of the Later Han Dynasty: Supplementary Monographs), book cover; author: Sima Biao (240–306); date: 1131–1163; woodblock: 21.4 × 17.3 cm; Library of Congress, Asian Division, Chinese Rare Books (B275.5.L75 China LM547).

Fig. 2.12: *Hou Han shu buzhi* (The Official History of the Later Han Dynasty: Supplementary Monographs), “Lüli zhi” (“Monograph on Pitch-Pipes and the Calendar”), juan 1, fols. 6r–v; author: Sima Biao (240–306); date: 1131–1163; woodblock: 21.4 × 17.3 cm; Library of Congress, Asian Division, Chinese Rare Books (B275.5.L75 China LM547).

Fig. 2.13: *jin shu* (The Official History of the Jin Dynasty), “Yue zhi” (“Monograph on Music”), juan 23, fols. 22v–23r; author: Fang Xuanling (579–648); date: 1271–1368; woodblock: 22.4 × 17.4 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.14: *Tang shu* (The Official History of the Tang Dynasty), “Yinyue zhi” (“Monograph on Music”), juan 10, fol. 1r; author: Liu Xu (887–946); date: 1538; woodblock: 21.5 × 14.8 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 2.15: *Tang shu* (The Official History of the Tang Dynasty), “Yinyue zhi” (“Monograph on Music”), juan 11, fol. 1r; author: Liu Xu (887–946); date: 1131–1162; woodblock: 21.7 × 15.0 cm; Peking Library. After Zhongguo guojia tushuguan and Zhongguo guojia guji mingbu tulu (Beijing: Guoji tushuguan chubanshe, 2008), vol. 2, 161.

Fig. 2.16: *Sui shu xiangjie* (An Abridgement of the Official History of the Sui Dynasty), “Yinyue zhi” (“Monograph on Music”), juan 4, fols. 1r–v; editor: Lü Zuqian (1137–1181); date: 1521–1566; woodblock: 19.1 × 13.7 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 2.17: *Sui shu xiangjie* (An Abridgement of the Official History of the Sui Dynasty), “Lüli zhi” (“Monograph on Pitch-Pipes and the Calendar”), juan 5, fols. 4r–v; editor: Lü Zuqian (1137–1181); date: 1521–1566; woodblock: 19.6 × 13.8 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 2.18: *Xuanhe bogu tulu* (The Xuanhe Era Illustrated Catalog of Ancient Bronzes), juan 22, fols. 28v–29r; illustration of the third of a set of six chime-bells cast by Duke Cheng of Song, Zhou dynasty; author: Wang Fu (1079–1126); date: 1528; woodblock: 28.6 × 23.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.19: *Zhong ding kuanzhi* (Zhong Bells and Ding Tripod Inscriptions), fol. 28v; author: Wang Houzhi (1131–1204); date: 1528; woodblock: 32.7 × 22.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.20: *Lüli zhengyi* (The Orthodox Meaning of Pitch Standards), juan 1, fascicle 1, fol. 3r; authors: Yunlu (1695–1767) et al.; date: 1713; border: 21.4 × 14.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.21: *Lüli zhengyi* (The Orthodox Meaning of Pitch Standards), juan 1, fascicle 2, fol. 37v (detail); authors: Yunlu (1695–1767) et...
al.; date: 1713; border: 21.4 × 14.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.22: Lilü zhengyi (The Orthodox Meaning of Pitch Standards), juan 5, fascicle 5, fols. 12v–13r, examples of European staff notation; authors: Yunlu (1695–1767) et al.; date: 1713; border: 21.4 × 14.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.23: Yuzhi wen chuji (The Emperor’s Collected Works: The First Installment), juan 3, fol. 1r; author: Qianlong (r. 1735–1796); date: 1764; woodblock: 20.2 × 13.9 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 2.24: Huanghao liu tushi (Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty), juan 9, fol. 26r, illustration of the drum used for the music to accompany the Plowing of the First Furrow; authors: Yunlu (1695–1767) et al.; date: c. 1760–1766; dimensions: 40.0 × 42.0 cm; image © National Museum of Scotland (A.1968.432 W).

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).

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).

Fig. 3.3: Baishi daoren gequ (Songs of the Whitestone Daoist), table of contents, fol. 1r; author: Jiang Kui (1155–1221); editor: Lu Zhonghui (?–1761); date: 1743; woodblock: 18.5 × 11.8 cm; Jiaxing City Library (812.4/5).

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 × 12.8 cm; private collection.

