

Becoming Sages: *Qin* Song and Self-Cultivation in Late Imperial China

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Zeyuan Wu

Graduate Program in East Asian Languages and Literatures

The Ohio State University

2020

Dissertation Committee

Meow Hui Goh, Advisor

Patricia Sieber, Co-advisor

Udo Will

Ying Zhang

Copyrighted by

Zeyuan Wu

2020

Abstract

This dissertation aims to understand the significance of *qin* songs (songs accompanied on the *qin*, the seven-stringed zither) to their practitioners in late imperial China. The *qin* was known as an instrument for self-cultivation throughout Chinese history. However, our current knowledge of how *qin* music was used for self-cultivation purposes in premodern China is largely limited to the ideological aspect, awaiting to be supported or modified by investigations of specific historical practices. Looking into different *qin* practitioners' works, activities, social connections, and life experiences, this dissertation shows how they made various use of *qin* song—the musical form and activities related to it—to achieve their goals of becoming the ideal self.

I argue that late imperial *qin* songs were often composed and edited for the purpose of communicating general moral principles and particular moral exemplarity to a larger community of the like-minded (*zhiyin*). As a result, activities related to these songs allowed the practitioners to extend their social influence on their way of pursuing sagehood. The social function of the songs challenges today's widespread assumptions that both *qin* music and self-cultivation are primarily meditative and solitary.

I further argue that many *qin* songs emerged and evolved as a result of *qin* practitioners' emphasis on the communicative power of music compared to mere words, which responded to the new changes and concerns during the late imperial period. Their

continuous quest for the most effective means of moral communication may also help explain the eventual decline of *qin* song—as opposed to the purely instrumental form of *qin* music—by the eighteenth century, which awaits further studies.

Dedication

To my husband, Dr. Kui-Tian Xi

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my two advisors, Meow Hui Goh and Patricia Sieber, for their constant guidance, support, and encouragement during my years at The Ohio State University (OSU). Professor Goh guided me every step of the way throughout the whole process of my graduate training, and nurtured my intellectual and personal growth. Professor Sieber sparked my interest in the late imperial period. Her insights into the fields of song-drama, vernacular literature, and print culture shaped my dissertation in significant ways.

I also wish to express my greatest appreciation to the other two members of my dissertation committee, Udo Will and Ying Zhang. Professor Will from the School of Music enlightened me on various issues in ethnomusicology, and offered me many insightful comments with his expertise in *qin* music and culture. Professor Zhang from the Department of History inspired my interest in intellectual history and Confucianism. Her guidance and encouragement had invaluable influences on my research and my life.

In various stages of my research, I received inspiration and help from many scholars, including members of the OSU faculty and scholars from other institutes who shared ideas with me in various academic events and email correspondence. I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students for their intellectual exchange, emotional support, and assistance in my life. My doctoral research and dissertation writing received

financial support from the OSU and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, without which I would not have completed this dissertation.

I am extremely grateful to my parents for their endless love and support, and to my *qin* teacher, GUI Shimin, for leading me to the lifelong journey of *qin* learning.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Kui-Tian Xi, for being my best friend in this world.

Vita

2013..... B.A. Chinese Language and Literature, Nanjing University, China
2015..... M.A. Chinese Literature, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: East Asian Languages and Literatures

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgments.....	v
Vita.....	vii
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Ascending the Hall and Knowing the Music	42
Chapter 2. Continuing the Sages' Work: Reviving the Music of the <i>Classic of Poetry</i> ...	89
Chapter 3. Encountering A Transcendent: Yang Biao Zheng's Musiking on the Page ...	122
Chapter 4. Emulating the Worthy: Queen Zhao's Moral Exemplarity.....	157
Chapter 5. To Be Known to All: Cheng Xiong's Social Network.....	204
Conclusion	242
Bibliography	249

List of Figures

Figure 1. “The Manner of <i>Qin</i> Playing” (<i>fuqin shi</i> 撫琴勢) in a Ming manuscript copy of the <i>Taigu yiyin</i> 太古遺音, preserved in the National Central Library, Taiwan	129
Figure 2. “The Manner of <i>Qin</i> Playing” in <i>Xilutang qintong</i> 西麓堂琴統	130
Figure 3. Yang Biao Zheng’s portrait with comments	132
Figure 4. Pages from the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy” in Yang Biao Zheng’s <i>qinpu</i> , preserved in the Library of Congress.....	135
Figure 5. Pages from the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy of Each Dynasty” in <i>Wuzhizhai qinpu</i>	156
Figure 6. The epitaph of Yougui’s biological mother, preserved in Huawei Minsu Wenhua Bowuyuan 華威民俗文化博物苑, Henan province, China.	162
Figure 7. Zhongshi’s <i>qin</i>	165

Introduction

The *qin* 琴 (aka *guqin* 古琴, the seven-stringed zither) in Chinese history was said to be the creation of the ancient sage-kings and a companion for *junzi* 君子 (gentlemen, exemplary people) for self-cultivation (*xiushen* 修身). During the Ming and Qing periods (1368-1911), as the admiration for antiquity became a fashion in various fields while many ancient musical instruments had lost transmission, some people even considered the *qin* as the only tangible legacy of the ancient sages' music. At the same time, a series of changes from the mid and late Ming—the economic development, the growth of population, the spread of education, the increasing social mobility, and the intensified competition for success in civil service examinations—caused many well-educated people to seek alternative careers to officialdom. Some of the musical ones devoted themselves to *qin* learning, hoping to “establish virtues, accomplishments, and words” like the ancient sages and worthies.¹

¹ *Lide* 立德 (establish virtues), *ligong* 立功 (establish accomplishments), and *liyan* 立言 (establish words), originally coming from *Zuozhuan* 左傳, were traditionally considered as the three ways to achieve historical immortality. Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (c. 502-422 BCE), *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, vol. 3, 1088.

Some of these *qin* enthusiasts paid particular attention to *qin* song. A bridge between music and literature, songs were often regarded by premodern Chinese as an effective means of expressing one's emotion, moving the heart-mind, and realizing moral transformation, with the traditional hermeneutics of the *Classic of Poetry* (aka the *Book of Songs*) being the most influential example.² Hence, in the view of some late imperial *qin* practitioners, *qin* song not only brought together *qin* playing and song singing—the two means which the ancient sages used to spread moral education, but also combined music (*yue* 樂) and literature (*wen* 文)—the two important tools for communicating the Way.

For people who were devoted to *qin* learning and actively participated in *qin* song activities, how exactly did they work toward their self-cultivation goals of following the ancient exemplars and becoming an ideal person? As they composed and edited *qin* songs with different styles and various contents, what did they aim to communicate to their targeted audiences? By looking into different *qin* practitioners' works, viewpoints, and life experiences, what can we learn to enrich our knowledge of the cultural history of late imperial China? The current project will address these questions.

² To be discussed in chapter 2.

The *Qin*, *Qin* Music, and *Qin* Song

The *qin* had been used both in orchestras and as solo instrument for over 2500 years.³ By the end of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), the *qin* had been frequently mentioned in various classical texts, closely associated with ancient sages, social order, and moral cultivation.⁴ Since then, the Chinese have generally regarded the *qin* as an icon of the “high culture” and as the favorite musical instrument of the elite class.⁵

Archaeological findings show that the shape and design of ancient *qin* zithers went through significant changes before they developed into the classical *qin* that we know today. A tomb tile from around the 4th century CE gives us the earliest visual

³ For the early history of the *qin*, see Robert van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay in the Ideology of the Ch'in*, 1-21; David Ming-yueh Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in: Its History and Music*, 7-128; Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, 101-124; Bell Yung, “Instruments: Qin,” in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 7, East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, 157-165; and Bo Lawergren, “Strings,” in *Music in the Age of Confucius*, 65-85.

⁴ Some of these classical texts will be discussed in following chapters.

⁵ For the development of the *qin* and a general introduction of its music and culture, see Van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*; Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in*; James C. Y. Watt, “The Qin and the Chinese Literati”; and Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*.

representation of a classical *qin*, which shows no essential difference from the *qin* of later periods.⁶

What I call “*qin* music” in this project refers to musical works or performances in which the *qin* is used as the only or the major instrument, including both the textual and non-textual forms of music. In some cases the *qin* does not play a central role in an ensemble or orchestra, such as in imperial ritual music which often brings together the *bayin* 八音 (eight types of musical instruments), and my use of “*qin* music” does not include those cases. Throughout its long history, *qin* music has developed into various forms besides its solo form.⁷ Common accompaniments to the *qin* in different historical periods include the *se* 瑟 zither, the *xiao* 簫 flute, and the human voice.

The current project focuses on a form of *qin* music which was traditionally called “*qin* song” (*qin* 'ge 琴歌), the history of which is almost as long as the instrument.⁸ As the

⁶ Lawergren, “Strings,” 73-79.

⁷ Han dynasty clay figures show that the *qin* is used in small ensembles with a singer, a drummer, a *xiao* flute player and/or a dancer. Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in*, 75-83. Some clay figures show the *qin* player singing while playing. Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 43. Since the Qing dynasty, *qin*-*xiao* duet has gained much popularity among *qin* players. See Zha Fuxi 查阜西, “Jieshao guqin duzou he qinxiao hezou” 介紹古琴獨奏和琴簫合奏.

⁸ For the origin and development of *qin* song as a performative form, see Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 41-46; Zha Fuxi, “Qinge de chuantong he yanchang” 琴歌的傳統和演唱, in

name “*qin* song” suggests, it typically consists of *qin* playing along with song singing. In the surviving *qin* repertoire, more than half of the pieces were once notated with songtext (see my later explanation on the term “songtext” and its relation to “lyrics”).⁹ The current living tradition of *qin* song, which at least shows how the songs were performed in some regions in the late Qing (1644-1912), suggests that the songs were usually sung by the *qin* player, in a manner called “*xiangtan zhezi*” 鄉談折字 (the singer is supposed to elaborate the musical note of each monosyllabic word according to the linguistic tone of that word in the singer’s local dialect).¹⁰ However, scholars have inferred from textual records that

Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui 查阜西琴學文萃, 212-215; and Wang Xiaodun 王小盾, “‘Hujia shibapai’ he qinge” 胡笳十八拍和琴歌. Scholars have generally agreed that the history of *qin* song can be traced back to a form of singing accompanied on some ancient plucked string instruments, known as *xian’ge* 弦歌. See Xu Jian, “Xiangge yu qinge” 弦歌與琴歌. Early evidences for singing while playing the *qin* include various Han-dynasty (206 BCE-220CE) texts and clay figures of this period. See Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 42-43. The tradition of *qin* song continued throughout later periods and culminated between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. See Zhan Qiaoling 詹橋玲, “Qinge de lishi yu xianzhuang” 琴歌的歷史與現狀.

⁹ Zha Fuxi, *Cun jian guqin qupu ji lan* 存見古琴曲譜輯覽, 5.

¹⁰ Zha Fuxi, “Qinge de chuantong he yanchang” and “Qinge puli zayan” 琴歌譜例雜言.

Citing Ye Mengde’s 葉夢得 (1077-1148) *Bishu luhua* 避暑錄話, Zha also points out that

qin songs were performed in different styles throughout history.¹¹ Unfortunately, extant historical records are not detailed enough for us to know exactly how *qin* songs were sung in different time periods by different performers.

Compared to the purely instrumental form of *qin* music, *qin* song has received less scholarly attention, and there is not yet a monograph on this subject in any language. Currently, research articles on *qin* song are mostly written in Chinese. Some are case studies on specific works,¹² and some others have generally reviewed the history and

people in the Song dynasty were already singing *qin* songs according to the linguistic tones of the lyrics. Zha, “Qingde chuantong he yanchang,” 215.

¹¹ For example, Wang Xiaodun argues that by the end of the Tang dynasty, many *qin* songs were played in a way known as *xianghe* 相和 (“one responding to another”). He explains that in the *xianghe* style, the vocal lines and the instrumental lines may occur alternately in different melodies. See his “Qinqu geci ‘Hujia Shiba pai’ xin kao” 琴曲歌辭《胡笳十八拍》新考, 23-25. See also Liu Minglan 劉明瀾, “Zhongguo gudai qingde yishu tezheng” 中國古代琴歌的藝術特徵.

¹² For example, see Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏, “Dui guqin qu ‘Yangguan sandie’ de chubu yanjiu” 對古琴曲《陽關三疊》的初步研究; François Picard, “The Musical Avatars of a Buddhist Spell: Pu’An Zhou”; Wang, “‘Hujia shibapai’ he qingde”; and Li Meiyan 李美燕, “Donggao Xinyue zhi qindao ji qi zichuang qingde yanjiu” 東皋心越之琴道及其自創琴歌研究.

characteristics of traditional *qin* song.¹³ Based on traditional notations, a few *qin* musicians like Wang Di 王迪 have published modern renderings of dozens of historical *qin* songs.¹⁴

My use of “*qin* song” may refer to either the musical form in general, or specific performances or works in particular. Rather than coining another term to make a distinction like that between “poetry” and “poem,” I use the same term as long as it is not ambiguous in the context. Otherwise, I will specify whether I refer to “the *qin* song form/the form of *qin* song” or the “work/performance of *qin* song.” In this study, the term “*qin* song” as performance means playing the *qin* and singing at the same time; as textual work, it refers to *qin* music with songtext. Following my definitions of *qin* song as performance and as textual work, the paragraphs below give further explanations of some relevant issues.

As Performance: *Qin* Song versus *Qin* Solo

A general problem of studying music in history is that we no longer have access to the actual performances. In historical texts about the performance of *qin* song, which are scarce, the performances under discussion could refer to actual performances that

¹³ For example, see Liu, “Zhongguo gudai qinge de yishu tezheng”; Zhan, “Qinge de lishi yu xianzhuang”; Chu Yunxia 褚雲霞, “Cong guqin dao qinge” 從古琴到琴歌; and Guo Rong 郭榮, “Guqin qinge de yishu tezheng: cong lishi zhong kan qinge yishu” 古琴琴歌的藝術特徵——從歷史中看琴歌藝術.

¹⁴ Wang Di 王迪, *Qinge* 琴歌.

already happened, or imagined performances that may or may not have been realized. Frequently, we do not know whether a performance discussed in a historical text was ever realized. Regardless, I treat it as “performance” in this study. Even if the performance existed only in the writer’s imagination, its textual traces can still tell us something about historical views on *qin* performances.

Furthermore, we often do not know for sure whether a piece of work was performed as *qin* song (i.e. with both singing and *qin* playing) or as *qin* solo (without singing). This is because, when playing the same tune on the *qin*, the performer could choose to sing on one occasion and not to sing on another occasion.¹⁵ Alternatively, people might have different preferences regarding whether to perform a piece of *qin* music with or without sung words.¹⁶ Therefore, textual works which I call “*qin* songs” (with songtexts) might not have been actually performed as *qin* song (consisting of both *qin* playing and song singing); conversely, textual works that do not include songtext besides *qin* notation might also have been performed as *qin* song with lyrics not known to us in textual form.

As Textual Work: Songtext versus Lyrics

I differentiate between “songtext” and “lyrics.” “Songtext” refers to the text paired with the musical notation that might be sung aloud in a performance or read

¹⁵ See Zha Fuxi’s own experience in his “Qinge bian.”

¹⁶ I discuss this in chapter 2 with the case of “Guanju.”

silently. Because songtext was paired with the musical symbols,¹⁷ it is different from other paratexts of a *qin* piece such as the “explanation of the theme” (*jieti* 解題) or the editor’s comment. “Lyrics” on the other hand emphasizes the vocal aspect, although the words that were once sung aloud were known to us only in textual format.

I find it helpful to make a distinction between “songtext” and “lyrics” in this project because we often do not know whether some written texts were actually sung aloud, nor can we be certain that all songtexts were expected to be sung aloud. The term “songtext” allows me to study the reading and writing of a song. I use the term “lyrics” when we are able to tell that words were sung in an actual performance, or that words were expected to be sung in an imagined performance. I use “lyrics” to refer to these sung words when it is necessary to consider the aspect of singing. However, “songtext” and “lyrics” can be interchangeable in some situations, as the written words and the sung words often overlap.

¹⁷ In most cases, the songtext is written alongside the musical notation, each character in the songtext aligned with the corresponding musical symbols. In some rare cases, however, the songtext may be arranged before or after the entire musical notation, but one can still tell in these cases which musical note(s) are assigned to each character using the “one-character-for-one-pluck” (*yizi yitan* 一字一彈 or *yizi yiyin* 一字一音) principle.

Qinpu and the Transmission of *Qin* Music

Qin music in premodern China had three ways of transmission: performance (including pedagogical demonstration), notation in manuscript, and notation in print. Since we no longer have access to the historical performance, my research will be primarily based on textual sources. However, we need to bear in mind that historical *qin* notations only give us limited information of the probable performances, and that the notation was produced as an instructional and mnemonic aid for performers rather than a precise representation of any real performance.¹⁸

The earliest extant notation of *qin* music is a manuscript copy of the piece titled “Youlan” 幽蘭 which was previously lost in China but then found in Japan. The manuscript score was produced in the late 7th or early 8th century,¹⁹ and it is perhaps the only extant *qin* score that can be convincingly dated to the pre-Song period. Other early pieces of *qin* music include a song written by Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155-1221), printed in his *Baishi Daoren gequ* 白石道人歌曲,²⁰ and a song and several “mode tunes” (introductory

¹⁸ Udo Will, “A Musicologist’s Dilemma: Technology and the Analysis of Music.”

¹⁹ Zha Fuxi credits “Mr. Kakui (i.e. Kakui Hiroshi 角井博) from the Tokyo Museum” with dating the score according to a character used in the Zhou period (690-705) when Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) was the ruler. See Zha, “Juben tiyao” 據本提要, in *Qinqu jiccheng* 琴曲集成 (hereafter, QQJC), vol. 1, 1.

²⁰ *Baishi daoren gequ* was printed in 1202 when Jiang Kui was alive. The book was reprinted in the Qing dynasty based on a manuscript copy of the 1202 print edition by

tunes that reflect the characteristics of certain modes) in the 13th century encyclopedia, *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記.²¹ These Southern Song books were not produced for *qin* music in particular. Besides, collections of *qin* music (hereafter, *qinpu* 琴譜) already circulated in this time period,²² but perhaps few, if any, were ever printed.

Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (ca. 1316—ca. 1402). See Qiu Qionsun 丘瓊蓀, *Baishi Daoren gequ tongkao* 白石道人歌曲通考, 11-13. This song, titled “Guyuan” 古怨 (“Ancient Lament”), is also the earliest surviving *qin* song with musical notation. Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 183.

²¹ Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (active 13th century) comp., *Shilin Guangji*, Chunzhuang shuyuan edition, *juan* 4, 4-7.

²² For example, the influential yet mysterious *qinpu*, *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音. There were several different editions of *Taigu yiyin* published in the Ming (1368-1644). According to a preface written by Zhu Quan’s 朱權 (1378-1448), *Taigu yiyin* was originally compiled by someone named Tian Zhiweng 田芝翁 (fl. early 13th century) over two hundred years prior to Zhu Quan’s time. As Zhu Quan acquired an incomplete and damaged version of this ancient *qinpu*, he corrected it and put it into print, keeping its title unchanged. See QQJC, vol. 1, 93. However, the edition that Zhu Quan published is now untraceable. His preface is now found in a different *qinpu* titled “Xinkan taiyin Daquan ji” 新刊太音大全集 in the Jiajing period (1522-1566). Zha Fuxi speculates that it was appropriated by the publisher as a marketing strategy. See Zha Fuxi’s “Juben tiyao” in QQJC, vol. 1, 4.

It is worth noticing that the term *qinpu* has different meanings. In historical and present usage, the term may refer to either the *qin* notation, or collections of *qin* notation, or handbooks of the *qin*. In the last case, the word “pu” means instruction manual, like in “huapu” 畫譜 (handbooks of painting), “yanpu” 硯譜 (handbooks of inkstones), and “xiangpu” 香譜 (handbooks of incense). Moreover, books that include *qin* notations are not necessarily *qin* handbooks. My use of the term “*qinpu*” in the current project refers only to books that focus on *qin* music and include *qin* notations (many, but not all, of the book titles contain the word “*qinpu*”). Thus, my use of the term excludes books like Jiang Kui’s *Baishi Daoren gequ* or Zhu Zaiyu’s 朱載堉 (1536-1611) *Yuelü quanshu* 樂律全書, for they do not particularly focus on *qin* music despite their inclusion of *qin* notations. Nonetheless, these books are still valuable sources for my research on *qin* song, as well as other types of materials that are not what I call *qinpu* but are related to the *qin*.

The earliest *qinpu* that survives today was compiled by the Ming prince, Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), in which he includes sixty-four pieces of *qin* music.²³ Since then, more and more *qinpu* were compiled and published through the end of Qing, around 140 of them surviving today. Among these *qinpu*, however, only about five were dated prior to the sixteenth century. Moreover, about two-thirds of the *qinpu* of the Ming

²³ Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 206. Zhu Quan also compiled some significant books on drama and *qu* songs, including *Taihe zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜 and *Qionglin yayun* 瓊林雅韻. For more about Zhu Quan, see Richard G. Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*.

dynasty (1368-1644) were published after the mid-sixteenth century.²⁴ This phenomenon is in accordance with scholars' observation of the rapid growth of print from the late Ming onward.²⁵ Cynthia Brokaw, for example, summarizes that the late Ming-Qing period is "a time when there is a significant expansion in print culture, both in the quantities and types of texts published and in the scope of their distribution geographically and socially."²⁶ As a result, the repertoire of *qin* music that we have inherited today is to a large degree a product of late imperial print culture.

The late imperial *qinpu*, also known as *qin* handbooks to the English-speaking world, preserved the majority of the surviving *qin* repertoire. Zha Fuxi 查阜西 (1895-1976), a prominent *qin* player and scholar of the 20th century, led and completed a huge project in the 1950s which gathered and organized almost all the surviving scores of traditional *qin* music. Based on these sources, Zha Fuxi lists in his *Cun jian guqin qupu ji lan* 存見古琴曲譜輯覽 (Overview of Extant *Qin* Scores) over six hundred different

²⁴ Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 206.

²⁵ See Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*; Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*; and essays in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow.

²⁶ Cynthia J. Brokaw, "On the History of the Book in China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, 23.

pieces of *qin* music that are extant along with thousands of different versions of them.²⁷ Most of the sources that he consulted were woodblock print *qinpu* from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century.²⁸ In addition to musical scores, these *qinpu* also provide other valuable information about the history, theory, and aesthetics of *qin* music. Today, the original copies of these *qinpu* are scattered in various libraries and private collections around the world. Thanks to the above-mentioned 1950s project, the facsimile form of most of the *qinpu* can be found in *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成 (Collection of *Qin* Music, hereafter, QQJC), a thirty-volume collection published between the 1960s and 2010.

Qin Musiking

The term “musiking” is developed by Joseph S. C. Lam after Christopher Small’s theory on “musicking.”²⁹ Both terms are coined by using “music” as a verb. In Small’s

²⁷ These pieces do not include court music. Also, a handful of them were produced in the Republican period (1912-1949). Zha, *Cun jian guqin qupu jilan*, 5.

²⁸ See the chart of the consulted musical scores and score collections in Zha, *Cun jian guqin qupu ji lan*, 13-22. A small number of the *qinpu* in Zha Fuxi’s chart are found in manuscript form only.

²⁹ Joseph Lam, “Music and Male Bonding in Ming China,” 81-83, and his “Eavesdropping on Zhang Xiaoxiang’s Musical World in Early Southern Song China,” 29-30. See also Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*.

theory, to music is “to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performances, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.”³⁰ Thus, the idea of musicking expands the study of musical activities to a realm far beyond the study of musical performance *per se*. Using a different spelling, Lam proposes the concept of “musiking” which he defines as “a purposeful and interactive engagement with music.”³¹ What characterizes an activity as musiking depends not on whether it contributes to a musical performance, but on whether the participant actively manipulates music for certain purposes. To put it another way, musiking is the process through which the participant gives meaning to music in a particular context. When people musik with others, they communicate with others by manipulating music. Their communications may take textual or discursive forms. For example, when a court official writes to the emperor to propose new music for imperial rituals, he musiks in a textual form.

Focusing on the specific participants and their intentions, the concept of musiking helps scholars analyze how music makes what sense to different people in different contexts. Historical sources have provided us with fragmented traces of musiking realities that took place or were envisioned to take place, with which I attempt to understand what different people were trying to communicate in their uses of *qin* music. Hence, this project is a study of *qin* musiking. Activities that I treat as *qin* musiking in my research

³⁰ Small, *Musicking*, 9.

³¹ Lam, “Music and Male Bonding in Ming China,” 81.

include performing, listening, composing, editing, publishing, and writing about *qin* music, but I treat these activities as *qin* musiking only if the participant actively and purposefully engaged with the music. The focus of studying *qin* musiking is on the participant's engagement and purpose in the activity. Also, the sounds of music form the basis of all kinds of activities that I regard as musiking, even though in some cases the musical sounds exist only in the form of imagination, anticipation, or remembrance. A *qinpu* compiler may musik with his/her targeted readers by editing the musical scores which symbolize the musical sounds that the compiler has in mind. The compiler would also expect the targeted readers to anticipate or realize the musical sounds. However, when a book collector purchased a *qinpu* not for its music but for its antiqueness, s/he may use the musical scores in the *qinpu* as evidence for the *qinpu*'s date, not as symbols of musical sounds. This book collector's reading the *qinpu* is not to be analyzed as musiking because the activity does not make use of music. In this case, the *qinpu* is used no differently from non-musical texts.

Qin Practitioners and *Qin* Players

I refer people who actively engaged in *qin* musiking as *qin* practitioners. Based on the above explanation about *qin* musiking, the role of a *qin* practitioner may include, but not limited to, the player, listener, composer, editor, or reader of *qin* music. A *qin* practitioner could take one or more of these roles when musiking. However, because musical sounds form the basis of musiking, the primary role of a *qin* practitioner is a former, current, or potential listener/player of *qin* music.

Qin players in history came from diverse backgrounds. Textual records tell us that among *qin* players of different time periods were aristocrats, court or local musicians, scholar-officials and their families, Confucian teachers, Daoist and Buddhist monks, hermits, artisans, and so on.³² These include both men and women.³³ Nonetheless, people who received little literary education or who lived in poverty rarely engaged in *qin* playing, mainly because of the *qin*'s cultural association with the ancient sages and because of the cost (of time and resources) of obtaining and practicing the *qin*.³⁴

Music and Morality in Ancient Thought

The idea that music had significant moral influences appears in some of the earliest Chinese texts and was widely accepted in throughout the history.³⁵ This idea

³² Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in*, 64. Examples of *qin* players from different backgrounds throughout Chinese history can be found in Xu Jian's *Qinshi xinbian*. In particular, the book mentions some *qin*-playing artisans (a dyer, a carpenter, and a headwear tailor) who were often neglected by *qin* historians. Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 220.

³³ For more about women participating in *qin* playing and other forms of *qin* musiking, see chapter 1 and chapter 4. See also Yip Mingmei 葉明媚, "Nü qinren: guixiu, gongting funü, mingji, nūni, nūshen" 女琴人——閨秀、宮廷婦女、名妓、女尼、女神.

³⁴ Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in*, 64-65.

³⁵ For the musical thought in ancient China, see DeWoskin, *A Song of One or Two*; Erica Fox Brindley, *Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China*; Faye

comes from the theoretical premise that music connects the nature and the human world in a correlative system. To summarize, music is the harmonious arrangement of sounds, while sounds come from myriad things (including human beings) through the movements of different types of *qi* (vital energy). Because music encompasses the way how everything relates to each other in harmony, to understand music is to understand the Way. Therefore, ancient Chinese texts often trace the origin of music and musical instruments to the earliest sage-kings, especially Fuxi 伏羲, who was said to have created the eight trigrams. Just like the trigrams, music making is a manifestation and utilization of patterns of the cosmos.

Unlike the trigrams which do not originally exist in nature, music may generate from either natural phenomena or human activities. The word *yue* 樂 (“music”), perhaps originally referring to some sort of musical instrument, is often associated with the human utilization of music.³⁶ Ancient philosophers had divergent views on *yue*. Daoists like Zhuangzi 莊子 (c. 369-286 BCE) considered the perfect music to be the ultimate harmony that encompasses all sounds in its soundlessness, while the Mohists criticized manmade music for wasting time and resources. Even the advocates for *yue*, like the Confucians, would argue that one must be very careful about music making. The “Record

Chunfang Fei, *Chinese Theories of Theater and Performance from Confucius to the Present*, 3-22; Scott Cook, “‘Yue Ji’ 樂記 —Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary”; Van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 23-27.

³⁶ Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song of One or Two*, 57-59.

of Music” in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) writes that, if the five notes—*gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, and *yu* 羽—all go out of order, the state will soon come to an end.³⁷

Arguments as such are based on the theory that musical sounds and their corresponding *qi* have mutual influences, as explained also in the “Record of Music”:

When evil sounds move people, the *qi* that goes against the current responds; when the goes-against-the-current *qi* forms, decadent music arises. When righteous sounds move people, the *qi* that goes with the current responds; when the goes-with-the-current *qin* forms, harmonious music arises.³⁸

Thus, music moves people in a fundamental way because it directly responds with the *qi*.

This theory would be further elaborated by apocryphal scholars in the Han dynasty, as they drew evidence from the physical phenomenon of sympathetic resonance: when one

³⁷ *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, *juan* 37, 1254-1256. Some questions remain regarding the origin of the *Book of Rites* as well as many other ancient texts. My use of “ancient texts” in this project refers to texts that were produced or compiled during or before the Western Han (206 BCE-24 CE), while the content of most of these texts would have taken shape by the Warring States period. As scholars have noticed, the ideas expressed in the “Record of Music” also appear in a variety of ancient texts in slightly different articulation and organization. See Martin Kern, “A Note on the Authenticity and Ideology of Shih-chi 24, ‘The Book on Music’” 673-677; and Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, “*Liji Yueji yu Shiji Yueshu*” 禮記樂記與史記樂書, 56-67.

³⁸ 凡奸聲感人，而逆氣應之；逆氣成象，而淫樂興焉。正聲感人，而順氣應之；順氣成象，而和樂興焉。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 38, 1292.

plucked a string on a zither, the corresponding string on another adjacent zither would resonate by itself. Because music, as it was believed, has such a power of correlating and moving things, it must be used with caution: whereas “good” music brings harmony to the society, “bad” music would lead to disorder and decadence.

All these ancient ideas contributed to a mixed view on manmade music, but the classical Confucian view—such as that shown in the *Book of Rites*—became dominant in the following two millennia even among those who were not self-declared Confucian. Rather than completely resist music making, the major concern was how to produce and utilize good music instead of bad music. Accordingly, the term *yue* was generally used to refer to the “good music” or the “correct music,” and I follow Scott Cook’s translation of *yue* in this sense as “Music” with a capital M.³⁹ Theoretically, as noted earlier, the “good”

³⁹ Cook notes that from the concrete aspect, *yue* often refers to “a multi-media art form centered around music, and which includes also poetry, song, and dance.” However, he points out that what really distinguishes *yue* from other types of music is that *yue* carries the message of virtue. For more about the relations between *sheng* 聲 (sound), *yin* 音 (music), and *yue* 樂 (Music) in ancient texts, as well as Cook’s explanation on his translation of the terms, see his “‘Yue Ji’ 樂記 —Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary,” 19-24. To reduce ambiguity, the term *yue* also developed into various compounds for the concept of “good music,” such as “ancient music” (*guyue* 古樂), “elegant music” (*yayue* 雅樂), and “great music” (*dayue* 大樂), as we will see in the late imperial writings discussed later.

type of music is based on the music set down by the ancient sage-kings who have comprehended the intrinsic harmony of the cosmos.⁴⁰ Therefore, the “Record of Music” states that only *junzi* could know Music,⁴¹ that is, to identify and utilize Music by understanding its relation to the Way.

The *Qin* as A Representative of “Good Music”

The *qin* had long been associated with Music. Kenneth DeWoskin remarks: “In the writings of many scholars [of the Han], the *qin* zither had begun to emerge as a civilized and civilizing instrument of special importance.”⁴² These Han scholars’ writings support such “special importance” of the *qin* from two aspects. First, these writings attribute the creation of the *qin* to ancient sages—the particular sage in question might be Fuxi, Shennong, or Shun in different texts. Second, they claim that *qin* music in itself fosters moral cultivation. The “Record of Music” states that the sounds of the *qin* and the

⁴⁰ My phrasing suggests that “good music” refers to a *type* of music. This is true in most cases, but Erica Brindley has noticed that in some ancient texts like *Guanzi*, whether a music is good is “wholly subservient to the abilities and actions of the ruler.” Brindley, *Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China*, 33. Yet still, such a ruler-determined criterion is not essentially contradictory to the idea that “good music” is like the type of music originally used by the sage-kings.

⁴¹ 唯君子為能知樂。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 37, 1259.

⁴² DeWoskin, *A Song of One or Two*, 57.

se would remind a virtuous person (*junzi*) of being loyal and righteous servants.⁴³ Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-86 BCE) wrote specifically about the *qin* in his comment on the “Accounts on Music” (“Yueshu” 樂書) in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記). He firstly states that music must be “correct” (*zheng* 正) to bring about correct behavior. He then argues that the *qin* produces correct music because the length of the instrument comes from the “correct measurement” (*zhengdu* 正度) and the arrangement of its strings is in the “correct order” (*bu shi qi cixu* 不失其次序).⁴⁴ A slightly later text, the *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (dated to 79 CE), further explains the moral significance of the *qin* by making a phonetic association (an exegetic methodology commonly used by Han-dynasty scholars): “the *qin* is to restrain (*jin* 禁), to restrain the excessive and the evil, and to rectify human minds.”⁴⁵ Records about Confucius and his disciples playing the *qin* also appeared at latest in the Western Han (206 BCE-9CE), although these records may not be verifiable.

These early texts share two commonalities which will help us notice the changes in late-imperial discussions of the *qin* even though the later texts often rely heavily on the earlier ones. First, although the *qin* is highly valued in ancient texts, it is but one of the

⁴³ 君子聽琴瑟之聲則思志義之臣。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 39, 1314.

⁴⁴ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, *juan* 24, 40-b and 41-a.

⁴⁵ 琴者，禁也。所以禁止淫邪，正人心也。 Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), “Liyue” 禮樂, in *Baihu tong*, *juan* 1 *xia*, 10-a.

many representatives of Music, such as the bells (*zhong* 鐘), drums (*gu* 鼓), the mouth organ (*sheng* 笙 and *yu* 竽), and chimes (*qing* 磬). In fact, the *qin* often appears in the phrase *qin se* 琴瑟—or the compound word *qinse* which could collectively refer to instruments with different numbers of strings. Second, these texts often present Music as something available to the targeted readers of the texts. Even when good music is juxtaposed with decadent music, like in the passage from the “Record of Music” that I quoted earlier, the main point would be that one should resist the latter and embrace the former.

Scholars in the late imperial period, as much as they were determined to resist decadent music, often pointed out a more urgent issue, that is, whether the Music discussed in those ancient texts was still accessible at this time. In late imperial writings, the concept of Music is often termed as “ancient music” (*guyue* 古樂), juxtaposed to “new music” (*xinyue* 新樂) or “music of today” (*jinyue* 今樂). These terms, though not new, occur much less frequently in texts before the Common Era.⁴⁶ Unlike texts, musical

⁴⁶ One example of the “*guyue* vs. *xinyue*” comparison in ancient texts would be, again, a passage from the “Record of Music,” which is also included in the “Accounts on Music” in *Shiji*. In this passage, however, Marquis Wen of Wei asks Confucius’s disciple, Zixia, why he worried about falling asleep when listening to the *guyue*, but was never bored by *xinyue*. Here, *guyue* is still presented as a concrete type of music that is accessible to the speaker. Moreover, Zixia’s response soon resolves the bifurcation of *guyue* and *xinyue*, as he argues that the so-called *xinyue* is not even music (*yue*), but merely sounds (*yin*). See

performances are transient. As many dynasties had risen and fallen, late imperial scholars were not so optimistic about the transmission of the “ancient music” which promised to bring peace and order. To prove that the sages’ music did not completely lose its transmission, one must find some musical practice that could bridge the present and the time of the ancient sages.

Many considered *qin* playing to have been an unchanged practice since the ancient sages. A Qing-dynasty scholar, Tao Yu 陶虞 (1657-1719), once wrote: “Is the ancient music lost? No. We know this from the *qin* playing today.”⁴⁷ Others were not as confident; they suspected that the current way of *qin* playing was no longer the same as in the ancient time. A chapter titled “Tracing Back to Antiquity” (“Zhui gu” 追古) in a 16th-century *qinpu* remarks that the continuous transmission only applies to the object (*qi* 器) of the *qin*, whereas the intrinsic meaning (*yi* 意) of the musical practice is lost today.⁴⁸ In any case, these writers all believed that the *qin* as an object remained unchanged from the remote past to the present. Although their belief is contrary to modern archaeological evidence as I have noted, it served the ideological purpose to present the *qin* as the

Liji zhengyi, *juan* 38 and 39, 1304-1309.

⁴⁷ 古樂亡乎？未亡也，觀今鼓琴知之矣。See Tao Yu’s preface to *Qinxue zhengsheng* 琴學正聲, in QQJC, vol. 14, 1.

⁴⁸ 琴之不廢於今者，器耳，而其意無復有也。Wang Zhi 汪芝 (fl. 1525) comp., *Xilutang qintong* 西麓堂琴統, in QQJC vol. 3, 9.

remnant of the so-called ancient music. Even if the remnant refers only to the object, it would be significant enough because, as we have seen in Sima Qian's comment, the design of the *qin* as an object already symbolized "correct" measurement and arrangement. Hence, for *qin* practitioners of the late imperial period, the widespread belief that the design of the *qin* remained unchanged since the ancient time served to support the possibility of reviving the power of ancient music through the *qin*.

Many of these *qin* practitioners further emphasized the uniqueness of the *qin* among all other musical instruments, including those instruments that were as well representatives of Music in ancient sources. In the same chapter, "Tracing Back to Antiquity," the writer explains why he thinks that the *qin* is especially valuable. In his view, although the *se* was also practiced by Confucius and his disciples, it was "no longer seen today"; the *qin*, however, remained "in the same style throughout history."⁴⁹ Similarly, in a collection of *qin*-related discussions compiled in the Kangxi period (1662-1722), the preface notes: "After the fall of the three ancient dynasties, the music officials scattered, and the musical instruments were lost...It is particularly fortunate that the learning of the *qin* is still here."⁵⁰ Some even pushed the argument beyond the realm of music. Zhang Ying 張英 (1637-1708), the Grand Secretary of the Wenhua Hall and

⁴⁹ 孔門之瑟今不復見，若琴則今古同風。Ibid.

⁵⁰ 自三代而下，伶官散失，樂器淪亡，.....猶幸有琴學在。See Qiu Tonglin's 丘彤璣 (fl. 1705) preface to *Chengyitang qintan* 誠一堂琴談, in QQJC vol. 13, 435.

Minister of Rites during the Kangxi reign, wrote that among all the ancient sages' self-cultivation practices, what was inherited today was none other than *qin* playing.⁵¹

As reflected in the writings above, many *qin* practitioners of this period held the view that the *qin* was the major, or even the only, legacy of ancient music. This view, though not a reliable reflection of historical changes, is not entirely unfounded. While the design of the *qin* underwent significant modifications in early China, the archaeological evidence also shows that the instrument has remained essentially unchanged since the first century CE.⁵² In addition, other ancient string instruments like the *se* and the *zhu* faded away since the end of the Han, while the *qin* flourished.⁵³ Along with this shift was that the *qin* became more closely connected to the cultural elite as a solo instrument. A line in the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (compiled in the first century BCE) reads: "Speaking of the music that one can be close to, the *qin* is the most suitable. *Junzi* draw themselves close to the *qin* for it can help cultivate virtues."⁵⁴ This is perhaps the earliest extant writing

⁵¹ See Zhang Ying's preface to *Weiyan mizhi ding* 微言秘旨訂, in QQJC vol. 10, 239.

⁵² Lawergren, "Strings," 65.

⁵³ Ibid. 65 and 79.

⁵⁴ 樂之可密者，琴最宜焉。君子以其可修德，故近之。Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE.), *Shuoyuan*, *juan* 19, 15a. This line is immediately followed by a paragraph that is almost identical to the "Record of Music," which suggests that it might be a Western-Han addition to earlier sources.

that distinguishes the *qin* from other musical instruments including the *se*. The idea is further elaborated in an Eastern-Han (25-220 CE) book, the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義:

The elegant *qin* coordinates the orchestra and goes along with other types of musical instruments. However, the reason why *junzi* often use it is because the *qin* is the most intimate instrument that one can keep it by one's side. It does not have to be laid down in imperial halls or local ceremonies, unlike the bells and drums that are hanged and displayed yet rarely used. Even in remote villages or deep in the mountains, they (the *junzi*) will not go without the *qin*. They consider that the size of the *qin* is moderate and its sound harmonious. The strong sounds are not overly loud and the soft sounds are not too faint to be perceptible; it is suitable enough to harmonize the person's thoughts and *qi*, and to move one's goodness.⁵⁵

The fact that the *qin* was not limited to orchestral settings and was suitable for daily use helped the instrument to establish a close and long-lasting connection with cultural elites, especially considering that it is much smaller in size than the *se*. The *qin*'s "moderate" (*zhong* 中) size and sound also reinforced the idea that *qin* music harmonizes human minds without being excessive. The above views that developed during the Han dynasty not only added prestige to the *qin* and contributed to its popularity among cultural elites, but also served to legitimate the late imperial claim that the *qin* had been continuously practiced since the sages' time with an unbroken tradition of moral cultivation.

⁵⁵ 雅琴者，樂之統也，與八音並行。然君子所常御者，琴最親密，不離於身，非必陳設於宗廟鄉黨，非若鐘鼓羅列於虛懸也。雖在窮閭陋巷、深山幽谷，猶不失琴。以為琴之大小得中而聲音和。大聲不嘩人而流漫，小聲不湮滅而不聞。適足以和人意氣，感人善心。Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. 147-196), *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, *juan* 6, 7a-b.

Self-cultivation and Moral Exemplarity

Scholars in Chinese intellectual history generally use the term “self-cultivation” to capture the idea of “xiushen” 修身 in historical texts, although both the English and the Chinese terms may have different implications in different contexts. Following previous scholars’ choice of term, I use “self-cultivation” in this project to refer to the process through which one strives to become the ideal person that one wants to be.⁵⁶

The idea of self-cultivation is tied to the ancient Chinese cosmology which is thought to be the foundation of Chinese philosophical traditions like Confucianism and Daoism.⁵⁷ To summarize the basics of this cosmology, everything in the natural and human worlds is ever-changing and correlated with each other because of the *qi* (the vital energy), and the ancient sages are able to fully grasp and utilize the Way (*dao* 道) of how the cosmos is like and how it works. Using the Confucian vocabulary, Roger Ames summarizes the self-cultivation project as follows:

We might describe the evolving careers of members of the community from beginning as mere persons (*ren* 人) to becoming exemplary in their conduct (*junzi*) for their community through achieving a consummate relational virtuosity (*ren* 仁) with other people. For only a few, by

⁵⁶ Therefore, my use of “self-cultivation” differs from the term “xiushen” in the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), as “xiushen” is one of the eight steps of the *Great Learning*’s larger self-cultivation project. See Barry C. Keenan, *Neo-Confucian Self-Cultivation* and Roger T. Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*, 87-134.

⁵⁷ Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*; Edward L. Shaughnessy trans., *I Ching: The Classic of Changes*, 1; David N. Keightley, “Shang Divination and Metaphysics.”

coordinating and embodying in themselves the values and the meaning that distinguish some historical epoch of human flourishing, they have the ultimate distinction of becoming sages (*shengren* 聖人), and as such, sources of enduring cosmic meaning.⁵⁸

For a person that is socialized under Confucian orthodoxy, the ultimate goal of self-cultivation—with “self” being a sum of one’s social roles and relationships—is to achieve sagehood. Thus, the self-cultivating process is the process of learning, internalizing, and utilizing the Way. It is an ongoing process, because knowledge and action are inseparable in the Confucian view. In other words, one does not secure sagehood by sudden enlightenment, but becomes a sage by keep acting like a sage. Therefore, as Ames accurately puts it in the quote above, only a few may achieve the ultimate distinction of “becoming sages” rather than *being* sages.⁵⁹

In the endless process of self-cultivation, those who have made remarkable achievements are known as exemplars. *Junzi* 君子 is a common term that refers to exemplary people in general, whereas “sage” refers exclusively to those who embody the ultimate exemplarity. Hence, the self-cultivation process is a process of becoming exemplars and improving one’s exemplarity through interactions with others. Chapter 4 offers further discussions about moral exemplarity, with a specific case of how one’s exemplarity may be improved with the help of *qin* song.