Fig. 3.5: Qinding Cipu (The Imperial Register of Lyric Song), juan 14, fols. 20v–21r, metrical pattern and rhyme scheme of the tune Pale Yellow Willows by Jiang Kui; compilers: Wang Yiqing (1604–1737) et al.; date: 1715; woodblock: 19.4 × 12.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.6: Dongjing menghua lu (Reminiscences of the Eastern Capital), book cover; author: Meng Yuanlao (fl. 1103–1147); date: 1328; woodblock: 22.1 × 16.3 cm; Peking Library (08676).

Fig. 3.7: Dongjing menghua lu (Reminiscences of the Eastern Capital), preface, fols. 1r–v; author: Meng Yuanlao (fl. 1103–1147); date: 1328; woodblock: 22.1 × 16.3 cm; Peking Library (08676).

Fig. 3.8: Xinjuan gujin daya nanbei gong ciji (Newly-Cut, Ancient and Modern, of Extreme Elegance, Northern Lyrics in the Musical Modes), table of contents, fol. 1r; editor: Chen Suowen (1587–1626); date: 1604; woodblock: 21.5 × 14.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.9: Xinjuan gujin daya nanbei gong ciji (Newly-Cut, Ancient and Modern, of Extreme Elegance, Northern Lyrics in the Musical Modes), juan 6, fascicle 7, fols. 1v–2r, woodblock engraving of an opera aria; editor: Chen Suowen (1587–1626); date: 1604; woodblock: 21.5 × 14.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.10: Xixiang ji (Romance of the Western Wing), album leaf 11; author: Wang Shifu (c. 1260–c. 1337); date: 1640; dimensions: 25.5 × 32.2 cm; Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln (R 62.1).

Fig. 3.11: Xixiang ji (Romance of the Western Wing), album leaf 8; author: Wang Shifu (c. 1260–c. 1337); date: 1640; dimensions: 25.5 × 32.2 cm; Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln (R 62.1).

Fig. 3.12: Xixiang ji (Romance of the Western Wing), album leaf 4; author: Wang Shifu (c. 1260–c. 1337); date: 1640; dimensions: 25.5 × 32.2 cm; Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln (R 62.1).

Fig. 3.13: Xixiang ji (Romance of the Western Wing), album leaf 19; author: Wang Shifu (c. 1260–c. 1337); date: 1640; dimensions: 25.5 × 32.2 cm; Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln (R 62.1).

Fig. 3.14: Shenyn jiangu lu (A Record of Examining Music and Assessing Antiquity), The Tale of the Pipa Lute, fascicle 2, woodblock engraving of the scene “Eating Chaff;” editor: Wang Jishan (act. 1834); date: before 1834; woodblock: 24.2 × 15.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.15: Shenyn jiangu lu (A Record of Examining Music and Assessing Antiquity), The Tale of the Pipa Lute, fascicle 3, woodblock engraving of the scene “Sweeping under the Pine;” editor: Wang Jishan (act. 1834); date: before 1834; woodblock: 24.2 × 15.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.16: Shenyn jiangu lu (A Record of Examining Music and Assessing Antiquity), A Tale of the Thorn Hairpin, fascicle 5, woodblock engraving of the scene “On the Road;” editor: Wang Jishan (act. 1834); date: before 1834; woodblock: 24.2 × 15.1 cm. Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.
Fig. 3.17: Shenyin juangu lu (A Record of Examining Music and Assessing Antiquity), The Peony Pavilion, fascicle 8, woodblock engraving of the scene "Seeking a Dream;" editor: Wang Jishan (act. 1834); date: before 1834; woodblock: 24.2 × 15.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.18: Suijin cipu (Scattered Gold: Scores of Lyric Songs), juan 1, fols. 27v–28r, the reinvented gongche notation,metrical pattern, and rhyme scheme of the tune Secret Fragrance originally composed by Jiang Kui; author: Xie Yuanhui (1784–1867); date: 1848; woodblock: 19.4 × 14.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.19: Yue'ou (Cantonese Love Songs), fol. 17r, a diagram explaining how to use gongche notation on the pipa; author: Zhao Ziyong (1616); date: 1828; woodblock: 18.4 × 13.9 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.20: Yue'ou (Cantonese Love Songs), fol. 17v, music notation of the two introductory excerpts (right), and juan 1, fol. 1r, Quit ye the Soul's Sorrow, first of the two parts (left); author: Zhao Ziyong (1616); date: 1828; woodblock: 18.4 × 13.9 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.21: Renjing yangqiu (Mirror of Morality), juan 12, fols. 28v–29r, woodblock engraving of Sun Deng playing the qin; author: Wang Tingne (1573–1619); date: 1600; woodblock: 24.4 × 16.5 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.22: Liujia Wenxuan (Six Commentaries on Selections of Refined Literature), juan 19, fols. 13v–14r, "Rhapsody on the Qin;" editor: Xiao Tong (501–531); date: 1549; woodblock: 24.1 × 18.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.23: Liujia Wenxuan (Six Commentaries on Selections of Refined Literature), juan 40, fol. 35v, the additional colophon by Yuan Qiong; editor: Xiao Tong (501–531); date: 1549; woodblock: 24.1 × 18.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.24: Liujia Wenxuan (Six Commentaries on Selections of Refined Literature), juan 18, fol. 1r, "Rhapsodies on Music;" editor: Xiao Tong (501–531); date: 1549; woodblock: 24.1 × 18.8 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.25: The Tōkyō manuscript, cols. 1–12, preface and the beginning of section one; author: Qiu Ming (493–590); date: early seventh century; dimensions: 27.4 × 423.1 cm; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (TB1393).

Fig. 3.7: Woodcut facsimile of Kojima Hōso’s tracing copy of the Tōkyō manuscript, cols. 1–10; editor: Li Shuchang (1837–1897); date: 1884; woodblock: 23.3 × 16.6 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 3.8: The Tōkyō manuscript, cols. 200–212, the end of section three and the beginning of section four, characters scraped off and replaced by a scribe in cols. 204 and 205, and continuing into the bottom margin; author: Qiu Ming (493–590); date: early seventh century; dimensions: 27.4 × 423.1 cm; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (TB1393).

Fig. 3.9: Woodcut facsimile of Kojima Hōso’s tracing copy of the Tōkyō manuscript, cols. 201–210; editor: Li Shuchang (1837–1897); date: 1884; woodblock: 23.3 × 16.6 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 3.10: The Hikone manuscript, recto, cols. 7–16, Chen Zhongru’s treatise entitled Qinjyōng zhifa; authors: Chen Zhongru (act. 519), Feng Zhiban (fl. 581–618), and Zhao Yeli (564–639); date: Nara or Heian periods; dimensions: 30.0 × 408.0 cm; Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan (V633). Photograph by Julia Craig-McFeely.

Fig. 3.11: The Hikone manuscript, verso, the saibara sketch and casual drawing; date: Heian or Kamakura periods; dimensions: 30.0 × 408.0 cm; Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan (V633). Photograph by Julia Craig-McFeely.

Fig. 3.12: The first draft of Wusilan zhifa shi (A Study on the Black-Ruled Manual), fol. 1r; author: Wang Mengshu (1887–1969); date: 1954; dimensions: 26.0 × 22.0 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 3.13: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 1; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.14: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 2; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.15: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 1, sequel juan 4, fols. 12v–13r, the first postscript by Yu Yu dated 1167 and the second postscript by Qi Huan dated 1186; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.16: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 1, sequel juan 4, fol. 13v, the third postscript dated 1212; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 3.17: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 1, Shu Shi’s preface dated 1089, fol. 1r; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; border:
Fig. 4.18: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 2, Shu Shi’s preface dated 1089, fol. 1r; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.19: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 1, Shu Shi’s preface dated 1089, fol. 2v, and juan 1, fol. 1r; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.20: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Fan Wenzheng), copy 2, Shu Shi’s preface dated 1089, fol. 2v, and juan 1, fol. 1r; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.21: Fan Wenzheng gong ji (The Literary Collection of Duke Ouyang Wenzhong), Shu Shi’s preface dated 1089, fol. 2v; printer’s colophon, and juan 1, fol. 1r; author: Fan Zhongyan (989–1052); date: 1275–1276; woodblock: 22.3 × 19.7 cm; National Palace Museum, Taipei (平圖 003264-003267).

Fig. 4.22: Ouyang Wenzhong gong wenji (The Literary Collection of Duke Ouyang Wenzhong), juan 35, fol. 10v; author: Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072); date: 1386; woodblock: 20.3 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.23: Ouyang Wenzhong gong wenji (The Literary Collection of Duke Ouyang Wenzhong), juan 42, fols. 2r–v; author: Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072); date: 1386; woodblock: 20.3 × 13.2 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.24: Shilin guangji (Extensive Records of Various Things), supplementary juan 4, fol. 2v, woodcut illustration entitled “Confucius playing the qin at his private academy;” compiler: Chen Yuanliang; date: 1330–1333; woodblock: 17.0 × 11.0 cm; Naikaku Bunko, Kokuritsu Koubunshokan (毛別60-01).