⁵⁸ Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 85.

⁵⁹ Ames has given a further discussion on the idea of “human *becomings*” versus “human *beings*” in the Confucian self-cultivation project. See Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 87-157.

Exemplars on the way to sagehood are moral exemplars. Used as an analytical term in this dissertation, to be moral means to be concerned with knowing and doing what is right according to the Way. The concept of morality in Confucian context is extremely comprehensive because of the correlative cosmology which unites the human and the natural worlds. As Wei-ming Tu has put it:

In the Confucian tradition, moral ideas are much more than social norms. In the case of Chung-yung [*Zhongyong* 中庸], the ultimate manifestation of morality transcends social ethics and reaches its ultimacy in the unity of Heaven and man.⁶⁰

That is to say, moral principles are not only social principles, but cosmological principles. Therefore, one's moral exemplarity may be manifested in various aspects, including the religious, the political, the artistic, and so on. Meanwhile, these aspects are intertwined and often indistinguishable. Discussions of such cases can be found in Peter Bol's study of the Tang and Song literary culture. For *guwen* (ancient-style writing) writers like Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), one's literary competence is indistinguishable from one's Confucian scholarship or political insights, because the ability to write well is the same ability to act in accordance with the Way.⁶¹ In late imperial *qin* musiking, moral concerns were also manifested in various aspects that were closely intertwined.

As historians have noted, a series of historical changes in late imperial China significantly influenced people's spiritual pursuits and self-cultivation practices. With the

⁶⁰ Wei-ming Tu, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness*, 67.

⁶¹ Peter K. Bol, "*This Culture of Ours*": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, 108-147.

increase of population and the spread of education, to succeed in civil service examinations became harder than ever before.⁶² Meanwhile, more and more people had doubts about the efficiency of exams in selecting the real talented, while also questioning the correlation between someone's political career and moral achievement.⁶³ The rapid economic development also helped increase social mobility.⁶⁴ The social boundary between merchants and scholars/gentry was blurred.⁶⁵ Some craftsmen and artisans also achieved elite status by accumulating economic and cultural capital.⁶⁶ In terms of spiritual and intellectual aspects, religious syncretism and popularization permeated all

⁶² Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility*; Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*.

⁶³ Shang Wei 商偉, *Li yu shiba shiji de wenhua zhuanzhe: Rulin waishi yanjiu* 禮與十八世紀的文化轉折：《儒林外史》研究; Maria Franca Sibau, *Reading for the Moral: Exemplarity and Confucian Moral Imagination in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Short Fiction*.

⁶⁴ For a summarize of these economic and social changes and relevant scholarship, see Evelyn S. Rawski's, "Economic and Social Foundations of Late Imperial Culture."

⁶⁵ Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*; Yu Yingshi 余英時, "Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen" 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神; Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*; Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: a Chinese City, 1550-1850*.

⁶⁶ Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China*.

levels of moral teachings and practices under Confucian orthodoxy.⁶⁷ Confucian learning also went through significant changes. With the influence of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529), many people believed that everyone could become a sage even without reading the Classics, yet divergence arose among scholars of the Yangming school regarding exactly how to achieve sagehood through daily practice.⁶⁸ Discussions on the innate goodness of human beings further led to an increasing interest in the moral value

⁶⁷ Judith Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*, Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis*; Cynthia J. Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*; Qitao Guo, *Ritual Opera and Mercantile Lineage: The Confucian Transformation of Popular Culture in Late Imperial Huizhou*; Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬, *Xiao zhi tianxia: Xiaojing yu jinshi Zhongguo de zhengzhi yu wenhua* 孝治天下：《孝經》與近世中國的政治與文化; Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*; Jimmy Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500-1700*; Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China*; Sakai Tadao, “Confucianism and Popular Educational Works”; Richard G. Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism*.

⁶⁸ Cai Renhou 蔡仁厚, *Wang Yangming zhexue* 王陽明哲學; Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬, *Yangming xue shiren shequn: lishi, sixiang, yu shijian* 陽明學士人社群：歷史，思想與實踐.

of emotions and desire in the late Ming.⁶⁹ Many of these Ming Confucians, however, became the object of sharp criticism from scholars in the Qing, who instead promoted learning of the antiquity, philology, ritual practice, and practical knowledge.⁷⁰ These changes had various influences on people from different backgrounds regarding how one perceives and realizes the significance of one's life.

The Privilege Discourse

In many late imperial *qinpu*, we observe a puzzling phenomenon: while the writings highlight the beneficial effect of *qin* music for moral cultivation, they simultaneously prohibit certain groups of people from approaching the *qin*. This idea may be traced back to as early as the late Southern Song (1127-1279). In the Yuan-dynasty (1279-1368) version of the *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, an encyclopedia originally compiled in the thirteenth century, a section about the *qin* notes: “Do not play in front of vulgar

⁶⁹ Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*; Pauline Lee, *Li Zhi: Confucianism and the Virtue of Desire*; Maram Epstein, *Orthodox Passions: Narrating Filial Love during the High Qing*.

⁷⁰ Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*; Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse*; Steven B. Miles, *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou*.

people (*suzi* 俗子).⁷¹ Notice that the word *suzi* in Yuan dynasty may refer specifically to actors. *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音, a *qinpu* that was said to be compiled in the late Southern Song and that survived in fragmented Ming-dynasty editions, lists many more detailed restrictions on *qin* practitioners, such as that the *qin* should not be played by, or for, “Buddhists,” “foreigners,” “merchants,” “professional entertainers,” and “vulgar people.”⁷² Some other writers even argued against playing for anyone who was not a *zhiyin* (“one who truly understands music,” see chapter 1 for more on the concept of *zhiyin*).⁷³ These restrictions appear in a variety of sources circulating during the thirteenth

⁷¹ 對俗子不彈。Chen Yuanjing comp., *Shilin guangji*, *juan* 4, 8b. However, because we have lost the original Southern-Song version of *Shilin guangji*, it is possible that the above quote came from a Yuan-dynasty revision. A similar argument is made in a Yuan-dynasty essay on *qin* playing written by Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1331). See Wu Cheng, *Qinyan shize*, Xuehai leibian edition, 2a-b.

⁷² See QQJC vol. 1, 30.

⁷³ For example, an essay in *Taigu yiyin* writes: “The ancients would not play [the *qin*] if not facing a *zhiyin*” (古人不遇知音不彈). QQJC vol. 1, 27. Similarly, the “Qinxue xuzhi” 琴學須知 (“Must-knows about *qin* learning”) in Yang Biaozheng’s *qinpu* warns: “Do not use the great music of the sages and worthies if not facing a *zhiyin*” 不遇知音勿妄動聖賢大樂。QQJC vol. 4, 263.

and the fifteenth centuries.⁷⁴ Many of these texts are widely quoted in later *qinpu* throughout the Ming and Qing periods. The belief that only a limited group of people are qualified to enjoy *qin* music dominated late imperial discourse on the *qin*.

For convenience, I now refer to this historical discourse on excluding some people from *qin* musiking as the “Privilege Discourse.” I use the word “privilege” to underline the following characteristic of this discourse: it tries to restrict *qin* musiking to a particular group of people, while claiming other people’s *qin* musiking as violating the “rules.” The discourse also implies a hierarchical view that those “qualified” *qin* practitioners are somehow superior to the “unqualified.” Hence, this discourse treats *qin* musiking as if it were a privilege, but we need to bear in mind that this discourse never claims *qin* musiking to be a privilege that one can be born with.

In other artistic fields of the late imperial period, it is not uncommon to see some activities being associated with certain sociocultural classes. For example, Craig Clunas has noticed the “consumption patterns of the higher levels of the elite” and the “prevalence of expressions on ranking and grading” in the literature of Ming

⁷⁴ A brief discussion about the origin of *Taigu yiyin* can be found in Zha Fuxi’s “Juben tiyao” 據本提要 in QQJC vol. 1, 3-4. This *qinpu*, which developed into different editions in the Ming dynasty, may be traced back to late Southern Song if we believe the narrative in a preface attributed to Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448). For Zhu Quan’s preface, see QQJC vol. 1, 93.

connoisseurship.⁷⁵ He also finds that, in Ming paintings using the “four elegant pastimes” theme (*qin*, *go*-chess, calligraphy, and painting), the activity of viewing a painting is distinguished from making a painting. While the former is depicted in those paintings as an activity of the elite, the latter is not.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, in those cases we hardly find explicit and widespread arguments that some people should be prohibited from engaging in artistic activities associated with social and cultural hierarchies. What is closer to the Privilege Discourse in *qin* musiking is Jin Shengtan’s 金聖嘆 (1608-1661) “Books for the Talented” (*caizi shu* 才子書). In his comment on *The Story of the Western Wing*, Jin writes that he would only share this book with the *caizi* (“the talented,” often translated as “genius”), and he would not allow (*buxu* 不許) others to read it.⁷⁷ Just like the importance of the idea of “*caizi*” in Ming and Qing literature, further research on the Privilege Discourse are crucial for our understanding of the late imperial *qin* culture.

Scholars have long noticed what I call the Privilege Discourse in the late imperial *qin* culture. The current scholarly explanation regarding the Privilege Discourse is, as van Gulik has put it, that the *qin* was “reserved for a small class, ...i.e. the literati.”⁷⁸ James

⁷⁵ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, 46 and 90.

⁷⁶ Craig Clunas, *Chinese Painting and Its Audiences*, 37-84.

⁷⁷ Jin Shengtan, “Du diliu caizi shu *Xixiang ji fa*” 讀第六才子書西廂記法, in Jin Shengtan, *Jin Shengtan quanji* 金聖嘆全集, vol. 3, 11.

⁷⁸ Robert van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 16-17.

Watt further elaborates this point, stating that “the literati took the *qin* unto themselves and perpetuated the rule that ‘ignorant and vulgar persons’ may not be initiated into the mysteries of the music.”⁷⁹ The difference between Watt’s and van Gulik’s arguments is in the time span. Van Gulik believes that the *qin* has always been regarded as a literati privilege ever since two thousand years ago.⁸⁰ In Watt’s view, the *qin* in its early stage was not reserved for the literati; it was until the Ming period that the literati finally “took over” the music of the *qin*.⁸¹ Regardless, they both understand the Privilege Discourse in the Ming and Qing periods as an attempt to single out the *qin* as a literati pursuit in contrast to all other forms of music produced by “professionals” from a lower sociocultural status. Tian Qing 田青, in his 2010 speech at the China Conservatory of Music, remarked that *qin* culture throughout the history always made a clear distinction between the “elegant” (*ya* 雅) and the “mass” (*su* 俗), and that the opposite of the *su* was represented by the literati: “The *qin* is different. In premodern China, it was always the musical instrument of the literati (*wenren* 文人). It never became something *su*, and it was always the opposite of the *su*.”⁸²

⁷⁹ James Watt, “The Qin and the Chinese Literati,” 42.

⁸⁰ Van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 16-17.

⁸¹ Watt, “The Qin and the Chinese Literati,” 39-42.

⁸² 所谓“俗”，一般是指普及的大众文化；所谓“雅”，一般是指少数知识阶层的“精英文化”。……但实际上“雅”和“俗”之间并没有绝对界限，而且常常雅俗互换，尤

These scholarly views have some problems. As I explained earlier, *qin* practitioners in history came from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, and the boundary of the “literati class” was blurred in the Ming and Qing. More importantly, even from the perspective of the Privilege Discourse advocates, being a literatus/scholar does not necessarily make one a qualified *qin* practitioner. For example, a *qinpu* compiler in the Kangxi period (1661-1722) complained that when recent scholar-officials (*shi daifu* 士大夫) “occasionally heard” (*jian wen* 間聞) the music of the *qin*, they always became bored and sleepy.⁸³ In this case, the status of being a scholar-official—a successful literatus in the common view—does not by itself qualify someone as a *zhiyin*. Even scholars themselves did not by default consider each other to be in the same group that qualified for *qin* musiking. A late-Ming writer, who was a scholar-official himself, criticized that even those outstanding poets who were said to be good at *qin* playing in fact could do nothing but entertaining the audience with superfluous sounds and fancy

其是时间可以使”俗”变成“雅”，前朝之”俗”常常成为后朝之”雅”。古琴则不同，在中国古代，它始终是文人的乐器，从来没变成过俗的东西，而且始终和俗处于对立的地位。Tian Qing, “Guqin de renwen jingshen: 2010 nian 7 yue 5 ri zai Zhongguo Yinyue Xueyuan de jiangyan” 古琴的人文精神——2010年7月5日在中國音樂學院的講演, 5.

⁸³ 近則以琴名世絕少，概見士大夫間聞其聲，無不厭倦欲臥。See Ma Zhaochen’s 馬兆辰 (fl. 1722) preface to *Woyunlou qinpu* 臥雲樓琴譜, in QQJC vol. 15, 12.

techniques.⁸⁴ At the same time, many writings that support the Privilege Discourse also express admiration for historical *qin* practitioners who were not conventionally categorized as “literati” by occupation, such as court and local musicians, Daoist monks, and palace women. In sum, whether someone belonged to the literati class was not the central issue in the Privilege Discourse.

Based on my research, the Privilege Discourse in late imperial *qin* culture is based on this shared belief: only those with advanced moral cultivation are able to understand *qin* music and hence are qualified for *qin* musiking. The distinction by moral achievements is inevitably more fluid and subjective than distinctions made by social class or level of education. Every *qin* practitioner could potentially claim him/herself to be morally superior than others. Indeed, we rarely find people in history who self-identified as ineligible to enjoy *qin* music (except in the case of showing one’s modesty). Therefore, the Privilege Discourse is not about one group of people claiming their superiority over those outside the group (e.g., the literati versus the non-literati). It is every participant in the discourse trying to position themselves in an imagined “privileged” group of *qin* musiking. The belief that one’s moral status correlates with one’s knowledge of music, although already evident in ancient musical thought, shaped

⁸⁴ 琴之爲道，中和且平。世鮮有講此者，即騷人韻士，名善琴，不過弄手取聲，蠲瑣綠鶯，以悅世耳，無惑乎廣陵絕矣。See Xue Zhixue’s 薛志學 (fl. 1594-1614) to *Sonxianguan qinpu* 松弦館琴譜, in QQJC vol. 8, 69.

late imperial *qin* activities in significant ways. I will further develop this topic in chapter 1.

Chapter outline

Before looking into specific works of *qin* songs, chapter 1 points out and analyzes two characteristics of late imperial *qin* culture: 1) the moral prerequisite set by the dominant Privilege Discourse for participating in *qin* activities, and 2) the trust in music as a more reliable means of communicating the moral mind than others (e.g. language, behavior, etc.). These two characteristics are at once manifested in the interchangeability of the two terms, *junzi* and *zhiyin*, in the Privilege Discourse. Through a comparison between ancient texts and the late Ming adaptation of the famous Boya-Ziqi story, the locus classicus of the term *zhiyin*, I discuss how the *zhiyin* discourse in *qin* musiking was reshaped by the historical changes during the late Ming. As a result of these changes, *zhiyin* communication was a must, rather than a luxury, for *qin* practitioners of this time to be recognized as moral persons and to continue improving one's social self.

In the Confucian tradition, the *Classic of Poetry* (aka *Book of Songs*) has associated poem singing with moral education. Hence, chapter 2 focuses on the late imperial attempts to revive the lost musical tradition of the *Classic of Poetry* through *qin* songs. Using different *qin* versions of “Guanju”—the first song in the *Classic of Poetry*—as an example, the chapter shows that the composers and editors applied their different understandings of the Confucian poem-singing tradition to their musical creations, with

which they aimed to communicate the true meanings of the Classics in a more effective way.

Chapter 3, 4, and 5 each focuses on one *qin* practitioner's life experiences and song compositions. Chapter 3 on Yang Biaozheng 楊表正 (c.1520-c.1590) shows that the late Ming print culture provided *qinpu* compilers and users a new way of seeking out like-minded *zhiyin*, which also encouraged new ways of creating and interpreting *qin* songs. Chapter 4 looks into the life and work of Queen Zhao of the Ming (Madam Zhong 鐘, fl. 1570-1620)—the only premodern woman to our knowledge who published a *qinpu*, which includes a *qin* song authored by herself. The chapter discusses how *qin* song as an artistic form helped the queen actively promote and elevate her moral exemplarity without violating gender norms. Chapter 5 uses the case of Cheng Xiong 程雄 (c. 1637-c.1700) to investigate how the composition process and the performance of *qin* songs functioned in social networking, which allowed non-degree holders like Cheng Xiong to become renowned as an excellent person. These individual cases reveal a more complex and fluid concept of sagehood during this time, with each exemplifying a creative way of using *qin* song for realizing the ideal personhood while exerting wide and long-lasting social influence at the same time.

Chapter 1. Ascending the Hall and Knowing the Music

Introduction

Using writings in various *qinpu* and the adaptation of the ancient *zhiyin* legend of Boya and Ziqi in Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, this chapter discusses the development of the concept of *zhiyin* in the Privilege Discourse, and explains how this development responded to *qin* practitioners' concerns and brought changes to *qin*-related activities of this period. I argue that the logic of the Privilege Discourse is based on the belief that *qin* performances create a ritualized environment which brings the participants in front of the sage, hence the threshold of "ascending the hall" (*shengtang* 升堂). These findings, compared to the *zhiyin* discourse in earlier periods, lead to my conclusion at the end of the chapter about the following three features which characterize a hitherto neglected part of late imperial *qin* culture: 1) the general exclusion of non-*zhiyin* from participating *qin* activities, 2) the conceptualization of an imagined moral elite as *zhiyin* which differs from the *shi* 士, and 3) the promotion of music as the new solution to social and cultural dilemmas about pursuing sagehood. These characteristics, arising from late imperial anxieties about moral communication and elite status, consequently required *qin* practitioners to prioritize the seeking of other *zhiyin* in their musical activities.

Zhiyin as A Synonym for *Junzi*

Let us return to the example of the “Books for the Talented” in the Introduction for its similarities to the Privilege Discourse in the *qin* field. While Jin Shengtan conceived of a privileged group with the term *caizi*, he further emphasized the difference between *caizi* and the scholar/literati class. Those who are “not allowed” to read *The Western Wing*, in his opinion, include not only ordinary retailers and low-ranking clerks (*fanfu zaoli* 販夫皂吏), but also mediocre scholars (*donghong xiansheng* 冬烘先生).¹ However, even though the concept of *caizi* may seem to set a stricter standard of being a literary elite compared to *wenren*, the threshold of claiming such an elite status does not necessarily become higher, because judgements about one’s literary talent can be quite subjective. Any writer of literature who enjoys reading books like *The Western Wing* may self-identify as a *caizi*.

Taking place in roughly the same time period, the discourse on *caizi* invites us to compare it with the Privilege Discourse in the *qin* field and ask: What term did the *qin* practitioners use to refer to the privileged group in their minds? In writings about the *qin*, the word *caizi* is rarely used. Instead, the writers usually used terms like *junzi* (君子, “gentlemen/moral exemplars”) or *zhiyin* (知音, “those who know music”) to refer to the

¹ Jin Shengtan, “Du diliu *caizi* shu *Xixiang ji fa*,” in Jin Shengtan, *Jin Shengtan quanji*, vol. 3, 10-11. Naifei Ding has given an insightful discussion on the emergence of reader-critics like Jin Shengtan during the late Ming and early Qing. See Ding, *Obscene Scenes: Sexual Politics in Jin Ping Mei*, 47-80.

targeted readers.² In addition, I have never seen such a case where the writer calls someone *junzi* or *zhiyin* yet criticizes him as unqualified for *qin* musiking, although the criticism could fall upon those being addressed as “literati” (*wenren*), “poets” (*saoke* 騷客), “scholars” (*xueshi* 學士), “uninspired Confucians” (*shi ru* 世儒, *su ru* 宿儒), or “officials” (*shi dafu*), as shown in some previous examples. Before a further discussion on these terms, it is necessary to briefly explain the issue of gender difference.

The word *junzi* usually refers to men, but this does not mean that women were excluded from *qin* musiking. In fact, women have been playing and listening to the *qin* throughout Chinese history. In the Ming and Qing periods, *qin* music was enjoyed by women from different social backgrounds, and many of them were remembered as excellent players or authors of *qin* works.³ Neither do I find sufficient proof of any gender hierarchy in the *qin* tradition. The language used in general discussions on the *qin* is male-dominated because the premodern writers were not in the habit of always choosing gender-neutral terms, and words with masculine connotations could be used generically. Writers would mark the feminine gender only when referring specifically to the female. For instance, the list of the “Sagacious and Worthy” in *Yongle qinshu jicheng*

² Later in this chapter I will further discuss what *junzi* and *zhiyin* mean in this context, but we may not assume a unanimous, concrete definition of any of the two terms.

³ For women *qin* players in history, see Dai Wei 戴微, “Mingdai nüxing qinren shiliao zhi kaoding yu ruogan wenti yanjiu” 明代女性琴人史料之考訂與若干問題研究; and Yip Mingmei, “Nü qinren: guixiu, gongting funü, mingji, nūni, nūshen.”

永樂琴書集成 includes a section titled “Exemplary Women” (*lienü* 列女) particularly for female *qin* players.⁴ In my translations and discussions of these premodern writings, I follow the writers’ generic use of masculine terms.⁵

The prevalent use of *junzi* in the discourse on the *qin* implies a focus on the practitioners’ moral exemplarity rather than, say, literary talent. Of course, one could regard a writer’s literary talent as a manifestation of his/her moral exemplarity and argue that a *caizi* is naturally a *junzi*. However, the word choice tells us what was considered to best characterize the “privileged” group. The emphasis on one’s moral exemplarity in late imperial *qin* culture is further supported by other words that people used to describe a

⁴ For scholars’ discussions on the authenticity of *Yongle qinshu jicheng* and its relation to Jiang Keqian’s 蔣克謙 (fl. 1590) *Qinshu daquan* 琴書大全, see Yang Yuanzheng 楊元崢, “*Yongle qinshu jicheng* xieben zhenwei de kaocha” 永樂琴書集成寫本真偽的考察.

⁵ In some other cases, the entire expression of an idea would be phrased from the masculine perspective. In my opinion, expressions as such should also be read generically rather than gender-specifically. For example, the *Taigu yiyin* and some other *qinpu* quote a statement as follows: “The playing of the *qin* by three types of people would be *su*: those having no virtue in the heart, those having no beard on the mouth, and those having no ink in the belly” 鼓琴有三俗：心中無德，口上無髯，腹內無墨。QQJC vol. 1, 30. The phrase, “having no beard on the mouth,” should be read as a generic allusion to people who are too young to comprehend *qin* music. Female *qin* players are not targeted by this phrase, because they are simply not marked in the general context.

qualified *qin* practitioner in their eyes. Commonly used descriptions include “lofty” (*gao* 高), “pure and immaculate” (*qing* 清), “simple and sincere” (*chun* 淳), “upright” (*duan* 端), “benevolent” (*ren* 仁), “carefree and unaffected” (*xiaosa* 瀟灑), and “righteous and fervent” (*kangkai* 慷慨). Furthermore, because these words of praise were used as the opposite of *su* 俗 (common, vulgar), we find that *su* in this context becomes something that is morally wrong. Calling someone *busu* 不俗 (“non-su”) in the context of *qin* musiking indicates that the person is immune to common beliefs and practices that are not morally appropriate—both within and beyond the realm of music.

The concept of *junzi* with its emphasis on moral exemplarity explains what we have observed in late imperial discourses on the *qin*: on the one hand, not all literati and scholars were considered by default to be “qualified” for *qin* musiking; on the other hand, those who received great respect in the field of the *qin* were not necessarily active in literary writing or scholarly discussions. As people in traditional China believed, even though textual learning generally transformed one into a (morally) better person, it was neither sufficient nor mandatory for moral cultivation.⁶ Thus, *junzi* as a category seems to be more selective than *wenren*, but also more inclusive in a sense—one does not have to be a writer of literature to be deemed as a moral exemplar.

The problem is: How should one evaluate another person’s moral achievement and/or convince others of one’s own moral exemplarity? This question is similar to, yet

⁶ As Confucius said, if a young man always behaves morally and still has the effort to do something else, he can then study the texts. *Analects*, 1.6.

perhaps even more challenging than, the question of how to identify a *caizi*. Evaluating one's literary talent by one's writing might be lacking in objectivity and accountability, but the writing is at least a manifestation of one's innate talent. However, one's behavior and self-presentation on the outside may be fake. Although Confucius believed that people could easily know a person by "watching what he relied on, observing the way he followed, and examining what he was at ease with,"⁷ many others were not so optimistic. Compared to earlier historical periods, as scholars have noticed in various fields, the social and economic changes from the late Ming onward aggravated people's worry about hypocrisy, on the one hand, and the anxiety about the best people being unrecognized, on the other.⁸ Hence, the question raised at the beginning of this paragraph can be rephrased as "how to know others and to be known," a question that the *qin* practitioners responded to with the idea of *zhiyin*.

The Meaning of "Zhiyin" in Two Layers

The word "zhiyin," meaning "knowing sound/music," first appeared in a few pre-Qin texts like the *Book of Rites* and *Lüshi chunqiu*.⁹ However, the friendship-related

⁷ *Analects*, 2.10

⁸ For example, see Martin Huang, "Stylization and Invention: The Burden of Self-Expression in *The Scholar*"; and Ying Zhang, *Confucian Image Politics: Masculine Morality in Seventeenth-Century China*.

⁹ The *Book of Rites* writes: "The beasts know sound but do not know *yin*; the common

concept of *zhiyin* originated from the story of Boya 伯牙 and Ziqi 子期: whenever Boya plays the *qin*, the listener Ziqi is able to tell what Boya intends to express in the music.¹⁰ This story was already circulated in the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BCE.), but it was not connected to the word “*zhiyin*” until perhaps the end of the Han.¹¹ Since then,

people know *yin* but do not know *yue*; only the *junzi* are able to understand *yue*.” 知聲而不知音者，禽獸是也；知音而不知樂者，眾庶是也。唯君子為能知樂。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 37, 1259. The *Lüshi chunqiu* recorded a story about the musician Kuang commenting on an out-of-tune bell made by the Duke Ping of Jin: “Someone who truly knows sound and music in later time will tell that the bell is out of tune.” 後世有知音者，將知鐘之不調也。 *Lüshi chunqiu*, *juan* 11, 9b.

¹⁰ One could argue that in early versions of the story, the name “Boya” should be treated as Bo Ya, and Ziqi was also known as Zhong Qi. In this project, I expediently refer to the two characters as Boya and Ziqi to keep the names consistent with Feng Menglong’s version which I will analyze later. For the friendship-related *zhiyin* and ideas alike in early China, see Eric Henry, “The Motif of Recognition in Early China.”

¹¹ Earliest versions of the story are found in *Liezi* 列子, *juan* 5, 16 a-b, and *Lüshi chunqiu*, *juan* 14, 4a-b. The version in *Liezi* does not mention Boya’s reaction after Ziqi’s death. In *Lüshi chunqiu*, the story ends with Boya breaking the *qin*: “After Ziqi died, Boya broke the *qin* and cut off the strings, no longer playing for the rest of his life, because he considered that there was no one else in the world worth playing for.”

zhiyin gradually became an important concept in musical and non-musical discourses about friendship, mutual recognition, and artistic appreciation.¹²

The compound of *zhi* (to know) and *yin* (sound, esp. musical sound) leaves much room for interpretation, even within the context of the Boya-Ziqi story. The word could mean that Ziqi has deep comprehension of music in general (“one who knows music”), or that Ziqi sympathizes with Boya’s music in particular (“one who understands *my* music”). These two ways of interpretation may sound quite different when taken out of the *qin*

However, none of the two uses the word “*zhiyin*” in particular. The earliest writing that connects the story with “*zhiyin*” seems to be Cao Pi’s 曹丕 (187-226) “Letter to Wu Zhi” (“Yu Wu Zhi shu” 與吳質書), which writes: “In the past, Boya quit playing the *qin* because of Ziqi, and Confucius refused to eat minced meat because of Zilu. The former felt sorrow for the rareness of a *zhiyin*, and the latter for the other disciples’ not being as good.” 昔伯牙絕絃於鍾期，仲尼覆醢于子路，痛知音之難遇，傷門人之莫逮。Cao Pi, “Yu Wu Zhi shu,” in Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp., *Wenxuan* 文選, 592. The concept of *zhiyin* was further developed in Liu Xie’s 劉勰 (ca. 465-521) *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, in which a chapter is titled “*zhiyin*.” Liu Xie, *Wenxin diaolong*, *juan* 10, 8a-10b.

¹² Meow Hui Goh, *Sound and Sight: Poetry and Courtier Culture in the Yongming Era* (483-493), 21-39; Anna M. Shields, *One Who Knows Me: Friendship and Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China*.

tradition (for example, an expert in music does not necessarily understand *my* musical expression, whereas a friend who can read my mind when I play does not have to be knowledgeable about music). However, from the perspective of the Privilege Discourse and the belief that the *qin* represents the “ancient music” of the sages, one who is able to comprehend the relation between musical sounds and cosmological harmony would be the same person who understands *my* particular *qin* performance, and vice versa. Therefore, writers of this period would use *zhiyin* to refer to people who were considered “qualified” for *qin* musiking even if these so-called *zhiyin* had never listened to the particular writer’s music.

The two-layered meaning of *zhiyin* formed a theoretical basis for *qin* practitioners to use specific musical activities to attest to one’s moral status. The theory goes as follows. Firstly, based on the connection between music and morality in ancient thoughts, those who truly know music (*zhiyin* in its general sense) must be those who understand the proper way to interact with the human and the natural world (*junzi*). Next, these *junzi*, because they truly know music, will share the same musical taste with “me” and be my *zhiyin* (*zhiyin* in its specific sense). Thus, *zhiyin* and *junzi* became interchangeable terms when referring to the “privileged” group of *qin* musiking.

Qin practitioners promoted musical communication as an effective and reliable way to truly know others and to be known. In their views, even though people could pretend to talk and behave in a certain way, it would be much harder to fake one’s taste in music. Just like some writers have criticized, those who prefer entertaining music to “ancient music” could not help but falling asleep listening to the *qin*.

Differences in musical taste was not just about whether one liked or disliked *qin* music in general. In most cases, disagreements arose on whether specific performances represented “good” music. Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl. 1573-1627), an influential bibliophile and *qin* player, claimed in his *qinpu* that only the performances of the Zhe School were the best *qin* music. Without giving much explanation, he wrote, “It is not worthy to tell this to those who are not Boya and Ziqi, because elegant music does not appeal to vulgar (*su*) ears.”¹³ At the same time, people who were not followers of the Zhe School could possibly use similar words to advocate their own musical ideals, and Hu Wenhuan would then become one of those “vulgar ears.” Thus, in their seeking of *zhiyin*, *qin* practitioners not only made judgments about each other regarding their knowledge about “ancient music” and moral status, but also *became junzi* through mutual recognition among those with similar musical taste.

In the following section, I use an example to show how *qin* musiking could have worked for participants to recognize each other based on the above theory of *zhiyin-junzi*, and how a person’s knowledge of music was compared to other criteria for evaluating the person’s moral status. The example is the late-Ming adaptation of the Boya-Ziqi legend in Feng Menglong’s 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (“Comprehensive Words to Warn the World,” aka. “Stories to Caution the World,” hereafter JSTY).¹⁴ In

¹³ 此非伯牙子期輩不足與道，蓋雅樂不入夫俗耳。See Hu Wenhuan’s preface to his *Wenhuitang qinpu*, in QQJC vol. 6, 117.

¹⁴ On Feng Menglong and his collections of short stories, see Shuhui Yang,

spite of it being a literary creation, the adaptation serves as a good example of how *qin* musiking was connected to late imperial concerns about knowing others and being known. It also shows how the moral implication of *zhiyin* had become enriched and foregrounded by this time as compared to the Boya-Ziqi story in ancient texts.

Knowing the Person through Musiking: The JSTY Example

The adapted story is titled “Yu Boya Smashes His *Qin* for the Loss of His *Zhiyin*” (*Yu Boya shuai qin xie zhiyin* 俞伯牙摔琴謝知音, hereafter, “the JSTY adaptation”). It appears as the first story in JSTY, one of the most well-known collections of vernacular fiction in imperial China, which was compiled by Feng Menglong and published in 1624.¹⁵ According to the narrator’s voice in the JSTY adaptation, the historical setting is the “Spring and Autumn and Warring States period” (770-221 BCE.), which is supposed

Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story, Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection, trans. Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang, xv-xxvi; Cyril Birch, “Feng Meng-lung and the ‘Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo’”; Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition*, 76-91; W. L. Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period*, 30-49; Lu Shulun 陸樹倫, *Feng Menglong yanjiu* 馮夢龍研究; and Yang Xiaodong 楊曉東 comp., *Feng Menglong yanjiu ziliao huibian* 馮夢龍研究資料彙編.

¹⁵ I consulted Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang’s *Stories to Caution the World* when translating the texts from Feng Menglong’s story.

to be consistent with the original Boya-Ziqi legend recorded in before-common-era texts. Nonetheless, Feng Menglong made substantial revisions that transplant ancient-time elements (such as state names and official titles) into the late Ming environment.¹⁶ Hence,

¹⁶ According to Patrick Hanan's study, the Boya-Ziqi story in JSTY has an earlier Wanli (1573-1620) version in a story collection called *Xiaoshuo chuanqi*, which is now inaccessible. Nonetheless, based on his analysis of stylistic features and other evidences, Hanan suggests that the story in JSTY was written in the late Ming and "substantially adapted" from its Wanli source by Feng Menglong and/or other unknown editors of JSTY. See Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story*, 35, 42, 75, and 98. Shuihui Yang's research on the *Sanyan* collections (including JSTY) has also reached the conclusion that Feng Menglong can be justifiably studied as the "author" of the *Sanyan* texts. Yang, *Appropriation and Representation*, 153. In fact, some Ming-dynasty *qinpu* indicate an even earlier source that the JSTY version may have been based upon. These *qinpu* include a *qin* song titled "Boya Mourning Ziqi" ("Boya diao Ziqi" 伯牙弔子期), the earliest version of which had appeared by 1511. According to the compiler's annotation of the song (*jieti* 解題), Boya was named Yu Duan 俞端. On his way to Changzhou to serve as the governor, he played the *qin* at night in his boat, and was overheard by Ziqi on the shore. These details are not mentioned in ancient versions of the story, yet they are similar to the JSTY adaptation. Moreover, the lyrics of the *qin* song (in all its versions) are close to the song in the JSTY which Boya composed in mourning for Ziqi. This indicates that the author of the JSTY adaptation was aware of the *qin* song, "Boya

rather than retelling the old story for its own sake, Feng's adaptation is intended to address contemporary concerns about "true friends."

The late Ming concerns about friendship, as far as the JSTY adaptation shows, are centered around the difficulties in truly knowing a person and being known. The narrative begins by introducing the exemplary friendship between Guan Yiwu and Bao Shuya. Guan and Bao once cooperated in business dealings. When they split the profit and Guan took the larger portion, Bao knew it that Guan was really in need rather than being greedy. Later, when Guan was imprisoned, Bao vindicated him and nominated him to be the prime minister of the state. From the narrator's perspective, the friendship between Guan and Bao is genuine and valuable because one knows the other as a virtuous and talented person no matter how the monetary and political situations change. In contrast, the epilogue poem in the JSTY adaptation laments that true friendship is hardly found in today's snobbish world: it becomes harder for people to tell whether someone is a true friend or an opportunist, and to uncover the good soul behind what appears on the surface.

In the JSTY adaptation, as the marginal comment has put it, Boya's attitude toward Ziqi changes "from discourtesy to suspicion, to trust, to affection, and eventually

Mourning Ziqi," when writing his adaptation. For the *jieti* and the lyrics of the *qin* song, as well as a list of the *qinpu* which include the song, see Zha Fuxi 查阜西 comp., *Cunjian guqin qupu jilan* 存見古琴曲譜輯覽, 14, 393, and 780-782. For convenience, I treat the Boya-Ziqi story in JSTY as Feng Menglong's composition.

to inseparable devotion.”¹⁷ Such a series of attitude change is not found in earlier versions of the Boya-Ziqi legend, as if the friendship was established without much effort. However, the JSTY adaptation imagines a complex process through which Boya and Ziqi become *zhiyin* from strangers. In this process, different criteria are used for evaluating a person, yet Boya finds none of them to be as reliable as musical communication.

Social Status, Wealth, and Appearance

In the JSTY adaptation, Boya’s first impression of Ziqi comes from the fact that Ziqi is a woodcutter in deserted mountains. However, the earliest versions of the Boya-Ziqi legend (as in *Liezi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*) have no mention of Ziqi’s personal background.

On the surface, Ziqi’s humble background contrasts with Boya’s superiority in social status and wealth, as the latter is said to be a high-rank aristocrat-official (*shang daifu* 上大夫) who has just received a generous amount of gold and gifts on his diplomatic trip. From Boya’s perspective, Ziqi’s identity as a woodcutter also implies some cultural inferiority: as soon as Ziqi reveals his identity, Boya laughs and comments, “How dare a woodcutter in the mountains say he listens to the *qin*!” At this point, Boya determines that Ziqi is not qualified to listen to the *qin*, and hence asks Ziqi to leave. In Boya’s view, a listener of the *qin* must be one who is “intelligent and eager to learn” (*congming haoxue* 聰明好學), yet such a person is hardly found in deserted mountains.

¹⁷ Translated by S. Yang and Y. Yang, 14.

This detail differentiates Boya's attitude from the typical snob. What Boya really cares about is whether Ziqi is cultivated enough to know music.

Boya soon finds that Ziqi might in fact be a well cultivated person despite his occupation and residence. In response to Boya's earlier comment that a true listener will not appear in deserted mountains, Ziqi replies with two quotes: "Even in a small village with only ten households, one should find people who are loyal and trustworthy," and "If there is a *junzi* inside the room, another *junzi* will come to his door." Hearing this, Boya is impressed by Ziqi's wit and his knowledge of classics. More importantly, being compared to "the *junzi* inside the room" who will supposedly attract another *junzi* to his door, Boya has no choice but to delightfully address Ziqi as *junzi* in return.

As they start another round of conversation in Boya's boat, however, Boya is misled by Ziqi's appearance. The first time they converse, Boya and Ziqi cannot see each other due to their physical distance (one in the boat, the other behind the grass and woods on the riverbank). Although Boya is impressed by Ziqi's extraordinary speech and hence invites him to the boat, he becomes suspicious again as soon as he sees Ziqi in person. The narrator provides a detailed description of Ziqi's outfit, which shows that he is "indeed a woodcutter." Judging from the appearance, Boya becomes confused again. After a silent moment, he asks in a puzzled tone: "So, you are the one who was listening to my music?"¹⁸ As his question suggests, Boya now finds it hard to relate this woodcutter in front of him to that "junzi" on the riverbank that he has just talked to.

¹⁸ JSTY, 11. Translated by S. Yang and Y. Yang, 10.

Boya's judgment based on external features was soon deemed to be mistaken, as he eventually recognizes Ziqi as a *zhiyin* and apologizes for his previous disrespectful attitude. Comparing Ziqi to a jade hidden inside the rock, Boya exclaims, "Wouldn't too many talented and worthy people (*xian shi* 賢士) go unrecognized if judged only by their appearance and outfit?"¹⁹ Boya's introspection invalidates the common practice of evaluating people by what the appearance symbolizes, such as one's occupation, social status, and wealth, for none of these turns out a reliable representation of one's internal world.

Knowing the Music: General Knowledge versus Sympathetic Understanding

1. The First Test

In spite of Ziqi's identity as a woodcutter, Boya decides to invite Ziqi to his boat as he is impressed by the wisdom in Ziqi's speech. A more direct trigger for this decision, however, is Ziqi's knowledge about *qin* music. When Boya asks whether Ziqi knows what he has just played, Ziqi correctly identifies the piece, along with its theme and lyrics, even though Boya has only played three sentences before the string breaks.²⁰

¹⁹ 若以衣貌取人，豈不誤了天下賢士？JSTY, 16.

²⁰ The piece that Boya plays has lyrics, but the story seems to indicate that the lyrics are not sung aloud. In the end of the story Boya improvises a tune in memory of Ziqi which also has lyrics, but not sung aloud, either. It is interesting that although Boya does not sing, he seems to regard lyrics to be necessary as an explanation for the meaning of the music. In the story, Boya's choice of using lyrics without singing out loud might reflect

Hearing Ziqi's answer, Boya becomes "overjoyed" and says: "You, sir, are indeed not *su*." It is not until this point that Boya offers Ziqi his invitation for an in-person conversation.

It is worth noticing that the theme of the tune, which Ziqi correctly identifies, is about Confucius crying over the death of his favorite disciple, Yan Hui 顏回. In Feng Menglong's time, there was indeed a *qin* piece under this theme which was quite popular among Ming-dynasty players. It appears in most major *qinpu* from the 16th century to the 1620s when JSTY was published, developed into many different versions with different titles.²¹ This detail is, of course, another late-Ming addition to the ancient Boya-Ziqi legend. The author's choice of this particular piece, on the one hand, deftly underlines Ziqi's knowledge of Confucian learning in spite of being a woodcutter. On the other hand, it paves the way for Boya and Ziqi's later discussion about how to appreciate *qin* music in relation to the ancient sages and the learning of the Way.

2. The Second Test

As Boya becomes doubtful again after seeing Ziqi in person, he gives Ziqi a second test on his general knowledge about the *qin*. This test includes two questions: "Who invented the *qin*?" and "What good does *qin* playing do?" These questions are to

the actual practice of some *qin* players at that time, but it might also be Feng Menglong's design for narrative purposes. Further information on this piece will be explained later.

²¹ These different titles include "Fusheng cao" 復聖操, "Yasheng cao" 亞聖操, "Sixian cao" 思賢操, "Yan Hui" 顏回, and "Yi Yan Hui" 憶顏回.

test Ziqi's knowledge about the moral significance of the *qin* and how the *qin* differs from other musical instruments. Ziqi's response shows that he is well aware of what these questions are about. To the first question, he answers that the *qin* was invented by Fuxi 伏羲—one of the earliest sage rulers in Chinese legend who was said to have invented the hexagrams—and was developed into the seven-string style by King Wen and King Wu of Zhou. In addition to the basics, Ziqi's answer goes further to explain why the sages made the *qin* this way. Firstly, the shape and materials of the musical instrument are designed by using cosmic essences and principles, which makes the *qin* correlate with the natural world. Then, the two strings added by the two kings were connected with events that turned out crucial for the success of the Zhou dynasty, which ties the *qin* to political authority and social peace. Thus, Ziqi's answer to the first question also responds to the second question, as he concludes: "When the zither is played to perfection, a roaring tiger that hears it will quiet down and a screaming monkey that hears it will stop its cries." The mention of animals emphasizes that *qin* music has the power of connecting the human and the nature: it moves and regulates the emotions of not only human beings but even animals, and in this way, the music is expected to bring peace and harmony to the entire cosmos.

Ziqi's response—a long paragraph in the story—is impressive indeed, but in Boya's eyes, this is still not enough to prove Ziqi's real understanding of music. He suspects that the speech relies on Ziqi's memorization of books instead of his true comprehension. While admitting that it is already uncommon for a woodcutter to read and memorize these lines, Boya is careful in distinguishing between what one reads and

what one knows, even though book reading was the major way in which traditional Chinese scholars were trained for examination and political success.

3. The Third Test

Boya decides to give Ziqi another test (*shi* 試). He asks Ziqi to tell what is in his mind from the music that he plays. At this point, the reader of the JSTY story finally finds the familiar scene recorded in the ancient legend: “When Boya plays the *qin* with high mountains in mind, Ziqi says, ‘How wonderful it is, like the Mount Tai 峨峨兮’; when Boya plays with flowing water in mind, Ziqi says, ‘How wonderful it is, like rivers flowing 洋洋兮.’²² “ However, by contextualizing it as the final test that Boya gives Ziqi, the JSTY story adds new implications to this famous scene. Arranged after a series of tests, evaluation, and re-evaluation, this scene in JSTY presents *qin* listening as a kind of privilege that may not be made available to everyone. It also forms a comparison with all other ways that Boya has used to judge Ziqi, which suggests that none of the other ways is as reliable as the communication through an actual music performance.

The arrangement in JSTY invites us to interpret the final music test in comparison to the previous two, and, through this comparison, to understand the idea of “*zhiyin*” which suggests that knowing the music *is* knowing the mind. The previous two tests foreground the function of the *qin* in the communication between the ancient sages and the rest of the world, as the sages used *qin* music to express their sorrow and concern over human suffering, and to bring righteousness and peace to the society. Ziqi’s

²² *Liezi*, *juan* 5, 16 a-b.

responses to both the tests show that he knows (or perhaps simply memorizes) the theory, but only the third test proves his ability to internalize his knowledge of *qin* music and to use it in real communication. Moreover, compared to their previous rounds of communication which have left Boya confused and skeptical, the third test stands out for its transparency: if Ziqi does not understand Boya's music, his reaction would immediately give him away; at the same time, the performance also reveals the player's mind and musical competence in the eyes (ears) of a listener who really knows music. As a result, the third test dispels Boya's earlier suspicion, who becomes convinced that Ziqi is a "worthy gentleman" (*xianshi* 賢士). Comparing Ziqi to a "fine jade hidden under the rock,"²³ Boya finds that only in music people have nowhere to hide.

Different from the ancient legend, the JSTY adaptation emphasizes the moral implication of the concept of *zhiyin*. It underlines the ideological association between the *qin* and the ancient sages, and presents Ziqi as a virtuous man (to be discussed later) in spite of his humble background. It also unifies the literal and the metaphorical meanings of *zhiyin*, suggesting that those who know music would know each other as like-minded friend. Moreover, in connecting the knowing of music with the knowing of the mind, the JSTY presents the knowing process as a mutual one: at the same time when Ziqi correctly understands what Boya is expressing through the music, Boya also knows what kind of person Ziqi is.

²³ 石中有美玉之藏。JSTY, 16.

Interpretations of Behavior

Convinced that Ziqi is a worthy gentleman, Boya apologizes for his earlier biased judgement from Ziqi's appearance. It may have been widely accepted that one's appearance and speech often do not reflect what is inside one's mind, but some may argue that we know people better from their conduct and behavior. However, the JSTY story shows that making judgments from how one behaves is no less problematic, because the same behavior may be interpreted in different ways.

As soon as they meet in the boat, Boya notices that Ziqi does not follow the etiquette of how a commoner is supposed to interact with a high-rank official. Despite that Boya's servants have reminded Ziqi to kowtow, Ziqi does not even bend his knees. Instead, the etiquette that Ziqi uses is for interactions between peers. In Boya's eyes, the way Ziqi behaves is rude and confusing. Only readers who know the story may understand Ziqi's behavior: Ziqi has already identified Boya as a like-minded friend since he overhears Boya's music on the riverbank—even before seeing the *qin* player in person. Thus, Ziqi has been treating Boya as a peer during the entire meeting regardless of their difference in social status, and he is proved to be right when later Boya proposes to pledge brotherhood.

As Boya has finally known Ziqi as a *zhiyin*, his inclination of interpreting Ziqi's behavior has changed accordingly. The next year, Boya keeps his promise to meet with Ziqi again, but Ziqi fails to show up. Through Boya's internal monologue, the JSTY reminds the reader of one possible interpretation of Ziqi's absence, namely, that he has broken his promise. However, Boya rejects this interpretation and instead tries to find

other explanations for Ziqi. He thinks that Ziqi is likely in mourning for his parent, in which case he should prioritize his filial duty. Boya's interpretation of the broken promise, albeit wrong (the real reason that Ziqi cannot keep the appointment is because he has died of sickness), casts no doubt on Ziqi's integrity, but instead strengthens Ziqi's image as a gentleman who follows ritual rules and makes correct moral choices.

As shown in the two incidents above, the JSTY challenges the view that people can be known from their behavior. It points out that the same behavior may be interpreted in different ways which often results in misunderstanding. In the story, Boya does not know Ziqi from his behavior, but the other way around: he is able to understand Ziqi's behavior only after he knows the person through their musical communication.

Restriction against the Non-*Zhiyin*: In the Sage's Hall

Because of the belief that how one plays the *qin* reflects what kind of person one truly is, and because few *qin* players would self-identify as *su*, it is reasonable that *qin* players objected to playing for the audience's taste. Either the listener likes the music as is, in which case he and the player become each other's *zhiyin*; or the listener dislikes the music, in which case the player would have no reason to follow the listener who is by then deemed as *su*. The above theory explains why "one should not play for the vulgar" (*bu wei su zou* 不為俗奏). However, it does not fully explain why one should not play in front of those who are not *zhiyin* (*bu yu zhiyin bu tan* 不遇知音不彈)—a principle found

in many late imperial *qinpu*.²⁴ In addition to not playing *for* “the vulgar,” why must the player prevent the non-*zhiyin* from listening? If *qin* music facilitates moral cultivation, why not play in front of the masses to educate them?

The current and the following section will answer these questions by looking into the discussions in various *qinpu* and the JSTY’s elaboration of Boya’s smashing the *qin* after Ziqi’s death. We will further understand the importance of *zhiyin* seeking for late imperial *qin* practitioners through their views about the non-*zhiyin*.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the cultural elite’s increasing anxiety about ancient music in the late imperial period led many people to value the *qin* as the bridge between them and the ancient sages. From this perspective, every *qin* performance becomes a form of communication with the sage by bringing together the present participant(s), the sage’s instrument, and the sage’s teaching. Indeed, many *qinpu* offer ritual-like instructions on what one should do before playing the *qin*, including dressing up tidily in a gown or a cloak like the ancient style, cleaning up the space and burning incense, washing the hands, sitting upright, and keeping one’s countenance serious as if facing the elderly.²⁵ These instructions draw the player’s attention to his appearance and

²⁴ The view that one should not play in front of the non-*zhiyin* seems to become prevalent only in the late imperial period. I offer a further discussion on this point later in this chapter.

²⁵ For example, see *Chongxiu zhenchuan qinpu* 重修真傳琴譜, in QQJC vol. 4, 263-264.

the atmosphere of the space, as if to prepare the player for his virtual meeting and conversation with the sage through the upcoming musical performance.

The instructions and rules on preparing for a *qin* performance may be understood in light of Catherine Bell's study of "ritualization," a term which she defines as "a way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other activities."²⁶ Instead of trying to define what ritual activities are, Bell focuses on how certain activities are ritualized and differentiated from other activities. Indeed, the instructions in the *qinpu* functioned as a strategy to treat *qin* playing as more than music making, constructing a ritualized environment where the player and the listeners/observers (if there were any) were brought into the sage's lecture hall. In this regard, what would happen if a non-*zhiyin* was present at the performance, acting as either a listener or the player?

Those who argued against playing in front of non-*zhiyin* would answer that the presence of non-*zhiyin* may offend or "profane" (*dian* 玷/ *xie* 褻) the sage. In their views, people who are not *zhiyin* will not engage in the communication with the sage through the current musical performance because they do not "know the music." For the same reason, they will hardly receive moral benefit from the music. Although their presence at the performance has given them a spot at the virtual meeting with the sage, people who are not *zhiyin* do not know how to behave properly in this situation, and the consequences are likely to cause disrespect for the sage. Therefore, many *qinpu* warn the players to be

²⁶ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 74.

selective about the audience and to treat “the great music of the sagacious and worthy” with care.²⁷

In sum, the rule that one should not play in front of the non-*zhiyin* comes from the belief that the non-*zhiyin* cannot communicate with ancient sages about the Way through *qin* music. This belief explains why both “the non-*zhiyin*” and “the vulgar” interchangeably refer to the less moral, as moral principles are generated from the Way. At the same time, this belief allows the Privilege Discourse to have much flexibility for negotiation, as *qin* practitioners never reached a consensus on exactly how to judge whether someone had the ability to communicate with ancient sages through *qin* music. As a result, not only did manifestations of the Privilege Discourse fall on a broad spectrum, but these discursive manifestations were often contradicted by specific practices. For example, although rules are written in some *qinpu* that courtesans should not be present at *qin* performances, late imperial courtesans were in fact engaged in *qin* musiking. Nonetheless, *qin*-playing courtesans and their male patrons might as well contribute to the broad spectrum of the Privilege Discourse, so long as *qin* playing served to distinguish these women from ordinary entertainers and to move them “in the same cultural universe” as the gentlemen.²⁸

The flexibility of the Privilege Discourse is also exemplified by the different attitudes toward Buddhists’ playing the *qin*, especially in the late Ming. Some people

²⁷ QQJC vol. 4, 263.

²⁸ Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 257.

considered Buddhism to violate the Way that the ancient Chinese sages' talked about, arguing that Buddhists would profane the sage's music with their "detachment from family, shaved heads, self-hurt body, and strange outfit."²⁹ Others, however, did not hesitate to connect Buddhists with *qin* music, as they saw Buddhism to be essentially consistent with the Confucian and/or Daoist sages' teaching. For example, a *qinpu* published in late Ming (preface dated 1592) was titled "Three Religions, One Sound" (*Sanjiao tong sheng* 三教同聲), incorporating two songs using a Confucian classic as lyrics, one song using a Buddhist classic (Sanskrit sounds transliterated into Chinese), and another one using a Daoist classic.³⁰ The two seemingly contradictory views are both based on the same ground that the *qin* should be exclusive to those who know how to communicate with the sages.

To be cautious about using the sage's music, *qin* players must make judgements about the environment and the audience every time before playing. If no *zhiyin* is present, the player is supposed to either not play at all, or play in front of "the clear wind, the bright moon, green pine trees, peculiar rocks, mountain apes, or old cranes."³¹ Some players would even claim that they did not find any *zhiyin* around them except for "the wind and the moon."³² Do these statements assume that natural objects and creatures are

²⁹ Ibid. 283.

³⁰ In QQJC vol. 6, 107-115.

³¹ 不遇知音，寧對清風明月、蒼松怪石、巔猿老鶴而鼓耳。QQJC vol. 4, 264.

³² 風月知音。 See Yang Biao Zheng's self-comment on his portrait, in QQJC vol. 4, 257.

able to understand *qin* music? Here, I suggest, the word “understand” (“zhi” 知) is used in a figurative sense rather than its literary sense. Beautiful objects and creatures spontaneously “understand” music by being part of the harmonious nature. In contrast, people were supposed to avoid playing the *qin* under circumstances of thunder, storm, or eclipse,³³ as these natural phenomena were perceived as signs of disorder.

So far, I have explained why, according to the rules in many *qinpu*, the player should make sure that only the *zhiyin* hear the music that he/she plays. The next section will continue to discuss issues about non-*zhiyin* by looking into the JSTY interpretation of Boya’s smashing the *qin*.

Smashing the *Qin*: The JSTY Example

The JSTY version of the Boya-Ziqi story has offered a case that, from the perspective of the *qin* player, a performance is disturbed by the presence of non-*zhiyin*. The presence of non-*zhiyin* is not included in ancient versions of the story, but it is arranged in the JSTY version to lead up to Boya’s smashing the *qin*.

As Boya has learned about Ziqi’s death, he follows Ziqi’s father to the grave, where he bursts into wails so loud that can be heard by villagers in the vicinity. The local people flock to the grave to watch a court official mourning Ziqi the woodcutter. In tears, Boya plays a tune in front the grave to express his grief. Here, the reader of the JSTY

³³ For example, see QQJC vol. 4, 289.

may be reminded of the first tune that Boya plays in the story, which Ziqi has correctly identified to be about Confucius's grief over Yan Hui's early death.

Unlike the sage's mourning, however, Boya's music has lost its sympathetic listener. Hearing the sonorous sounds of the *qin*, the onlookers applauded and laughed, and went their separate ways. Boya is confused by these local people's reaction, and asks Ziqi's father:

“Uncle, when I played the *qin* to mourn my brother, your son, I could not put an end to my grief. Why did these people laugh?”

Mr. Zhong replied, “These rustic people do not understand music. They thought music is for entertainment, and that's why they laughed when hearing the sounds of the *qin*.”³⁴

Mr. Zhong's explanation may not convince us modern readers: understanding the music or not, people do not normally laugh when seeing someone shedding tears in front of the grave. Hence, perhaps the story's writing about the villagers' inappropriate laughter is meant to once again emphasize the correlation between music and morality: these people who fail to behave in a moral way at Ziqi's grave are people who do not understand music.

In any case, through Mr. Zhong's explanation, the story juxtaposes two different views on *qin* music. In the view of Boya and Ziqi, as reflected in Boya's “second test,” the *qin* represents the “elegant music” that communicates serious emotions and thoughts. In the view of the laughing villagers insofar as in the JSTY, music is all about acoustic

³⁴ “老伯，下官撫琴，吊令郎賢弟，悲不能已，眾人為何而笑？”鐘公道：“鄉野之人，不知音律。聞琴聲以為取樂之具，故此長笑。” JSTY, 30.

pleasure, and the sounds of the *qin* are simply “sonorous” (*kengqiang* 鏗鏘). If Ziqi represents what a *zhiyin* is, then the villagers’ reaction in the story exemplifies what would happen to Boya when his music is heard by non-*zhiyin*. These people are not Boya’s targeted audience, but they happen to be present when Boya starts to play the *qin*. Their applause and laughter form an awkward conflict with Boya’s grief, nullifying the effort that Boya has made in his musical expression. From Boya’s perspective, these non-*zhiyin* may have unintentionally ended up offending the deceased, disrespecting the sages’ instrument and practice, and depriving the *qin* player of his self-identification as a *zhiyin* who knows how to express his mind through music. In other words, when one plays the *qin* without the presence of *zhiyin*, not only the ideal function of *qin* music cannot be realized, but the player also puts himself at risk of being embarrassed in front of others. Thus, compared to the ancient legend, Boya’s smashing the *qin* in the late Ming version is interpreted to be almost inevitable rather than aberrant.

Maria Sibau has noticed the irony that the village in the vicinity is named “Hamlet of Gathered Worthies.”³⁵ Whereas Ziqi is recognized by Boya as a hidden worthy, his fellow villagers turn out to be the opposite. This again reminds the readers that they are surrounded by misleading information which makes it hard to distinguish the worthy from others, and that the solution to the problem is none other than music. Based on the description of the rustic listeners in the story, Sibau insightfully points out that, although the narrator praises Boya and Ziqi’s friendship across the social divide, “the kind of ideal

³⁵ Sibau, *Reading for the Moral*, 146.

friendship based on the appreciation of music described in the story is no less elitist than the ordinary friendship based on social status.”³⁶ Far from abandoning the dichotomy between the elite and the ordinary, the story actually urges the reader to always distinguish between the two—not by social status but by moral status. One’s moral status, the story argues, is best known through music. Thus, the late-Ming adaptation of the *zhiyin* story corresponds with the Privilege Discourse which dominates the *qin* musiking of this period. The story also helps us understand the Privilege Discourse as a response to social and moral concerns that were relevant to many who sought to go beyond the “ordinary.” In requiring the practitioner to evaluate each other’s moral status through music, the Privilege Discourse turns *qin* musiking into a practice of maintaining a limited network with only the like-minded, which ideally helps orient oneself in a world of confusion.

Befriending the Like-Minded

My discussion above explains the necessity and significance of *zhiyin* seeking for late imperial *qin* players. On the one hand, *zhiyin* seeking helped one become a *junzi* through mutual recognition. On the other hand, failure of *zhiyin* seeking would put one at the risk of profaning the sage. Not only was the player required to evaluate his listener every time before he plays, but more importantly, he himself must be a *zhiyin* in the first place to touch the *qin*. Again, the judgement was mutual between the player and the

³⁶ Sibau, *Reading for the Moral*, 146.

listener. Every time when facing a new audience, the *qin* player ran the risk of being challenged by the audience on his legitimacy of playing the *qin*. The only way that the player could justify himself was through successful attempts of *zhiyin* seeking. The anxiety about finding *zhiyin* perhaps also contributed to some *qin* players' inclination to play in front of no one but natural objects and animals. Turning to the bright moon or the peculiar rocks might be an expedient way of self-justification: if the player's *zhiyin* were exemplars of the harmonious natural world, then how could the player not be a *junzi*—an exemplar of the human world?

Based on the Privilege Discourse, the success of *zhiyin* seeking not only helps justify one's qualification for *qin* musiking, but also helps optimize *qin* musiking for the practitioner's further improvement. The metaphor of “ascending the hall,” as it first appears in the *Analects*, refers to the preliminary stage of one's musical and moral achievements, in comparison to the next step of “entering the chamber”—a higher stage of learning that is yet to reach.³⁷ A *junzi* will go on a long journey to become *shengxian*,

³⁷ This metaphor is recorded in the *Analects* 11.15. Having heard his disciple Zilu's playing of the *se* zither, Confucius said, “Zilu has already ascended the hall, but has not yet entered the chamber” 由也升堂矣，未入於室也。Traditional and modern scholars have proposed different explanations to the background of this record, but they generally agree that Confucius was commenting on Zilu's achievement in the learning of the Way through his *se* playing, regarding the moral implications of music. Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791-1855), *Lunyu Zhengyi* 論語正義, 245; Yang Bojun 楊伯駿, *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯註

and he will need companions on this journey. The Chinese had long valued friendship for its crucial role in one's spiritual improvement and sociopolitical success.³⁸ However, scholars have noticed a surge of intellectual discussions on friendship in the late Ming, particularly in relation to moral concerns. Some radical writers of this time even elevated friendship above other four cardinal relationships.³⁹ Meanwhile, as scholars have pointed out, seeking spiritual growth through friend making was not a lofty ideal for late imperial people, but often functioned in more practical and material ways.⁴⁰ An example of *qin*

, 114.

³⁸ Meanwhile, people were also cautious about the potential danger of friendship throughout Chinese history. See Norman Kutcher, "The Fifth Relationship: Dangerous Friendships in the Confucian Context."

³⁹ Sibau, *Reading for the Moral*, 19-20. The other four cardinal relationships include those between father and son, ruler and servant, husband and wife, and older and younger brothers. For recent scholarship on Ming and Qing friendship, see Susan Mann, "The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture"; Giovanni Vitiello, *The Libertine's Friend: Homosexuality and Masculinity in Late Imperial China*, 53-92; Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬, *Yangming xue shiren shequn: lishi, sixiang, yu shijian* 陽明學士人社群：歷史，思想與實踐; Joseph McDermott, "Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming"; and individual articles of Martin Huang, Anne Gerritsen, Joseph Lam, and Kimberly Besio in Huang ed., *Male Friendship in Ming China*.

⁴⁰ Maria Sibau, *Reading for the Moral: Exemplarity and Confucian Moral Imagination in*

practitioners can be found in Joseph Lam's discussion on Yan Cheng 嚴澂 (courtesy name Tianchi 天池, 1547-1625), the leader of the Yushan 虞山 *qin* school. By establishing and reinforcing their friendship bond through musical interactions, Yan Cheng and his *qin* comrades expanded their influences as local elites in both aesthetic and social spheres.⁴¹ Without cultivating *zhiyin* relationships, Yan might still be able to finish his essay on *qin* aesthetics, but his essay would not have influenced the entire field of *qin* music in the following centuries,⁴² nor would he become remembered as a *shengxian* by later *qinpu* compilers.⁴³ Thus, for people like Yan Cheng, interactions with friends functioned as the very channel for *becoming* "the sagacious and worthy" through benefiting others and being recognized by others.

Seventeenth-Century Chinese Short Fiction, 139-158; Ying Zhang, "The Confucian Ideal Friend."

⁴¹ Joseph Lam, "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China," 92-101.

⁴² For the influence of Yan Cheng and the Yushan school in *qin* history, see Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 211-214, and his "Yushanpai de qingwei danyuan" 虞山派的清微淡遠.

⁴³ For example, see the "List of the Sagacious and Worthy of previous dynasties" (*Lidai shengxian minglu* 歷代聖賢名錄) in the *Wuzhizhai qinpu*, in QQJC, vol. 14, 390.

What's New about Late Imperial *Qin* Culture

The Exclusion of Non-*Zhiyin*

The idea of excluding non-*zhiyin* from *qin* activities was a later development of the *zhiyin* discourse. In texts prior to the Song dynasty, we hardly find statements against playing the *qin* in front of non-*zhiyin*. The Northern-Song writer of the *Qinshi* 琴史 (“The History of the *Qin*,” one of the most important monographs on *qin* culture before the Ming) even remarked:

The *qin* is the worthiest one among all string instruments. Therefore, people move their bodies in delight when hearing its harmonic sounds, and they frown and shed tears when hearing its sad sounds. This applies to all common people, not only the *zhiyin*.⁴⁴

This remark may have been inspired by earlier sources. Here, the “worthiness” of the *qin* is supported by its power to convey emotions and feelings to even those who do not know music. From this perspective, *qin* music is not only accessible to everyone, but especially suitable for the non-*zhiyin*.

The “Treatise of Music” in the *Songshi* (History of the Song Dynasty) makes a similar point:

The music of the Court of Imperial Rites was called “elegant music,” but it was never used for imperial banquets and entertainment. Was it because the elegant sounds were considered not pleasant enough to the ear? Music (樂 *yue*) means joy (樂 *le*). Its theories are abstruse and subtle, but when

⁴⁴ 絲之器莫賢於琴。是故聽其聲之和則欣悅喜躍，聽其聲之悲則蹙頰愁涕，此常人皆然，不待乎知音者也。Zhu Zhangwen, *Qinshi*, juan 6, 7b-8a.

played, it makes people feel delighted and peaceful, and one does not have to be a *zhiyin* to feel it.⁴⁵

This paragraph focuses not on *qin* music in particular but on the music used for imperial rituals. Nonetheless, earlier in the same chapter, it writes, “What nurtures the harmony of the Heaven and Earth is none other than music (*yue*), and what expresses the intention of music is none other than the *qin*.”⁴⁶ Hence, if the so-called *yue* should be enjoyed by all in spite of its abstruseness, so should *qin* music be accessible to everyone.

This is not to say that *qin* music was popular in earlier periods. For a long time in history, the *qin* had been considered to have a very limited audience.⁴⁷ However, until

⁴⁵ 世號太常為雅樂，而未嘗施於宴享，豈以正聲為不美聽哉！夫樂者，樂也，其道雖微妙難知，至於奏之而使人悅豫和平，則不待知音而後能也。Tuotuo 脱脱 (1314-1355) et al., *Songshi* 宋史, *juan* 142, 3357.

⁴⁶ 頤天地之和者莫如樂，暢樂之趣者莫如琴。Ibid, 3341.

⁴⁷ The popularity of *qin* music in Chinese history is a complicated research topic that will not be fully addressed in the current project. Textual and archeological evidences show that, among the major string instruments known to the central plain during the pre-Qin period (before 221 BCE), the *qin* became much more widely spread than *se* and *zhu* in later time. See Bo Lawergren, “Strings,” in *Music in the Age of Confucius*, edited by Jenny F. So, 65-85. In the poem to be quoted later, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) worried that his contemporaries were no longer interested in *qin* music. However, only roughly a century earlier, Dong Tinglan 董庭蘭 (c. 695-c. 765) gained such a national reputation

roughly the Southern Song (1127-1279), *qin* players' concern was mainly that few were *willing* to listen rather than few were *qualified* to listen. The Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) suggested that *qin* music had been “abandoned” (*fei* 廢) by many due to the impact of foreign music: “Even though I do not refuse to play [the *qin*] for you, people will not listen. What have made this so? The flute of the Qiang and the zither of the Qin.”⁴⁸ As a result, he wrote that he “became content with no one listening to his playing” and he “did not need a listener.”⁴⁹ Both Bai Juyi's poems and the above paragraph from the *Songshi* reflect the concern that many people would not enjoy the sound of the *qin*.

for *qin* playing that Gao Shi 高適 (704-765) once wrote to him: “Who under heaven does not know you?” 天下誰人不識君。The huge success of the Lei 雷 family in *qin* making during the eighth and ninth century also indicates that the audience of *qin* music was not as limited as what Bai Juyi wrote.

⁴⁸ 不辭為君彈，縱彈人不聽。何物使之然，羌笛與秦箏。Bai Juyi, “Fei *qin*” 廢琴 (“Abandoned *qin*”), in *Baishi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集, *juan* 1, 6a-b.

⁴⁹ “Alone I started playing, alone I paused, / And I do not need someone to listen to me.” 自弄還自罷，亦不要人聽。Bai Juyi, “Ye *qin*” 夜琴 (“*Qin* at night”), in *Baishi Changqing ji*, *juan* 7, 18a. “Recently I became content with no one listening to me. / The virtue of my music is only known to my heart.” 近來漸喜無人聽，琴格高低心自知。Bai Juyi, “Tan Qiusi” 彈秋思 (“Playing ‘Autumn Thoughts’”), in *Baishi Changqing ji*, *juan* 27, 20a.

Whereas the *Songshi* attempted to disprove this concern, Bai Juyi chose to accept it and be content to play alone. In any case, to say that one does not need a listener is not to say that one refuses to play for certain people.

Compared to Bai Juyi's poems, a Yuan-dynasty essay shows a different attitude that is closer to the characteristics of the late imperial Privilege Discourse. The essay is titled "Ten Rules for the *Qin*," and one of the rules writes:

One must thoroughly follow the rituals to respect the Way of it, such as refraining from playing in windy and rainy weathers or in the marketplaces. When encountering a *zhiyin*, on a loft, having ascended the hills or resting in the valley, sitting on a rock or walking along the spring, or when both the *yin* and the *yang qi* are pure and clear, these are all superb moments that are appropriate to the *qin*. On the contrary, when facing actors (*suzi*) and entertainers, amidst the mess of banquets and worldly noises, because these are detestable scenes, one should be good at concealing and protecting the usage of the *qin*.⁵⁰

In this text, to avoid playing in front of certain kinds of people such as actors (*suzi*, lit. "vulgar people") is the requirement of "following the rituals" and "respecting the Way" of the *qin*. This attitude hence differs from Bai Juyi's playing alone. The specific mention of actors and entertainers indicates that the increasing popularity of theatrical music from the Yuan may have prompted the rise of the Privilege Discourse, as *qin* practitioners attempted to define *qin* music as the more refined musical form with restricted access in contrast to the popular. Like what we have seen in many *qinpu*, the above paragraph

⁵⁰ 曰盡禮以尊其道，如風雨市塵不彈是也。至遇知音、升樓閣、登山憩谷、坐石遊泉、值二氣之清朗，皆際勝而宜於琴者。反是而對俗子倡優，與夫酒穢塵囂，皆惡景也，當善藏其用。Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1331), *Qinyan shize*, *juan* 1, 2a.

treats *qin* performance as a ritualized activity in which the presence of “detestable scenes”—including vulgar people and bad weathers--would result in disrespect for the Way. The essay further suggests the connection between “vulgar people” and non-*zhiyin*, as one should also avoid playing for the latter:

If one plays in front of those who do not appreciate (*buhao*) the music, joining with those who like to show off and follow the vogue (*su*), that is close to being shameless, and one must conceal his abilities (of *qin* playing).⁵¹

The writer repeatedly noted the necessity of “concealing” one’s capability in *qin* playing (*tao hui* 韜晦 here, and *cang qi yong* 藏其用 in the earlier paragraph). The emphasis is not on how few people would enjoy listening to the *qin*, but on the idea that *qin* music should be exclusive to only those who can appreciate it.

As said, the argument that one should not play in front of non-*zhiyin* is rarely seen in texts prior to the thirteenth century. I have only found a similar expression in Du Fu’s 杜甫 (712-770) poem, which writes: “Moving strings, resounding with ‘White Snow,’ are never played for common men.”⁵² The lines are not particularly about *qin* music, but they were further elaborated in a Southern-Song commentary: “There are *qin* pieces titled

⁵¹ 若奏曲不好之前，與夸能流俗之士，亦幾無恥，亟須韜晦。 Ibid. 2b.

⁵² 哀弦繞白雪，未與俗人操。 Du Fu, “Ti Bai Da xiongdi shanju wubi ershou” 題栢大兄弟山居屋壁二首 (“Two poems written on the wall of the mountain dwelling of the Bai brothers”), no. 1. The English translation of this couplet is from Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Du Fu* vol. 5, 361.

‘Hidden Orchid’ and ‘White Snow.’ They are not to be played for people who are not *zhiyin*.”⁵³ The mention of “White Snow” alludes to the ancient story of “Sunny Spring and White Snow” (*Yangchun baixue* 陽春白雪), which argues that the more elegant the songs are, the fewer people in the audience would be able to sing in chorus.⁵⁴ Notice that the ancient story does not specify whether the songs are played on the *qin* or on other instruments, nor does it prohibit ordinary people from listening to elegant songs. Instead, the ancient story suggests that the “White Snow” is indeed played for an audience in which the majority cannot follow. Moreover, the word “common men” (*suren*) in Du Fu’s poem is interpreted in the Southern-Song commentary as “people who are not *zhiyin*” (*fei zhiyin zhe*). Using the concept of *zhiyin*, which is not mentioned in Du Fu’s poem, the commentary bridges between the story of the “White Snow”—the exemplar of elegant music, and the story of Boya’s smashing the *qin*—the exemplar of refusing to play for the non-*zhiyin*. Nevertheless, focusing on specific pieces like the “White Snow,” the commentary does not appear as radical as the “Ten Rules for the *Qin*” which perceives the choice of audience as a matter of respecting the Way.

Compared to their predecessors, writers in the Ming and Qing periods were much more inclined to promote the idea that non-*zhiyin* may not listen to the *qin*. This idea became widespread even among those who were not known as *qin* enthusiasts. For

⁵³ 琴曲有幽蘭、白雪，非知音者未可與之操。See Cai Mengbi’s 蔡夢弼 (active 13th century), annotation in *Du Gongbu caotang shijian* 杜工部草堂詩箋, *juan* 32, 7a.

⁵⁴ The story first appears in Liu Xiang’s 劉向 (77-6 BCE.) *Xinxu* 新序, *juan* 1, 9a.

example, in Gao E's 高鶚 (1758-1815) edition of the *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (*Dream in the Red Chamber*), Lin Daiyu once remarks that one should play the *qin* only under appropriate situations, and that when no *zhiyin* is present, one must play in front of no one but the nature so that one would not fail (*fu* 負) the *qin*.⁵⁵ The content of this speech can be traced back to an essay titled “Tanqin zashuo” 彈琴雜說 (“miscellaneous words on *qin* playing”) in a *qinpu* of the Wanli period (1573-1620).⁵⁶ Hence, although writings in *qinpu* were usually targeted at only the *qin* learners, the ideas that they promote could reach a much larger audience over time.

Zhiyin as the (Imagined) Moral Elite

The late imperial *qin* practitioners not only redefined *qin* musiking as the activity that only the *zhiyin* were qualified to participate, but also re-conceptualized *zhiyin* for an ideal group of people that may be perceived as the “moral elite.” It must be noted that the moral implication of *zhiyin* can be traced back to as early as the term first appeared, under the influence of Confucian musical theories. The word *zhiyin* in the *Book of Rites* perhaps predates the friendship-related compound, and the text writes:

The *yin*-music is what originates from the human mind, whereas the *yue*-music is what communicates ethics and principles. Thus, animals know

⁵⁵ Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1717-1763) and Gao E 高鶚 (1758-1815), *Honglou meng*, 1240-1241.

⁵⁶ See QQJC vol. 4, 264.

sound (*sheng*) but do not know *yin*; common people know *yin* but do not know *yue*. Only *junzi* are those who can know *yue*.⁵⁷

The meaning of “*zhiyin*” in these lines differs from what we have seen in later texts (the late imperial use of “*zhiyin*” were closer to the idea of “*zhiyue*” in the *Book of Rites*), yet the text already argues that the differences between “knowing the *sheng*,” “knowing the *yin*” and “knowing the *yue*” are essentially differences in moral status. As for the *zhiyin* story about Boya and Ziqi in its ancient versions, Meow Hui Goh has noted that the story’s focus on the *zhi* 志 (“what is intently on the mind”) of the *qin* player through his musical work implies a “strong moralistic overtone.”⁵⁸

In the context of late imperial *qin* musicking, the moral implication of *zhiyin* became strengthened and more explicit, especially with *zhiyin* and *junzi* being used interchangeably. The JSTY has also added the close connection between *zhiyin* and *junzi* to the Boya-Ziqi story which is not mentioned in ancient versions. The first time Ziqi attracts Boya’s interest, making Boya wonder that he was perhaps not an ordinary

⁵⁷ 凡音者，生於人心者也。樂者，通倫理者也。是故知聲而不知音者，禽獸是也；知音而不知樂者，眾庶是也。唯君子為能知樂。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 37, 1259.

⁵⁸ Goh, *Sound and Sight*, 30. In her following discussion, Goh argues that the concept of *zhiyin* in the context of the Yongming style poetry in the fifth century focuses not on the *zhi* but on the *si* 思 (“conscious thought”)—the process of the mind. However, by analyzing this shift to “the process of the mind” against the Buddhist influence of that time, Goh argues that the Yongming poets’ understanding and pursuit of “sound refinement” were no less concerned with spiritual enlightenment. *Ibid.*, 36-39.

woodcutter but a true listener of the *qin* (*huozhe zhen shi ge tingqin de* 或者真是個聽琴的), was because of Ziqi's speech on *junzi* which I have summarized earlier. The JSTY adaptation also demonstrates the moral exemplarity of the two protagonists in many ways. It praises Ziqi for being composed, filial, and diligent, and Boya for being a faithful and genuine friend who decides to retire from the court to take care of Mr. and Mrs. Zhong on Ziqi's behalf—like what exemplary friends would do for each other in the late imperial period.⁵⁹ In JSTY's interpretation, the concept of *zhiyin* is an inseparable unity of friendship, the knowing of music, and moral exemplarity.

The view that non-*zhiyin* may not listen to the *qin* went hand-in-hand with the increasing emphasis on the moral implication of *zhiyin*. Earlier discussions about Boya's smashing the *qin* mainly focused on whether it is worth the effort to play for the non-*zhiyin*. For example, in his letter to Ren An, Sima Qian explains Boya's choice with the following maxim: "A gentleman (*shi*) works for one who knows and appreciates him (*zhi ji zhe* 知己者), as a woman beautifies herself for one who is fond of her."⁶⁰ The Southern Song commentary on Du Fu's poem, as mentioned earlier, speaks from a similar perspective: for elegant tunes like "Sunny Spring" and "White Snow," it is worth playing only for those who can appreciate. However, the late imperial concern about whom to

⁵⁹ Sibau has noticed that late Ming exemplary friendship was often shown as "a way to reconstruct a dismembered family." Sibau, *Reading for the Moral*, 153.

⁶⁰ Sima qian, "Bao Ren Shaoqing shu" 報任少卿書 ("A letter in response to Ren An"), in Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp., *Wenxuan* 文選, 576.

play for went beyond the issues of appreciation and worthiness, and pointed to the reverence for the sages. In the JSTY adaptation, Boya's smashing the *qin* is arranged after the villagers' inappropriate laughter. Thus, the late Ming interpretation of the ancient story foregrounds the contrast between the non-*zhiyin*'s lack of moral cultivation and the exemplary personas of the two musical protagonists.

In her study of friendship and Tang-dynasty literati culture, Anna Shields notes that the ninth-century literati, in using words like *zhiyin*, *zhiji*, and *zhi wo zhe* ("one who knows me"), turned friendship into "a powerful way to claim and maintain one's identity as a *shi*."⁶¹ In comparison, with their more moralistic use of *zhiyin*, *qin* practitioners in the late imperial period conceptualized an elite group that both related to and differed from the so-called "shi" or "literati" (*wenren*) in earlier periods. Members of this elite group, like the *shi*, were expected to devote themselves to the learning of the Way; unlike the *shi*, however, they were not necessarily identified by social status, occupation, political or literary achievement, religious belief, or gender.

Admittedly, what marked the *shi* identity had been changing throughout Chinese history. Peter Bol has argued that by the Southern Song, the concept of *shi* had changed from "aristocrat" to "scholar-official" and then to "literatus."⁶² He also remarks that, since Zhu Xi's "redefinition of literati learning," it had become widely accepted that one's own moral cultivation can provide the basis for one's political, literary, and cultural

⁶¹ Shields, *One Who Knows Me*, 74.

⁶² Bol, "This Culture of Ours", 32-75.

achievements.⁶³ Nevertheless, the moral mind of a *shi* needs to be manifested through his writings, words, or political engagement, as these manifestations eventually mark one's identity of being *shi*. In contrast, *qin* practitioners in the late imperial period imagined for themselves an elite group that was independent from any conventional standard of being elite but based as purely as possible on moral status. To realize this ideal, since people cannot directly see through other's mind, these *qin* practitioners' solution was to use music as the reliable manifestation of the mind.

Music as A New Solution

The *qin* practitioners gave much weight to music not simply because they were already participants in musiking. Rather, their life paths show that one's participation in *qin* musiking may be both the reason and the result of one's view about the significance of music. Often enough, it was precisely because of one's belief in the power of music that one became a devoted *qin* practitioner, and, through years and decades of musiking, further developed their understandings about music and sagehood.⁶⁴

It is worth noticing that, in spite of the origin of this term, *zhiyin* was often used outside the music realm after it became a synonym of "true friend." To put it another way, music was not generally perceived as a significant means, or purpose, of appreciating,

⁶³ Bol. "Chu Hsi's Redefinition of Literati Learning." 184.

⁶⁴ Examples will be shown in later chapters, especially in the case of Cheng Xiong, who eventually decided to be a devoted *qin* practitioner after having tried many other career paths.

recognizing, and knowing people. Moreover, concerns about knowing and being known were often tied to political purposes: a *shi* should seek to be recognized and used by the government; a ruler should promote talented and virtuous servants; officials should carefully build networks with each other for political success. In these processes, speech and writing were the common ways to communicate the minds and gain recognition.⁶⁵ After all, it is the duty of the elite to transform the society and to transmit “this culture of ours.”

Not unlike a student having to gain recognition to become a government official, a *qin* practitioner had to gain recognition to be a *zhiyin*. However, the membership of the *zhiyin* group was earned not by means of literary writing but through music. In addition, being recognized as a *zhiyin* meant that one was qualified for not civil service but *qin* musiking. That is to say, if the Privilege Discourse presupposed an elite group, then not only was one’s elite status negotiated by means of music, but the responsibility for being an elite member was fulfilled also by means of music. This phenomenon that gave music

⁶⁵ For example, Anna Shields has shown how the term *zhiji* 知己 was appropriated in mid- and late Tang self-promoting letters, often used to indicate the “political, instrumental sense of ‘one who knows [my talent and potential].’” However, Shields reminds us that this type of patron seeking and network building transcended shallow instrumentality. Rather, composing and circulating well-written texts helped the writers and readers establish a collective identity that “they differentiated from others of their age.” Shields, *One Who Knows Me*, 82-132.

such priority may be understood as a response to the question that had always been bothering the cultural elites, namely, how to carry on the Way of the ancient sages.

Generally speaking, Chinese literati were committed to using the sages' Way to regulate the society and transmitting the Way in cultural forms (*wen*), particularly literature. The problem was, as they believed, that statecraft, literature, and the Way fell apart after the Zhou. How to reunite the three was of the central concern in intellectual debates throughout Chinese history. Many people feared that statecraft and literature deviated from the Way and became merely political strategies and games of words, or that the learning and teaching of the Way were detached from practical uses and became empty discussions.

Against this background, the *qin* practitioners' emphasis on music can be viewed as a reflection on the conventional literati practice of dedicating oneself to literary writing and officialdom, and as an attempt to solve the above problem. For them, the reason why the ideal society of the ancient sage-kings were not restored in later times was because the ancient music was not properly understood and utilized. They believed that the sages transmitted their teaching of the Way through not only patterned texts—the classics, but also patterned sounds—the music. By referring to ancient records such as “King Shun played the five-stringed *qin* and the world was regulated” and “*Junzi* would never go without *qin* and *se* for no reason,” they promoted *qin* music as what brought politics, *wen*, and the Way together. Accordingly, *qin* musiking becomes the means to simultaneously cultivate one's moral mind, gain one recognition as a *junzi*, and restore the ideal society of the ancient sages.

Conclusion

The Privilege Discourse, which insists that *qin* musiking should be available to only the *zhiyin*, was initiated and manipulated by late imperial *qin* practitioners to conceptualize a moral elite group. These *qin* practitioners' moralistic use of *zhiyin* is based on their belief that music gives a reliable reflection of one's moral mind. Under this belief, the Privilege Discourse actually allowed people of different social and cultural backgrounds to negotiate membership of the moral elite through music. Inevitably, the communication of minds through music was highly subjective. As a result, participants of the Privilege Discourse often argued against each other and complained about the rareness of *zhiyin*. Nevertheless, these *qin* practitioners did not merely compete for reputation and recognition. Their arguments and musical endeavor were motivated by deeper concerns about the moral influence of music. Self-deemed as music knowers who have ascended to the sages' hall, many *qin* practitioners considered it their responsibility to carry on the sages' work, in particular, to reunite statecraft, literature, and the learning of the Way by restoring the "ancient music." Their attempts to fulfil this responsibility include reviving the music of the *Classic of Poetry*, which will be the topic of chapter 2.

Chapter 2. Continuing the Sages' Work: Reviving the Music of the *Classic of Poetry*

The *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經, also translated as the *Book of Songs*, the *Odes*) is the only anthology of poems among the five earliest Confucian Classics. The orthodox exegeses believe that these Poems (I use “Poems” with a capital “P” to refer to the poems in the *Classic of Poetry* hereafter) were supposed to be sung, and that the ancient sages used these songs to disseminate their moral teachings.¹ However, since the music of these songs was long lost, Confucian scholars in history as well as modern students of the *Classic of Poetry* have been mainly focusing on the hermeneutics of the Poems. Some scholars like Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, Achim Mittag, Bruce Rusk, and Joseph Lam have noticed the unceasing attempts in history to revive the Poem singing tradition, especially since the Song dynasty.² Nonetheless, our current understanding of the premodern Chinese's musical works and practices on Poem singing is still very limited.

¹Maoshi Zhengyi 毛詩正義, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏, 6-10. See also Martin Kern, “‘Shijing’ Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of ‘Chu Ci’ (Thorny Caltrop)”; and Bruce Rusk, *Critics and Commentators: The Book of Poems as Classic and Literature*, 26-28.

² Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Zhongguo yinyue wenxueshi* 中國音樂文學史, 109-122; Achim Mittag, “Change in Shijing Exegesis: Some Notes on the Rediscovery of the Musical

This chapter will look into late imperial *qin* practitioners' works and discussions that contributed to the movement of reviving the Poem-songs. My purpose is to find out what these *qin* practitioners wanted to achieve by turning the Poems into *qin* songs, how they attempted to achieve their goals by dealing with the music and the songtext, and how they compared their own works with others' musical and/or hermeneutic works on the Poems.

My findings show that these *qin* practitioners situated their *qin*-song adaptations of the Poems in the tradition of Confucian Classic studies while foregrounding the significance of *qin* music in the learning of the Classic. They believed that their songs would help people better comprehend and disseminate the ancient sages' teaching in the Poems. Focusing on various songs made for "Guanju" 關雎 ("Ospreys"), the first Poem in the *Classic of Poetry*, I analyze how the music and lyrics of different versions of "Guanju" as a *qin* song were shaped by the composers' and editors' different understandings of the Poem-singing tradition.