Fig. 4.25: Donglai xiansheng fenmen shiliu wuku (Encyclopedia for Poetry Writing compiled by the Master of Donglai); author: Lu Zuqian (1137–1181); date: 1250–1300; woodblock: 18.8 × 12.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.26: Donglai xiansheng fenmen shiliu wuku (Encyclopedia for Poetry Writing compiled by the Master of Donglai), juan 7, fol. 1r; author: Lu Zuqian (1137–1181); date: 1250–1300; woodblock: 18.8 × 12.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.27: Qin shi (Qin History), juan 6, fols. 11v–12r; author: Zhu Changwen (1038–1098); date: 1706; woodblock: 16.1 × 11.6 cm; Peking Library (00139).

Fig. 4.28: Qin shi (Qin History), Zhu Zhengda’s postscript dated 1233, fol. 2v (right), and Zhu Changwen’s preface dated 1084, fol. 1r (left); author: Zhu Changwen (1038–1098); date: c. 1518; dimensions: c. 33 × c. 15 cm; Peking Library (06870).

Fig. 4.29: Lepu yugao (Surplus Manuscripts of the Happiness Garden), Ye Changchi’s handwritten colophon dated 1882 (right) and Zhu Si’s preface dated 1134, fol. 1r (left); author: Zhu Changwen (1038–1098); date: before 1850; dimensions: 23.3 × 15.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.30: Lepu yugao (Surplus Manuscripts of the Happiness Garden), Weng Shouqi’s handwritten colophon dated 1900; author: Zhu Changwen (1038–1098); date: before 1850; dimensions: 23.3 × 15.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.31: Lepu yugao (Surplus Manuscripts of the Happiness Garden), juan 8, fols. 4r–5v; “The essential feature of music lies in the harmony it engenders in people and not in the sound itself;” author: Zhu Changwen (1038–1098); date: before 1850; border: 14.4 × 11.3 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.32: Qingrong jushi ji (The Literary Collection of the Hermit of Qingrong), table of contents, fol. 1r; author: Yuan Jue (1266–1327); date: before 1803; dimensions: 26.1 × 18.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.33: Qingrong jushi ji (The Literary Collection of the Hermit of Qingrong), juan 44, “Exposition on the Qin Presented to Huang Yiran,” fols. 1v–2r; author: Yuan Jue (1266–1327); date: before 1803; dimensions: 26.1 × 18.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library. Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 4.34: Quxian Shenqi mipu (The Emaciated Immortal’s Mysterious and Secret Scores), preface, fol. 1r; editor: Zhu Quan (1378–1448); date: Ming dynasty; woodblock: 22.9 × 15.5 cm; Naikaku Bunko, Kokuritsu Koubunshokan (子大54).

Fig. 4.35: Quxian Shenqi mipu (The Emaciated Immortal’s Mysterious and Secret Scores), juan 3, fols. 20r–20v; editor: Zhu Quan (1378–1448); date: Ming dynasty; woodblock: 22.9 × 15.8 cm; private collection. Photograph by Yang Yuanzheng.

Fig. 5.1: Beautiful ladies playing the two-string fiddle erhu, the vertical end-blown flute xiao, the three-string lute sanxian, the transverse flute dizi, and the mouth organ sheng (detail); date: early eighteenth century; artist: unknown; dimensions: 220 × 268 cm; Christopher Bruckner, private collection. After Christopher Bruckner, Chinese Imperial Patronage: Treasures from Temples and Palaces, vol. 2 (London: Asian Art Gallery, 2005), 62–63.

Fig. 5.2: The modern erhu, a fine model of black rosewood from the workshop of Lu Jianhua in Beijing.

Figs. 5.3: The rebec, a modern reconstructed model.

Fig. 5.4: Street name sign from the island of Taipa, Macau: Travessa da Rebeca (“Huqin xiang” or “Huqin Lane”).
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). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.6: “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: 1735/1741; author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743); artists: drawn by Antoine Humblot (?–1758), engraved by Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1679 or 1680–1749); dimensions: 50.7 × 41 cm; private collection.

Fig. 5.7: “Nôce Chinoise.” From Description de l’Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise (the original French edition), vol. 2, unnumbered plate between pages 120 and 121; date: 1735; author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743); artists: drawn by Antoine Humblot (?–1758), engraved by Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1679 or 1680–1749); dimensions: 50.7 × 41 cm; private collection.

Fig. 5.8: Close-up of the húqín player in Fig. 5.6.