The Song-Yuan Confucians' Revival of Poem Singing

In the orthodox edition of the *Classic of Poetry*, known as the Mao 毛 edition, the Poems are categorized into three parts in the following order: "Airs" (*Feng* 風), "Odes" (*Ya* 雅) and "Eulogy" (*Song* 頌). The "Airs" begins with a commentarial statement

Aspect of the 'Odes' in the Song Period"; Rusk, *Critics and Commentators*, 105-106; Joseph Lam, "Ming Music and Ming History," 25-26.

known as the “Great Preface,” which has been regarded as the most authoritative interpretation about the *Classic of Poetry* since no later than the first century CE.³ The “Great Preface” discusses the function of the Poems, the relationship between music and poetry, and the impact of the Poem-songs on the society. It also explains that the title of the first part, “Airs,” refers to the moral education that the ancient sages spread to the society.⁴ According to the “Great Preface,” the ancient sage-kings used these songs “to manage matrimonial relations, to complete filial piety and reverence, to give depth to human relations, to beautify education and cultivation, and to change local customs.”⁵

The first section of “Airs” is titled “The South of Zhou” (*Zhounan* 周南), in which “Guanju” is listed as the first Poem. According to traditional commentaries since the Eastern Han (25-220), the title of this section means that the education of King Wen of Zhou (Zhou Wen Wang 周文王, c. 1152-1056 BCE) was transmitted to the south of the Zhou state.⁶ Other sections of “Airs” are titled with the name of other states and regions. According to this hermeneutic tradition, the ancient sages voiced out their mind in the form of poem and song to educate and admonish the people, who would understand the sages’ teaching if they comprehended the songs. As people sang the songs, the

³ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 37.

⁴ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 5-6.

⁵ 先王以是經夫婦，成孝敬，厚人倫，美教化，移風俗。 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 10.

⁶ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 19-20.

teaching of the sages was then transmitted to different regions. In this way, people of all regions could be educated, and the world would become in order.

While the Eastern Han commentaries write about the ancient tradition of Poem singing, most Poems were no longer sung at that time. By the end of the Eastern Han dynasty (around the 3rd century), only six Poem-songs of the three hundred in the *Classic of Poetry* were still performed.⁷ Five of the six titles can be found in Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (133-192) *Qincao* 琴操 (“*Qin* Works,” also translated as “Zither Lays”), yet the book does not include any musical scores. It is unknown to us how the *qin* was involved in performing these songs during Cai Yong's time.

Confucian scholars in the Song dynasty showed much interest in reviving the Poem-songs. Around 1050, a teacher at the imperial school named Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059) selected dozens of Poems, set them into music, and asked the students to sing these songs on a regular basis with the accompaniment of flutes.⁸ The *History of the Song*

⁷ Namely, “Luming” 鹿鳴, “Fatan” 伐檀, “Zouyu” 騶虞, “Quechao” 鵲巢, “Baiju” 白駒, and “Wenwang” 文王. See Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-192), *Qincao* 琴操, *juan* 1, 2a-b; and Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648) ed., *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty), *juan* 22, vol. 3, 684.

⁸ The *History of the Song Dynasty* notes: “The ‘Hu School’ (led by Hu Yuan who once taught in Huzhou) flourished in the Song dynasty. As the teachers and Confucians worried about the loss of the ‘correct music,’ [they] selected dozens of works from ‘The

Dynasty comments that it was from this point when Confucians began to learn about and to advocate the singing of the Poems.⁹ The most influential Confucian masters in the Northern Song (960-1127), such as Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), all wrote about the necessity and possibility of reviving Poem-songs.¹⁰ Their discussions on ancient music and the music of Poem-songs were further developed by the influential Neo-Confucian, Zhu Xi 朱熹

South of Zhou,’ ‘The South of Shao,’ and ‘Minor Odes,’ set them into music that was played on the flutes, and asked the students to sing them day and night. Since then, the knowledge of singing Poems began to be known and advocated by Confucians.” 宋朝湖學之興，老師宿儒痛正音之寂寥，嘗擇取二南、小雅數十篇，寓之埴籥，使學者朝夕詠歌。自爾聲詩之學，為儒者稍知所尚。Tuotuo, *Songshi*, *juan* 142, 3339. Another record about Hu Yuan writes: “In the late Huangyou reign, Hu Yuan was appointed as instructor in the imperial school. ... Every time after public or internal exams, the Master of Ceremonies led students to the Shoushan Hall, where they sang the Poem-songs with elegant music until late night.” 皇祐末，召瑗為國子監直講.....每公私試罷，掌儀率諸生會於首善，雅樂歌詩，乙夜乃散。Tuotuo, *Songshi*, *juan* 157, 3659.

⁹ See previous footnote.

¹⁰ Tuotuo, *Songshi*, *juan* 131, 3056. See also Mittag, “Change in Shijing Exegesis: Some Notes on the Rediscovery of the Musical Aspect of the ‘Odes’ in the Song Period,” 206-207.

(1130-1200) in the Southern Song (1127-1279), who presented his comprehensive studies on ritual music, song, and dance in his *Yili jingzhuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解 (“A Thorough Interpretation on *Rites and Ceremonies* and Other Classics and Commentaries”). The compilation of this book was finished after Zhu Xi’s death in the thirteenth century by his disciples.¹¹ In this book, we find the earliest extant musical scores for Poem-songs, twelve out of the three hundred and five.¹² These musical scores are known as the “Fengya shi’er shipu” 風雅十二詩譜 (“Twelve Poem-song Scores of the ‘Airs’ and the ‘Odes,’” hereafter, “the Fengya scores”).

Zhu Xi states in the book that these twelve songs were performed in the local drinking ceremonies (*xiangyinjiuli* 鄉飲酒禮) in the eighth century, during the Kaiyuan 開元 reign (713-741) of the Tang dynasty (618-907).¹³ According to him, the Fengya scores were collected by a twelve-century scholar named Zhao Yansu 趙彥肅 (fl. 1166) who believed that these were the scores used in the eighth-century ceremonies. Zhu Xi in his commentary expresses his suspicion of the authenticity of the Fengya scores, questioning how the Tang musicians managed to revive the songs given that the ancient

¹¹ For more about *Yili jingzhuan tongjie* and its authorship, see Mittag, “Change in Shijing Exegesis: Some Notes on the Rediscovery of the Musical Aspect of the ‘Odes’ in the Song Period,” 204 and 207-208. In this project, I treat Zhu Xi as the author of the book for the sake of convenience.

¹² See Zhu Xi, *Yili jingzhuan tongjie*, *juan* 14.

¹³ Zhu Xi, *Yili jingzhuan tongjie*, *juan* 14, 8.

music had already been lost by that time. He also noticed discrepancies between these musical scores and his own understanding of what the ancient music should be like. Despite his suspicion, Zhu Xi found it necessary to preserve these materials as they might help add to scholars' knowledge about Poem-songs and, with the publication of this book, these scores could be further examined by later experts on ancient music.¹⁴

The Fengya scores notate absolute pitches, but give no indication of how the pitches should be played on specific instruments. About a century later, in the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), a Confucian scholar and teacher named Xiong Penglai 熊朋來 (1246-1323) argued that these twelve songs, as well as all other songs of the *Classic of Poetry*, should be accompanied by none other than *se* 瑟, the twenty-five-string zither.¹⁵ Being a *se* player himself, Xiong Penglai adapted these musical scores to *se*, and also set seventeen other Poems into *se* music. His preface to the *se* scores begins with a quote from another Confucian master named Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162):

The Poems in the ancient time were like the *ci* and *qu* songs nowadays; how is it acceptable if one cannot sing them but only recites the text and discusses the meaning?¹⁶

¹⁴ Zhu Xi, *Yili jingzhuan tongjie*, *juan* 14, 8.

¹⁵ Xiong Penglai, *Se pu* 瑟譜.

¹⁶ 古之詩，今之詞曲也。若不能歌之，但誦其文、說其義，可乎？ Xiong Penglai, *Se pu*, *juan* 1. The original source of Zheng Qiao's writing can be found in a chapter titled "Yuelüe" 樂略 in his *Tongzhi* 通志, *juan* 49, 25-27. For more about Zheng Qiao's studies on the musical aspect of the Poems, see Mittag, "Change in Shijing Exegesis:

Zheng Qiao's argument asserts that the music is no less important than the Poetic texts and commentaries in learning the *Classic of Poetry*. Not only should one know the music of the Poem-songs, but one must also sing them out, so that the moral meaning of the Poems could be fully communicated.

We can make two points from the materials above. First, studies on the music and performance of the Poem-songs had long been recognized as a field of Confucian Classic learning besides textual exegeses, especially since the Song dynasty. Second, although the *qin* could have been used to accompany the songs on some occasions, like in Cai Yong's *Qincao*, many Poem-song enthusiasts did not consider the *qin* to be a more suitable or more important option over other musical instruments. In the following section, I argue that the first point connects the late imperial *qin* practitioners with previous Confucian scholars, whereas the second point distinguishes them.

Foregrounding the *Qin*

In historical records prior to the common era, the performance of the Poem-songs was often described as being accompanied by some kind of string instrument(s), which is not limited to the *qin*.¹⁷ Among the Song-Yuan Confucians, as I have mentioned, Hu

Some Notes on the Rediscovery of the Musical Aspect of the 'Odes' in the Song Period," 210-215.

¹⁷ For example, *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*) states that *Shijing* was compiled by Confucius who selected the 305 songs and sang them along with the music

Yuan proposed that the Poem-songs be accompanied on flutes, although other records show that he also played Poem-songs on some string instrument which may or may not have been the *qin*,¹⁸ whereas Xiong Penglai's notation is an arrangement for *se* rather than *qin*. Even in the Ming and Qing dynasties, we may hardly say that *qin* dominated the discussions and works of Poem-related music. In fact, some influential attempts of reviving Poem-songs during this time were specifically targeted at ritual ceremonies using different musical instruments, such as Zhu Zaiyu's 朱載堉 (1536-1611) *Xiangyin Shi yuepu* 鄉飲詩樂譜 ("Scores for Poem-songs for the Local Drinking Ceremony") in the Ming,¹⁹ and the *Qinding Shijing yuepu quanshu* 欽定詩經樂譜全書 ("The Imperial Complete Scores for the *Classic of Poetry*") completed in the Qianlong reign (1735-1796) of the Qing.²⁰

of "string instruments" (*xian* 弦, lit. "strings"). Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-c. 86 BCE), *Shiji*, *juan* 47, vol. 6, 1936.

¹⁸ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323), *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, *juan* 42, 4.

¹⁹ Zhu Zaiyu, *Xiangyin Shi yuepu*, in his *Yuelü quanshu* 樂律全書, *juan* 31-36. More about Zhu Zaiyu's work and his Poem-songs, see Shingkwon Woo, "The Ceremonial Music of Zhu Zaiyu," especially 303-318. See also Joseph S.C. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness*, 75-81 and 153-154.

²⁰ Yongrong 永瑤 (1743-1790) et al, *Qinding Shijing yuepu quanshu*. For a discussion of this work, see Chai Shimin 柴世敏, "Dayin xisheng, tianchao guyun: lülun *Qinding*

However, between the late 15th century and the end of the Qing, many *qin* practitioners contended that the *qin* should play the primary role in Poem-related music. Many of them proposed to use the *qin* as the only or the major instrument for Poem-songs. To illustrate the phenomenon that these *qin* practitioners at once related themselves with, and distinguished themselves from, the prior Confucian scholars through their works on Poem-songs, one example is the preface to a *qinpu* entitled *Dayue yuanyin* 大樂元音, written by the compiler Pan Shiquan 潘士權 (1701-1772).

Pan's preface explains the title of the *qinpu* and why he was devoted to the learning of *qin*. According to him, his father was a reputable scholar-official who had dedicated his life to the learning of the sages, especially the ancient rites and music. Pan cited his father's admonition of him and his brother:

Now the world is peaceful, rites and music flourishing. You two should deeply investigate the origin of rites and music. Regretfully, the Great Music (*dayue*) has lost its transmission. Since the *qin* is the original/fundamental sound of the Great Music (*dayue yuanyin*), you should pursue the Great Music from the *qin*. ... However, it is hard to tell the origin of rites and music without explaining the learning of human nature and life. After the first three dynasties, only the Confucians of the Song dynasty grasped the meaning of the six Classics. You should meticulously study all their works, so you may hope to gradually understand the origin of rites and music.²¹

Shijing yuepu quanshu” 大音希聲，天朝古韻——略論《欽定詩經樂譜全書》。

²¹ 今天下太平，禮樂大行，汝兄弟當深求禮樂之源。惜大樂失傳，琴為大樂元音，汝輩當於琴中求之。……然性命之學未講，禮樂之源終未可易言也。三代而下，六經之蘊，惟宋儒得其真筌，凡所著論，宜究心焉。則庶乎禮樂之源可漸通也。

Having taken the father's advice, the Pan brothers delved into the works of the Song Confucian masters, and often discussed with each other about *qin* and music.²² Because of his knowledge about rites and music, Pan Shiquan was then appointed by the imperial court as the Erudite of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*Taichangsi boshi* 太常寺博士).²³

Pan Shiquan's development of the Fengya scores in Zhu Xi's book was a result of both his admiration for the Song-dynasty Confucians and his focus on the *qin* as the foundation of the Great Music. Pan adapted the Fengya scores for two types of *qin* music. The first type, called *heyin qin* 合音琴, is used to play with other musical instruments in an ensemble. The other type, called *guqin* 孤琴, is to be played on the *qin* alone.²⁴ Pan not only provided specific instructions on tuning and fingering, but also made corrections and changes to the Fengya scores as he found necessary (to be discussed later in this

QQJC, vol. 16, 300.

²² QQJC, vol. 16, 300.

²³ Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) et al., Siku quanshu yanjiusuo 四庫全書研究所 ed., *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu (zhengliben)* 欽定四庫全書總目（整理本）, *juan 39 (jingbu* 經部 39), 523.

²⁴ Here, the word *guqin* means “*qin* alone” (i.e. *qin* being the only kind of instrument to play the music), not “one *qin*.” Pan once mentioned that it would be suitable to have a number of *qin* zithers play a *guqin* piece together, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

chapter). Thus, whereas Zhu Xi wrote that he was unsure how the songs in the Fengya scores were supposed to be performed, Pan Shiquan finished the work that Zhu Xi had left.

As a staff member responsible for imperial ceremonies, Pan's choice of the *qin* over other musical instruments for Poem-songs (his *guqin* scores in particular) was not simply out of a personal interest, but also had ideological and political implication. The *Book of Rites* records that the *qin* was created by the legendary king Shun 舜: while playing the *qin*, the king sang a song called "The South Wind" (*Nanfeng* 南風), expressing his wish for the prosperity of his people.²⁵ King Shun sets the ideal for rulers throughout premodern Chinese history, and *qin* song accordingly becomes a means of achieving ideal governance. In fact, Pan Shiquan included "The South Wind" as a *qin* song in his *Dayue yuanyin*. Altogether, the *qin* song form allowed Pan to envision a broader influence of his musical works on social order.

²⁵ For the story about King Shun's *qin* song in the *Book of Rites*, see *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 38, 1281; also in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, *juan* 24, vol. 4, 1235. The lyrics of "The South Wind" can be found in the canonical commentaries to the *Book of Rites* written by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), which consist of only two couplets: "The south wind is warm, easing my people's sorrow; the south wind is on time, enriching my people's wealth." 南風之薰兮，可以解吾民之慍兮；南風之時兮，可以阜吾民之財兮。 *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 38, 1281.

Office holders or not, many other *qin* practitioners who worked on Poem-songs also expressed their intention of contributing to the regulation of social order. For example, in *Chengyitang qinpu* 誠一堂琴譜, which includes Poem-related works like “Guanju,” “Greater Odes” (*Daya* 大雅), and “Airs of Lu State” (*Lufeng* 魯風),²⁶ one of the prefaces begins with an argument that an exemplary person (*junzi* 君子) should make his knowledge useful to the world. The writer then expresses his admiration for the scholarly achievements of the compiler, Cheng Yunji 程允基 (fl. 1705), saying that he was convinced by Cheng’s lecture on why the ancient sages regarded *qin* as especially important to the educational function of music. The last lines of the preface ask readers to notice that the first piece in this *qinpu* is “Airs of Lu State,” which is the name of a section in the “Airs” in the *Classic of Poetry*. With the word “air” meaning “to educate” and Lu State being Confucius’s place of origin, the preface thus points out that Cheng’s intention is to make his musical works useful to the world, which makes him a true *junzi*.²⁷

With the publications of their *qinpu*, people like Pan Shiquan and Cheng Yunji became “exemplary persons” who showcased not only a deep understanding of Confucian learning, but also the determination to utilize their knowledge for the society’s benefit. By announcing that the *qin* was the most important in the realm of ancient music,

²⁶ The scores of these works in the *qinpu* do not have songtexts.

²⁷ See Wu Yunqian’s 吳允謙 (fl. 1637-1705) preface to *Chengyitang qinpu* in QQJC, vol. 13, 315-317.

they represented themselves as authorities on Poem-songs who were able to continue the sages' work of transforming the world.

How exactly did these *qin* practitioners re-create the musical aspect of the Poem-songs? In addition, why did they believe that their works, compared to others', would better facilitate the communication of the sages' teaching about human relations and social regulation? In the next section, I investigate these questions by focusing on "Guanju" as an example.

Different Versions, Different Ideas: The Music and Songtexts of "Guanju"

Classical commentaries generally consider the Poem "Guanju" to be of particular importance among other Poems in the "Airs." The "Great Preface," for example, explains that "Guanju" is the beginning of the "Airs" and hence the beginning of moral education:

"Guanju" is about the virtue of the queen. It is the beginning of the "Airs" (*feng* 風). It is used to educate (*feng* 風) the world and to rectify the relationship between the husband and the wife. Therefore, it should be used for the local people, and for the states as well.²⁸

This viewpoint was shared among late imperial *qin* practitioners. Citing traditional commentaries, many *qinpu* compilers reiterated the significance of "Guanju" and reaffirmed its connection with the ancient sages such as the Duke of Zhou, King Wen of Zhou, and Confucius. One compiler writes,

This song is composed by the Duke of Zhou to celebrate King Wen's marrying the queen. King Wen was born with saintly virtue, and had the

²⁸ 關雎，后妃之德也。風之始也。所以風天下而正夫婦也。故用之鄉人焉，用之邦國焉。 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 4-5.

saintly woman Taisi to match him. She was demure and sincere, with the virtue of being reserved, retiring, steadfast and serene, thus helping the teaching to circulate. With families transformed and customs accomplished, everyone was immersed in the air of harmony and happiness. From this point, the ethics of human relations began to flourish. This song was manifested in singing, accompanied by the studs and strings (i.e. the *qin*). Confucius said, “‘Guanju’ is joyous but not excessive, melancholy but not morose.”²⁹

The passage above represents the interpretation of “Guanju” shared among most *qinpu*, and the language mainly comes from traditional commentaries. Nonetheless, the writer still managed to weave in his idea by slightly changing the phrase “strings and flutes” (*xian’guan*) in traditional commentaries to “studs and strings” (*huixian*), indicating that “Guanju” as a song was supposed to be played only on the *qin*.³⁰

Guided by this basic interpretation of “Guanju,” *qin* practitioners tried to find the best way of using *qin* music and lyrics to communicate the moral meaning of the Poem. They created different versions of “Guanju” based on their different understandings of the relationships among music, lyrics, and “the meaning of the Poem” (*shiyi* 詩意), which I divide into three categories. The first is based on the belief that the proper way of

²⁹ 此周公作，美文王得后妃也。文王生有聖德，又得聖女姒氏以爲之配，端莊誠一，備幽閒貞靜之德，助流風教，家化俗成，咸被和睦樂順之風。人倫之盛，自此始矣。形於詠歌，被之徽絃。孔子曰：“關雎樂而不淫，哀而不傷。” Kong Xingyou 孔興誘 (fl. 1667), *Qinyuan xinchuan* 琴苑心傳, in QQJC, vol. 11, 368.

³⁰ For the phrase “accompanied by strings and flutes” used in the Han-dynasty commentaries, see *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 7.

musicalizing the Poem words is in itself a manifestation of the sages' Way. Accordingly, although versions of "Guanju" in this category differ in music and performance, their songtexts all use the Poem exactly as it is. The second category includes versions that do not use the exact Poem as songtexts. The idea of this category is to create a functional song, rather than a singable Poem, to bring out the hidden *shiyi* through the experience of singing and listening. The third category, albeit keeping "Guanju" as the title, leaves out the songtext and turns this ancient song into an instrumental piece. Versions of this category challenge the traditional concept of Poem-song, in the belief that music communicates the meaning of the Poem better than words. I analyze these categories one by one with examples.

The Singing of the Poem

Pan Shiquan's study and development of the Fengya scores were led by his understanding of how to sing the Poems "correctly" on the *qin* and why it was important. He thought that the *qin* practitioners of his time had two major problems: lack of musical knowledge (about notes, pitches, and modes), and obsession with fingering techniques. If the two problems can be solved, in Pan's view, "It will enable everyone to know music and to easily learn to play the *qin*, so that the convention of singing the Poems while playing the *qin* will reappear in every household, and hence the Rites and Music will prevail under Heaven."³¹ For the purpose of promoting the correct musical knowledge

³¹ 使人人知音，人人易學，於是乎家弦戶誦之風起，而天下之禮樂大行矣。QQJC, vol. 16, 353. Notice that Pan wrote these lines in a specific context of Confucian learning.

and the correct way of singing the Poems, Pan's *qinpu* explains his musical theories through many essays, and uses "Guanju" and a few other songs as examples of how to apply his theories in practice.

One of the major problems that he tried to solve was to adjust the *qin* to the music of the Fengya scores. In his understanding, the Fengya scores as a representative of the "Great Music" use seven pitches in one mode (*yijun qilü* 一均七律), whereas the tradition of *qin* music only uses five pitches in one mode.³² Pan's *qinpu* uses the "*qin*-for-ensemble" scores to show that, with the correct knowledge of pitches and tuning, the *qin* can join other instruments in the ensemble for the seven-pitch music of the Fengya scores. At the same time, the *qinpu* uses the "*qin*-alone" scores to demonstrate how to properly adapt the seven-pitch Great Music for the five-pitch *qin* music so that every household can play and sing the songs with *qin* alone.

Another key to the correct way of Poem singing, in Pan's view, is to match the music with the pronunciation of monosyllabic words. He considered his music to be an example of correct matching: "I use *qin* music to illustrate the modes and tunings of the Great Music, and then use the sound of words to illustrate the sound of Poem singing,

Hence, Pan's wish to help "everyone" learn to play the *qin* does not necessarily speak against the Privilege Discourse. Despite using words like "everyone," it is questionable whether Pan intended to extend his audience to, say, foreigners and Buddhists.

³² I will not judge whether his understanding is correct or not.

hoping that both the sound of music and the human voice can become correct.”³³ He writes many essays in his *qinpu* about the correlations among the five musical tones, five consonant categories, five vowel categories, five linguistic tones, five virtues, and five phases.³⁴ Because of the correlations, the matching of the musical and the speech sounds becomes directly associated with the fundamental principles of the cosmos. However, Pan’s theory is not to promote a mechanical way of sound matching. As his two scores of “Guanju” have shown, the same songtext can be set to different music, whereas the same musical pitch may go with different monosyllabic words.

Pan believed that the music should also fit the meaning of the Poems. In addition to having the correct pitches, the *qin* player must pay attention to the performing style.

³³ 余假琴樂以明大樂之調，更假字音以明歌詩之聲，庶乎八音之聲，與人之聲，咸可得而正也。QQJC, vol. 16, 394.

³⁴ QQJC, vol. 16, 392-428. When talking about speech sounds, Pan uses “yin” 音 to refer to consonants and vowels, and “sheng” 聲 to refer to tones. His “five tones” include the four tones plus a “low even” tone (*xiaping* 下平). Pan’s theories have linguistic problems from our modern perspective. For example, he thought that the total number of “yin” in Chinese language is the result of multiplying the consonant number by the vowel number, without noticing that not every consonant can be paired with every vowel to make a syllable in the language. However, the current project does not aim to evaluate Pan’s theory.

He writes after the *qin*-alone version of “Guanju,” reminding performers that the music should help bring out the ancient, elegant, and harmonic feeling of the Poem.

The *qin* player should play the first stanza at a slower tempo, the middle stanza faster, and then slow down in the final stanza. The fingering techniques do not have to be very refined. With only a few vibratos to help express the emotion, and it would be enough to bring out the singable music. If people use a number of *qin* to play it together, the far-reaching elegant sounds will stir people’s intent and thought on Great Harmony and make them envision the wonderfulness of the sounds and tunes of the ancient kings’ elegant Music.³⁵

Based on Pan’s works, we can see that his understanding of how to properly musicalize the Poems involves multiple aspects: from the use of pitches, modes, and tunings, to the matching of musical sounds and speech sounds, and then to the execution of the performance. Only when every aspect of the music is “correct,” the ancient tradition of Poem singing may become effective again.

Whereas Pan Shiquan insisted on his musical theories, other *qin* practitioners held different views on how to properly musicalize the Poems, and they were no less confident than Pan about the correctness of their own views. In their exploration of Poem singing, many people did not limit themselves to the Fengya scores in Zhu Xi’s book. For example, Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (fl. 1618) in the Ming and Wang Shan 王善 (fl. 1739) in the Qing both composed original music to pair with the Poem “Guanju.”³⁶ Whereas

³⁵ 凡鼓者，首段少緩，中段疾，末段稍緩。其指法不必求工，少加吟猱以咏嘆之，則音詠自出。若以數琴合彈之，則雅韻悠然，令人動太和意思，想見古先王雅樂聲調之妙。QQJC, vol. 16, 367.

³⁶ Both Zhang and Wang claimed their authorship of the music of their versions of

Zhang Tingyu abode by the tradition of *yizi yiyin* 一字一音 (one character in the songtext for one musical tone), Wang Shan often used several different tones for one character in the Poem.³⁷ They both were quite confident about their creations. Quoting Confucius's praise for "Guanju," "joyous but not excessive, melancholy but not morose," Wang Shan followed to comment that his music was completely like what Confucius said.³⁸ Zhang Tingyu, on the other hand, wrote after his song: "If one does not play 'Guanju,' even though he knows many other *qin* pieces, he is still 'not doing "Zhounan" and "Shaonan," like standing with his face toward the wall.'"³⁹ Zhang's quotation is also from the *Analects*, in which Confucius argues that the learning and practicing of the Poems in the

"Guanju," respectively. Zhang's annotation of an earlier version of "Guanju" writes that he is not satisfied with this version, and hence composed a new one which will be found later in the *qinpu*. See QQJC, vol. 8, 240. Wang's "Guanju" specifies that this is a new score made by himself ("Yuanbo xinpu" 元伯新譜), in QQJC, vol. 18, 138.

³⁷ In his research on Ming ritual music, Joseph Lam has noted that the syllabic text setting was considered a distinctive feature of "ancient music" by Ming music theorists, but Lam also points out that some music theorists raised doubts about the prescription of syllabic text setting and achieved a balance between orthodoxy and creativity through the use of ornamental note. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness*, 88-92.

³⁸ 子曰：樂而不淫哀而不傷。嘻，盡之矣。QQJC, vol. 18, 139.

³⁹ 彈琴雖多，不彈關雎，猶是不為周南召南面牆而立者耳。QQJC, vol. 8, 304.

“Zhounan” and “Shaonan” are a must for any gentleman to understand the outer world and behave properly.⁴⁰ Here, Zhang Tingyu appropriated Confucius’s words to argue that playing his version of “Guanju” is a must for all *qin* players.

Altering the Songtext

Surprisingly, some *qin* practitioners did not limit their work to just musicalizing the Poem “Guanju,” but they made changes to the songtext, too. One example is the version in Xie Lin’s 謝琳 (fl. 1510s) edition of *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音.⁴¹ The *qinpu* has prefaces dated 1510s, but its sources may have an earlier origin.⁴² The songtext of “Guanju” in this version begins by announcing that “Guanju” is the first song of the first section (“The South of Zhou”) in “Airs” (*Guofeng yi, Zhounan yi zhi yi* 國風一，周南一之一). This line comes directly from the sectional title in Zhu Xi’s *Collection of Commentaries to the Classic of Poetry* (*Shi ji zhuan* 詩集傳).⁴³ Here, however, it is paired with the first sentence of the music, meant to be sung as part of the lyrics. Moreover, this opening of the songtext is followed by the first five Poems in “The South of Zhou” (i.e. “Guanju,” “Getan” 葛覃, “Juan’er” 卷耳, “Jiumu” 樛木, “Zhongsi” 螽斯), despite the fact the song is titled “Guanju.” The songtext arranges these Poems in the same order as the *Classic of Poetry*, but leaves out the titles of the other four poems. It

⁴⁰ *Analects*, 17.10.

⁴¹ QQJC, vol. 1, 259-261.

⁴² See Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” in QQJC, vol. 1, 6.

⁴³ Zhu Xi, *Shi ji zhuan*, 1.

suggests that these five Poems should be sung altogether, with “Guanju” as the leading song and other four songs following it as supplements.

Confusing as it may seem, the songtext of Xie Lin’s version has a solid logic. Traditional commentaries have long associated these first five Poems with Queen Taisi. According to Zhu Xi’s reading, “Guanju” exalts the queen’s overall virtue whereas the following four poems each singles out a facet.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the Fengya scores in Zhu Xi’s book contain only the first three songs in “The South of Zhou,” and they are arranged as separated songs. Xie Lin’s version pushes Zhu Xi’s argument a step further, suggesting that all these five songs be sung together without interruption in order to fully reveal the queen’s virtue.⁴⁵

To some *qin* practitioners, Poem words alone are not sufficient to widely spread the sages’ teaching; after over two thousand years since the time when the Poems were composed, the meanings of the Poems already became too obscure for many people of the late imperial period. Hence, some *qin* song editors felt it necessary to incorporate explanations into the lyrics to reveal the meaning of “Guanju.” The earliest version of

⁴⁴ Zhu Xi, *Shi ji zhuan*, 9.

⁴⁵ Different from Xie Lin, Qiu Zhilu 邱之桂 (1781-1849) proposes in his *Lüyin huikao* 律音彙考 that “Guanju” should be sung as a single song because it is the first of the three-hundred Poems and the beginning of the human ethics, whereas “Getan” and “Juan’er” can be sung at once without interruption because they discuss the queen’s virtue and intent respectively. QQJC, vol. 22, 167.

this kind that survives today is found in *Zheyin shizi qinpu* 浙音釋字琴譜, likely published by the Ming prince Zhu Dianpei 朱奠培 (1418-1491).⁴⁶ Consisting of nine stanzas, the songtext of this version adapts exegeses of “Guanju” and the *Classic of Poetry* for the musicality of the song with rhythmic and rhyme patterns. It celebrates King Wen’s success in pursuing Taisi, and explains why the marriage between the king and the queen contributed to the regulation of Zhou. This interpretation opts for Zhu Xi’s theory over Han-dynasty scholars’ reading that “Guanju” is about the queen’s searching for a suitable concubine for King Wen.⁴⁷ By selecting and rearranging former Confucian scholars’ exegeses, the version in *Zheyin shizi* weaves scholarly arguments into a coherent and relatively succinct interpretation of the meaning of “Guanju,” which is meant to be promoted through the tradition of Poem singing.

Moreover, the songtext is a mixture of different linguistic registers, forming a style that one may call “buwen busu” 不文不俗 (neither bookish nor vulgar), a style that Patricia Sieber finds to be a legacy of the *qu* songs of the Yuan (1279-1368) and later embraced by Ming critics.⁴⁸ The first stanza below may serve as an example (I use italics

⁴⁶ On the origin of this *qinpu*, see Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” in QQJC, vol. 1, 6. The song is in QQJC, vol. 1, 187-189.

⁴⁷ For the Han reading of the Poem, see *Maoshi zhengyi*, 21.

⁴⁸ Patricia Sieber, “Nobody’s Genre, Everybody’s Song: Sanqu Songs and the Expansion of the Literary Sphere in Yuan China,” 48.

in my translation to mark the songtext's direct quotations from traditional commentaries, and I use bold letters for words directly from the Poem "Guanju").

On the islet in <i>the river of the south</i> ,	江沱汝漢河洲
Red sand, green grass, secluded and serene,	赤沙碧草地偏幽
Look, a pair of <i>majestic ospreys</i> , side by side.	看並立王鳩
<i>Male and female, their sounds echo with each other; oh, their spirits attract one another.</i>	雌雄聲應也氣逌
Calling caw-caw , they befriend each other, harmonious and gentle.	關關相友和柔
Calling caw-caw , they befriend each other, harmonious and gentle.	關關相友和柔
Together they rest and dine, <i>together they hover.</i>	雙宿食，雙並遊
<i>Without any forwardness</i> , leisurely, ah, the ospreys hover.	鳩無相狎愛恣優那遊
Other waterfowl rarely pair for life.	水禽鳥，難為儔
<i>Gulls look similar to ospreys</i> ,	鳬鷺狀類
Yet their virtues do not compare.	德不相侔
<i>Their affections are strong but, ah, they keep a proper distance.</i>	摯而那有別
"Ospreys" ranks first in the Mao commentary.	關雎冠於毛傳首
As we recall the days of yore,	思憶憶
The consort of King Wen of Zhou had <i>saintly virtue</i> ;	周文王后妃有聖德
She would be a good mate .	宜相好逌

Exegetic songtexts of this kind won favor with *qin* practitioners in the following centuries, as many later versions of this song use similar songtexts to the *Zheyin shizi*

version with minor variations.⁴⁹ The spread of this type of exegetic songtexts, particularly during the Ming dynasty, implies a difference in function between lyrics for singing and Classics for reading in the eyes of some *qin* practitioners. The 17th-century literary writer and critic, Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680), remarked that good lyrics must be easy to understand, not as abstruse and refined as poetry and prose.⁵⁰ Although Li Yu's remark refers specifically to *qu* songs used in drama, it represents a literary taste that values the experience of listening to, rather than reading, the lyrics. From this perspective, the *Zheyin shizi* version of "Guanju," and others alike, would be more suitable for singing and listening than the original Poem for people of the late imperial period. Under the belief that the moral meaning of the Poem is supposed to be fully communicated through singing, *qin* practitioners would have the reason to consider this type of exegetic versions to be a more practical revival of "Guanju" as a song of the present day.

Other people were more cautious about using exegetic songtexts for "Guanju," expressing their concerns about altering classical texts. Having included a "Guanju" similar to the *Zheyin shizi* version in his *qinpu*, Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (*jinshi* 1610)

⁴⁹ Extant versions of this kind are preserved in *Faming qinpu* 發明琴譜 (1530), in QQJC, vol. 1, 344-347, *Xilutang qintong* 西麓堂琴統 (1549), in *ibid.*, vol. 3, 150-152, *Chongxiu zhenhuan qinpu* 重修真傳琴譜 (1585), in *ibid.*, vol. 4, 432-435, and *Lixing yuanyu* 理性元雅 (1618), in *ibid.*, vol. 8, 240-243.

⁵⁰ Li Yu, *Xianqing ouji* 閒情偶記, 22-23.

criticized the songtext for “missing the gist of the Poem ‘Guanju’” because it fails to include the complete Poem while mixing the Classics with other texts. He thereby composed a new version of “Guanju” using only the Poem as songtext, and asked his readers to find this version later in the same *qinpu*.⁵¹

The Qing-dynasty Confucian, Wang Fu 汪紱 (1692-1759), also expresses his objection to the songtext of the *Zheyin shizi* version (or another version alike) in his *qinpu*. Unlike Zhang Tingyu, Wang Fu did not preserve the version as is, but instead, revised the songtext and gave it a different title. In Wang Fu’s view, the exegetic version should not bear the same title as the Poem “Guanju,” because the songtext is not the original Classic, but a commentary on the Classic, yet as a commentary on the Classic, the songtext is nonetheless not refined enough.⁵² Therefore, Wang Fu changed the title to “Commentary on Guanju (“Guanju zhuan” 關雎傳),” and revised the songtext using exclusively the language from Zhu Xi’s commentary in *Shiji zhuan*, remarking that this revised version is with “old music and new lyrics” (*gupu xinci* 古譜新詞).⁵³ Wang Fu’s preference for the language in *Shiji zhuan* was due to his admiration for Zhu Xi’s scholarship despite an increasing challenge for Song Neo-Confucianism in the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ He also managed to make the Zhu Xi’s prosaic lines rhyme as lyrics by

⁵¹ QQJC, vol. 8, 240.

⁵² QQJC, vol. 18, 28.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ For Wang Fu and his scholarship, see his biography in Guoshi Guan 國史館 ed., *Qing*

rearranging the lines. Wang Fu's version thus proposes a way of learning the commentary on "Guanju" besides text reading, through the power of rhyming, singing, and *qin* music.

Communicating the Meaning through Music Alone

Whether one studied the text of the Poems or the tradition of Poem singing, the ultimate goal was to illustrate the moral meaning of the Poems. For some *qin* practitioners, rather than guessing about the lost tradition of Poem singing, it would be more efficient to focus on the communication of the meaning of the Poems. Regarding music as a different, or even superior communicative tool than words, these people created versions of "Guanju" without songtext. Although these *qin* pieces bear the title of the ancient song and are rooted in the tradition of Poem singing, they deviate from the form of *qin* song and are meant to be purely instrumental.

To promote the no-songtext version of "Guanju," the compiler of *Chucaotang qinpu* 春草堂琴譜 (completed in 1744 and published in 1801) noted that music should not be restrained by the verbal sound and rhythm:

shi gao 清史稿校註, *juan* 487, vol. 14, 11010-11011; and Kai-wing Chow, "Disclosure, Examination, and Local Elite: The Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China," 200. For more about the debates between Han learning/evidential (*kaozheng* 考證) scholarship and Song Neo-Confucianism in the Qing dynasty, see Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*; and Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse*.

Qin players should look for the feeling of “joyous but not excessive, melancholy but not morose” in this piece. As for those mediocre performers who play by following the sound of text reciting, they completely missed the point.”⁵⁵

“The sound of text reciting” (*dushu sheng* 讀書聲) is how one would chant the Poem.

From the perspective of *Chuncaotang*, the feeling of “joyous but not excessive, melancholy but not morose” rises from the music, not the sound of Poem recitation.

The compiler of *Qinxue chujin* 琴學初津 (preface dated 1902) made a similar point to *Chuncaotang*. His comment on “Guanju” goes:

This piece was made to comprehend the meaning (of the Poem), not to accompany the sound of chanting. One should pursue it through the meaning of the Poem (*shiyi* 詩意), and the music would turn out lively and vivid. If one thinks that its function is to match the sound of words, one would completely miss the point.⁵⁶

From this perspective, music as a way of communication is independent from words, even the words of the *Classic of Poetry*. Although the “meaning of the Poem” is originally communicated through the Poetic words, the compiler of *Qinxue chujin* believed that *qin* practitioners could use music alone to pursue a deeper and more concrete understanding of the *shiyi*—the teaching of the ancient sages behind the Poem—which could hardly be achieved by reading and chanting.

⁵⁵ 鼓者當體會其中“樂而不淫，哀而不傷”之意。如俗以讀書聲撫之，失之遠矣。

QQJC, vol. 18, 254.

⁵⁶ 蓋此曲是會意之作，非依詠和聲之製，當以詩意求之，無不惟妙惟肖，若以聲字為用，則失之遠矣。The comment is in the original manuscript of the *qinpu* preserved by Zha Fuxi. See Zha Fuxi, *Cunjian guqin qupu jilan*, 356.

Supporters of the instrumental “Guanju” often emphasized the communicative efficiency of music in its own right. For example, *Wuzhizhai qinpu* 五知齋琴譜 (1721) continuously asks readers to notice how the music of “Guanju” illustrates the meaning of the Poem, with small-font instructional lines throughout the musical score, as well as the compiler’s comment at the end:

For example, the second musical sentence in the second stanza is like the elegance of “Guanju” as the birds’ singing in harmony on the islet. The third stanza is like flow of the water and the sound of the breeze. The fourth stanza is far-reaching and rising, tranquil and carefree, as serene as the remote antiquity. The seventh stanza is like the wind fragrant and beautiful, peach and plum blossoms adding to the scenery, and the spring coming into the warm cabinet. There is nothing (in the music) that does not depict the divine essence of it (i.e. the Poem).⁵⁷

Interestingly, many of the images described in the comment above, such as the fragrance breeze, the blossoms, and the warm cabinet, are not mentioned in the original Poem at all. These images are derived from the Poem by readers as part of the *shiyi*, the inherent meaning of the Poem which exceeds the literal meaning of the Poetic words. Therefore, *Wuzhizhai* argues that music, not words, is more capable to depict “the divine essence” (*shen* 神) of the Poem, as it allows the *qin* practitioners to imagine and feel the world of “Guanju” behind the surface of words.

The above writings in support of the no-songtext version of “Guanju” represent a viewpoint shared among some *qin* practitioners since late Ming, that is, songtext can be

⁵⁷ 如二段二句，若關雎之雅，鳥鳴和洲。三段若水之淵淵，風之籟籟。四段悠揚恬逸，靜若太古。七段若薰風秀美，桃李增容，暖閣生春，無不摹其神者也。QQJC, vol. 14, 475.

an obstacle to musical expressions. On the contrary, *qin* song enthusiasts argued that *qin* music without songtexts and singing may lead to decadent obsessions with sensory beauty, as musical expression must be restricted and guided by intelligible words. To support their argument, *qin* song enthusiasts often cited Confucian scholarship on the Poem singing tradition.⁵⁸ At the center of these different views is how one understands the relationship between music and words as means of communication. These *qin* practitioners' different opinions about music, words, and meaning led to the emergence of various versions of "Guanju," while their work contributed to the development of *qin* music as well as the exploration of Confucian knowledge and practice. In spite of their disagreement, these *qin* practitioners had one thing in common: they all emphasized the irreplaceable function of music in communicating moral meanings. With the

⁵⁸ For example, Yang Biaozheng's *qinpu* quoted the following commentary on the "Treatise on Music" of the *Book of Rites*: "If [music] takes form through singing and dancing, but has no songtext to guide it to ritual propriety, then it will surely become unconstrained. The ancient kings were ashamed of this, and thereby created the singable Poems to give guidance, in order that the sound and music is enough to be enjoyable but not to the extent of unconstrained, and that the teaching in the text is explained clear enough and not to be neglected... This is the way the ancient kings established Music." 形於歌舞，而不為文辭以道之於禮義，則必流於荒亂矣。先王恥其然，故制為雅頌之聲詩以道迪也，使其聲音足以為娛樂，而不至於流放，使其文理足以為講明，而不至於怠息，...是乃先王立樂之方法也。QQJC, vol. 4, 275.

communicative power of music being strengthened, composers and performers of “Guanju” altered or even suspended the Poem, to an extent challenging the authority of Classical texts as the most important means for comprehending the sages’ teaching.

Conclusion: The *Qin* Adaptations of Poem-songs as Confucian Learning

Patricia Ebrey has noticed that, of the forty-eight Ming authors of revised versions of Zhu Xi’s *Family Rituals*, only one person is recounted in the *Records of Ming Scholars* (*Mingru xue’an* 明儒學案) and only seven have brief biographies in the *Ming History* (*Mingshi* 明史). She nevertheless remarks: “By specifying how they modified the performance of the rites, authors were encouraging others to make the same adjustments and to label them Confucian.”⁵⁹ Rites and music are two related means of social regulation in the Confucian tradition, and what Ebrey has found in the ritual field is comparable to the musical case discussed in this chapter, altogether leading us to a broader and more layered view of Confucian scholarship in history.

Whereas from Ebrey’s findings Kai-wing Chow sees what he calls “the rise of Confucian ritualism” as an intellectual trend from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century,⁶⁰ the *qin* adaptations of Poem-songs reveal a fuzzier picture behind the major

⁵⁹ Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*, 168.

⁶⁰ Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China*. Chow discusses more works inspired by the *Family Rituals* in the Qing.

trends of Confucian scholarship in late imperial China that historians have identified. Although a few cases like *Dayue yuanyin* are concerned with the ritual functions of the songs, most adaptations show no connection to rituals or the *Fengya* scores. Some composers/editors' researches on phonetics and musical theories may have adopted the philological (*xiaoxue* 小學) and evidential (*kaozheng* 考證) methodologies, which characterized Qing scholarship, yet their main approach to comprehending the Classics was not through philology or an empirical study of the past in the manner of evidential scholars, but through performing and “feeling” (*tihui* 體會) some newly composed music. Moreover, *qin* adaptations of “Guanju” throughout the Qing mainly followed Zhu Xi's orthodox interpretation in spite of the intellectual movement of rejecting the Song Neo-Confucian scholarship which peaked in the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁶¹ Indeed, premodern Chinese had various ways of engaging in Confucian learning, and not all of them directly responded to the scholarly trends of that time which were often identified by people of later periods. Perhaps in the eyes of some *qin* practitioners, the major debates among eminent scholars were not of the most importance, as the focus of the former was on music—a field that was crucial for Confucian moral education and political regulation yet was obscure to most Confucian scholars.

To make their music effective in communicating Confucian ideals, *qin* practitioners were concerned about expanding the transmission of the music while ensuring its “correctness.” As much as they hoped for a wide use of the *qin* in the

⁶¹ Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China*.

learning of the *Classic of Poetry*, they worried that *qin* music could become not only unhelpful but even misleading if used improperly by the non-*zhiyin* who “completely missed the point.” Therefore, we find people like Pan Shiquan who tried to make *qin* playing more accessible by using only the basic finger techniques, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, wrote many theoretical essays to explain what he considered as the correct music and the correct way of Poem singing. Therefore, the purpose of these *qin* practitioners’ efforts was not to promote their music simply to a broader audience, but to a broader *zhiyin* audience as precisely as possible. In other words, to those who were able to really understand the composer/editor and his music. With growth of the print culture, as Suyoung Son has remarked, late imperial writers developed various strategies to use print “to acquire two ostensibly opposed rewards—exclusive cultural prestige and broad popular appeal.”⁶² In the next chapter, I will discuss how a *qinpu* compiler could use print to both broaden his audience and make this audience as exclusive as possible to the like-minded.

⁶² Suyoung Son, *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China*, 5.

Chapter 3. Encountering A Transcendent: Yang Biaozheng's Musiking on the Page

Introduction

This chapter discusses how Yang Biaozheng 楊表正 (c.1520-c.1590) used his *qinpu* as a venue for musiking with his readers. My analysis of Yang Biaozheng's case will show that the development of print culture provided late imperial *qin* practitioners with a new way of seeking *zhiyin*, and accordingly, a new way of pursuing sagehood. The print *qinpu* as a venue for musiking also gave rise to new types of *qin* songs and influenced the reception of the songs.

Through print and publication, the content and arrangement of a *qinpu* are more likely to remain stable in transmission, which encourages the compiler to treat his *qinpu* as not just a collection of musical materials, but also a coherent representation of his work in compiling and editing. Yuming He has noticed a similar influence of print culture on other types of late-Ming books, as Ming editors added new meanings to old materials by recycling them in different textual contexts.¹ In Yang Biaozheng's case, by encouraging the reader to understand the songs in their textual contexts, his *qinpu*

¹ Yuming He, *Home and the World: Editing the "Glorious Ming" in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, especially 140-201.

facilitates a closer, and to some degree more personal interaction between the compiler and the reader.

In this chapter, I will show how Yang Biaozheng used his *qinpu* to present himself as a transcendent person and invite the reader to examine this persona through his songs. At the same time, Yang also tried to examine his readers' musical and spiritual achievement in various ways. Not unlike a live *qin* performance where the player and the listener could recognize each other as *zhiyin*, the *qinpu* could also help the reader tell if he and the compiler would recognize each other as *zhiyin* even though they never had a chance to meet in person. In the end of the chapter, we will see that Yang was successful in finding *zhiyin* with the publication of the *qinpu*, who later remembered him as a *shengxian* ("the sagacious and worthy").

Yang Biaozheng and his *qinpu*

Our knowledge about Yang Biaozheng is very limited, mostly coming from his *qinpu* and a short biography in the *Gazetteer of the Yong'an County* (*Yong'an xianzhi* 永安縣志) which only mentions his *qin* activities.² Yang was a native of Gongchuan 貢川

² Qiu Shurong 裘樹榮 (fl. 1727) et al., *Yong'an xianzhi* 永安縣志, Yongzheng edition, *juan* 9, in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Fujian fuxianzhi ji* 中國地方志集成 (福建府縣志輯), vol. 39, 335. Liu Fulin 劉富琳 has written an article about Yang Biaozheng's life. See Liu, "Mingdai qinjia Yang Biaozheng shengping kaoshu" 明代琴家楊表正生平考

(in today's Yong'an, Fujian province). He was also known by his courtesy name Benzhi 本直 and his two art names, Xifeng Shanren 西峰山人 and Wuxia Zhuren 巫峽主人. Yang claimed that he was a descendant of the prominent Neo-Confucianist, Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135).³ However, no historical record suggests that Yang received any scholarly degree or even took any civil service examination. Yang's own words, "I live a reclusive life among springs and rocks, never caring for fame or wealth," may be read as his explanation that he intentionally chose not to pursue officialdom.⁴

Yang Biaozheng devoted his life to *qin* learning. In his preface to the *qinpu*, Yang emphasizes that the *qin* was used by ancient sages to rectify the mind and bring harmony. He then states that among all other branches of learnings (such as poetry, rites, and arts), only the learning of the *qin* has taken up all his attention for over thirty years.⁵ At one time Yang felt that his *qin* learning had reached such a stage that he was able to produce music according to the Way and bring out deep meanings through his music.⁶

In spite of his achievement, Yang was not yet satisfied because he had not met a *zhiyin*. Therefore, he traveled afar to find his *zhiyin*.⁷ On his journey, he found that many

述.

³ QQJC, vol. 4, 257.

⁴ 隱居泉石,名利不關. QQJC, vol. 4, 255.

⁵ QQJC, vol. 4, 255.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

people's understandings of *qin* learning were “wrong.” He refers to these people as “the vulgar” (*bisu* 鄙俗).⁸ Fearing that their “wrong” understandings would continue to confuse more people, Yang decided to compile and publish a *qinpu* to share with all the “like-minded” (*tongzhi* 同志) in the world.⁹ At the end of his preface to the *qinpu*, Yang compares himself with Shikuang 師曠 (fl. 6th century BCE), the ancient *qin* master whose opinion on the tuning of the bells differed from that of other contemporaneous musicians but was eventually confirmed by the *zhiyin* of later times.¹⁰ In other words, the publication of the *qinpu* was an extension of Yang Biao Zheng's journey of seeking *zhiyin*, as copies of the *qinpu* would travel for him across time and space to reach his prospective like-minded friends.

Yang's *qinpu* has two editions. The first edition of the *qinpu* was carved and printed in 1573 by the famous commercial publisher, Fuchun Tang 富春堂, in Nanjing.¹¹ It is titled “Xinkan zhengwen duiyin jieyao qinpu zhenchuan” 新刊正文對音捷要琴譜真傳 (Authentic *Qinpu* with Corrected Lyrics, Collated Notes, and Quick Instruction:

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ For more about Fuchun Tang and the commercial publishing in late-Ming Nanjing, see Lucille Chia, “Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing.”

Newly Carved).¹² The center of the page leaves is marked with a short title: “Duiyin jieyao qinpu” 對音捷要琴譜. This “newly carved” edition (hereafter, the *xinkan* edition) consists of six *juan*. The title of the *qinpu* highlights Yang’s work on correcting and collating the songtexts (*wen*) and the music (*yin*). Indeed, all the pieces in his *qinpu* include songtexts paired with musical symbols. Twelve years later, as Yang Biaozheng discovered more scores during this period, he published a revised edition which was expanded to ten *juan*. This second edition (hereafter, the *chongxiu* edition) was also carved and printed by Fuchun Tang, titled “Chongxiu zhengwen duiyin jieyao zhenchuan qinpu daquan” 重修正文對音捷要真傳琴譜大全 (Authentic Complete *Qinpu* with Corrected Lyrics, Collated Notes, and Quick Instruction: Revised Edition). The short title in the center of the leaves is “Xifeng chongxiu qinpu” 西峯重修琴譜 (Xifeng’s Revised *Qinpu*). Xifeng was Yang Biaozheng’s art name. The *chongxiu* edition, now generally referred to as “Chongxiu Zhenchuan *Qinpu*” 重修真傳琴譜 (Authentic *Qinpu*: Revised Edition), is more widely known to *qin* players.

In Yang Biaozheng’s time, both editions of his *qinpu* fared well on the book market. At least ten copies of the *xinkan* edition survive to today,¹³ which is a rare case

¹² The word “*xinkan*” (newly carved) is commonly used in titles of the books published by Fuchun Tang and some other commercial publishers in the Wanli period. Examples can be found in the appendix to Li-ling Hsiao’s *The Eternal Present of the Past: Illustration, Theatre, and Reading in the Wanli Period, 1573-1619*, 299-304.

¹³ For a list of the libraries that hold copies of this edition, see Zhongguo guji zongmu

for *qinpu* of the Ming dynasty. The *xinkan* edition was also re-carved by other publishers,¹⁴ which can be a sign of its popularity. The *chongxiu* edition probably gained more readers than the *xinkan* edition. At least eleven copies of the first print of the *chongxiu* edition have survived.¹⁵ Besides Fuchun Tang, there were other publishers that used this block to make reprints. Copies of the reprints made by Jixiu Tang 積秀堂 and Yisheng Tang 翼聖堂 can be found today.¹⁶ Moreover, the *Gazetteer of the Yong'an County* mentions that someone named Wu Mengju 吳孟舉 of the Kangxi period (1661-1722) reprinted the *chongxiu* edition in the Yue area (in modern Zhejiang-Fujian area).¹⁷

bianzuan weiyuanhui 中國古籍總目編纂委員會 ed., *Zhongguo guji zongmu* 中國古籍總目, zibu 子部, vol. 3, 1469.

¹⁴ For example, I found a copy in Shanghai Library that was re-carved by Sanqu shulin 三衢書林. The content and layout are almost identical to the *xinkan* edition carved by Fuchun Tang, but the strokes of the characters are carved in slightly different ways. The colophon writes, “三衢書林舒世曉國聞甫重梓” (Re-carved by Mr. Shu Shixiao Guowen of Sanqu shulin).

¹⁵ For a list of the libraries that hold copies of this edition, see *Zhongguo guji zongmu*, zibu, vol. 3, 1469.

¹⁶ Ibid. According to Lucille Chia, both Jixiu Tang and Yisheng Tang are late-Ming commercial publishers in Nanjing. See Chia, “Of Three Mountains Street,” 116 and 120.

¹⁷ Qiu Shurong et al., *Yong'an xianzhi*, 335.

Drawing from many previous sources, the ten-*juan* edition makes Yang Biaozheng's *qinpu* one of the most comprehensive collection of *qin* music of his time. With its large reproduction and wide circulation, this *qinpu* had significant influence on later *qinpu* well into the eighteenth century.¹⁸

In this chapter, I mainly use the *chongxiu* edition (as reprinted in QQJC), which Yang himself considered to be a huge improvement from the earlier edition.¹⁹ The *qinpu* includes 101 songs, and the first two *juan* are devoted to essays on musical theories and *qin* instructions. Many of these essays can be traced back to earlier *qinpu* such as *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音, *Fengxuan xuanpin* 風宣玄品, and *Xilutang qintong* 西麓堂琴統, and a few of the essays were written by Yang Biaozheng himself.²⁰ As part of these theoretical discussions, the *qinpu* also quotes the “Treatise on Music” and the “Treatise on Learning” in entirety from the *Book of Rites (Liji)* as well as various commentaries on these classical texts.²¹

¹⁸ Examples include *Wuzhizhai qinpu* 五知齋琴譜, as I will show later in this chapter, and *Deyintang qinpu* 德音堂琴譜, as Zha Fuxi has noted in “Juben tiyao,” QQJC, vol. 12, 7.

¹⁹ QQJC, vol. 4, 255.

²⁰ The “Shengxian Minglu,” to be discussed later, claims Yang's authorship of some essays in the *qinpu*.

²¹ Judging from the content of these quotes, Yang Biaozheng's source is likely to come from *Liji daquan* 禮記大全, a collection of the *Liji* commentaries compiled by Hu Guang



Figure 1. “The Manner of *Qin* Playing” (*fuqin shi* 撫琴勢) in a Ming manuscript copy of the *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音, preserved in the National Central Library, Taiwan

The Compiler’s Self-presentation

As an extension of Yang Biaozheng’s journey of seeking *zhiyin*, much of the content of the *qinpu* was designed to convey a personal image of Yang to his readers. Both editions of the *qinpu* have Yang’s portrait immediately following the prefaces, along with comments (*zan* 贊) on the portrait.²² The inclusion of the compiler’s portrait in *qinpu* was a new phenomenon in the late Ming.²³ Although illustrations are common in

胡廣 (1370-1418) under imperial decree.

²² QQJC, vol. 4, 257. See Figure 3.

²³ Among the extant *qinpu* published before Yang Biaozheng’s, only the *Xingzhuang*

other *qinpu* prior to Yang Biao Zheng's time, they usually depict not the compiler in particular but exemplary *qin* players in a general sense, to illustrate how one is supposed to look like when playing the *qin* (see Figure 1 and 2).



Figure 2. “The Manner of *Qin* Playing” in *Xilutang qintong* 西麓堂琴統²⁴

taiyin buyi 杏莊太音補遺 (compiler's preface dated 1557) includes the compiler's (Xiao Luan 蕭鸞, alternatively named Xingzhuang) portrait and comments (*zan*). See QQJC, vol. 3, 299. In this portrait, the compiler is in a standing position with a feathered fan in hand, not playing the *qin*.

²⁴ In QQJC, vol. 3, 56

In his portrait (Figure 3), Yang Biaozheng is playing the *qin* in his studio, properly dressed in high hat and gown, sitting upright in front of the *qin* desk. The portrait does not draw much attention to Yang's countenance. Instead, it shows the reader how Yang looks like when playing the *qin*. As we may already infer from the illustrations of exemplary *qin* players in earlier *qinpu*, the outfit and posture of a *qin* player were taken seriously by many people as criteria for judging whether the *qin* player was truly a *zhiyin*. An essay on *qin* playing in Yang Biaozheng's *qinpu* argues that *qin* players must look like "the ancients" (*guren* 古人) to match the instrument of the ancient sages. The essay specifies the *qin* player should dress neatly in hat and gown and sit upright in front of the *qin* desk.²⁵ Hence, the portrait of Yang Biaozheng at the beginning of the *qinpu* already gives the reader a first-impression of Yang as an exemplary *qin* player even before his music begins to show up on the pages.

²⁵ The essay is titled "Tanqin zashuo" 彈琴雜說 ("Miscellaneous Discussions on Playing the *Qin*"), in QQJC, vol. 4, 264. Much of the content in this essay overlaps with earlier sources like *Fengxuan xuanpin* 風宣玄品, in QQJC, vol. 2, 13-14.



Figure 3. Yang Biaozheng's portrait with comments

Texts around the portrait further mold readers' impression of Yang Biaozheng. On the left and right sides of the portrait are two banners specifying Yang's name, courtesy name, art name, and his place of origin—the basic information one would need to identify a premodern Chinese. On top of the portrait is Yang Biaozheng's self-comment (*zizan* 自贊) written in four-character verse:

My nature is inept and unworldly,	性本愚朴
Virtues preserved in my heart.	以德存心
Never seeking fame nor success,	不求聞達
I value most the nobility of friendship.	交遊義深
I often admire the ancient times and ponder	慕古思今
on the present,	
Free and reclusive in mountains and woods.	散逸山林
Poetry and wine enrich my leisure;	詩酒陶閒
Winds and the moon are my <i>zhiyin</i> .	風月知音
My mind is broad and open,	蕩蕩胸襟
Not affected by favor or humiliation.	寵辱無侵
My lifetime accomplishments:	一生事業
A few pieces of <i>qin</i> music. ²⁶	幾曲瑤琴

Except the last line, this “Self-comment” makes no direct mention of Yang's *qin* playing.

Rather, the focus is on Yang as a virtuous and lofty gentleman. The other two comments on Yang's portrait, written by his associates, are similar to the “Self-comment” in this sense. One comment presents Yang as “a peer of the ancients” (*yu guren chou* 與古人儔), and the other argues that Yang's music is so good because it comes from his erudition, just like Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 BCE) prose writing is excellent because of his knowledge.²⁷

²⁶ QQJC, vol. 4, 257.

²⁷ Ibid.

Another striking example of Yang Biaozheng's self-presentation is a chapter titled "List of the Sagacious and Worthy" (*shengxian minglu* 聖賢名錄), the first chapter following the table of content.²⁸ The long list includes the names of the *shengxian* (the sagacious and worthy) who made contributions to *qin* music and culture. The list starts from the earliest period of Chinese history, including legendary sage-kings such as Fuxi 伏羲 and Shennong 神農, most prominent thinkers like Confucius and Zhuangzi, well-known poets like Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 340-c. 278 BCE), Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (c. 365-427), and Li Bai 李白 (701-762), and so on.²⁹ At the end of the list is the name of Yang Biaozheng himself, followed by his *qin* student, Wang Yide 王一德 (fl. 1573-1585), who proofread and transcribed the *qinpu* for its publication.³⁰ Among all the extant *qinpu*, this is the earliest case in which the *qinpu* compiler lists himself as a *shengxian* following all other celebrated historical figures. In comparison, a *qinpu* of approximately the same time as Yang's—*Qinshu daquan* 琴書大全 (prefaced dated 1590), offers a *Shengxian* list

²⁸ QQJC, vol. 4, 259-262.

²⁹ However, the list is not strictly arranged in chronological order, especially when it comes to the more recent periods. This may indicate that the list in Yang's *qinpu* is based on some previous lists, the content of which kept changing as new names were added.

³⁰ QQJC, vol. 4, 262.

that does not include anyone who lived after the end of the Song dynasty.³¹



Figure 4. Pages from the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy” in Yang Biaozheng’s *qinpu*, preserved in the Library of Congress.

³¹ If we believe that the *Yongle qinshu jicheng* 永樂琴書集成 is genuine, then what I have said about the list in the *Qinshu daquan* can be traced back to as early as 1408, because the contents of these two books are almost identical. For the debate on the

Every *shengxian*'s name in Yang Biaozheng's list is followed by a brief description of this person's contribution to the history of the *qin*. These descriptions are written in small font, mostly listing the well-known *qin* pieces written by each *shengxian*. Whereas most of these descriptions take no more than two small-font lines, the one under Yang's name has eight lines, much longer than anyone else's in the entire list (see Figure 4). The description under Yang's name does more than proving Yang's qualification for paralleling the other *shengxian*. It lists all the essays and songs in the *qinpu* that Yang claims authorship for. Because a *qinpu* is generally a compilation of various materials from miscellaneous sources, the list of Yang Biaozheng's works in the "List of the Sage of Worthy" helps the reader to distinguish between other people's works and Yang's own, inviting the reader to look for these particular essays and songs in the *qinpu*.

As we may infer from the eight-line list under his name, Yang Biaozheng was well aware that one would not automatically become a *shengxian* by simply adding his name to the "List of the Sagacious and Worthy." Like the other *shengxian* in history, he must use his works to communicate himself to people who would understand and admire him, that is, those who would be inspired by his music and eventually remember him as a *shengxian*. The main content of the *qinpu* that follows this "List" will then encourage the readers to evaluate Yang as he communicates his achievement in *qin* learning. At the same time, Yang will also evaluate his readers through his music and distinguish "the

genuineness of *Yongle qinshu jicheng*, see Yang, "Yongle qinshu jicheng xieben zhenwei de kaocha."

like-minded” from others. How does this work? I will explain below by analyzing some of Yang’s representative works specified in the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy.”

Encountering A Transcendent, Becoming A Transcendent

Among all the songs by Yang Biaozheng, “Yuxian yin” 遇仙吟 (“Encountering A Transcendent”), seems particular important in the eyes of Yang himself and his contemporaries. The song ranks the first among all the titles under Yang’s name in the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy,” and it is also the first song in the entire *qinpu*.³² The song is specifically mentioned in a comment on Yang’s portrait, as well as in Yang’s biography in the *Gazetteer of the Yong’an County*.

This song deserves our attention especially for its two characteristics. First, this is a song about Yang Biaozheng himself. It creates an image for him as both a *qin* master and a Daoist transcendent.³³ Second, this song is also about finding *zhiyin*, and it depicts

³² There are some tuning songs before “Yuxian yin,” including “Tiaoxian runong” 調絃入弄 (The Song for Tuning), “Fanyin runong” 泛音入弄 (The Song for [Adjusting] the Overtones), and “Gongyi” 宮意 (The Gist of the *Gong* Mode. These songs must appear at the beginning of a *qinpu* because they are tools to help the *qin* player adjust the strings and modes before starting to play a piece of work.

³³ *Qin* song writing about the author him/herself was likely a new product of the print culture in late Ming, as songs written in earlier periods were rarely transmitted with accurate and convincing information on the authorship.

an ideal scene in which the *qin* player and the listener recognize each other as like-minded friends on their first meeting—just like the Boya-Ziqi story in JSTY.

The Encounter behind the Song

Entitled “Encountering A Transcendent,” the song is about an encounter between Yang Biao Zheng and a Daoist hermit. However, a closer look at the song tells us that it actually deals with two encounters: one is a supposedly real encounter narrated by Yang Biao Zheng’s annotation of the song, which then leads to an imaginary encounter narrated by the songtext.

Yang’s annotation, which explains the background of the song, appears right after the song title. In this narrative, Yang Biao Zheng found a secret cave by chance when he was hiking in the Wuyi mountain with two friends. He learned from a stele at the entrance that the cave was named “The Grotto-Heaven of the Mysterious Origin” (*Xuanyuan dongtian* 玄元洞天). He was greeted by a boy servant who led him into the cave. The narrative continues:

After a while, an old man came out. He had white hair and a childlike face, his long beard and hair blowing in the wind---indeed a man out of this mundane world. After I thanked him for inviting me into his cave, we sat on the stone stools and conversed joyfully for a long time. At sunset, I asked to return home, and he wrote me an ancient-style poem as a gift. After having left the mountain, I went back ten days later, but could no longer find him. Hence, I set the poem to *qin* music, and named the song “Encountering A Transcendence.”³⁴

³⁴ 良久，一長者出，皓首童顏，鬚髮飄飄然，真出塵之士。謝延，坐石礫，盤桓笑樂。日暮，予辭歸，即遺古風一篇。下山後，旬再往，不復見焉。因以詞付入琴中，曰“遇仙吟”。QQJC, vol.4, 299. The original text does not specify who “wrote an

This narrative presents an image of a mysterious, immortal-like hermit. Reading only Yang's annotation of the song, one would most likely infer that the title of the song refers to Yang's encountering the transcendent hermit in the cave. From this perspective, Yang Biaozheng appears to be extremely lucky to have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to meet with a Daoist transcendent who does not belong to this mundane world. However, the songtext, which Yang claims to be the hermit's gift to him, reshapes this encounter from a different perspective.

The Encounter in the Song

Written in the hermit's voice, the songtext begins with Yang's coming to visit the hermit. The first four lines go as follow:

Yang Xifeng, the retired gentleman	貢川居士楊西峯
from Gongchuan,	
Brought his <i>qin</i> to the mountain for	特攜綠綺來山中
me.	
His headcloth is like what Tao	葛巾一似陶漉酒
Yuanming used to filter the wine,	
His flying sleeves carrying clear	翩翩兩袖拖清風
winds. ³⁵	

Whereas Yang Biaozheng in his annotation describes the hermit's extraordinary image with the phrase "his long beard and hair blowing in the wind," the opening of the songtext presents a no less extraordinary image of Yang, whose "flying sleeves carrying

ancient-style poem as gift" to whom. However, given that the songtext (i.e. the ancient-style poem given as a gift) addresses Yang Biaozheng from the Daoist hermit's perspective, we can infer that the poem is, in this narrative, written by the hermit to Yang.

³⁵ QQJC, vol. 4, 299.

clear winds.” The lines also compare Yang to another hermit: Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (ca. 365-427), a poet, wine lover, and *qin* player who left office and lived a rustic life, and indeed, a *shengxian* in the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy” in the *qinpu*. One may also notice that Yang Biao Zheng’s image in the lines above corresponds to the comments on Yang’s portrait earlier in the *qinpu*, especially to phrases like “free and reclusive in mountains and woods” (*sanyi shanlin* 散逸山林), “poetry and wine enrich my leisure” (*shijiu taoxian* 詩酒陶閒), and “a peer of the ancient people” (*yu guren chou* 與古人儔).³⁶

It is also worth noticing that, in the songtext, Yang has brought his *qin* as he comes into the mountain. The word “te” 特 (particularly, on purpose) in the second line cited above emphasizes that Yang comes particularly with his *qin* to meet with the hermit. As we have seen, Yang’s annotation makes no mention of the *qin*, which most likely suggests that he did not have his *qin* with him when he “grabbed the vines to pull himself up” (*pan luo er shang* 攀蘿而上) into the cave.³⁷ After all, according to Yang’s narrative, he did not even expect that he would come across a hermit on this trip, let alone playing music for him. The detail about Yang’s carrying the *qin* already gives the reader a hint that the songtext is going to tell a different story from the narrative in Yang’s annotation, and perhaps a partly fictional story.

³⁶ QQJC, vol.4, 257.

³⁷ QQJC, vol.4, 299.

The rest of the songtext continues to deviate from the narrative in Yang's annotation. Following the opening lines, the second stanza, titled "Laying the *Qin* on the Knees" ("Xi heng sitong" 膝橫絲桐), describes Yang tuning the strings by playing a tuning song. In the third stanza, Yang plays a song called "The Fisherman and the Woodcutter" ("Yuqiao" 漁樵, aka "Yuqiao wenda" 漁樵問答), and he particularly (*te*) chooses this song for the hermit because it expresses the joy of a reclusive life. In stanza four, "The Most Elegant Music" ("Yangchun Baixue" 陽春白雪), Yang's music comes to the end, yet the hermit is left in contemplation, his spirit traveling with the music to the high antiquity and the boundaries of the universe. Three of the five stanzas of the entire song focus on Yang Biao Zheng's *qin* playing, giving the impression that the meeting between Yang and the hermit was spent mostly on playing and listening to *qin* music. By contrast, Yang's annotation summarizes the meeting with only one word: *xiaole* 笑樂 ("laughter and joy"), which likely refers to a joyful conversation.

The narrative of the songtext culminates in the fifth stanza:

We filled up our moon cups and drank together,	月瓢滿酌共啜罷
After that, when the night came, we laid down, side-by-side, in the Ruizhu Palace.	夜來同臥蕊珠宮
In the morning, he left me, taking the <i>qin</i> with him,	曉來辭我抱琴去
And once again he was away, perhaps to the Peng and Ying mountains in the east.	恍然又隔蓬瀛東

And once again he was away,
perhaps to the Peng and Ying
mountains in the east.³⁸

恍然又隔蓬瀛東

Whereas Yang's annotation tells us that he left the hermit's cave at sunset, the lines above write that Yang stayed all night and left the next morning. References to mysterious Daoist sites—the Ruizhu Palace, the Peng and Ying mountains—also add fictional elements to the narrative. More importantly, these lines transform Yang Biao Zheng to a transcendent (*xian*) whom the hermit has encountered. From the hermit's perspective in the songtext, Yang Biao Zheng comes and leaves all of a sudden, and he seems to have left for the Peng and Ying mountains—the residence of Daoist immortals. Whereas Yang writes in his annotation that he could no longer find the mysterious hermit, the hermit in the songtext is left wondering if Yang has returned to the mountains of the immortals.

Two Layers of *Zhiyin* Musiking

Similar to the earlier comments on Yang's portrait, the song serves as another testimony to Yang's persona using the hermit's voice. Hence, no matter to whom the "transcendent" in the song title refers, it is clear that the main theme of "Encountering A Transcendence" is to praise Yang as a transcendent person and virtuoso *qin* player. If the hermit was such an extraordinary man "out of this mundane world" as Yang tells us, then the hermit's admiration for Yang would seem especially powerful in elevating Yang's personal image. The juxtaposition of the two different narratives in the *qinpu* signifies a

³⁸ Ibid., 300.

mutual recognition between Yang Biao Zheng and a transcendent hermit, which serves to convince the reader of Yang's excellence.

The reader, however, will not be easily convinced. The songtext clearly consists of some fictional contents. For example, Yang's annotation tells us that he did not stay overnight with the hermit. The songtext was perhaps even written by Yang Biao Zheng himself instead of a hermit who might have been an imaginary figure after all. In fact, the songtext includes so much detail about *qin* playing (especially the special mention to the "The Fisherman and the Woodcutter," which I will discuss in the next section) that one may be more inclined to suspect that the songtext was written by Yang himself rather than the hermit. But, interestingly, Yang does not seem to care too much whether the reader believes the story of "Yuxian yin" or not. His annotation of the song shows little attempt to prove that the hermit is a real person. The annotation even helps to highlight the fictional features of the songtext by providing a different narrative of this event. This is because, although the main theme of the song focuses on Yang's transcendent image, the song is not to make the reader completely accept this image from the songtext. The purpose of the song is to create an ideal scene of a face-to-face musical communication between two *zhiyin* friends, which aims to influence the current musiking process between Yang Biao Zheng and his *qinpu* readers.

Let me firstly summarize the ideal scene of *zhiyin* musiking as depicted in the song. Yang Biao Zheng comes from afar to play the *qin* for a hermit in particular, as he believes that the hermit will understand his music. The hermit realizes that Yang is an extraordinary person at first sight, feeling as if he was an old friend (*ru jiushi* 如舊識).

Therefore, the hermit arranges a nice setting for Yang's performance, with burning incense, pine trees, a black ape, and a white crane around. Yang knows that the hermit will particularly enjoy a piece like "The Fisherman and the Woodcutter." The hermit, indeed, listens carefully and recognizes the brilliance of Yang's music. The music takes the hermit to a wonderful spiritual journey, and the hermit expresses his admiration for Yang as someone comparable to a Daoist immortal.

The scene above is analogous to what Yang imagined as the ideal communication between him and his reader. Like his coming afar to play particularly for the hermit, Yang spent years compiling this *qinpu* and put it into print particularly for the "like-minded" (*tongzhi* 同志). Before the music begins, the *qinpu* provides the reader with a first impression of Yang through his portrait, comments, and essays. This first impression would presumably help his *zhiyin* reader realize, like the hermit in the song, that Yang was someone worthy to befriend. Thus, the reader would treat the music in the *qinpu* with respect, and ideally, he would be inspired by the music and recognize Yang as not only a like-minded friend but also as an extraordinary person in the "Peng and Ying mountains."

In the framework of *zhiyin* recognition, Yang did not expect his reader to immediately believe the story of the hermit or the songtext's praise for Yang's excellence. Rather, he expected the reader to examine the music in the *qinpu*—beginning with the music of "Yuxian yin," and to eventually draw the same conclusion as the hermit's in the song. In this way, the ideal scene depicted in "Yuxian yin" will reappear between Yang and his readers.

The ending of the story in “Yuxian yin” may also allude to the relationship between Yang and his readers. After this memorable yet transient encounter, Yang could no longer find the hermit the next time, whereas the hermit writes in the song that Yang becomes unreachable in the mysterious mountains far away. Likewise, Yang and his readers would perhaps never meet, and their only communication is through the *qinpu*. Nonetheless, just as the hermit was said to have left Yang a poem as the testimony to their *zhiyin* recognition, Yang’s *zhiyin* readers would also leave something valuable for Yang as the testimony to their communion. Many *qin* practitioners of later periods included Yang’s music in their *qinpu*, and some of them even listed Yang’s name in their new versions of the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy” (examples given at the end of the chapter)—thus in a figurative sense, Yang indeed ended in the Peng and Ying mountains, becoming an immortal.

Communicating the Wonderfulness

If the scene in “Yuxian yin” is analogous to the ideal communication between Yang Biao Zheng and his readers, what exactly did Yang hope to communicate with his potential *zhiyin* through his music? How did he make sure that his message was sent to the targeted “like-minded” reader who would in turn know that the communication was successful? This section deals with these questions as I focus particularly on songs attributed to Yang in the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy.” My analysis will begin with “The Fisherman and the Woodcutter,” the song that Yang plays for the hermit in “Yuxian yin.”

Pursuits beyond Worldly Life

“The Fisherman and the Woodcutter,” a shorten title of “Questions and Answers between the Fisherman and the Woodcutter” (“Yuqiao wenda” 漁樵問答), was likely a song that Yang Biaozheng took pride in, as it is specifically mentioned in “Yuxian yin.” However, Yang’s annotation of “The Fisherman and the Woodcutter” tells us that neither the music nor the songtext is Yang’s original composition. Rather, he created this song by pairing the music and the songtext that have both come from earlier sources. His annotation states:

“Questions and Answers between the Fisherman and the Woodcutter” was an ancient song. According to my research, the extant musical scores include only the tablature (i.e. the music) without songtext, whereas the *History of the Qin* preserves only its songtext but no tablature. Now I have matched the songtext with the music in notation, so that those who are good at *qin* playing will know the ancient and serene flavor of the music, along with the purity and loftiness of the rhyme and style (of the songtext), to enjoy the life of a fisherman or a woodcutter, to delight in rivers and mountains, to befriend with fish, shrimps, and elks, to face the bright moon and the clear wind, and to forget both the self and the external things. However, how could those who are greedy for profits understand this subtle wonderfulness? ³⁹

Yang thought that his contribution was to unite the fragments of an “ancient song” to create a complete piece. It was common practice for traditional *qin* players to edit and complete previous materials, but unlike many of them who were no longer remembered,

³⁹ 漁樵問答，古操也。查遺譜有指訣無音文，考琴史有文音無指訣，今配定文音入譜，使善鼓者知其曲之古淡，韻調清高，喜漁樵、樂江山、友魚蝦麋鹿，對明月清風，物我兩忘。然微妙豈於貪徇嗜利輩能知乎？QQJC, vol. 4, 363.

Yang successfully attached his name to the song as its author/creator (*zuozhe* 作者) through the print of the *qinpu*.⁴⁰ Moreover, his annotation promises that this current complete version will lead to a realm where one forgets both the self and the external things, yet the “subtle wonderfulness” of the song will only work for those who have reached an advanced spiritual status.

By the logic of his annotation, Yang Biaozheng must himself be someone who truly understands the joy of unworldly life in order to complete this song. This, again, corresponds to his image as presented in “Yuxian yin” and the comments on his portrait. Therefore, Yang’s annotation of “The Fisherman and the Woodcutter” proposes a mutual test between Yang and his readers. From Yang’s perspective, a reader who is delighted and inspired by the song can be proved a *zhiyin*, whereas those who see no “subtle wonderfulness” in the song, by default, fail the test and belong to the type of people whom Yang has described as “greedy for profit.” At the same time, the reader also uses his evaluation of the song to testify Yang’s persona. From the perspective of a *zhiyin* reader who values the song, Yang would have proved himself to be truly an excellent person as his *qinpu* presents; for another reader who does not like the song, he would in turn question the reliability of Yang’s personal image in the *qinpu*.

Writing on a different type of traditional Chinese song, Patricia Sieber uses the term “attestatory authorship” to describe a similar mutual influence between the song and the author’s persona. She points out that a song tended to be attributed to the presumed

⁴⁰ Indeed, we find this title under Yang Biaozheng’s name in some later *qinpu*.

protagonist who witnessed and experienced the event. The content of the song was then used by people to attest to their knowledge of that historical figure.⁴¹ In Yang Biao Zheng's case, although many of his songs were not based on his personal experience in particular, the *qinpu* nonetheless invites the readers to keep attesting to Yang's authorship as they read through it. From his portrait to "Yuxian yin" and then to "The Fisherman and the Woodcutter," Yang attempted to present a consistent persona of himself to his readers, while the readers were expected to examine this persona through the songs and, meanwhile, to appreciate these songs in light of their knowledge of Yang as the author.

Loyalty, Filial Piety, and Literary Beauty

Besides the Daoist spiritual pursuits as shown above, Yang Biao Zheng was also interested in communicating with his readers about Confucian ethics and the beauty of literary writing. Yang created many songs by setting classical literary works to *qin* music, such as the first and the second "Chushi biao" 出師表 ("Memorial on Dispatching the Troops"), the first and the second "Chibi fu" 赤壁賦 ("Rhapsody on the Red Cliffs"), "Chenqing biao" 陳情表 ("Memorial Expressing My Feelings"), "Tengwangge xu" 滕王閣序 ("Preface to the Tengwangge Poems"), "Daxue zhangju" 大學章句 ("Excerpts from the Great Learning"), and so on. Judging from extant sources, creating *qin* songs by musicalizing classical literary works, especially non-rhyming prose, seems to be a new

⁴¹ Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000*, 45-81.

phenomenon in the late Ming, and Yang Biaozheng was clearly an enthusiast of this type of songs.

In Yang's view, his songs demonstrate the unification of the learnings of literature, music, and moral principles. For example, he commented on the two "Chushi biao," the songtexts of which are memorials written by Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), the chancellor of the Shu 蜀:

Appropriating Zhuge's right, I set this memorial to *qin* music on his behalf, hoping that his uprightness, loyalty, ambition, and steadfastness will be widely transmitted through *qin* music and move people. This can also help complete Marquis Wu's [i.e. Zhuge] musical legacy.⁴² Those who are good at appreciating music will surely gain from it.⁴³

In my opinion, Kongming's [i.e. Zhuge] prose writing is driven by layered force and the conveyed idea is just and big. Although there are many words about being loyal and upright, the reader will not get tired of it. Learners will benefit from it. Now I set his writing to *qin* music and notate it in tablature. The style is lofty, the resonance wide, the musical sounds correspond incomparably well. Only those who are able to understand its profundity and appreciate the subtlety will find rich charm and flavor [in the song].⁴⁴

⁴² Zhuge Liang's music failed to transmit despite that he was said to be a *qin* player.

⁴³ 僭為撰入琴中，庶貞忠志節播於琴而感乎人，亦聊以足武侯之遺響也。善玩音樂者，不可不自得之。These lines are from Yang's annotation of "The First Chushi Biao." QQJC, vol. 4, 327.

⁴⁴ 按孔明作文，勢層疊而意思正大，忠義之言雖多而不厭焉，學者有所裨益。今撰附譜，補入弦音，調高韻廣，律應絕倫，惟能知其道、善玩者，趣味悠然。These lines are from Yang's annotation of "The Second Chushi Biao." Ibid., 330.

By reworking the two memorials into *qin* songs, Yang Biaozheng used music to express his understanding of the literary and moral excellence of Zhuge Liang's writing. Ideally, his *zhiyin* reader would be able to understand Yang's musical expressions and agree with Yang on his interpretation of the two memorials. In Yang's view, if people are able to appreciate these songs, they will be inspired by the songs in addition to the original memorials and further nurture the virtue of loyalty.

Yang also made a *qin* song on filial piety using "Chenqing biao." "Chenqing biao" was a memorial written by Li Mi 李密 (582-619). The memorial expresses Li's wish to decline the emperor's offer of office in order to take care of his grandmother.

Yang's annotation of the song writes:

The words and lines are sophisticated, and the idea of the writing is sorrowful and sincere. The writing can be used to educate the world. Therefore, I set it to *qin* music, hoping that those who know music well will use it to savor the words, and by doing so, stimulate filial piety.⁴⁵

Through this song, Yang invites his readers to deepen their appreciation of this piece of writing through music. Although the writing "can be used to educate the world" by itself, Yang believes that his reworking of "Chenqing biao" will enhance the moving power of the original writing for those who can make use of the music.

⁴⁵ 其詞句老成，文意哀切，足以為世風也。故而彈入琴中，庶審音者以玩詞，玩詞以起孝也。Ibid., 336.

Zhiyin's Recognition: The Last Song

Print and publication allow a *qinpu* to be preserved in the way it was compiled and arranged. That is to say, such a *qinpu* can be viewed as not just a collection of musical materials, but also as a coherent text in itself. My discussion in this chapter so far has shown that Yang's *qinpu* facilitates an intratextual interpretation, as it continues to encourage the reader to examine the songs against Yang's persona and vice versa. If the *qinpu* facilitates a mutual evaluation between a *qin* player and his potential *zhiyin*, then, have Yang and his *zhiyin* eventually recognized each other by the end of their musical communication? The last song in the *qinpu* deserves particular attention in this regard.

The song is titled “Qingjiang yin” 清江引 (“Prelude to the Clear River”). The title seems to come from a *qupai* 曲牌 (the title of a tune used for *qu* songs), or perhaps refers to some other tune that was well-known in Yang's time.⁴⁶ In any case, the title by itself does not provide much information, and shows no relation to the content of the song. The entire songtext goes:

I have traveled across the world, but
found few *zhiyin*—
How many people could comprehend
the abstruse wonderfulness?

走盡了天下路，
則是知音的少
能有幾個通玄妙

⁴⁶ There is a *qupai* called “Qingjiang yin,” also known as “Jiang'er shui” 江兒水, but the prosody prescribed by this *qupai* is different from Yang Biao Zheng's song. For example, *qu* songs under this *qupai* are supposed to include just five lines, but Yang's song includes seven lines. Perhaps the title was appropriated for a different tune in the late Ming which we know little about.

The one who buys has no place to
look for;
The one who sells finds no one willing
to buy.
What a shame, the precious time has
passed in vain.⁴⁷

買的無處尋
賣的無人要
可惜好光陰，則
是錯過去了

It is extremely short compared to the other *qin* songs. No annotation is attached to it to provide any further information. If read out of the context of the *qinpu*, this song may seem somewhat confusing. The reader may wonder who the author was, why he/she wrote it, whom the song speaks to, and whether it has any specific implication. However, if the reader pays attention to the “List of the Sagacious and Worthy,” he will find this title under Yang Biaozheng’s name. This piece of information encourages the reader to relate the song with Yang himself as the author, although the song may not be completely original.

If the reader has by this time become familiar with Yang Biaozheng, he will recognize that the first line of “Qingjiang yin” corresponds to what Yang writes in the preface to the *qinpu*: “Because I had not found my *zhiyin*, I had no one to share my elegant interest with. Therefore, I traveled between clouds and waters to visit those who were brilliant.”⁴⁸ Besides, a few of Yang’s associates have also mentioned in the *qinpu* about Yang’s traveling around the country. Thus, by relating “Qingjiang yin” with Yang’s authorship and the other content of the *qinpu*, the reader may choose to interpret

⁴⁷ QQJC, vol. 4, 507.

⁴⁸ 不遇知音，雅懷未副，遂遨遊於雲水之間，會謁高明。QQJC, vol. 4, 255.

the first line as a specific reference to Yang's *zhiyin*-seeking journey instead of a generic expression.

The second line further explains why *zhiyin* are rare: because not many people can “comprehend the abstruse wonderfulness.” This line reminds us of Yang's annotations of songs like “The Fisherman and the Woodcutter,” in which Yang expresses his wish that his readers would understand the “subtle wonderfulness” (*weimiao*). Meanwhile, he has remarked in the annotations that not everyone can truly appreciate his songs. The following two lines on buying and selling may be interpreted both literally and metaphorically. In the literal sense, the *qinpu* was indeed produced by a commercial publisher targeting at a market where *qin* players look for high-quality music. In the metaphorical sense, Yang must make his talent and work valuable to others in order to build a career and be remembered as a *shengxian*. The reader would also have known from the preface to the *qinpu* that Yang spent “thirty-odd years” working on *qin* music.⁴⁹ The time would have “passed in vain” if this *qinpu* failed to bring him a *zhiyin* audience.

Yuming He has shown that the self-reference in Ming books like drama miscellanies adds specific meanings to some fluid and ambiguous words.⁵⁰ Considering the content of “Qingjiang yin” about *zhiyin* seeking and its position in the entire book, its use of self-reference further serves as a tacit conclusion of the communication between Yang and his readers—perhaps this is exactly why Yang did not leave any explanatory

⁴⁹ QQJC, vol. 4, 255.

⁵⁰ He, *Home and World*, 142-150.

note on the song. A *zhiyin* reader, who understood the implication of the song without Yang's explanation, would realize that he and Yang had by then recognized each other as a *zhiyin*.

Success in Finding *Zhiyin* and Becoming *Shengxian*

Was Yang Biaozheng successful in finding *zhiyin* among his readers? One may argue that not only was Yang successful, but he even became a *shengxian* because of his *zhiyin* readers. In another *qinpu* printed in 1607, we find that Yang's two songs ("Yuxian yin" and "Haohao ge" 浩浩歌) are listed as representative works of the "Gongyi" 宮意 mode,⁵¹ along with some classical works like "Yangchun" 陽春 ("Sunny Spring"), "Meihua" 梅花 ("Plum Blossoms," aka "Meihua sannong" 梅花三弄), and "Gaoshan" 高山 ("High Mountains"). This indicates that Yang's *qin* songs already became popular among *qin* players before long. *Qinpu* compilers of later periods continued to draw from Yang's essays and music. Zha Fuxi has noticed, for example, that much of the content in *Deyintang qinpu* 德音堂琴譜 (preface dated 1691) comes from Yang's *qinpu*.⁵²

Deyintang qinpu also includes Yang Biaozheng's name in its new version of the "List of the Sagacious and Worthy." Judging from the small-font explanation under Yang's name, the compiler of *Deyintang* did not just duplicate what Yang has written.