Fig. 5.9: Close-up of the húqín player in Fig. 5.7.

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.

Fig. 5.11: “Chinese Airs.” From A Description of the Empire of China, vol. 2, unnumbered plate opp. p. 125; dates: 1735/1741; author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743); artists: drawn by Ignatius Sichelbarth (1708–1780), engraved by Benoît-Louis Prévost (1735 or 1747–1804) and Isadore Stanislav Helman; dimensions: 42 × 55 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 769.944 H4). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.12: “The Procession of a Chinese Wedding when a Bride is brought home to her Husband.” From The General History of China, vol. II, pl. 8 opp. p. 202; date: 1739; author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743); no artists given; dimensions: 12.5 × 20.0 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (U 951 D86g). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.13: “Chinese Airs.” From The General History of China, vol. III, pp. 66–67; date: 1739; author: Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743); no artists given; dimensions: 12.5 × 20.0 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (U 951 D86g). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.14: Suite des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de l’Empereur de la Chine avec leur Explication, presentation label to the Hong Kong University Libraries at the opening of the book; date: 1784 (the book was issued in 1788); publisher: Isadore Stanislav Helman (1743–1806 or 1809); dimensions: 42 × 55 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 769.944 H4).

Fig. 5.15: Suite des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de l’Empereur de la Chine avec leur Explication, engraving VIII; date: 1784 (the book was issued in 1788); publisher: Isadore Stanislav Helman (1743–1806 or 1809); artists: drawn by Ignatius Sichelbarth (1708–1780), engraved by Benoît-Louis Prévost (1735 or 1747–1804) and Isadore Stanislav Helman; dimensions: 42 × 55 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 769.944 H4). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.16: Detail of musicians in Fig. 5.15.

Fig. 5.17: jīnzhuàn; date: 1800–1831; artist: unknown; export watercolor album leaf: 48 × 36 cm; © The Trustees of the British Museum (1877.0714.1312).

Fig. 5.18: A replica primitive horsehead fiddle from the workshop of Duan Tingjun in Hohhot.

Fig. 5.19: The bow-hold used for the primitive horsehead fiddle.

Fig. 5.20: “L’Empereur Recitant des Poëmes en l’Honneur de ses Ancêtres.” Suite des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de l’Empereur de la Chine avec leur Explication, engraving XXIV; date: 1784 (the book was issued in 1788); publisher and engraver: Isadore Stanislav Helman (1743–1806 or 1809); dimensions: 42 × 55 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 769.944 H4). Photograph by William Furniss.

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Fig. 5.23: “A Scene of an Historical Play Exhibited on the Chinese Stage.” From An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, folio volume, plate 30; date: 1797; author: George Staunton (1737–1801); artists: drawn by William Alexander (1767–1816), engraved by James Heath (1757–1834); dimensions: 57 × 43 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 951.074 S79 a). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.24: “A Chinese Theatre—Canton;” date: “21 December; 1793;” artist: William Alexander (1767–1816); watercolor: 35.5 × 23.3 cm; © The British Library Board (Macartney Albums, WD961, picture 168).

Fig. 5.25: An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, vol. 2, Hankow Club Library accession sticker found at the front of the volume; date: 1797; author: George Staunton (1737–1801); Hong Kong University Libraries (ULB 951.074 S79 a).

Fig. 5.26: An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, vol. 1, bookplate of R. H. Alexander Bennet (1743–1814 or ?1771–1818) on the second page opening; date: 1798; author: George Staunton (1737–1801); bookplate size: 9.5 × 6.4 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library (ULB 951.074 S79 a).
Fig. 5.27: *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, vol. 1, binder’s label on the first page opening; date: 1798; author: George Staunton (1737–1801); label size: 1.4 × 3.1 cm; Fung Ping Shan Library (ULB 951.074 S79 a).

Fig. 5.28: *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, vol. 1, Frost and Reed label and imprinted stamp of A. W. Bahr on the first page opening; date: 1798; author: George Staunton (1737–1801); Fung Ping Shan Library (ULB 951.074 S79 a).

Fig. 5.29: *Travels in China*, unnumbered plate between pages 314 and 315; date: 1806; author: John Barrow (1764–1848); dimensions: 27.8 × 22.8 cm; Hong Kong University Libraries (U 915.1075 B2). Photograph by William Furniss.

Fig. 5.30: British Library, Add. Ms. 33931, fols. 12v–13r; date: 1792–1794; artist: William Alexander (1767–1816); © The British Library Board (Add. Ms. 33931).

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