⁵¹ "Haohao ge" was created by using an eleven-century poem as songtext which Yang considered to have educational significance.

⁵² Zha Fuxi, "Juben tiyao," QQJC, vol. 12, 7.

Instead, he made a selection from Yang's original eight-line list of works and shorten it to about the same length as the other *shengxian*.⁵³ A similar case is *Wuzhizhai qinpu* 五知齋琴譜 (preface dated 1722), arguably the most widespread *qinpu* in the Qing dynasty.⁵⁴ In *Wuzhizhai qinpu*, Yang Biaozheng's name is also included in the "List of the Sagacious and Worthy," followed by some other *qin* practitioners in the Ming and Qing dynasties.⁵⁵ To readers of *Wuzhizhai*, Yang Biaozheng has already become a *shengxian* of the previous dynasty.

⁵³ QQJC, vol. 12, 454.

⁵⁴ Zha Fuxi, "Juben tiyao," QQJC, vol. 14, 3.

⁵⁵ QQJC, vol. 14, 390.

Chapter 4. Emulating the Worthy: Queen Zhao's Moral Exemplarity

This chapter focuses on a *qin* song titled “Sincere Words on Enduring Hardships” (*Liku zhongyan* 歷苦衷言, hereafter, “Sincere Words”) and its author, a noblewoman surnamed Zhong 鍾 (hereafter, Zhongshi 鍾氏), who was known as Queen Zhao of Chong (Chong Zhao Wang fei 崇昭王妃, fl. 1570-1620). The song was published after 1620 when Zhongshi was still alive, in a *qinpu* titled “Siqitang” 思齊堂 which was also compiled by Zhongshi herself. To my knowledge, Zhongshi was the only women in premodern China who ever published a *qinpu*.

My goal in this chapter is to show how the *qin* song was presented by the Zhongshi herself, and interpreted by others (in particular, the song's preface/postface writers), as a way to substantiate Zhongshi's moral exemplarity and to increase her potential contribution to the larger society. Because “Sincere Words” is an autobiographical song that writes about Zhongshi's life experiences over decades, I will firstly give an account of Zhongshi's life (including the writing and the publication of her song) with information gathered from different sources. In this account, I have tried to confirm most of the major incidents in Zhongshi's life by comparing her own writing with *Mingshi* 明史 (The Official History of the Ming Dynasty) and *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (Veritable Records of the Ming Emperors), which record the same incidents with a focus on the kings and princes of the Chong state. Next, by comparing writings in Zhongshi's

qinpu (including one preface and two postfaces written by men) and in the *Ming shilu*, I point out two contrasting judgements on Zhongshi's moral image that emerged by 1620. These discussions altogether provided the background information of the publication of "Sincere Words."

The main part of the chapter is arranged by three aspects of "Sincere Words": the songtext, the music, and the very action of composing it. Analyzing these three aspects, I argue that the publication of this song helped Zhongshi communicate herself as a moral exemplar and elevate her moral exemplarity to a degree that was comparable to ancient sage-kings.

Zhongshi's Life

Zhongshi's given name and her maiden life are unknown to us. She was the wife of Zhu Changjin 朱常津 (?-1602), who was the second son (born by a concubine) of Zhu Yijue 朱翊鐸 (c. 1540-1610).¹ Zhu Yijue was the king of the Chong 崇 state in Runing 汝寧 (in modern Henan province). He was posthumously titled "King Duan of Chong" (Chong Duan Wang 崇端王). In the Ming dynasty, "king" (*wang* 王) was the title for the emperor's brothers and their heirs.² Each king was assigned a state (*guo* 國 or *fan* 藩).

¹ Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672-1755) ed., *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2917-2918. The last character of Zhu Changjin's name is written in historical sources as 津.

² More about Ming principalities, see Richard G. Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism*:

The origin of the Chong state can be traced back to the time of Zhu Jianze 朱見澤 (1455-1505), the sixth son of the emperor Yingzong 英宗 (1427-1464). Zhu Jianze was the first king of Chong, and Zhu Yijue was his fourth successor.³

In 1578, Zhu Yijue's first son was made the heir (*shizi* 世子) of the king.⁴ Three years later (1581), Zhu Changjin was granted a *junwang* 郡王 (commandery prince) title, "Nanyang Wang" 南陽王,⁵ and he married Zhongshi around that time.⁶ The first heir of

Institutional Patronage of an Elite, and David M. Robinson, "Princely Court of the Ming Dynasty."

³ *Mingshi*, vol. 12, 3636-3637.

⁴ *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2916-2917.

⁵ *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2917. I consult Charles Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* for the English translation of official titles.

⁶ According *Ming shilu*, Yijue petitioned the emperor to bestow the title "Shizi" on his second son and "Shizi Fei" 世子妃 (wife of the *shizi*) on Zhongshi. From this, we can infer that Zhongshi married before Changjin became *shizi*. *Ming shilu*, vol. 54, 2878. This is in accordance with the first section of Zhongshi's song, in which she writes, "I was re-titled as the 'wife of the crowned prince'" (*gai feng shifei* 改封世妃). See stanza 1 of the song, in QQJC, vol. 9, 71.

the king died before long. Hence, during the late 1584 and early 1585, Yijue asked for the emperor's permission to change the heir.⁷ In 1586, Zhu Changjin became the new *shizi*.

Zhongshi once bore a child but it died young,⁸ and she was worried that her husband did not have an heir. According to her song, Zhongshi encouraged her husband to take more concubines to bring children to the family.⁹ Unfortunately, Changjin died in 1602 before he had a chance to succeed to the throne,¹⁰ and did not have any child by the time he died. At this time, the Chong state was in danger of having no successor, since not only was Changjin dead, but the old king Yijue (King Duan) was also in his sixties and had been sick for years.

Soon after Changjin's death, however, Zhongshi was surprised to find that five female servants of Changjin were pregnant, and she determined that they were pregnant by Changjin.¹¹ The five women were not officially recognized as Changjin's concubines at that time,¹² and we know little about them. Five children were born in the following

⁷ *Ming shilu*, vol. 54, 2878.

⁸ *Ming shilu*, vol. 65, 11348. Zhongshi also writes in her song that she "gave birth but failed to raise" (*ceng sheng wei yu* 曾生未育). See stanza 4, in QQJC, vol. 9, 73.

⁹ See stanza 4, in QQJC, vol. 9, 73.

¹⁰ *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2918.

¹¹ QQJC, vol. 9, 78.

¹² Zhongshi calls them "e" 娥 in the song. QQJC, vol. 9, 78. The memorial written by King Duan uses "e wai qie" 額外妾 (a concubine beyond the quota) to refer to one of the

months. The first child was a girl born by Mashi 馬氏; the second, a boy, died before receiving a noble title; the third son died soon after birth with no name; the fourth son was named Yougui 由櫝 (c. 1603-1642), who later became the new king, and the fifth son was named Youcai 由材 (c. 1602-1642).¹³ The birth of the children was soon reported to the emperor, and the children were recognized by the imperial court as Changjin's. Nonetheless, none of the children's biological mothers was recognized by the

five women, because none of these women were recognized by the imperial court as the prince's concubine. *Ming shilu*, vol. 60, 7148.

¹³ *Ming shilu*, vol. 65, 11348.

court as Changjin's legal concubine despite King Duan's appeal to the emperor.¹⁴

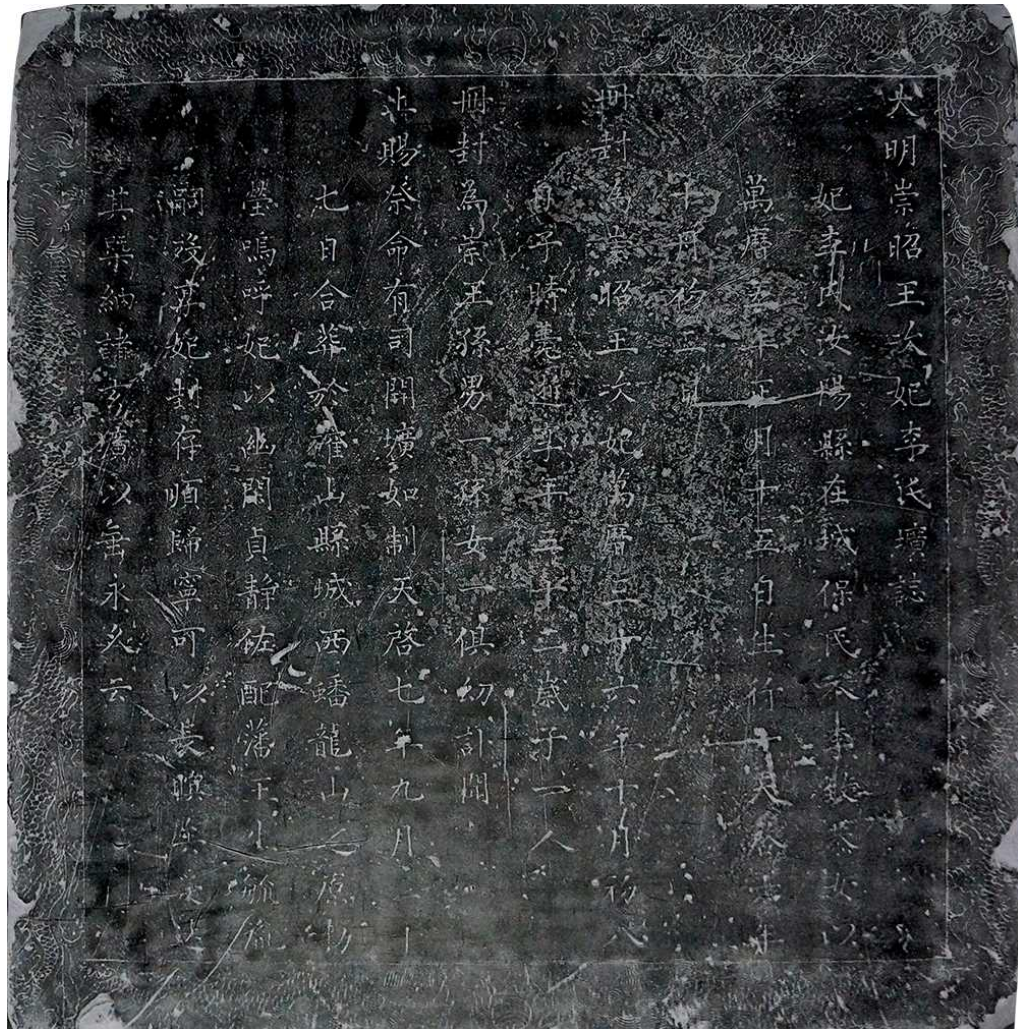


Figure 6. The epitaph of Yougui's biological mother, preserved in Huawei Minsu Wenhua Bowuyuan 華威民俗文化博物苑, Henan province, China.

¹⁴ During late 1602 and early 1603 (the twelfth month of Wanli 30), right after Changjin's children were born, Zhu Yijue asked the emperor to allow Huangshi 黃氏 (one of the children's mothers) to take the position of "the first concubine." *Ming shilu*,

Officially, Zhongshi became these children's mother. In the years when the children were young, Zhongshi not only raised and educated the children, but also took care of King Duan, and took charge of the affairs of state in the last years of King Duan's life.¹⁵ Zhongshi already started writing her *qin* song during this time.

King Duan died in 1610.¹⁶ Two years later, the emperor appointed the oldest surviving son of Changjin, Zhu Yougui, as the new king of Chong—King Min (Chong Min Wang 崇愍王).¹⁷ In 1615, when King Min was about 12 years old, he made several

vol. 60, 7148. From this, we can infer that Huangshi was the mother of the second child. *Shilu* does not tell us whether Yijue's request was successful. With the early death of the first two boys, it seems that neither Huangshi nor the mother of the third child ever became a legal concubine. It was not until 1626, that is, eleven years after Yougui became the new king, that Yougui's biological mother Lishi 李氏 was granted a posthumous title as "Chong Zhao Wang Cifei" 崇昭王次妃 (the second consort of King Zhao of Chong). I have not found any other sources about Lishi, but her epitaph is now preserved in a private museum called "Huawei Minsu Wenhua Bowuyuan" 華威民俗文化博物苑 in Zhoukou, Henan province. A picture of the epitaph (Figure 6) can be found online: <http://a4.att.hudong.com/18/34/50200009239445156018349539223.jpg>, accessed on March 2020.

¹⁵ See stanza 12, in QQJC, vol. 9, 81-82.

¹⁶ *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2917-2918.

¹⁷ *Mingshi*, vol. 10, 2917-2918.

appeals to the emperor: he requested the emperor to grant Changjin a posthumous king title, and to grant Zhongshi the imperial edict and attires (*ce ming guanfu* 冊命冠服) that befitted a queen.¹⁸ The emperor approved Yougui's requests. In the same year, Changjin was granted the posthumous title King Zhao of Chong (Chong Zhao Wang 崇昭王).¹⁹ Zhongshi therefore became Queen Zhao of the Chong (Chong Zhao Wang fei), and received her *ce ming guanfu* in 1616.²⁰

In 1617, Yougui asked for the emperor's permission to select a wife, and he married Huangshi 黃氏 a year later.²¹ Both Yougui and his younger brother, Youcai, were killed in 1642 during Li Zicheng's 李自成 (1606-1645) rebellion.²² It is unclear to us whether Zhongshi was still alive at that time.

¹⁸ *Ming shilu*, vol. 63, 10004-10006.

¹⁹ *Ming shilu*, vol., 63, 10098; Tan Qian 談遷 (1594-1657), *Guoque* 國榷, vol. 5, 5087.

²⁰ *Ming shilu*, vol., 64, 10297.

²¹ *Ming shilu*, vol. 10, 2917-2918 and vol. 65, 11347.

²² *Mingshi*, vol. 12, 3637.



Figure 7. Zhongshi's *qin*

A *qin* was made for Zhongshi after she became queen, which has survived to today and is preserved in the Chinese National Academy of Arts in Beijing (see Figure

7).²³ The overall design of the *qin* is in a low-keyed, austere style.²⁴ The only ornament that stands out is a white jade plaque carved with a phoenix that is inserted in the forehead of the *qin*. The inscriptions inside the “dragon pool” (that is, inscriptions on the back of the surface board which can be seen from the larger sound hole on the back of the *qin*) tell us that the *qin* was finished in 1619 as a belonging of “Zhong, the Imperial-ordered State-affair Managing Queen Zhao” (勅理國事崇昭王妃鐘).²⁵ Another inscription inside the “phoenix pond” (the smaller sound hole) writes that the making of the *qin* was supervised by Liu Dongju 劉東聚 (fl. 1610-1620).²⁶ Liu had long been trusted by Zhongshi. Zhongshi’s *qin* song indicates that Liu played an important role in helping Zhongshi manage the state during King Duan’s last years and before Yougui

²³ This is the only surviving *qin* that Zhongshi owned. For further descriptions and pictures of the *qin*, see Taibeishi guoli yuetuan 臺北市國立樂團 and Hongxi meishuguan 鴻禧美術館 comp., *Guqin jishi tulu: 2000 nian taibei guqin yishujie Tang Song Yuan Ming bai qin zhan shilu* 古琴紀事圖錄: 2000年臺北古琴藝術節唐宋元明百琴展實錄, Taipei: Taibeishi guoli yuetuan, 2000, 156.

²⁴ As shown in *Guqin jishi tulu*, the *qin* is shaped in the Confucian Style (*zhongni shi* 仲尼式, the most commonly seen style among surviving *qin*), lacquered in black, using wooden tuning pegs and mother-of-pearl *hui* studs (rather than using jade and gold).

²⁵ *Guqin jishi tulu*, 156.

²⁶ 儀賓劉東聚監造. Ibid.

reached adulthood.²⁷ Liu also assisted Zhongshi in publishing her *qinpu*, and he traveled to the Jiangnan area to find preface/postface writers (to be explained later). Liu's postface to the *qinpu* writes that Zhongshi supported Liu's education since he was five *sui*, and allowed Liu to live in the state palace for all these years.²⁸ Liu's official title, Yibin 儀賓 (ceremonial companion), was conventionally used for the sons-in-law of Ming Kings, which suggests that he married a princess of the Chong state.

Zhongshi's *Qin* Song and *Qinpu*

Zhongshi's *qin* song, "Sincere Words on Enduring Hardships," was published sometime after 1620.²⁹ It consists of twenty-two stanzas. The songtext can be viewed as an autobiographical piece arranged in chronological order and written in a first-person voice. The narrative starts from Zhongshi's marriage (before 1585) and ends with King Min's marriage (1618), covering a time period of nearly thirty years. The song lists the adversities that Zhongshi overcame during these years and specifies her contributions to the family and the state, presenting her as a virtuous wife, daughter, mother, and queen.

²⁷ See stanza 18.

²⁸ QQJC, vol. 9, 65.

²⁹ The preface to the song is dated early 1620 (the first month of the *gengshen* 庚申 year of the Wanli reign), which gives us a clue as to when the song was published. See QQJC, vol. 9, 70.

Zhongshi's preface to the *qinpu* tells us much about the background of the song.

Below I give my translation of the entire preface.

When people's emotions are knotted and clogged up, they must express themselves through sad songs and long chants. The inner feelings are bitter, the words rueful, and the idea residing [in the words] are oblique yet far-reaching, twisted yet just. My "Sincere Words on Enduring Hardships" is roughly like this. However, that I endured hardships was known to myself only, not to anyone inside or outside the court. Even if there were people who knew it, because they did not spread their words, my hardships would remain unknown generation after generation, and, in the end, only known to myself. Therefore, I wrote and edited this song over the years, dividing it into sections, arranging the rhythm, and attached it to the sounds of the qin to record the matters and feelings in my mind.

Even though the song has been written down and edited, [the flow of] the lyrics may not match the rhythm [of the music]; even if the rhythm is well matched, the fingering may not yet be well-adjusted. Hence, I took the old scores such as "Dongtian," "Qiqiao," "Hangong," and "Shuilong," and played them during my spare time from taking care of my father-in-law, raising my fatherless children, and managing the state, when the bright moon was up in the sky and the clear wind slightly moved the curtains. Over time, as I became more familiar with the fingering and the principles of playing, I was able to extend my knowledge to other aspects of music. After that, I took my written song and play it out, and the music became harmonious and rhythmic. Every time I plucked the strings, all my difficulties and worries during those years were revealed through the music produced by my fingers. Ah, with this, the song can be transmitted.

Therefore, I ordered that the song be carved on woodblocks (to be printed), so that it would live as long as the wood. Some say that women's words should not go beyond the house and asked, "What do you use this [print] for?" However, Liu Xijun's "Yellow Swan Song" and Ouyang Xiu's mother's story are both documented in histories,³⁰ and I privately compare myself with them. The song has now been carved, and it has been prefaced by great writers. But if I still treated the old scores that I played, like the "Dongtian," as broken broomsticks,³¹ wouldn't it be like

³⁰ Liu Xijun was known as a princess who was married to the king of Wusun in the Han dynasty.

³¹ I.e. not sharing them with others.

forgetting about the baskets and traps after acquiring the fish and hares? Therefore, I ordered that these scores be carved and printed together with my song, to let their sounds be transmitted forever.

Sigh, once Ziqi died, Boya no longer played his qin. Since my lord Zhao passed away, for what do I play the song? However, could I let the hard work I did for the state and the great benevolence of my father-in-law eventually fail to be known and transmitted? For this reason, I, through the sound of this sad song, record how I do not disappoint the state, hoping that people in the future, through the sound of this sad song, will not disappoint me, either. If I do not reprint the old scores, then I would be turning my back on where I came from; wouldn't I be blamed later by the woman of the Taiyuan?³²

Alas, once clouds form, the rain follows; once spring water flows, mushrooms appear; birds dance and animals leap—the influence of sounds and music is truly not a minor one. Therefore, if one plays my song and be stirred by its inner goodness, one would become the most loyal and filial, following the moral principles and giving parental love—the reason is perhaps in this. The reason is perhaps in this!

凡人情有結轡，必托悲歌浩嘆以自鳴。其衷苦，其言悽，其寄意則婉而遠、曲而中也。余《歷苦衷言》大抵近是。然歷苦矣，祇自知耳，宮府內外未知也。即知矣，而不傳其雲，仍奕葉未知也。而余之歷苦，仍歸於自知。於是數年來謬為銓次，段分節比，寄之弦上聲以志意中事緒。銓次矣，未必其合節；合節矣，未必其指調。於是取舊譜若洞天、杞橋、漢宮、水龍諸操，每於問安視膳及撫孤理國之暇，明月在天，清風拂幌，一搏一拊，指漸熟，法漸老，可引伸觸類已。遂取余銓次者而操之，文武相諧，宮商中節，每一搏一拊，數年間倥傯旁午、蒿目焦思，輒畢見於指下之音。吁嗟，是可以傳矣。乃勅剗劂，以壽諸棗。說者謂婦言不出於閭，安用是為？然黃鵠矢歌，著之往牒；畫荻成教，垂之簡帙，余竊比之。是刻成矣，且有鴻筆弁其首矣。余所演洞天諸操，竟幣帚視之，不幾得魚兔而忘筌蹄乎？併勅剗劂，以壽諸棗，俾永永流響耳。嗟乎，子期一逝，伯牙絕絃。昭主既薨，何以鼓操？顧王國盡瘁，君父殊恩，竟沒沒不傳邪？余用是於聲音悲歌間而志余不負國，併令後之人於聲音悲歌間庶幾不負余矣。舊譜不新，則余有負於所自起，不貽誚於太原婦歟？嗟嗟，雲起雨隨，泉涌芝出，鳥舞獸躍，聲音所關良非細。故倘鼓余操而興起之，其所以竭忠殫孝，矢節錫慈者，其在是乎。其在是乎。

³² It is unclear what “the woman/women of Taiyuan” (*Taiyuan fu* 太原婦) alludes to.

According to her preface, Zhongshi was already revising a preliminary version of the song while taking care of both King Duan and the children, that is, between 1603-1610. Given that the narrative of the song includes many other events after 1610, Zhongshi must have worked on this song for over 10 years. Her preface also explains that the reasons why she decided to write and publish the song were to make her hardships known to others, to allow people to remember her loyalty to the state, and to evoke other people's goodness through the song.

The preface tells us something about the expected audience of the song. The song was actually performed at least by Zhongshi herself ("Every time I plucked the strings, all my difficulties and worries during those years were revealed through the music produced by my fingers"), although we do not know whether she ever had an audience. Nonetheless, we know that she had an audience in mind. As the preface shows, the satisfying performance effect of the song was what eventually convinced Zhongshi of the song's potential for transmission, and she expected the song to be played and sung by people of later time (e.g. "hoping that people in the future, through the sound of this sad song, will not disappoint me," "if one plays my song and be stirred by its inner goodness, one would become the most loyal and filial..."). Zhongshi's expectation is also shown in her songtext. The first stanza of the songtext ends with the following line: "Thousands and thousands of hardships, let me tell you fatherless children in the exact and proper way," whereas the last stanza extends the expected audience of the song to generations of the family's descendants (*zizi sunsun* 子子孫孫).

The only surviving version of “Sincere Words” is in Zhongshi’s *qinpu*, titled “Qinpu of the Hall of Emulating the Worthy” (*Siqitang qinpu* 思齊堂琴譜). In addition to the score of “Sincere Words,” the *qinpu* also includes instructions on fingering, as well as another twelve pieces of *qin* music which were not Zhongshi’s composition but were already circulated among *qin* players of that time. “Sincere Words” appears at the end of the *qinpu*, after the twelve pieces.³³ These twelve pieces are the “old scores” (*jiu pu* 舊譜) mentioned in Zhongshi’s preface, namely, “Dongtian” (i.e. Dongtian Chunxiao 洞天春曉), “Qiqiao” (i.e. Qiqiao Jinlü 杞橋進履), “Hangong” (i.e. Hangong Qiu 漢宮秋), “Shuilong” (i.e. Shuilong Yin 水龍吟), etc.

Zhongshi’s preface indicates that her original plan was to publish only “Sincere Words” (i.e. without the twelve pieces), but after she had the song carved in printing blocks, she then decided to also include the twelve “old scores” in her *qinpu*. Hence, the word “chongjuan” 重鐫 (re-carved) in the title of Zhongshi’s preface likely refers to the re-carving of the twelve “old scores” rather than the re-carving of the “Sincere Words” or the *Siqitang qinpu*. The idea of publishing a *Siqitang qinpu* (instead of just her song) probably came up after Zhongshi decided to include the twelve pieces. Because Zhongshi consulted these “old scores” to help refine the music and fingering of her song, Liu

³³ Zha Fuxi thinks that this order shows Zhongshi’s modest attitude and her respect for “classical works” (*chuantong mingqu* 傳統名曲). Zha, “Juben tiyao” 據本提要 in QQJC, vol. 9, 1.

Dongju writes in the postface that the inclusion of the twelve pieces reflects Zhongshi's appreciation for "the old" (*jiu* 舊), particularly those that have helped her.³⁴

Liu Dongju worked to put "Sincere Words" and the *qinpu* into print.³⁵ The carving and printing work probably happened in the Jiangnan area, which could explain why Liu traveled from Henan to Nanjing to request a preface from Shen Yingwen 沈應文 (1543-1627) and a postface from Li Le 李樂 (c.1534-c.1620).³⁶ Shen Yingwen and Li Le were two officials who resided in Nanjing at the time when they saw the manuscript of the *qinpu* brought by Liu Dongju.³⁷ However, it is unclear why Shen and Li were

³⁴ QQJC, vol. 9, 66.

³⁵ QQJC, vol. 9, 66.

³⁶ Shen Yingwen wrote that Liu paid him a visit to show him the manuscript of Zhongshi's song and to request a preface. QQJC, vol. 9, 67-68. Li Le's postface also mentions Liu's request. Ibid., 95.

³⁷ Shen Yingwen, originally from Dongyang 東陽 (in modern Zhejiang province), was the Minister of Justice (*Xingbu shangshu* 刑部尚書) during 1608 and 1616. In 1616, he was re-appointed as the Minister of Personnel in Nanjing (*Nanjing libu shangshu* 南京吏部尚書), and this was the title that he used when writing the preface. He retired in 1621. *Guoque*, vol. 5, 4992, 5095, and 5187. Li Le was originally from Tangxiang 桐鄉, or Wuxing 吳興 (two adjacent places in modern Zhejiang province). See *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 (Yongzheng edition, 1735), *juan* 138 and *juan* 190, and his postface, in QQJC,

chosen to be the preface/postface writers, and none of their writings implies any personal connection between the writer and Zhongshi or the Chong state.³⁸

Shen Yingwen was already aware of Zhongshi's virtuous reputation before knowing the *qin* song.³⁹ According to Shen, "admirers of Zhongshi were all over the

vol. 9, 95. Li's signature on the postface states that he was the former Supervising Secretary of the Office of Scrutiny for Rites and the Office of Scrutiny for Personnel (*qian li li liangke jishizhong* 前禮吏兩科給事中), and the Chief Minister of the Nanjing Seals Office (*Nanjing shangbaosi qing* 南京尚寶寺[司]卿). Li had read Shen Yingwen's preface before writing the postface, as his postface mentions that Shen has "thoroughly demonstrated" the queen's accomplishments. If the postface was indeed written in no earlier than 1620, it was written when Li Le was about eighty-six years old, at the end of his life. For more about Li Le, see his *Jianwen zaji* 見聞雜記.

³⁸ Based on what we know about Shen Yingwen and Li Le, none of them ever worked in Henan area where the Chong state located. We only know from Li Le's postface that he heard of Zhongshi's accomplishments when he worked as *Jishizhong* (Supervising Secretary) in the central government. However, he should have already left the central government by the time the Ministry of Rites wrote against granting Zhongshi the *ce ming guanfu* (to be discussed in the next section).

³⁹ Shen writes that he read about Zhongshi from a book called *Xianxiao* 賢孝 ("the worthy and the filial") which was circulated with popularity (*hongchuan* 烘傳), and had "long admired" her since then. QQJC, vol. 9, 67. However, I have not yet found any other

country and they created paintings and poems to remember her.”⁴⁰ Both Shen Yingwen and Liu Dongju mentioned that the emperor ordered a wooden pillar (*zhaoxie* 棹楔) to be built for Zhongshi to celebrate her as an exemplary woman.⁴¹ Zhongshi also writes about this in stanza fifteen of her song, although the term used becomes *fang* 坊 (arch-like monument), which might be a choice for the rhyme. In the same stanza, she also writes that her good deeds were also included in the local gazetteers (*juncheng* 郡乘).⁴²

Zhongshi's Image in *Veritable Records*

In spite of what is written in the *qinpu*, I have not found any record of Zhongshi in local gazetteers. In fact, the only historical records about Zhongshi that I have found beside her *qinpu* are in the *Veritable Records of the Shenzong Emperor* (hereafter, *Shilu*) and Tan Qian's 談遷 (1594-1657) *Guoque*. Because the latter is based primarily on the *Shilu*, I will focus on *Shilu* in the following discussion.

None of the records in *Shilu* touches upon the imperial praise for Zhongshi's virtue or the building of the wooden pillar for her. Rather, the records in *Shilu* may challenge Zhongshi's image as a moral exemplar. I will explain with two examples.

1. On Zhongshi's *Ceming Guanfu*

information about this “xianxiao” text.

⁴⁰ 海內素所信慕者，圖而紀之，詠而贊之。QQJC, vol. 9, 67.

⁴¹ QQJC, vol. 9, 66 and 67.

⁴² QQJC, vol. 9, 85.

Shilu shows that many officials had strong objection to granting Zhongshi the *ce ming guanfu* for a queen because they regarded it to be a violation of rites and rules. The debate on Zhongshi's *ce ming guanfu* began soon after Yougui became the new king. In the spring of 1615, when Yougui was only 12 *sui*, he petitioned the emperor to grant *ce ming guanfu* to Zhongshi. The emperor agreed to his request, but, according to *Shilu*, all the imperial ministries and offices were against the emperor's decision.⁴³ As the emperor's approval was rejected by the Office of Scrutiny,⁴⁴ Yougui continued to send several memorials to the emperor, explaining that Zhongshi's contribution to the Chong state was exceptional. Seeing that his request was considered a violation of the rules, the young king then asked if he could transfer his future wife's *ce ming guanfu* to Zhongshi.⁴⁵ The emperor ordered the officials of the Ministry of Rites to further discuss about this issue, but the Ministry of Rites insisted that Yougui's request was improper. It was not until 1616 that the Zhongshi received *ce ming guanfu* by the emperor's decree in spite of the officials' objection.⁴⁶ Because Yougui was quite young when he wrote these memorials, and because Zhongshi had been dealing with the state affairs before Yougui

⁴³ *Ming shilu*, vol. 63, 10006.

⁴⁴ *Ming shilu*, vol. 63, 10004.

⁴⁵ *Ming shilu*, vol. 63, 10006. Yougui became married later in 1618. His wife, Huangshi, still received her *ce ming guanfu*, but that did not happen until 1623.

⁴⁶ *Ming shilu*, vol. 64, 10297.

succeeded to the throne, those who considered the request to be improper may have the reason to suspect that Zhongshi herself took part in making the request.

2. The Suspicious Children and Illegal Concubines

The second example concerns the legitimacy of the status of the children as Changjin's offspring. This issue implies that the appropriateness of Zhongshi's conduct may have been questioned by some officials in the central government.

In 1618, when the emperor permitted Yougui to select a wife, some officials found it strange that both Yougui and his younger brother Youcai were once named the fourth son in different documents. The emperor asked the office in charge of such matters to look into Youcai's birth.⁴⁷ In 1620, after gathering the reports and memorials over the past years, the Ministry of Rites found the birth of Changjin's five children to be suspicious. The report states:

The Crown Prince of Chong did not have any children when he was alive, but in his last year, he suddenly gave rise to five lives in the wombs. This is already out of the ordinary. Moreover, the Crown Prince died on the twenty-second day of the intercalary second month in the thirtieth year [of the Wanli era], while Youcai was born on the twenty-second day of the twelfth month. Considering the normal development of a fetus, isn't the day of his death exactly the day of the beginning of his son's life? This, even more, is beyond the ordinary!⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Ming shilu*, vol. 65, 11347-11348.

⁴⁸ 崇世子生前無一弱息，乃彌留之年驟得此五遺腹，已屬大異。且其歿在三十年間閏二月二十二日，由材以十二月二十二日生。律以胎息之常，豈死之日正其生子之日乎？異之異矣。 *Ming shilu*, vol. 65, 11348-11349.

The officials of the Ministry of Rites doubted whether the Chong court fabricated the children's identity, and they speculated that the mistaken ranking of Youcai in the former documents was due to the haste making up the fabrication.

With Youcai's birth being mysterious, the ministry also challenged Yougui's eligibility for kingship. The report continues:

Some say that the fabrication is effective as there are five children. This is because the plotter is clever at making plans, hoping to use a large number to convince people. But the plotter is also inept at making plans, as it becomes even more suspicious because of this large number. The reason why our ministry investigates Yougui along with [Youcai] is that all kinds of questions now come together at the crossroads, so we must be very cautious.⁴⁹

The officials of the Ministry of Rites did not have to specify who they suspect to be the plotter. If the children were not biologically related to the Crown Prince, only King Duan and/or Zhongshi could make a plan of deception as such.

Even if all the five children were indeed Changjin's, their biological mothers were not officially recognized as his concubines. The Ming kings and their sons were prohibited from taking concubines at will. The laws strictly prescribed that a king's son could have no more than four concubines, and the personal information of each concubine must be reported to the central government.⁵⁰ The two examples above show

⁴⁹ 說者謂其得力處全在遺腹有五。蓋其巧於為謀也，故欲以多而示信。而其拙於為算也，正因以多而甚疑。故臣部之並查由櫝者，正為種種可疑合諸道路之口，不得不為慎重也。 *Ming shilu*, vol. 65, 11349.

⁵⁰ Li Dongyang 李東陽 et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典, *juan* 160, vol. 4, 2241-

that, during the time when Zhongshi was in charge of state affairs, the Chong state had come under suspicion at the central court. In sum, the accounts in *Shilu* even suggest that Zhongshi's conduct might have been viewed as improper by many court officials.

Zhongshi herself might have been aware of the disagreement in the central government. At least she was well aware that the request for her *ce ming guan fu* was not entirely smooth. She must have also helped Yougui respond to the imperial court's questions about Changjin's five children and unregistered concubines, as Yougui could not have known the details by himself. Against this context, we may better understand Zhongshi's concerns in her preface about not being known to others. The central government's and perhaps some other contemporaneous people's suspicion against the Chong court was likely part of Zhongshi's motivation to compose and publish her "Sincere Words."

Even though she had already received much recognition and praise by that time, the preface that Zhongshi wrote for her *qinpu* indicates that her ambition was not yet fulfilled: according to the preface, she had yet to fully show her virtues to more people and to inspire more people to become as virtuous as she was. Hence, she found it necessary to publish "Sincere Words." In what follows, I discuss why "Sincere Words" was crucial for Zhongshi's pursuit of this larger ambition from three aspects.

The Written Text

Gender Appropriateness

Women were generally not encouraged to actively publicize their words and conducts even in the late Ming. Zhongshi expressed this concern in her preface, recognizing that a female writer, by allowing her works to go into public circulation, might run the risk of violating her gender norms.

Some say that women's words should not go beyond the house and asked, "What do you use this [print] for?" However, Liu Xijun's "Yellow Swan Song" and Ouyang Xiu's mother's story are both documented in histories,⁵¹ and I privately compare myself with them.⁵²

Here, Zhongshi justifies herself by using the examples of two women in history who were known for their accomplishments and virtue. It was reasonable for Zhongshi to compare herself to the two women: Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) mother gave good education to her son in spite of her widowhood, while Liu Xijun 劉細君 (c.130-101 BCE.) sacrificed her own happiness for her country. Although, to our knowledge, Ouyang Xiu's mother did not leave any writing, Liu Xijun was known as the author of "Yellow Swan Song," a song recorded in the *History of the Han* compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). The song was composed in the first-person, depicting the Han princess's

⁵¹ Liu Xijun was known as a princess who was married to the king of Wusun in the Han dynasty.

⁵² 說者謂婦言不出於閫，安用是為？然黃鵠矢歌，著之往牒；畫荻成教，垂之簡帙，余竊比之。QQJC, vol. 9, 1.

experience and feelings as she moved to the remote west to complete a diplomatic marriage. Given that Liu Xijun's song was appreciated for over a millennium, Zhongshi probably felt justified to also write about her life in a song form and make it widely known. If emulating the worthy was a virtue, then writing an autobiographical song can be considered a virtuous action as part of Zhongshi's learning from the ancient exemplary women.

The relation between song writing and virtuous women is also reflected in Shen Yingwen's preface. Using another two examples of songs attributed to women, Shen compares Zhongshi with those women who legitimately made their "virtues and accomplishments" known to the world through songs:

As for women who, with pure virtue and crystal heart, used the rectified and clear sound to display their steadfastness and probity, like "Lament of Consort Chu" and "Prelude to the Exemplary Woman," were all able to gain a moral reputation with the goodness of their thoughts. The virtues and accomplishments that they established are so great that no one dares to rashly criticize them [for not restricting their voice to the private sphere].⁵³

Woman writing in the form of song had a long-remembered tradition that could be traced to early China. Besides the above examples, one may also think of Lady Ban's (c. 48-c. 6 BCE) song on the round fan ("Tuanshan ge" 團扇歌, aka "Yuan gexing" 怨歌行) and Cai Yan's 蔡琰 (177-249) eighteen-stanza reed-pipe song ("Hujia shiba pai" 胡笳十八

⁵³ 至於婦人女子，霜操冰心，假正聲以揚貞，清音而表潔，如楚妃嘆、烈女引，皆能以一念之善，成一節之名，而立德立功之大，固未敢輕責之也。Ibid., 68.

拍). Although the authorship of these literary works is open to question, these women's life stories were remembered by people largely through the songs attributed to them.

Whereas men often wrote about their life in prose, women in premodern China rarely did so. Even in the late Ming when an increasing number of literary works by women were circulated beyond their households, most of their works are in poetic genres rather than prosaic genre. As Grace Fong has noted, "women in traditional China were not encouraged to practice prose writing, and examples of their prose are rare."⁵⁴

Admittedly, we have reasons to believe that her managing of state affairs allowed Zhongshi to have more chance to write prose than ordinary writing women, and her preface to the *qinpu* is an example of her prose writing. Nevertheless, songtext was a gender-appropriate form of writing for Zhongshi to begin with. The form also helped Zhongshi present herself as a follower of other virtuous, song-writing women in history.

The Structural Characteristics of *Qin* Song as Advantages

With the exception of some very short songs, most *qin* songs in the late imperial period were divided into multiple stanzas (*duan* 段). Usually, each stanza has a title (often in 3-4 characters) that summarizes the main idea of that stanza.⁵⁵ The twenty-two stanza titles in "Sincere Words" are as follows:

⁵⁴ Grace S. Fong, "'Record of Past Karma' by Ji Xian (1614-1683)," in *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History*, ed. Susan Mann and Yu-Yin Cheng, 136.

⁵⁵ Stanzas and stanza titles are common characteristics of *qin* works regardless of the presence of songtexts. This structural feature can only be clearly noticed in written scores

第一段 授言自敘

1. I Tell My Story to Pass It On

第二段 奉事各宮

2. Serving My In-laws

第三段 佐修懿德

3. Assisting the Prince in Cultivating Excellent Virtue

第四段 多方求嗣

4. Various Attempts to Pray for Heirs

第五段 重遭國難

5. Doubled Disasters of the State

第六段 矢節全孝

6. Preserving Chastity through Fulfilling Filial Duties

第七段 哀訴衆官

7. My Heartfelt Statement to Officials

第八段 報奏孕喜

8. Reporting the Happy News of Pregnancy

第九段 遺腹誕生

9. Birth of the Children Left in the Womb

第十段 調養藐孤

10. Nurturing the Fatherless Infants

第十一段 遵例請名

11. Requesting Names for the Children by Regulations

第十二段 請勅理國

12. Allowed by Imperial Decree to Manage the State

第十三段 教育嬰孩

13. Educating the Children

第十四段 知年喜懼

14. My Joy and Worries regarding My Father-in-law's Old Age

第十五段 蒙勅建坊

15. Humbly Granted a Monument by Imperial Decree

第十六段 代夫終養

16. Serving My Father-in-law till the End in My Husband's Stead

第十七段 積德行善

17. Accumulating Virtues and Doing Good

第十八段 崇正除奸

or descriptive texts, not expected to be noticed in performance.

18. Exalt the Upright and Eliminate the Evil
第十九段 承嗣王爵
19. Inheriting the King Title
第二十段 晉封特典
20. Receiving Higher Titles by Exceptional Decree
第二十一段 婚選佳偶
21. Selecting A Good Marital Match [for Yougui]
第二十二段 原始垂訓
22. Trace Back to the Origin and Pass Down the Lesson

The number and title of each stanza in a *qin* song will not be sung out. They are not treated as part of the songtext nor lyrics. However, when the song was read silently as a textual work, the stanza titles can help the reader grasp the content of the song, especially when it is a long one like “Sincere Words.” In fact, Shen Yingwen was likely to have only read the song as a textual work by the time he wrote the preface, as he modestly admitted that he was unable to play the *qin* nor sing.⁵⁶ In a silent reading experience, stanza titles not only outline the entire song, but also highlight what the reader should pay attention to. Hence, no matter whether one reads “Sincere Words” line by line or give it a quick skim, the reader can easily gain an impression about the major events in Zhongshi’s life and the multiple roles that she fulfilled.

The division of stanzas also makes it easier for Zhongshi to tell a long story by highlighting only certain events. The narrative of the song is arranged in chronological order, except the end of the first stanza which turns the entire song into a flashback. However, because it is divided into many stanzas, one may find the song to be an array of

⁵⁶ QQJC, vol. 9, 68.

fragments of Zhongshi's life through a thirty-year time span. Using this conventional structure of *qin* song, the writer was not required to explain the transition from one scene to another or any chronological gap between different scenes. As a result, Zhongshi's life story is presented through a series of events that exemplify her virtue and accomplishments in every aspect.

Same Events Interpreted from A Different Perspective

Writing the song allowed Zhongshi to enrich her moral image with many details of her personal experiences that were otherwise unknown to the public. It also allowed Zhongshi to comment on issues that were already known to others but could give rise to questions and arguments, such as those recorded in the *Shilu*. Zhongshi's song addresses all the controversial issues discussed in the *Shilu*, yet the song offers an alternative perspective on the same events, turning these events into evidences of Zhongshi's accomplishments.

Whereas the officials of the Ministry of Rites suspected that Zhongshi fabricated the birth identities of the five children, "Sincere Words" explains how Zhongshi made every effort to bring children to the family which was crucial to the future of the Chong state. As she writes in stanza four, when Changjin was still alive, Zhongshi asked to recruit more female servants when she realized that the current ones in the court were not healthy enough to bear children. According to her song, she encouraged her husband to spend more time with these concubines, and ordered the concubines to take good care of him. These details foreshadow the later news about the pregnancy of the five female servants. Hence, the birth of the children does not appear to be a plot hastily put together

as the *Shilu* suggests, but rather, the outcome of an unjealous wife's long-term planning. Elsewhere in the song, Zhongshi claims that it was her who discovered the pregnancy of the five women, reported the news to King Duan and then the emperor, prayed to deities for successful delivery, and carefully raised the children.⁵⁷ The entire song mentions very little about the five children's biological mothers; the focus is on Zhongshi herself as an exemplary wife and mother who strived to ensure the continuity of the family line in spite of all the difficulties.

As for Zhongshi's being granted the *ce ming guanfu* following Changjin's posthumous king title, stanza 20 writes:

The king's great sincerity was very much appreciated.	念王赤誠
As he begged many times for the emperor's mercy,	三懇天恩
I was granted the honor of receiving the <i>ce ming guanfu</i> .	冠服冊命榮膺
The edict clearly states that this will not be a precedent for the future,	明旨後不爲例
Nor has it ever happened in the other states in the past.	各藩前亦何曾
Miraculously, we were granted this exceptional grace. ⁵⁸	創見特典奇逢

These lines highlight the fact that Zhongshi's *ce ming guanfu* was not the norm. However, this unusual event is not presented as a violation of propriety, but it serves in the song as an evidence of the great sincerity of the young king and the exceptionality of Zhongshi.

⁵⁷ See stanza 8, 9, and 10, in QQJC, vol. 9, 77-80.

⁵⁸ See stanza 20, in QQJC, vol. 9, 89-90.

In other words, conventions and rules were adjusted for Zhongshi's exceptional virtues. A similar viewpoint can be found in Shen Yingwen's preface to this song. Shen uses the case of Zhongshi's *ce ming guanfu* to argue that the young king was able to emulate "the worthy" (i.e. Zhongshi). In Shen's view, the young king's repeated requests finally persuaded the emperor to grant Zhongshi *ce ming guanfu*, and the reason why the king grew up so filial was exactly because of his filial mother.⁵⁹ From this perspective, Zhongshi's *ce ming guanfu* is interpreted not merely as an exceptional honor, but as a proof of her successful education of the young king.

The Musical and Performative

Musical Choices as Evidences of Virtue

A line from Li Le's postface goes: "People say that we can know someone's virtue by listening to his/her music."⁶⁰ Even though we do not know what was actually in the composer's mind when she made musical choices, these choices could be interpreted by her audience in certain ways. We already know that one's use of *qin* music often served as a proof of one's moral exemplarity in the late imperial period. How did the music serve specifically in Zhongshi's case as a proof that she was an exemplary queen? This is the question that the current section attempts to answer.

1) Political Righteousness

⁵⁹ QQJC, vol. 9, 69.

⁶⁰ 語有之，聞其樂而知其德。Ibid., 93.

Li Le remarks in the postface that *qin* music helps to “resist the wicked and acquire the righteous” (*jianxie nazheng* 閑邪納正).⁶¹ This phrase is similar to the title of stanza eighteen in Zhongshi’s song, “Exalt the Upright and Eliminate the Evil” (*chongzheng chujian* 崇正除奸). In that stanza, Zhongshi tells us that she prioritized the worship of Confucius and familial ancestors even in the most difficult time, and that she trusted loyal officials and punished those who dared to harm the state. In this context, the function of *qin* music known as “resist the wicked and acquire the righteous” can be understood in relation to political righteousness.

Li Le’s preface further situates the *qin* in the palace setting, arguing that it was particularly difficult for a palace resident to appreciate the *qin* and to restrict all other music. Li Le’s argument has a political implication: similarly, it would be particularly difficult for a ruler to distinguish the righteous from the wicked, to trust the loyal and stay away from the harmful.

In the inner palace and spacious mansions, there would be songs of the Yan and dance of the Zhao, the horizontal flutes and the vertical flutes, with music girls lining up in front of the eyes, and extravagant melodies endlessly flowing in the ears—who could be able to ban them? But [the queen] commands all other musical instruments [i.e. the metal, the stone, the gourd, and the bamboo] to be silent, and always plays the elegant instrument [i.e. the *qin*] and never gets tired of it. This is different from those who worry about falling asleep when listening to ancient music.⁶²

⁶¹ QQJC, vol. 9, 93.

⁶² 深宮廣廈之中，燕歌趙舞，龍笛鳳簫，女樂羅陳於前，靡音遞奏於耳，夫熟得而禁之，而令金石寢聲，匏竹屏氣，永御乎雅器而不厭也，亦異於聽古樂而恐臥者

Li Le contrasts *qin* music with what is thought to be extravagant music (*miyin* 靡音) that some people might find too pleasing to the ear to resist. The political implication of these lines is clear. Firstly, the word *miyin*, also known as *mimi zhi yin* 靡靡之音, refers to the music that was believed to cause not only moral decadence but also political corruption. In addition, the mention of “those who worry about falling asleep when listening to ancient music” is an allusion to the Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯 (? -396 BCE). In his conversation with Confucius’s disciple, Zixia 子夏 (c. 507 BCE-?), Marquis Wen confesses that he worries about falling asleep when listening to ancient music but never gets bored of “new music,” and he asks Zixia why this is so. Zixia responds that the so-called “new music” is not Music (*yue*), but merely pleasant sounds (*yin*); because only the ancient music is morally and politically correct, a ruler of the people (*wei renjun zhe* 為人君者) must be careful about what he likes and dislikes.⁶³ In contrast to Marquis Wen, Zhongshi’s taste of music symbolizes her exemplarity as a ruler according to Li Le.

2) From Rulership to Motherhood in Musical Theories

The score of “Sincere Words” specifies that the music of song is in a mode called “Huangzhong diao” 黃鐘調. Zhongshi’s choice of using this mode deserves our attention. In fact, this choice already attracted Li Le’s attention, as shown in his postface.

矣。QQJC, vol. 9, 94.

⁶³ *Liji zhengyi*, juan 38, 1304-1312.

Some general explanations need to be made first. The term “mode” used as my translation of *diao* 調 in traditional *qin* music is not the same as the term “mode” in Western music.⁶⁴ Briefly speaking, in *qin* music, *diao* prescribes some or all of the following: the tuning of the seven strings, the position of the *gong*, and the tonal center (known as *biqu* 畢曲, *jiēyīn* 結音, or *yūn* 韻, which is not necessarily the *gong*).⁶⁵ It must also be noticed that premodern *qin* players generally did not tune the *qin* based on a fixed frequency. Therefore, although the twelve pitch names (such as “Huangzhong” in the mode name of Zhongshi’s song) were used in *qin* music, the pitches were identified not by a fixed frequency but by their relative intervals.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Gu Meigeng 顧梅羹 (1899-1990) has given a comprehensive and accurate explanation on the *diao*, mode, and tuning in traditional *qin* music, in his *Qinxue beiyao* 琴學備要, 828-857 and 885-893.

⁶⁵ In many cases, a different *diao* means a different way of tuning, which may result in a change of the *gong*. In some other cases, particularly when *diao* is used interchangeably with *yīn* 音 or *yì* 意 as in “gong *diao*,” “zhi *diao*,” “yu *diao*,” different *diao* may share the same tuning but differ from each other in tonal center. In traditional *qin* music, the tonal center must appear at the last note of a piece.

⁶⁶ Gu, *Qinxue beiyao*, 829. Different from their premodern predecessors, modern *qin* musicians have generally agreed on treating the third open string as F (because traditionally the third open string is considered to be Zhonglü 仲呂, the modern

We have reasons to speculate that Zhongshi chose to use Huangzhong *diao* on purpose. Firstly, this mode is not used in the other twelve “old scores” which Zhongshi had learned from. Secondly, Huangzhong *diao* was a less-commonly used mode in *qin* history because it requires a special way of tuning—in comparison, the other twelve pieces in Zhongshi’s *qinpu* all use the default tuning (to be explained later).

The name of the mode is in itself indicative. Huangzhong (aka “Yellow Bell”) is the first of the twelve pitches (*lǜ* 律) in Chinese musical theory, and was culturally related to ideas like the ruler (*jūn* 君), the fundamental (*bēn* 本), authority, and magnificence.⁶⁷

In addition to the name, the characteristics of the mode could possibly strengthen a symbolic connection between this song and the ideal rulership. Using Huangzhong *diao*, the tuning of “Sincere Words” is this: from the first open string to the seventh, the relative intervals can be described as 1, 3, 5, 6, 1’, 2’, 3’ (1=*gong*, 1’=an octave above

standardized tuning in fact connects Zhonglü with F, and hence Huangzhong with C, yet this is not to say that we can equate Huangzhong to C), although they do not necessarily apply this standardized tuning when playing solo.

⁶⁷ For example, see the “Lǜli zhi” 律歷志 (“Treatise on Musical Pitches and the Calendar”) in *Hanshu*, especially 958-959. For more on the correlative thinking in classical Chinese musical theory, especially the significations of the twelve pitches and five notes, see Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, 68-71 and 166-174.

1).⁶⁸ In comparison, the default tuning used in the other twelve pieces is 5, 6, 1', 2', 3', 5', 6 (the same as the default tuning today, traditionally known as “Zhengdiao” 正調).⁶⁹

To use Huangzhong *diao*, the player needs to start from the default tuning, tighten the fifth string by one *hui*, and loosen the first string by one *hui* (known as *jinwu manyi* 緊五慢一 in *qin* terminology). Due to the change of the two strings, the position of the *gong* changes from the third open string (the pitch of which is traditionally identified as Zhonglü 仲呂) to the first, using the five-note scale.

With this tuning change, Huangzhong *diao* associates the first string with Huangzhong (the first of the twelve pitches) and the *gong* (the first of the five notes). In

⁶⁸ The name “Huangzhong *diao*” by itself is not enough to tell us about its tuning and modal characteristics, because the same *diao* name could refer to different tunings in different *qinpu*, whereas different *diao* names could in fact refer to the same tuning. However, we can know what “Huangzhong *diao*” means in Zhongshi’s *qinpu* from the musical score of “Sincere Words.” The tuning that I describe here is confirmed by the score’s use of stopped notes (*anyin* 按音) at the eleventh *hui* on the first string and the fifth string, and at the tenth *hui* on the third string. This tuning is indeed widely known as “Huangzhong *diao*” in the *qin* tradition (descriptions and examples can be found in Gu, *Qinxue beiyao*, 829, 851, and 855), although it may have alternative names in other *qinpu*.

⁶⁹ The tuning of those twelve pieces is confirmed by their musical scores in Zhongshi’s *qinpu*.

addition, the tonal center of Huangzhong *diao* is also the *gong*, which can be confirmed by the last note of “Sincere Words” as well as other traditional pieces of the same mode. Like Huangzhong, the *gong* note is also associated with *jun*, the ruler.⁷⁰ Hence, the mode that Zhongshi chose for “Sincere Words” is not only centered around Huangzhong and *gong*, but can possibly imply that the ruler, or the fundamental, is in its primary position (both on the first string, which is alternatively named “*gong* string”).

Admittedly, we do not know what Zhongshi actually had in mind when she chose to write her song in Huangzhong *diao*. However, the postface writer, Li Le, was able to infer something meaningful from the mode’s emphasis on Huangzhong and *gong*, which he related to Zhongshi’s motherhood. He wrote:

In the theory of notes and pitches, the pitch Huangzhong is the mother and the pitch Linzhong is the son. When the mother is the note *gong*, the son responds it with the correct sound—this is the right way of the *qin*. Now with the mother queen’s worthiness, the king is able to imitate her—this is also like the way of music. That is to say, the queen not only granted her son the state, but also the spirit with which she maintained the state. Alas, the queen is truly a great worthy!⁷¹

Li Le’s argument has a theoretical background. In traditional Chinese musical theory, the discovery of all twelve pitches started from Huangzhong. Using the “Sanfen Sunyi” (三分損益, “Thirds-divide Subtract-Increase”) method, the next pitch, Linzhong

⁷⁰ For example, see the “Record of Music,” in *Liji zhengyi*, *juan* 37, 1255.

⁷¹ 聲律以黃鐘為母，林鐘為子。母為宮，子以正聲應之，琴之道也。今以母妃之賢，而王能象之，其應亦猶是耳。是妃不獨以國授子，而並其所以造國志亦授之子。嗚呼，妃真大賢也哉。QQJC, vol. 9, 94-95.

林鐘, is generated by subtracting one third from the length of the Huangzhong pitch pipe (or the length of the Huangzhong string). This is why Li Le calls Huangzhong the mother and Linzhong the son. Because of this mother-son relationship, the generated pitch corresponds to the generating pitch (in modern musical theories, the two pitches are consonant because the interval between the two is a perfect fifth). Similarly, the five notes are generated one by one starting from the *gong*, followed by *zhi*, *shang*, *yu*, and *jue*. Therefore, when the mother Huangzhong serves as the *gong*, the son Linzhong will correspond to the *gong* sound with the *zhi* sound. This is why Li Le writes “when the mother is the note *gong*, the son responds it with the correct sound (*zhengsheng*).”⁷²

Despite the fact that Zhongshi was not the biological mother of the young king, Li Le’s interpretation based on musical theories emphasizes that Zhongshi was truly the mother—and an ideal one—of the king. In Li Le’s view, the pitches, notes, as well as their positions and functions in the mode, all bear symbolic meanings: the fundamental position of Huangzhong and *gong* in the song is a symbol of Zhongshi herself, whose motherhood is supported by her ability to “generate” like Huangzhong and the son’s ability to “correspond” like Linzhong.

⁷² The word “zhengsheng,” which I translate here as “correct sound,” could also refer to the sound that fall into one of the five notes (i.e. *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi*, and *yu*). This may further explain Li Le’s comment on the position of *gong* in the mode (“when the mother is the note *gong*...” 母為宮). Only when starting from *gong*, the five notes (*zhengsheng*) will be generated before any *biansheng* (the non-*zhengsheng*) comes out.

To return to Li Le's words at the beginning of this section: "People say that we can know someone's virtue by listening to his/her music," what does it mean? It makes sense in this way: Li Le was able to relate the music to a moral image of Zhongshi which was exactly what Zhongshi wanted to communicate through the song. Zhongshi had read and apparently approved this postface before she published the *qinpu*, and she might have recognized in Li Le a *zhiyin*—not someone who necessarily knows the real reason behind each of the author's musical choices, but one who knows the author as a virtuous person from one's interpretation of the author's musical choices.

Moral Exemplarity Improved through Music

According to Shen Yingwen, Zhongshi's image as a moral exemplar was already established through painting, poetry, the wooden pillar, and a moral manual called "Xianxiao" ("the worthy and filial").⁷³ In this section, I argue that the musical and performative aspects of the song could help improve Zhongshi's exemplarity in two ways: first, by promoting an emulating method that was thought to be particularly effective: second, by helping the moral learner (the audience of the song) extend the learning target to moral ideals that transcend Zhongshi's personal experiences.

1) Effective Emulation

Firstly, let us return to Zhongshi's preface, in which she states her expectation about the effects that the transmission of the song would have on other people. In her expectation, one effect is that "people in the future" (*hou zhi ren* 後之人) would not

⁷³ QQJC, vol. 9, 67. None of these materials seems to have survived today.

forget her, but a more important effect, which she uses to conclude her preface, is that the song would possibly help the player become more moral:

Alas, once clouds form, the rain follows; once spring water flows, mushrooms appear; birds dance and animals leap—the influence of sounds and music is truly not a minor one. Therefore, if one plays my song and be stirred by its inner goodness, one would become the most loyal and filial, following the moral principles and giving parental love—the reason is perhaps in this. The reason is perhaps in this!⁷⁴

It is not surprising that Zhongshi expected the song to serve educational purposes. After all, moral exemplars are supposed to inspire people to make moral choices. The question is *how* to make it happen, and Zhongshi tries to answer this question in the lines above. She proposes that this song is the key to inspiring people to become the “most loyal and filial,” and she explains that the reason is perhaps “in this”—the influence of sounds and music. The line on “birds’ dancing and animals’ leaping” comes from *Liezi* 列子: “When Huba plays the *qin*, birds would dance and fish would leap [out].”⁷⁵ In Zhongshi’s view, the influence of good music on even the animals is natural, like the rain following the clouds.

⁷⁴ 嗟嗟，雲起雨隨，泉涌芝出，鳥舞獸躍，聲音所關良非細。故倘鼓余操而興起之，其所以竭忠殫孝，矢節錫慈者，其在是乎！其在是乎！QQJC, vol. 9, 2.

⁷⁵ 瓠巴鼓琴，而鳥舞魚躍。Lie Yukou 列禦寇 (fl. ca. 400 BCE.), *Liezi* 列子, 47.

The songtext's first-person voice is worth noticing. The song seems to promote a method of emulation that starts from imitation: it invites the performer to play the role of Zhongshi, to sing what she sang, to feel the sorrow and joy that she experienced, and to imagine what it would be like to be in Zhongshi's shoes. Considered against the end of Zhongshi's preface, the role playing encouraged by the lyrics is not merely copycat. The transition from imitating the person to becoming virtuous is supposedly done through inspiration/evocation (*xing* 興), that is, the song evokes the performer's innate goodness and helps one realize one's own potentials.

In Zhongshi's view, although this transformational process can be as natural as the rain following the cloud, it is not an easy one, and hence she uses the word *tang* 倘 (if, by any chance). Moreover, the phrase "play my song" (*gu yu cao* 鼓余操) suggests that this role-playing approach works primarily for *qin* players who already regard themselves to be advanced moral learners, as we have seen from their Privilege Discourse. As Linda Zagzebski once remarks in her theory of exemplarism, because right action does not create moral value without virtuous motivation, "direct imitation of the exemplar may come only after a person has reached a certain level of moral development. Before that, the person does better at imitating persons who are better than he is, but not so much better that he cannot see clearly the path to becoming like the exemplar."⁷⁶ Zhongshi would perhaps agree with modern scholars like Zagzebski that this imitation approach works better for those who have reached a certain level of moral development.

⁷⁶ Linda Zagzebski, "Moral Exemplars in Theory and Practice," 203.

2) Toward Transpersonal Moral Ideals

Promoting an effective emulating method is not sufficient to extend Zhongshi's moral contribution to a larger community. One's conducts and virtues are limited to one's personal experiences. In what way could Zhongshi serve as a moral exemplar for men and women living different lives to learn from? Perhaps the possible way is to direct the target of the moral learning from the exemplar's personal virtues to some transpersonal ideals.⁷⁷

In Li Le's view, "Sincere Words" is not just about a particular person, but conveys fundamental moral principles through its use of *qin* music. He writes:

In the past, the sage-king Shennong carved the *tong* wood and strung the silk to make the *qin*. [The music of the *qin*] reaches the excellence of the spiritual knowledge and corresponds to the harmony between Heaven and the human. It is used to resist the wicked and acquire the righteous, to regulate human nature and canalize the emotion. Therefore, as for this song, it takes the principle of Five Norms and patterned it with Five Notes.

⁷⁷ Kristján Kristjánsson has used "elevation" (a term that he re-defined based on Jonathan Haidt's "elevation") to refer to the awe-like emotion which allows an alternative route to moral learning from exemplarity which "bypasses the attachment to moral exemplars and is, rather, about direct attachment to transpersonal moral ideals," although he thinks that this route is perhaps less frequently taken. He thinks that this emotion (i.e. "elevation") is comparable to Mencius's *jing* 敬 towards Heaven and the Way. Kristjánsson, "Emotions Targeting Moral Exemplarity: Making Sense of the Logical Geography of Admiration, Emulation, and Elevation," 26-33.

Thus, the Way of Eight Conducts is disseminated through the air of eight directions (to people in all regions).⁷⁸

Li Le thinks that the song encompasses and communicates the Five Norms and Eight Conducts—in other words, all the fundamental principles for any person to live a moral life.⁷⁹ The main factor that makes this song transcend Zhongshi's individuality, in Li's view, is the proper use of *qin* music. Accordingly, players of this song were supposed to pursue a deeper understanding from the music regarding the fundamental moral principles, and then the “spiritual knowledge” and “the harmony between Heaven and the human.” In this way, Zhongshi's exemplarity communicated through the song is elevated to a transpersonal level that can guide people to the ultimate target of moral learning. Meanwhile, Zhongshi's moral influence and contribution would be elevated to

⁷⁸ 昔者神農氏削桐繩絲以爲琴也，通神明之德，合天人之和，所以閑邪納正，理性宣情。於是乎在是操也，以五常之理，文於五聲，八行之道，播於八風。QQJC, vol. 9, 93.

⁷⁹ The Five Norms are: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and integrity (*ren* 仁, *yi* 義, *li* 禮, *zhi* 智, and *xin* 信). The Eight Conducts are: to be a good son, to be a good brother, to get along with paternal relatives, to get along with affinity relatives, to be a good friend, to be kind to the poor of the community, to be a good servant, to balance between righteousness and benefit (*xiao* 孝, *ti* 悌, *mu* 睦, *yin* 姻, *ren* 任, *xu* 恤, *zhong* 忠, and *he* 和).

the highest level if she indeed knew how to utilize *qin* music like the ancient sages did—at least this is what Li Le's writing implies.

Qin Song Making as A Virtuous Action

Li Le's writing implies a comparison between Zhongshi and the ancient sage-kings. Shen Yingwen, the writer of the preface to the song, made this comparison more explicit. It is quite unusual for women in premodern China to be compared to the sage-kings.⁸⁰ Different from Li Le, Shen Yingwen saw the similarity between Zhongshi and the sage-kings not merely in the educational function of *qin* music, but in the action of composing a *qin* song in adversity.

To support his argument, Shen firstly states that composing a *qin* song to express one's feeling is a virtuous activity for both men and women:

I heard that *qin* music is virtuous because it comes from human nature and feelings, but is molded into propriety. Sometimes loyal servants use it to express their sincerity; sometimes filial sons use it to voice out their esteem. As for women who, with pure virtue and crystal heart, used the rectified and clear sound to display their steadfastness and probity, like "Lament of Consort Chu" and "Prelude to the Exemplary Woman," were all able to gain a moral reputation with the goodness of their thoughts. The virtues and accomplishments that they established are so great that no one dares to rashly criticize them [for not restricting their voice to the private sphere].⁸¹

⁸⁰ One exceptional case is Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908). See Daniel Barish, "Empress Dowager Cixi's Imperial Pedagogy: The School for Female Nobles and New Visions of Authority in Early Twentieth Century China," particularly 260-265.

⁸¹ 然嘗聞琴之為德，發乎性情，範於禮義，或貞臣借以抒丹，或孝子因之鳴慕。至

Next, however, Shen argues that Zhongshi's song has even surpassed other women's compositions: "How could those like Consort Chu compete with her?"⁸² Rather, Shen claims that "Sincere Words" parallels with songs such as "Juyou" 拘幽 and "Lüshuang" 履霜.⁸³

"Juyou" was believed to be composed by Ji Chang 姬昌 (1152-1056 BCE.) when he was framed and imprisoned in Youli 羑里 by the king of Shang 商, to express his innocence and his concerns about the country.⁸⁴ Ji Chang was later known as King Wen of Zhou (*Zhou Wenwang* 周文王), and was regarded as an exemplary sage-king throughout the Chinese history. The author of "Lüshuang" was believed to be Yin Boqi 尹伯奇 (fl. 8th century BCE.), who was framed by his stepmother and hence abandoned by his father in the field. Boqi then composed this *qin* song to express his sorrow. When the song was heard by King Xuan 宣 of Zhou, whom Boqi's father was serving, the king

於婦人女子，霜操冰心，假正聲以揚貞，清音而表潔，如楚妃嘆、烈女引，皆能以一念之善，成一節之名，而立德立功之大，固未敢輕責之也。QQJC, vol. 9, 68.

⁸² 楚妃之流，敢與爭鳴也耶？QQJC, vol. 9, 69.

⁸³ QQJC, vol. 9, 69.

⁸⁴ See Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-192), *Qincao* 琴操, *juan* 1, 5-6, and Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1041-1099) ed., *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, *juan* 57, vol. 2, 7. The historical account about Ji Chang was recorded in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 1, 115-119.

realized that the lyrics came from a “filial son” (*xiaozhi* 孝子). As a result, Boqi’s father was moved by the song and welcomed Boqi home.⁸⁵

Based on the traditional interpretations of “Juyou” and “Lüshuang,” we can easily find the similarities between the two songs. First, although the authors were both virtuous, they were not understood by others at that time. Second, the songs were composed in adversity, and they sang about their difficulties and laments. Third, the songs were later regarded as a proof that the authors held to their righteousness even during the hard time when no one understood them.

Now we can see why Zhongshi’s song can be comparable with “Juyou” and “Lüshuang.” Like Ji Chang and Boqi, Zhongshi composed and performed this song when she was enduring hardships, while the central government cast doubt about the legitimacy of her children; she used the song to lament her misfortune and to reiterate her dedication to her family and the state; she also believed that her experiences and feelings were not really known to other people until the song was heard.

In each of the stories of Ji Chang, Boqi, and Zhongshi, *qin* song functions as both a way of communicating the virtuous mind to others and a testimony to the author’s virtuousness. On the one hand, *qin* song as a medium allows the author to voice out his/her experiences and feelings when words and conducts did not successfully deliver. On the other hand, the action of composing a *qin* song in adversity is in itself a message that signifies the author’s righteousness and steadfastness. Using *qin* song as a link,

⁸⁵ This anecdote is recorded in Cai Yong, *Qincao*, *juan* 1, 7.

people like Shen Yingwen were able to elevate Zhongshi to be on par with the ancient sages like King Wen of Zhou, celebrating her virtues that transcend gender boundaries.

Conclusion

The word “siqu” in the title of Zhongshi’s *qinpu* comes from Confucius famous teaching: “When one sees the worthy, one should consider how to become as good as them.”⁸⁶ In her *qinpu*, the title appears right before the first of the twelve “old scores.” Thus, the idea of emulating the worthy in the *qinpu* title could be read on multiple levels: that Zhongshi’s song may be emulating the other twelve classical works, that Zhongshi herself may be emulating exemplary women in history, and that the users of the *qinpu* may consider emulating Zhongshi through her song. However one reads it, the importance of emulation is underlined throughout the *qinpu*, from the songtext to the paratext.

Perhaps we can even say that Zhongshi’s path toward sagehood is all about emulating and being emulatable. To be emulatable in this case means to have the capability to serve as a moral exemplar. This kind of capability, which I have referred to as moral exemplarity, is made of two components: the moral achievement that qualifies one as an exemplar, and the potential effectiveness of this person in serving as an exemplar for others. As this chapter has discussed, “Sincere Words” helped Zhongshi and other writers show both the above two components of Zhongshi’s moral exemplarity.

⁸⁶ 見賢思齊焉。 *Analects* 4.17.

More importantly, the characteristics of “Sincere Words” as a *qin* song helped to make Zhongshi more emulatable than she used to be, because these characteristics—as discussed from the three aspects above—allowed people to discover Zhongshi’s virtues that were not conveyed in other ways, and because the music/performative aspect of the song offered a new emulating method which was believed to be particularly effective and far-reaching.

Chapter 5. To Be Known to All: Cheng Xiong's Social Network

Introduction

Like Yang Biaozheng and Zhongshi, and many other premodern Chinese, Cheng Xiong 程雄 (aka Ying'an 颖庵, Yin'an 隐庵, c. 1637-c.1700) hoped to become comparable to the greatest people in history. What he learned from history, however, was that people who were remembered as "guren" 古人 (ancient exemplary people) all made their names known to the world (*mingshi* 名世) for their specialties. To achieve his goal of *mingshi*, Cheng Xiong chose *qin* playing as the key to success.

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part looks into Cheng Xiong's life path, drawing sources from his prefaces to different *qinpu*, his three autobiographical songs, and other writings by his associates. I investigate what kind of person Cheng Xiong hoped to become, what he wanted to be renowned for, and how he was regarded by his associates. Cheng Xiong's life path shows that *qin* musiking offered him a good chance to communicate his all-around excellence to an elite audience, while justifying his desire for fame and success.

The second part focuses on Cheng Xiong's gift-poem songs, which he made by musicalizing the gift poems that he received from other people. These songs played multiple roles in helping Cheng Xiong secure his contemporary and posthumous reputation. Combining the social convention of poem giving with the cultural

significance of *qin* song, the gift-poem songs helped Cheng Xiong maintain and expand his *zhiyin* networking. Furthermore, the published collections of the songs, which situated him in a broad network with the most respectable men of his time, at once constructed and testified to Cheng Xiong's persona.

Cheng Xiong's Four *Qinpu*

To our knowledge, Cheng Xiong had four different *qinpu* published in the late 17th century and they all survive today. These four books can be divided into two groups: one includes *Songfengge qinpu* 松風閣琴譜 (hereafter, *Songfengge*) and *Shuhuai cao* 抒懷操, the other one includes *Songfengge qin se pu* 松風閣琴瑟譜 (hereafter, *Qinsepu*) and *Songsheng cao* 松聲操. The two books in each group were published together, with the latter book (i.e. *Shuhuai cao* and *Songsheng cao*) “attached” (*fu* 附) to the former. The two books in the *Qinsepu* group seem to be a later edition of the books in the *Songfengge* group, as they include more songs in addition to most of the songs in the *Songfengge* group, and the table of content of the *Qinsepu* begins with a statement that this book was “re-carved” (*chongkan* 重刊) by Zhou Zaidu 周在都 (1655-1714, son of Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612-1672)), a friend of Cheng Xiong.¹ Nonetheless, the *Songfengge* group had a wider transmission than the *Qinsepu* group. The former is

¹ Zha Fuxi draw the same conclusion that *Qinsepu* and *Songsheng cao* are later editions of *Songfengge* and *Shuhuai cao*. Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” QQJC, vol. 12, 5.

included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 as well as in some other bibliographical records, but none of the extant Qing bibliographies mentions the latter. In fact, the two books of the latter group were unknown to us until surviving copies of them were discovered in 1956 in Xi'an.²

Songfengge Qinpu (Songfengge)

Songfengge consists of 11 pieces, some with songtexts, some without.³ The *qinpu* specifies the name of the person who “composed or transmitted” (*chuan* 傳) each piece. From this information, we know that most of the pieces were composed during the late Ming and early Qing periods, and some of them were either composed or transmitted with an edition by Cheng Xiong’s *qin* teacher, Han Jiang 韓昺 (courtesy name Shigeng 石耕, c. 1615-c. 1667). The *qinpu* is prefaced by Qi Zhijia 祁豸佳 (c. 1595-c. 1680), Gong Mengren 宮夢仁 (1623-1713, *jinshi* 1673), and Cheng Xiong himself (preface dated 1677). It also includes two postfaces by Li Ying 李穎 (c. 1600-c. 1680) and Wang Lian 汪濂 (Cheng Xiong’s uncle, c. 1608- c. 1680).

² Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” QQJC, vol. 12, 5.

³ The table of content shows that it is supposed to have 13 pieces, but because two of them were removed from the final print for unknown reasons, their titles were scraped off from the block, leaving only the names of the authors (Guo Chuwang 郭楚望 and He Jinming 何進明) on the content page. QQJC, vol. 12, 294.

Shuhuai Cao

As a supplement to *Songfengge*, *Shuhuai cao* is a collection of 37 *qin* songs.⁴ The songtexts were *ci*-poems written by various literary men for Cheng Xiong as a gift, which Cheng Xiong then set to music. The writers of the songtexts were cultural elites and scholar-officials who had seen Cheng's *qin* performance, and some of them were the most accomplished literary writers of the time, including Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709), Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711), and Gu Zhenguan 顧貞觀 (1637-1714). *Shuhuai cao* contains Cheng Xiong's own preface and another preface by Wei Xi 魏禧 (1624-1681, preface dated 1680), also a famous literary writer of the time, as well as two

⁴ This is the number that we find in the extant version of *Shuhuai cao*. However, the annotation in *Siku quanshu* writes that *Shuhuai cao* includes over forty songs. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) et al., *Siku quanshu yanjiusuo* 四庫全書研究所 ed., *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu (zhengliben)* 欽定四庫全書總目(整理本), *juan* 113 (*zibu* 子部 23), 1506-1507. This number in *Siku quanshu* likely comes from Cheng Xiong's preface to *Shuhuai cao*, in which Cheng writes that he composed over forty songs to make this current collection. See Cheng Xiong's preface in QQJC, vol. 12, 341. Meanwhile, the postface to *Shuhuai cao* by Zheng Langu states that the collection consists of thirty songs. See Zheng's postface in QQJC, vol. 12, 371. My speculation is that Cheng Xiong probably composed over forty songs but eventually published thirty-seven of them, which has resulted in the different counts between Cheng's preface, Zheng's postface, and the actual number that we find in the book.

postfaces by Zheng Langu 鄭蘭谷 (fl. 1680s) and Li Xiao 李曉 (courtesy name Yinqing 寅清, fl. 1680s). According to Zheng Langu, he first met Cheng Xiong in the spring of 1682, and had been learning *qin* playing from Cheng for over a year (*nianyu* 年餘) by the time he wrote the postface.⁵ Hence, we can deduce that the publication of *Shuhuai cao* and *Songfengge* was after 1683.

Songfengge Qin Se Pu (Qinsepu)

Qinsepu shows many similarities with *Songfengge*. Most pieces in *Qinsepu* are the same as *Songfengge*. *Qinsepu* also contains the prefaces by Qi Zhijia and Gong Mengren as well as the postfaces by Li Ying and Wang Lian. The content and handwriting styles of these writings are almost identical to those in *Songfengge*, but the differences in carving details affirm that *Qinsepu* is a re-carved edition of *Songfengge*. The table of the content begins with two lines stating that the book was proofread by Gong Mengren and re-carved by Zhou Zaidu. The first line on Gong's proofreading also appears in *Songfengge*, but the second line on Zhou's re-carving is added here in *Qinsepu*.⁶

Some differences between *Qinsepu* and *Songfengge* are apparent. First, *Qinsepu* has the word “se” 瑟 in its title because it contains a *se* piece called “Daya” 大雅.

⁵ See Zheng's postface in QQJC, vol. 12, 371.

⁶ QQJC, vol. 12, 403. As we already know, Gong Mengren was one of the preface writers. Moreover, both Gong Mengren and Zhou Zaidu wrote songtexts for Cheng Xiong that had been included in *Shuhuai cao*.

Perhaps to pair with this *se* piece, *Qinsepu* also includes a *qin* piece entitled “Daya,” which is not in *Songfengge*, although the music of the two pieces has no apparent relation to each other. Second, while *Qinsepu* re-uses the prefaces and postfaces to *Songfengge*, it removes Cheng Xiong’s preface. This is likely because *Qinsepu* includes three *qin* songs by Cheng Xiong in addition to the *Songfengge* repertoire, which is another important difference between *Qinsepu* and *Songfengge*. These three songs, the music and the songtexts of which were all composed by Cheng Xiong, are entitled “Jiuhuan cao” 九還操, “Songfeng yin” 松風引, and “Shuhuai yin” 抒懷吟. Cheng Xiong writes about himself in the three songs, which I will further discuss in later sections. In terms of the songtext, “Jiuhuan cao” is written in a style that imitates Qu Yuan’s “Lisao” 離騷, whereas “Shuhuai yin” is a long heptasyllabic poem. Most strikingly, the songtext of “Songfeng yin” is a preface that ends with the following line: “This is the preface” (“Shi wei xu” 是為序). Because most of the content of “Songfeng yin” overlaps with Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Songfengge*, it explains why *Qinsepu* leaves out that preface. However, the songtext of “Songfeng yin” is not exactly the same as Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Songfengge*. I suspect that it comes from his preface to “Wusongtang ji” 五松堂集, a collection of Cheng Xiong’s five books in five different fields.⁷ We know little about this “Wusongtang ji” as it failed to survive. Today, we only find this title in *Qinsepu* (the title “Wusongtang ji” is sometimes written as “Wusong ji”). In fact,

⁷ See the songtext of “Songfeng yin” in *Qinsepu*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 423.

Qinsepu is supposed to be one of the five books of “Wusongtang ji,” and it offers a long list of the people who participated in the editing of the “Wusongtang ji.” Many of these people were also songtext writers for Cheng Xiong. Unfortunately, none of the other four books survived, nor were any of them recorded in extant bibliographies and catalogs.⁸

Why are the three autobiographical songs only included in *Qinsepu*, but not in *Songfengge*? Zha Fuxi speculates that Cheng Xiong might have found it inappropriate to include these songs in his own publication because the tone of the songtexts can sound “arrogant and boastful.”⁹ Zha thinks it would be more acceptable for another person like Zhou Zaidu to include these songs in a re-carved edition, perhaps after Cheng Xiong died.¹⁰ I am not convinced by Zha’s explanation. We do not know when Cheng Xiong died, but the songtext of “Songfeng yin” suggests that Cheng Xiong was already planning on the publication of the re-carved edition when he was alive. I think that the three songs were not included in *Songfengge* for the simple reason that Cheng Xiong had not yet composed them when *Songfengge* was put to print.¹¹

⁸ Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” in QQJC, vol. 12, 5.

⁹ Zha Fuxi, “Juben tiyao,” in QQJC, vol. 12, 5.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ One evidence is that the songtext of “Songfeng yin” mentions *Qinsepu* and *Songshengcao*, which indicates that Cheng Xiong was planning on these re-carved editions when he wrote the song. Another evidence is that “Shuhuai yin” was written after Cheng Xiong turned fifty when many of the songtext writers were dead, and Cheng Xiong expresses

Songsheng Cao

An expanded edition of *Shuhuai cao*, *Songsheng cao* is also a collection of Cheng Xiong's *qin* songs that use his friends' "gift *ci*-poems" (*zengci* 贈詞) as songtexts, but the number of the songs has increased to forty-five. According to Zha Fuxi's calculation, which I have verified, these forty-five songs include fifteen that are identical to those in *Shuhuai cao*, nine with unchanged songtexts but a different version of music, and twenty-one new songs that are not found in *Shuhuai cao*. That is to say, for unknown reasons, thirteen of the thirty-seven songs in *Shuhuai cao* were left out in *Songsheng cao*.

Like *Shuhuai cao*, *Songsheng cao* also includes prefaces by Cheng Xiong and Wei Xi, as well as a postface by Zheng Langu (Li Xiao's postface to *Shuhuai cao* does not appear in *Songsheng cao*). These three pieces of writing are largely similar to those in *Shuhuai cao*, but they also show some obvious modifications, especially the two prefaces.¹²

his sorrow in the songtext. This information is not seen in *Songfengge* and *Shuhuai cao*.

"Shuhuai yin" also mentions the death of Cheng Xiong's wife, which corresponds to a few songs in *Songsheng cao*, as Cheng Xiong's friends wrote the songtexts to express their condolences. These songs are not included in *Shuhuai cao*. In sum, I am inclined to believe that Cheng Xiong's three autobiographical songs in *Qinsepu* were composed after the publication of *Songfengge* (and *Shuhuai cao*), and perhaps he even composed these songs particularly for the re-carved edition (i.e. *Qinsepu* and *Songsheng cao*).

¹² In particular, Wei Xi's preface to *Songsheng cao* is much longer than the *Shuhuai cao*

Cheng Xiong's Life Path

“To Become Renowned for Something Distinctive”

Cheng Xiong claimed that he was a fifty-fourth-generation descendent of the Duke of Zhongyou (Zhongyou gong 忠祐公, i.e. 程元譚, 245-322) of Xin'an 新安 (in modern Anhui province), and his family was originally from Xiuning 休寧 (a subdistrict of the ancient Xin'an).¹³ Cheng Xiong himself grew up in Wanping 宛平 (a suburb of

version. It writes more about Cheng Xiong's accomplishments in other fields such as Confucian and Daoist learning, literary writing, and statecraft learning. Also, the account of his meeting with Cheng Xiong in Huqiu 虎丘 has also changed. In the *Songsheng cao* version, Wei Xi found Cheng Xiong playing the gift-poem songs at a gathering with some other old friends, whereas in the *Shuhuai cao* version, Cheng Xiong alone came to visit Wei Xi and played gift-poem songs for him. It is peculiar that Wei Xi's preface differs in the two books. To our knowledge, Wei Xi should have been dead when *Shuhuai cao* was put in print, whereas *Songsheng cao* as a re-carved edition came out even later than *Shuhuai cao*. Hence, it seems unlikely that Wei Xi had the chance to write a different preface to *Songsheng cao*. Given that the two prefaces in *Songsheng cao* are carved in standard font instead of the original handwriting style in *Shuhuai cao*, it is possible that Wei Xi's preface was later edited by someone else.

¹³ See Cheng Xiong's preface to *Songfengge*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 286, and the annotation in *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu*, juan 113, 1506-1507.

modern Beijing).¹⁴ His preface to *Shuhuai cao* begins with his early experience: “As I grew up in the north, I loved horseback riding, archery, and fencing. [With these skills] I hoped to become useful to the world, but my goal was not fulfilled. So, I gave them up and learned to play the *qin*.”¹⁵ Cheng Xiong’s hope of becoming useful with martial skills may be considered against the turmoil of dynastic transition in his early years, but it is unknown to us whether he ever served in the military. Also for some unknown reason, he kept himself away from officialdom even though Wei Xi’s preface to *Songsheng cao* speaks highly of his talents for literature, Neo-Confucian scholarship, and statecraft learnings.¹⁶ Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Songfengge* states that he was “depressed about not being able to fulfill his ambition for twenty years since he lived in retirement (*qiongju* 窮

¹⁴ See Wei Xi’s preface to *Songsheng cao*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 373. This place is also referred to as Yanshan 燕山 in *Shuhuai cao* and as Beiping 北平 on the front page of *Songsheng cao*.

¹⁵ 幼居北，喜騎射擊劍，冀為世用，不果，遂棄而學琴。QQJC, vol. 12, 341. His preface to *Songsheng cao* begins with a similar line (余北人，耽騎射擊劍，冀為世用，不果，遂棄而學韓石耕先生之琴), *ibid.*, 374.

¹⁶ “He enjoys the poetry of the Six Dynasties, and the essays of Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu. His learning of the Principles follows the Cheng brothers, and his learning of state management is like Guo Ziyi.” 詩喜六朝，文樂韓歐，理學宗伊洛，經濟似子儀。QQJC, vol. 12, 373.

居),” which implies that he lived in retirement by choice.¹⁷ No record suggests that he participated in civil service examinations or took any office.

Cheng Xiong’s ambition, as he points out in different writings, was to be “known to the world” (*mingshi* 名世, *mingshi* 鳴世, *mingshi* 命世, *xianming tianxia* 顯名天下). He was upset at one point as neither the military nor the political path worked for him. Looking into history, he found that, “besides state governing, people of the ancient time who were out of office all made themselves known to the world for their distinctive talents.”¹⁸ Examples of these ancient people that Cheng Xiong refers to include Chisong 赤松 and Huangshi 黃石 for achieving Daoist immortality, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (c. 179-117 BCE) and Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE) for prose writing, Wang Wei 王維 (699-761) and Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107) for painting and calligraphy, Li Bai 李白 (701-762) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) for poetry, Liu Ling 劉伶 (c. 221-300) for wine drinking,

¹⁷ QQJC, vol. 12, 285.

¹⁸ 古人經濟之外，其在下者莫不挾所異以名世, in Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Songfengge*. QQJC, vol. 12, 285. A similar line can be found in his song “Songfeng yin,” which writes, “people of the ancient time, besides state governing, all made themselves known to the world for something distinctive.” 古人經濟外，莫不以異名世。Ibid., 422.

Bian Que 扁鵲 (c. 407-c. 310 BCE) for medical skills, Guo Jie 郭解 (fl. 2nd century BCE) for the spirit of knight-errantry, and so on.¹⁹

Hoping to leave a reputation like those ancient people, Cheng Xiong was determined to develop his own distinctive talent, and he chose *qin* playing. Cheng Xiong used to learn to play the *qin* from Han Jiang, a famous *qin* master of the late Ming and early Qing period.²⁰ Did Cheng Xiong learn *qin* playing first and then decided to pursue a reputation with this skill, or the other way around? Cheng Xiong writes in his preface to *Songfengge*: “I thought: Master Han Shigeng had taught me a few pieces, whereas in the past Xi Kang became unsurpassable for his ‘Guangling san,’ and a few people from the past to the present have been learning and transmitting it. Could it be possible that I also use this to become famous?”²¹ Judging from this statement, in all likelihood, Cheng Xiong already knew how to play the *qin* before he thought about turning it into a career.²²

Cheng Xiong’s hope of becoming known to the world is a contrast to Yang Biao Zheng’s attitude toward fame. Both Yang and Cheng tried to find a life path outside

¹⁹ QQJC, vol. 12, 285 and 422.

²⁰ For more about Han Jiang, see Xu Jian, *Qinshi xinbian*, 264.

²¹ QQJC, vol. 12, 285.

²² Cheng Xiong’s uncle Wang Lian was a *qin* player, too. In *Songfengge* there is a piece called “Chunshan ting dujuan” 春山聽杜鵑 which the *qinpu* says was a joint composition (*tongpu* 全譜) by Wang Lian and Zhuang Zhenfeng 莊臻鳳 (fl. 1624-1667). QQJC, vol. 12, 333.

of officialdom to become a great person. Whereas Yang considered it a virtue to enjoy a retired life in the mountains without worrying about fame, Cheng Xiong openly expressed his ambition for making his name known to everyone under heaven. By listing many “ancient people” (*guren*) as his exemplars, Cheng Xiong aimed to show that his pursuit was legitimate and that he was emulating the great men in history. He also made it clear that in pursuing fame, he was not acting vaingloriously but to “become useful to the world.”

Travel and Socialize as A *Qin* Player

To be “useful to the world” requires that one’s talent be recognized and needed by others. Cheng Xiong soon realized that what prevented him from becoming renowned for *qin* playing was the lack of *zhiyin*. He writes: “I got to know Master Han Shigeng who transmitted his most profound learnings [of *qin* playing] to me, with which I hoped to become known to the world, yet in this world a *zhiyin* like Ziqi is rare. Alas! Many people love the ‘new sounds’ (*xinsheng*) while few enjoyed ‘ancient music’ (*guyue*). Confucius said: ‘people who choose different ways cannot work together.’ This is true indeed.”²³ Cheng Xiong apparently thought that his music represented the correct way of “ancient music,” and he must look for those who could appreciate it. As a result, Cheng

²³ 遇韓石耕夫子，傳其玄奧，欲以命世，而世鮮子期。噫！喜新聲者多，好古樂者鮮。子曰：道不同，不相為謀。信與！ See Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Shuhuai cao*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 341.

Xiong went on *zhiyin*-seeking trips like Yang Biao Zheng in spite of their different attitudes toward fame.

Cheng Xiong's travel started from his home in the suburb of Beijing, and, by the time he wrote "Songfeng yin," he had been to most provinces of the country except for some southern and southwestern areas ("Yun, Gui, Chuan, Guang" 雲貴川廣).²⁴ His rich travel experiences "refreshed his mind and broadened his horizon" and allowed him to socialize with "the famous and great gentlemen of the country, along with the transcendent hermits."²⁵ During the social encounters in his travel, Cheng Xiong received dozens of "gift *ci*-poems," which he turned into two collections of *qin* songs.

The gift poems and some other writings included in his *qinpu* tell us how Cheng Xiong musicked with the writers and came to be appreciated by them. In some cases, he called on someone at his residence and played a few songs for the host.²⁶ In other cases, he was invited to a banquet or gathering and impressed the guests with his *qin* performance then.²⁷ His performance at these gatherings had also attracted prospective *qin* learners. Zheng Langu, who wrote a postface to *Shuhuai cao*, was inspired after

²⁴ QQJC, vol. 12, 424.

²⁵ 滌其胸襟，廣其耳目，所接皆海內名公偉人及林泉高蹈之士。QQJC, vol. 12, 285-286.

²⁶ For example, see Wang Shizhen's "Yujia'ao" 漁家傲, in QQJC, vol. 12, 352, and Sun Yanhuai's 孫燕懷 "Dianjiangchun" 點絳脣, *ibid.*, 358.

²⁷ See Bi Jiyou's 畢際有 "Linjiangxian" 臨江仙, in QQJC, vol. 12, 370.

watching Cheng Xiong performed at a friend's residence and proceeded to learn to play the *qin* from him.²⁸

Those among his audience who liked his performance all considered Cheng Xiong an unusual person who truly knew “ancient music.” Zheng Langu wrote that he had been interested in *qin* playing since a young age, but did not come across a good teacher until he met Cheng Xiong.²⁹ Li Ying made a similar remark in his postface to *Songfengge*. Li had long been regretful that he was born too late to meet the great people of the ancient time. To him, hearing Cheng Xiong's music was like “ascending the hall of King Shun and entering the room of Duke of Zhou.”³⁰ Zhang Taizhu 張台柱 (fl. 1674-1692) tells Cheng Xiong in a gift poem that “only you can be a successor of the ancient worthy (*qianxian* 前賢)” like Chenglian 成連, a *qin* master who was said to have transmitted his music to Boya.³¹ Writers of these gift poems also compared Cheng Xiong with different *qianxian* besides Chenglian, including Zhuangzi, Qu Yuan, Ruan Ji, and Xi Kang.

The writers' comparing Cheng Xiong with those ancient cultural icons imply that, in their eyes, Cheng Xiong's achievements are not limited to the realm of music. Indeed, Cheng Xiong's social network also helped him gain recognition for his work in other

²⁸ QQJC, vol. 12, 371.

²⁹ QQJC, vol. 12, 371.

³⁰ 如升虞舜之堂，如入周公之室。QQJC, vol. 12, 337.

³¹ See Zhang Taizhu's 張台柱 “Zuiweng cao” 醉翁操, in QQJC, vol. 12, 347.

areas. Once he convinced his listeners of his mastery of “ancient music,” he would then have a better chance to impress them—even the most prominent literati of the time—with his scholarship and literary writing. As a result, Cheng Xiong was able to complete and publish his *Wusongtang ji*, a collection of five books, each representing Cheng Xiong’s work in a field. Ninety-five people are honored in *Qinsepu* (one of the five books) for contributing to (*can ding* 參訂, “participated in editing”) the *Wusongtang ji* project.³² Many of these people were connected with Cheng Xiong during his journey of *zhiyin* seeking and wrote him gift poems. According to Cheng Xiong, the other four books of the *Wusongtang ji* include his essays (entitled *Songjian gao* 松間稿), poems (entitled *Songtao shi* 松濤詩), works on Daoist longevity (entitled *Songling ji* 松齡集), and works on fortune telling (entitled *Bushi lue* 卜筮略).³³

Since the four books did not survive, we cannot say much about Cheng Xiong’s accomplishment in other areas. However, many of his friends spoke highly of his scholarship. One example is Wei Xi’s preface to *Songsheng cao*, as shown earlier. One of the gift poems states that Cheng Xiong is a descendent of the prominent Neo-Confucian scholar, Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), and it argues: “His knowledge of the Way is rich—

³² See the name list in QQJC, vol. 12, 403.

³³ Information about *Wusongtang ji* is found in the songtext of “Songfeng yin.” Cheng Xiong calls it *Wusong ji* instead of *Wusongtang ji* in this song. QQJC, vol. 12, 423-424.

no wonder he looks like an immortal on the outside.”³⁴ Cheng Xiong’s literary writing also received very positive comments. For example, Wang Shizhen praised for Cheng Xiong’s songtext for “Songfeng yin”: “The writing is powerful, the energy and force are boundless. Centering around just one word—‘fame’ (*ming*), the writing flows freely with twists and turns all the way to the end...If we put this piece of writing in a former-generation writer’s anthology, it will be very hard to tell which is better.”³⁵ This is a high praise coming from Wang Shizhen, one of the greatest literary writers of the early Qing, even though a modern reader like Zha Fuxi would perhaps find Cheng Xiong’s songtext to be nothing more than an excessive boast.

The *Zhiyin*’s Justification of Cheng Xiong

For a modern reader, Cheng Xiong might seem self-important and desperate for fame. In the eyes of his friends, however, Cheng Xiong was nothing short of a virtuous person worthy of their admiration and friendship. Why did they have a positive opinion

³⁴ 人本是苗裔伊川，道丰爭怪先骨。Tang Menglai’s 唐夢賚 “Wannianhuan” 萬年歡，in QQJC, vol. 12, 343. It is questionable if Cheng Xiong was in fact a descendent of Cheng Yi, as none of Cheng Xiong’s surviving writings mentions this connection. It seems to me that the songtext writer wrote this line as a form of praise, not a matter of fact.

³⁵ 筆力矯健，氣勢浩瀚，只一”名”字，縱橫跌宕到底……置之先輩集中，斷難分列伯仲。in QQJC, vol. 12, 424.

of Cheng Xiong's social activities and writings? The reasons, I find, are largely associated with *qin* musiking and song making.

1) The Three Autobiographical Songs

“Songfeng yin”

Cheng Xiong's three songs in *Qinsepu* all received very positive comments from his friends. In the above case of “Songfeng yin,” Wang Shizhen speaks highly of the literary value of the songtext. He continues to comment that the music of the song is “like the songtext” (*ru wen* 如文), and compares the music to “Guangling san” 廣陵散, a legendary *qin* piece that Xi Kang was famous for.³⁶ Since Xi Kang is representative of the unrestrained and eccentric literati of the Wei-Jin periods (220-420), the self-important tone in Cheng Xiong's song may seem justifiable and perhaps even admirable.

“Shuhuai yin”

Cheng Xiong's desire for fame and success expressed in “Shuhuai yin” was also approved by a friend who compared “Shuhuai yin” to another ancient song, “Liangfu yin” 梁父吟. “Shuhuai yin” begins with Cheng Xiong's lament that he has not achieved much while half of his life has passed, but the following lines soon shift to a determined tone: “Although I am old, my ambition never wanes. If I do not become successful today, I still have tomorrow.”³⁷ Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1714), a famous scholar-official of the

³⁶ QQJC, vol. 12, 424. However, Wang's comment does not explain how the music is “like the songtext.”

³⁷ 我雖老矣志未歇，今日不達有明日。QQJC, vol. 12, 428.

Kangxi reign, wrote a comment on this song in 1687 when he was serving as the Surveillance Commissioner of Shandong Province.³⁸ His comment compares this song with Zhuge Liang's singing "Liangfu yin."³⁹ According to the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, Zhuge Liang liked to sing "Liangfu yin" when he was still living in seclusion, before he became the chancellor of the Shu (221-263).⁴⁰ Since then, singing "Liangfu yin" became a literary metaphor for a talented person's ambition of serving the state. While Zhuge Liang's song did not survive, Song Luo wrote that, through Cheng Xiong's song, he could imagine Zhuge Liang singing "Liangfu yin" in the field, his arms around the knees.

Cheng Xiong's imagination of what he calls "success" (*da* 達) is revealed at the ending of his "Shuhuai yin." In the last few lines, as quoted below, he imagines himself holding a position at the imperial court and enjoying a posthumous reputation. This image of Cheng Xiong as a great official may have inspired Song Luo's comparison of him to Zhuge Liang.

One day I will put on purple clothes
made of silk,

一朝得著紫羅裳

My name widely spread as I soar
above the Heaven Pond.

天池奮翼名姓彰

³⁸ See Song Luo's comment on "Shuhuai yin," in QQJC, vol. 12, 430. For a chronological biography of Song Luo, see his *Mantang nianpu* 漫堂年譜.

³⁹ 其諸葛武侯，抱膝而吟梁父。QQJC, vol. 12, 430.

⁴⁰ Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297), *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, 911.

Everybody will know this Master
Songling,

人人知有松齡子

Who gallops his horse freely,
passing along the palace way.

長揚走馬過宮廊

Who is the Scholar Ouyang of our
time?

當今誰是歐學士

Please, write for me an “Account of
the Daytime Brocade Hall” with
your colored brush.⁴¹

彩筆為余記錦堂

The “Account of the Daytime Brocade Hall” is written by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) to a Grand Councilor (*da chengxiang* 大丞相). The expression “daytime brocade” refers to one’s success (in general, seen as the attainment of wealth and high rank) displayed to everyone, yet Ouyang Xiu’s essay argues that the Grand Councilor’s success is manifested not just in wealth and high rank, but in his contribution to the country and virtues that would influence the people.⁴² Cheng Xiong’s wish as expressed in “Shuhuai yin” was not a complete daydream, however. Although he did not have a chance to serve as a high-ranking official, he succeeded in having the best scholars of the time write for him.

“Jiuhuan cao”

⁴¹ QQJC, vol. 12, 429-430.

⁴² Ouyang Xiu, “Xiangzhou Zhoujin Tang ji” 相州晝錦堂記, in *Ouyang Xiu shiwen ji jiaojian* 歐陽修詩文集校箋, 1037-1039.

Among the three songs, “Jiuhuan cao” perhaps has the proudest tone. Imitating Qu Yuan’s “Lisao” 离骚, Cheng Xiong wrote about his life by using mythical elements borrowed from the legends of ancient heroes, as one can tell immediately from the beginning lines:

The Chengs were descendants of Xuanyuan, the Yellow Emperor,	程氏迺軒轅苗裔兮
Originated from the Mount Kongtong.	生于崆峒
My mother was influenced by the movements of Purple Vapors	我母感紫氣震動兮
Thirteen months pregnant but felt nothing in her abdomen.	懷十有三月腹覺空
[During her pregnancy] the room was surrounded by the fragrance of orchids and musk for an entire month.	蘭麝繞室兮彌月方終
She gave birth to me in a blink, and I was born with scarlet eyes and green pupils. ⁴³	生時不瞬兮絳目綠瞳

In Chinese historical accounts, unusual pregnancy and birth are often associated with legendary heroes and rulers. In this song, Cheng Xiong not only creates for himself a mythical birth like those of legendary figures, but even refers to his father as “King father” (*wangfu* 王父) in a line about his receiving the name “Xiong.”⁴⁴

⁴³ QQJC, vol. 12, 409.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

On the surface, these lines in “Jiuhuan cao” may sound like an inept attempt at self-deification. However, Wang Shizhen would argue that “Jiuhuan cao” deserves its audience’s serious attention and admiration. Wang commented on the song: “The style of the writing is like ‘Lisao.’ The song is rooted in filial piety and righteousness, and the music is also harmonious and peaceful. It resembles you.”⁴⁵ In Wang Shizhen’s opinion, the tone of the song is acceptable because it follows “Lisao,” a masterpiece of Chinese poetry. Based on the central meaning of the songtext and the characteristics of the music, Wang even considered this song an accurate reflection of who Cheng Xiong was in spite of it being highly imaginary.

2) Social Activities

In his friends’ eyes, Cheng Xiong’s active social life is not in conflict with the belief that a good *qin* player should be cautious about choosing his audience. Gong Mengren’s preface to *Songfengge* uses two anecdotes to support that Cheng Xiong would never musik with the non-*zhiyin*. One anecdote says that Cheng Xiong once refused to play at a wealthy person’s party and left immediately. In the other anecdote, a person from the same village as Cheng Xiong asked him to be his *qin* teacher by offering him a large sum of gold, but Cheng Xiong threw the gold away and scolded him for insulting the *qin*.⁴⁶ At the same time, we know that Cheng Xiong did play at some other people’s parties and serve as some other people’s *qin* teacher. Hence, people who musiked with

⁴⁵ 文體彷彿離騷，孝義為本，音復和平，與子相似。QQJC, vol. 12, 412.

⁴⁶ QQJC, vol. 12, 283.

Cheng Xiong would likely be convinced by these anecdotes that Cheng Xiong only played for them because he recognized them as his *zhiyin*.

Qi Zhijia's preface to *Songfengge* further discusses the issue of pursuing benefits. Qi expresses his disappointment that most people today are misled by their inclinations for "haste" (*zaoxin* 躁心), "presumptuousness" (*wangxin* 妄心), "benefits" (*lixin* 利心), and "desires" (*yuxin* 慾心). He argues that only the learning of the *qin* can help "dispel these worldly thoughts" (*shao qu chennian* 稍祛塵念), and that is why all the outstanding figures ever since Fuxi never neglect the importance of *qin* learning.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, he further opines that "when the heart-mind is just, the music is correct."⁴⁸ Based on Qi Zhijia's argument, as soon as Cheng Xiong's listeners approved his music, they should separate him from those with "worldly thoughts." They should even consider it necessary to make Cheng Xiong known to more people because his *qin* learning could help people manage their desires for worldly benefits. In Qi Zhijia's words, he believes that the publication of Cheng Xiong's *qinpu* would "make all the aspiring people in the country know the correct music from the scores and know the principles from the music," so as to help them rectify the heart-minds.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ QQJC, vol. 12, 281

⁴⁸ 心正其音韻正也。Ibid., 282.

⁴⁹ 使海內志士，按圖得音，按音得理，心何難正？意何難誠？Ibid., 282.

The Gift-poem Songs and Cheng Xiong's Musiking Network

The major records of Cheng Xiong's social activities that survive today are the songs in *Shuhuai cao* and *Songsheng cao*. These songs were made from the gift *ci*-poems that Cheng Xiong received from over fifty different writers. What are these poems like? How did Cheng Xiong collect them and why did he use them to make *qin* songs? How did these songs help Cheng Xiong develop his reputation? The rest of this chapter will look into these questions.

The Gift Poems

The gift poems are called *zengci* in Cheng Xiong's *qinpu* because all of them are *ci*-poems written under different *ci* titles (*cipai* 詞牌). Sometimes translated as "lyric poetry," *ci* as a poetic form originated from song lyrics of the Tang and Song dynasties. By Cheng Xiong's time, however, the original music of almost all the *ci* titles had been lost, and *ci* writing had become generally detached from music. For *ci* writers of the early Qing, each *ci* title mainly meant a set of prosodic patterns. Thus, unlike writers of the Tang and Song who would "fill in lyrics" (*tianci* 填詞) according to the music, Cheng Xiong's friends wrote down the poems first, according to which the music was composed later. Nonetheless, the expression "fill in lyrics" is still used in Cheng Xiong's *qinpu*, as the meaning of this expression had by then become "writing according to the prosodic patterns." Cheng Xiong's composition shows no intention to reconstruct the *ci* music of the Tang and Song periods. One piece of evidence is that he would write completely different tunes for poems under the same *ci* title.

The writers of the gift poems, as I noted earlier, include some prominent literati and scholar-officials of the early Qing. Some other writers are less known to us today as few historical records of them have survived. However, their names and works are arranged in no particular order in Cheng Xiong's song collections. The table of content of *Songsheng cao* clearly states that the songs are not arranged by the songwriters' official rank or native place (*jueli buxu* 爵里不序).⁵⁰

In terms of the content, almost all of the poems address Cheng Xiong's *qin* playing. In addition, they celebrate Cheng Xiong's personality and his friendship with the writer. These poems were mainly written for the purpose of socialization, and most of them have no clear indications of the background and occasion besides some general depiction of the natural or interior scenery. Nonetheless, there are two groups of poems in *Songsheng cao* written for specific occasions.

One group is written for Cheng Xiong and his wife's birthday celebration (*shuangshou* 雙壽, "double longevity") in early autumn. It consists of ten poems written by ten different people who were probably the guests invited to the birthday party. One of these poems writes: "The *Wusong* books have been completed, who can compete?/ After sixty years (*jiazi* 甲子), one should know that much is yet to come."⁵¹ Judging from these lines, the celebration was likely for Cheng Xiong's sixtieth.

⁵⁰ QQJC, vol. 12, 374.

⁵¹ 五松著就憑誰賽，甲子應知未艾。Ai Rulin 艾汝霖，"Qiuruixiang" 秋蕊香, in QQJC, vol. 12, 392.

The other group of poems, appearing at the end of the collection, are condolences offered to Cheng Xiong when his wife passed away. This group includes four or five poems by different writers.⁵² The first poem of this group as arranged in *Songsheng cao* was written by Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718), a descendent of Confucius who wrote the famous *Peach Blossom Fan*. If the “double longevity” poems were written at Cheng Xiong’s sixtieth, then the death of Cheng Xiong’s wife should be later than that.⁵³ The poems on “double longevity” and the wife’s death are only seen in *Songsheng cao*, which supports that *Songsheng cao* is a later edition of *Shuhuai cao*.

Some of the poems in *Shuhuai cao* show the writers’ awareness of the *Shuhuai cao* project, whereas some other poems were written before Cheng Xiong had developed the idea of turning the poems into songs (I will offer further explanations in the following sections). Thus, if we believe that *Songsheng cao* was a later edition, then the poems added in *Songsheng cao* should have been written in the expectation that they would be published as *qin* songs.

⁵² It is hard to tell whether the last poem of *Songsheng cao* also belongs to this group of condolence, as the content can be interpreted in different ways.

⁵³ No record shows that Cheng Xiong married more than once. Cheng Xiong also writes about the death of his wife in “Shuhuai yin,” but the songtext mentions only his fiftieth (*wushi yiguo* 五十已過 and *bansheng ranran* 半生冉冉) instead of the sixtieth. QQJC, vol. 12, 428 and 429.

Setting Poems to Music

Cheng Xiong's preface to *Shuhuai cao* explains how he started this project of setting the gift poems to *qin* music. According to the preface, in the winter of 1680, Cheng Xiong stayed at Cao Rong's 曹溶 (1613-1685, *jinshi* 1637) residence in Hangzhou, where he met Tang Menglai 唐夢賚 (1628-1698, *jinshi* 1649) and Fa Ruozhen 法若真 (1613-1696, *jinshi* 1646).

These three gentlemen said to me, "You, sir, are broad-minded and very similar to the ancient people. Since many scholars have written *ci* poems to depict your noble character, why don't you pair these poems with music, in the hope that hundreds of generations later, when people play these pieces on the strings, your virtuous conduct will manifest clearly as if you were in front of them. This is also a great pleasure." So, at that time, I wrote music for these poems using various modes and, altogether, there are forty songs. I named their collection "Shuhuai cao."⁵⁴

We do not have to treat Cheng Xiong's writing as a reliable account of what actually happened at that meeting, as there are discrepancies between the lines quoted above from *Shuhuai cao* and the account in *Songsheng cao*. In the preface to *Songsheng cao*, the time of the same event becomes 1679 instead of 1680, and a fourth person, Gao Heng 高珩 (1612-1697, *jinshi* 1643), is said to be also at the meeting in addition to the "three gentlemen" above.⁵⁵ In spite of these discrepancies, the idea of turning gift poems

⁵⁴ 三公語余曰：「君胸襟曠朗，大似古人。諸子贈詞，寫君高致，何不配譜？庶幾百世後，撫弦動操，而君之品行宛然若對，亦快事也。」於時協五音外調，共四十餘曲，名抒懷操。QQJC, vol. 12, 341.

⁵⁵ QQJC, vol. 12, 374.

into *qin* songs probably originated from some of Cheng Xiong's friends, or at least was supported by them. Also, three of the four people (Cao, Tang, and Gao) mentioned in the prefaces wrote gift poems that went into Cheng Xiong's song collections.

It was a common practice for educated people of this period to send gift poems in praise of each other. As products of socialization, many of these poems did not end up in a writer's anthologies and were not always treated with much seriousness. However, Cheng Xiong's friends thought that the gift poems would be worth transmitting if paired with Cheng Xiong's music. In their expectation, the form of *qin* song would allow Cheng Xiong's image in the poems to be successfully conveyed to people in the future.

His friends' (or Cheng Xiong's own) expectation for the songs foregrounds the cooperation between words and music, which may work in the following way. On the one hand, words become more reliable when paired with music: whereas gift poems are generally written in praise of the receiver, Cheng Xiong's music offers a testimony to the words of praise in the poems. On the other hand, Cheng Xiong's image as conveyed by his music becomes more tangible and precise through the poems' elaboration.

Indeed, Cheng Xiong's preface asks the readers to notice the correspondence between the music and the poems: "The music is sorrowful but strong, righteous and forceful, impassioned and energetic, similar to the feeling and underlying structure of the poems."⁵⁶ Cheng Xiong's comment on his music corresponds with his personal image presented in his *qinpu*. Words like "righteous and forceful" (*kangkai* 慷慨, *kangkai* 忼慨,

⁵⁶ 其音悲壯嗚咽，慷慨激厲，大率與詞之氣骨相近。QQJC, vol. 12, 341.

kai dang yi kang 慨當以慷) are often used by his friends to characterize Cheng Xiong's writing and personality, which is also in line with his early trainings in martial arts.⁵⁷ As a result, the song collections contribute to a coherent image of Cheng Xiong by uniting his music with different people's words that describe him.

Presenting Social Connections

Published as an attachment to *Songfengge*, the song collection *Shuhuai cao* can help readers of *Songfengge* know more about the *qinpu* compiler (the same can be said about *Songsheng cao*). In this regard, *Shuhuai cao* works similarly as the portrait and comments in Yang Biao Zheng's *qinpu*. Different from Yang Biao Zheng's case, however, Cheng Xiong's song collections put more emphasis on his friends and social network.

The songtexts and the identity of the writers are put in the foreground in both *Shuhuai cao* and *Songsheng cao*. In *Shuhuai cao*, the reader will find the songtext writer's name, courtesy name, and place of origin at the beginning of each song, then the complete songtext, and finally Cheng Xiong's music. Such an arrangement is different from most traditional *qinpu*. Firstly, most *qinpu* do not offer the complete information of the author's identity (including alternative names and the place of origin). Often enough, the reader will find only the name of the author in a less eye-catching place (usually in the small-font annotation attached to the piece), or no information on the authorship at

⁵⁷ See Wei Xi's preface to *Shuhuai cao*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 341, Li Zanyuan's 李贊元 "Xiaochongshan" 小重山 in *Songsheng cao*, *ibid.*, 381, and Song Luo's comment on "Shuhuai yin," *ibid.*, 430.

all. Secondly, in other *qinpu* that include songs, usually each word of the songtext and its corresponding musical symbols are arranged side by side. That is to say, the arrangement of the songtexts in most *qinpu* is dependent on the musical notations, even if the songtext is considered a great literary masterpiece. The songs in *Songfengge* and *Qinsepu*, which are not based on gift poems, are also notated in this conventional “side-by-side” manner. The songs that I discuss in previous chapters are all notated in this way. In contrast, *Shuhuai cao* and *Songsheng cao* allow readers to immediately notice the songtext writers, and to read the complete songtext firstly as a poem in itself without being distracted by the musical notation.

Songsheng cao further highlights Cheng Xiong’s social network by adding a table of content entitled “The Names of the Gift-poem Writers for *Songsheng cao*” (*Songsheng cao zengci xingshi mulu* 松聲操贈詞姓氏目錄).⁵⁸ As the title shows, the table of content in *Songsheng cao* focuses on the songtext writers. It lists each song’s musical mode, *ci* title, and the songtext writer’s name, along with the writer’s courtesy name and place of origin in small font. Compared to *Shuhuai cao*, the addition of the table of content in *Songsheng cao* clearly displays Cheng Xiong’s social connections with over forty people that he befriended and musiked with.

The arrangement of his song collections shows Cheng Xiong’s intention of preserving not only the gift-poem songs, but also his social accomplishments. The song collections present such a network in which Cheng Xiong is surrounded and admired by

⁵⁸ QQJC, vol. 12, 374-375.

many big names of the time. The presentation of this network was likely inspired by the celebrity culture emerged from the late Ming.⁵⁹ By presenting himself among his famous friends, Cheng Xiong could increase the chance for his own reputation to be widespread and to be passed down over time along with the names of his friends.

Immediate Uses of the Gift-poem Songs

Based on Cheng Xiong's preface to *Shuhuai cao* as I quoted earlier, he should have already collected a good number of gift poems through his social activities before 1680 (or 1679 according to the version in *Songsheng cao*). Other sources indicate that Cheng Xiong already made use of his gift-poem songs when musiking with other people before he completed the *Shuhuai cao* project. In other words, although the preface states that the main purpose of making the songs is to convey Cheng Xiong's personal image to future generations, the songs in fact began to play a role in Cheng Xiong's social activities as soon as the music was composed. Through the processes of composing, presenting, and performing these songs, Cheng Xiong maintained and expanded his *zhiyin* network, and attracted prospective songtext writers.

Zhu Yizun's songtext offers an example that Cheng Xiong used some gift-poem songs to solicit new songs for his collection. Zhu's poem/songtext is as follows.

Han Jiang has passed away,

韓昌逝矣

While I encountered his disciple in
short and thin clothes.

短布單衣逢弟子

⁵⁹ Ying Zhang, *Confucian Image Politics: Masculine Morality in Seventeenth-Century China*, 103.

The setting sun casts light back on
the Buddhist tower;

返照僧樓

We, with thin and white hair, talk
about the former companion.

白髮蕭蕭憶舊遊

The delicate *qin* scores

琴箋細譜

Present many songs, like the
“Flowing Water” and “High
Mountain.”

流水高山多樂府

Someday at the River Pass,

他日江關

I will also write a *ci* for you to play.⁶⁰

我亦填詞付汝彈

A prominent *ci* writer and scholar-official, Zhu Yizun started compiling *The History of the Ming* in the imperial Hanlin Academy from 1679, and the *ci* poem above should have been written later than that if we trust Cheng Xiong’s preface to *Shuhuai cao*.⁶¹ We do not know when and how Cheng Xiong and Zhu Yizun knew each other, but the poem indicates that they were in some way connected by Cheng Xiong’s *qin* teacher Han Jiang. The word “yuefu” in the latter half of the poem is conventionally used as an alternative way to refer to *ci* poems. The allusion to the “Flowing Water” and “High Mountain”—the two *qin* pieces that Boya plays and Ziqi identifies in the *zhiyin* story—is likely used as a praise of the friendship between Cheng Xiong and the other gift-poem writers, as well as of the perfect match between the gift poems and the music.

⁶⁰ Zhu Yizun, “Jianzi Mulanhua” 減字木蘭花, in both *Shuhuai cao* and *Songsheng cao*, in QQJC, vol. 12, 369 and 393.

⁶¹ For a chronicle bibliography of Zhu Yizun, see Zhang Zongyou 張宗友 comp., *Zhu Yizun nianpu* 朱彝尊年譜.

According to Zhu Yizun's poem, Cheng Xiong by then had already composed and noted down some gift-poem songs. Apparently, he had showed Zhu Yizun the musical scores with the songtexts and perhaps briefed Zhu about the background of the songs. He might even have performed a few pieces for Zhu. Having seen these co-authored songs, Zhu expressed his willingness to also write a *ci* for Cheng Xiong to make it a song. The last line of the poem plays a trick: while Zhu promises that he will write Cheng Xiong a *ci* someday in the future, he has in fact already finished one. By introducing his gift-poem songs to Zhu Yizun, Cheng Xiong seems to have achieved immediate success in expanding the *Shuhuai cao* collection.

Another song in *Shuhuai cao* indicates that its music and songtext were composed at the same occasion. The author of the songtext, Zan Ruzhi 簪茹芝 (courtesy name Yuanyan 元彦, fl. 1680-1695), wrote that he and Cheng Xiong were sitting together by a window facing the autumn river. The latter half of the *ci* poem begins with this line: "At this moment you and I, / are making one string for one word, / while accompanied by the flowing water."⁶² In Cheng Xiong's gift-poem songs, every word (i.e. character) of the songtext is paired with one pluck of the string. This style of song writing was traditionally referred to as "one sound for one word" (*yiyin yizi* 一音一字), "one string for one word" (*yixian yizi* 一弦一字), or "one word for one pluck" (*yizi yitan* 一字一彈). Thus, Zan Ruzhi's poem is likely writing about the moment when he and Cheng Xiong

⁶² 此時吾與爾，一絲一字，流水相將。Zan Ruzhi, "Xiaoxiang yeyu" 瀟湘夜雨, in QQJC, vol. 12, 384.

were working together on a song using this very poem as the songtext.⁶³ The line quoted above also tells us that the latter half of the poem is still in progress, to be finished by drawing inspiration from the musical communication between two *zhiyin* friends in a beautiful natural setting.

Some of the listeners of these gift-poem songs became the preface/postface writers for the publication of *Shuhuai cao*. In their views, these songs are more than words of praise from friends, but they reflect Cheng Xiong's expertise in "ancient music" and hence are worth sharing with a broader audience. Cheng Xiong's *qin* student Zheng Langu wrote: "One rainy day, we sat face-to-face by the window, and he [Cheng Xiong] showed me the musical scores that he wrote for the renowned gentlemen's gift poems. I played carefully according to the scores. The music is rectified and pure, going directly back to the very origin. Because he immerses himself so deeply in the ancient tunes, [the music] comes from his heart-mind, and whatever he acquires will not violate [the principle of ancient music]."⁶⁴ In Zheng's view, Cheng Xiong has internalized the principle of ancient music, and his compositions are a testimony to that. Different from Zheng Langu, Wei Xi did not know what the songs were when he listened to them for the first time, yet he had the same feeling as Zheng that the music "was not what one would

⁶³ This is Zan's only poem in *Shuhuai cao*.

⁶⁴ 一日雨窗對坐，執其所譜名人贈詞示余。按譜細彈，韻正音清，直追元始。其入於古調者深，是以發於心，得者不爽。QQJC, vol. 12, 371.

hear in the common world.”⁶⁵ After hearing from Cheng Xiong that the songs were composed based on gift poems, Wei Xi replied to him: “People of the past matched *shi* poems with music, and now you sir have paired *ci* poems with the Five Notes (i.e. music). You worked so deeply and carefully. How can you not transmit [these songs]?”⁶⁶ In Wei Xi’s eyes, matching poetry with music was an ancient practice, and Cheng Xiong’s ability to do so is proof of his knowledge of ancient music. Accordingly, to transmit these songs through print is to allow more people to benefit from Cheng Xiong’s expertise in ancient music.

Other Examples

Cheng Xiong and his friends were not the only ones who established and maintained *zhiyin* bondings through co-authoring *qin* songs during the late Ming and early Qing. The Chongzhen emperor, the last emperor of the Ming who was also a *qin* player, for example, wrote five songtexts (*qinwen* 琴文) and asked Yin Ye 尹曄 (courtesy name Ertao 爾韜, art name Zhixian 芝仙, c. 1606-c. 1683), a court musician, to set them to *qin* music. As Yin finished, the emperor found that the music matched the songtexts perfectly, especially when it came to words like “Hongfan” 洪範 (“The Great

⁶⁵ 非世俗之所聞者也. QQJC, vol. 12, 341.

⁶⁶ 昔人以詩合樂，今先生以詞配五音，而究心如此，豈不傳哉？ *ibid.*

Law”), “fenglei” 風雷 (“wind and thunder”), and “yuyang” 雨暘 (“rain and shine”).⁶⁷

With excitement, the emperor expressed his admiration for Yin by calling him a “transcendent” (*xian* 仙).⁶⁸ Another example is Zhuang Zhenfeng 莊臻鳳 (fl. 1624-1667), a *qin* player who came slightly earlier than Cheng Xiong. He had also worked with some renowned literary writers and scholar-officials to make *qin* songs. Different from Cheng Xiong, Zhuang composed the music first, and then asked people to write songtexts (*puci* 譜詞) after he had played the music for the prospective writers.⁶⁹

In fact, Zhuang Zhenfeng might have inspired Cheng Xiong’s social activities and musical works. Cheng Xiong’s uncle Wang Lian and *qin* teacher Han Jiang both befriended Zhuang Zhenfeng, and Cheng also included Zhuang’s fingering instructions in

⁶⁷ The emperor did not leave us any explanations on how the music matched those words.

⁶⁸ See Sun Qifeng 孫奇逢 (1584-1675), “Yin Zhixian zhuan” 尹芝仙傳, in Zhang Xianqing 張顯清 comp., *Sun Qifeng ji* 孫奇逢集, 775-776; Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696), “Yiqin ji” 御琴記, in his *Wengshan wenchao* 翁山文鈔, *juan* 2; and Xu Jian, *Qinshi xinbian*, 216. For more about Yin Ye, see Yan Xiaoxing 嚴曉星, “Guqin jia Yin Ertao shiliao jikao” 古琴家尹爾韜史料稽考.

⁶⁹ These songs include “Yaodao wen changsheng” 瑤島問長生, “Bagong huantong” 八公還童, and “Xuxu qu” 栩栩曲, in QQJC, vol. 12, 79-81, 94-97, and 111-113. An account of how Zhuang solicited songtexts from his friends can be found in the preface to “Bagong huantong,” written by the songtext writer himself, in QQJC, vol. 12, 93.

his *qinpu*. Zhuang socialized with a large number of literati, and collected gift poems from over a hundred of them. A collection of these poems, known as “Poems on Listening to the *Qin*” (“Tingqin shi” 聽琴詩), is attached to Zhuang’s *qinpu*. In the Table of Content of the collection, Zhuang writes that he is waiting for even more poems from “renowned gentlemen” (*minggong* 名公) to be published in future editions, with which he can achieve posthumous reputation (*buxiu* 不朽).⁷⁰ Both Zhuang Zhenfeng and Cheng Xiong spent some time in Hangzhou, and their social network overlapped. Some of the poem writers who had listened to Zhuang’s playing later also wrote gift poems to Cheng Xiong, which Cheng turned into *qin* songs.⁷¹ Cheng Xiong’s collecting, musicalizing, and publishing gift poems could have been directly influenced by Zhuang Zhengfeng’s network.

In sum, Cheng Xiong’s case exemplifies the social life of many *qin* practitioners of the Ming-Qing transitional period. For these people who cooperated in making *qin* songs, the significance of the songs lies largely in the process of making them, and the

⁷⁰ 並俟名公佳作，隨贈隨鐫，以借不朽。QQJC, vol. 12, 118.

⁷¹ These writers include Zhang Taizhu 張台柱 (fl. 17th cent. courtesy name Dizhong 砥中), Mao Xianshu 毛先舒 (1620-1688, courtesy name Zhihuang 稚黃), Xu Shijun 徐士俊 (fl. 17th cent. courtesy name Yejun 野君), Ding Peng 丁澎 (1622-c. 1696, courtesy name Feitao 飛濤), Wang Zhuo 王晔 (1636-?, courtesy name Danlu 丹麓), and Lu Jin 陸進 (fl. 17th cent. courtesy name Jinsi 薑思).

matching of the music and the songtext symbolizes the communication and understanding between the co-authors. Once the song is finished, it serves as an evidence that the co-authors have recognized each other's excellence and have assisted each other in pursuing "ancient music."

Conclusion

The *qin* practitioners discussed in the chapters above made various use of *qin* song to achieve their different goals in self-cultivation. People like Pan Shiquan who adapted Poems in the *Classic of Poetry* for *qin* music devoted themselves to continuing the sages' education through the Poem-songs; Yang Biao Zheng wanted to become one of the "sagacious and worthy" in *qin* history whose music communicated the abstruse wonderfulness of ethical, spiritual, and artistic beauty beyond worldly pursuits; the queen, Zhongshi, emulating the virtuous women and sage-kings in history, hoped to be emulated by later generations as an exemplar in regulating the family and the state; Cheng Xiong's ambition was to be known to the world as an excellent and useful person by developing his talent into an alternative to political and military paths. These people all learned from ancient exemplars, but their understandings about sagehood were different and specific to their individualities. In addition, although they all shared the view that the *qin* was the ancient sages' legacy, the ways that each of them used *qin* song in pursuing their life goals were different and creative. Their cases show that the general assumptions—that the *qin* represents the Music and that *qin* music is for self-cultivation—are not adequate for describing and understanding the significances of *qin* musicking in late imperial *qin* practitioners' spiritual and social lives.

In spite of the differences among these *qin* practitioners, they had a shared understanding that *zhiyin* recognition was the key to success in their musical activities and self-cultivating efforts. Admittedly, people like Yang Biao Zheng would often celebrate the loftiness of “rather playing in front of clear winds and bright moon if having encountered no *zhiyin*.” However, as I have noted in chapter 1, such an expression is perhaps a strategy in the Privilege Discourse that labels oneself as the “privileged” while trying to resolve the constant anxiety about finding more *zhiyin*, the anxiety that we have seen from many competing versions of “Guanju” and the three individual cases. Hence, we should revisit the currently widespread stereotype, namely, that traditional *qin* playing has primarily been a private and meditative activity for self-cultivation.¹ This stereotype is probably shaped by historical manifestations of the Privilege Discourse, yet it overlooks at the center of the Privilege Discourse the correlation between *junzi* and *zhiyin*. The correlation between *junzi* and *zhiyin* essentially requires *qin* practitioners to translate one’s moral achievements into the building of a community which allows one to make and extend one’s contribution. Under the Confucian orthodoxy, the idea of “self” for premodern Chinese was defined and realized in social relationships. Using the famous quote from Confucius, “The humane man, if he seeks to establish himself, will help to establish others, and if he seeks to succeed himself, will help others to succeed,” Wm. Theodore de Bary eloquently summarizes: “Reciprocity, then, becomes the basis of self-

¹ Bell Yung, “An Audience of One: The Private Music of the Chinese Literati.”

cultivation.”² It is from this perspective that we can understand the historical connection between *qin* music and self-cultivation more broadly and more in depth. This connection has been a social one, from the Classical theory of King Shun’s regulating the world through *qin* song to individual *qin* practitioners’ real-life practices, as we have seen in the chapters.

Concerns about communication were ubiquitous and crucial throughout the *qin* practitioners’ *zhiyin* seeking and sage becoming. Their concerns involved communications between different *qin* practitioners, between one and the Way, between one and the larger world, between ancient sages and people of the present and future. In this dissertation I have looked into communications at different levels, in different formats, and between different ends. As part of these different forms of communications, some *qin* practitioners’ self-expression and self-promotion are impressive. Studying other cultural fields, Martin Huang has noticed an increasing “burden of self-expression” in the late imperial period: “By the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries, all traditional avenues for self-expression were so conventionalized that they had become extremely burdensome. Consequently, the literati’s anxiety over self-image often resulted in self-stylization, highly stylized attempts at self-invention through careful manipulations of various personae in order to project the desired version of self.”³ He

² Wm. Theodore de Bary, “Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought,” 149.

³ Martin Huang, “Stylization and Invention: The Burden of Self-Expression in *The*

finds in the mid-Qing novel, *The Scholar* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史), the author Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 (1701-1754) implies his doubt about the validity of conventional language as an effective means for self-expression and even the possibility of any genuine self-expression.⁴ Ying Zhang's study also shows how issues of sincerity and authenticity influenced political negotiation and officials' image-making during the Ming-Qing transition.⁵ *Qin* practitioners of this period were no less concerned about the "burden of self-expression" and the question of sincerity. From various versions of "Guanju" to Cheng Xiong's attempt to become famous for "something unique," one might even regard their efforts as self-stylization. However, rather than trying to evaluate the genuineness of these *qin* practitioners' self-expressions, the more important question to me is: how did one's self-expression—as questionable as it may seem—actually win the trust and appreciation from other people, even from those whom one never met in person? This is the question that I have asked, and tried to answer, for each of my three individual cases. For Yang Biaozheng, Zhongshi, and Chengxiong, it was hard to gain recognition, as they themselves often complained, because *qin* practitioners of this time were very alert to people who tried to "deceive the world for fame" (*qishi haoming* 欺世

Scholars," 89.

⁴ Ibid., 106-107.

⁵ Zhang, *Confucian Image Politics*. She also notes in this book the importance of friendship and social networks for authenticating one's sincerity in the context of image politics.

好名), and their distrust of each other was a major reason for the dominance of the Privilege Discourse.

Hence for the *qin* practitioners, *zhiyin* are those who will justify their pursuit for reputation and will regard their self-promotion as moral. *Zhiyin* are also those who, by definition, appreciate their music. Therefore, unlike Wu Jingzi, the *qin* practitioners discussed in this project were still believers of genuine and effective self-expression as they believed in music. Even though music as the criterion for moral evaluation may seem extremely subjective and elusive, it actually offered many educated people a viable path to realizing the ideal self.

The *qin* practitioners' emphasis on the effectiveness of music as a communicative tool may also respond to challenges on other levels of communication besides self-expression. The quest for a more effective means of communication was at the center of many major intellectual debates during the Ming and Qing, as Confucian scholars and prominent thinkers were trying to comprehend, transmit, and realize the sages' teaching in the changing world. As I have shown, many late imperial *qin* songs, whether they are directly related to Confucian classics like "Guanju" or have other educational functions like Yang Biaozheng's "Chenqing biao" and Zhongshi's "Sincere Words," were attempts to utilize the power of music which in theory can transcend language and directly move the heart-mind.

Whereas *qin* practitioners' confidence in the communicative power of music encouraged the composition of songs as we have seen in Yang Biaozheng's case, it also gave support to those who favored instrumental *qin* pieces over songs, like in the case of

the non-lyrics “Guanju.” Cheng Xiong was perhaps one of the last people who were known for composing many *qin* songs. By the mid Qing, the opinion that *qin* music should be freed from lyrics to maximize its expressive power had become widely accepted.⁶ Thus in the last years of the Qing when Zha Fuxi started learning the *qin* from a *qin* song enthusiast, he would soon find that singing while playing was frowned upon by most other *qin* players he encountered.⁷ The gradual decline of *qin* song during the past three centuries probably indicates something more complex than a change of aesthetic taste,⁸ which requires further explorations. With the performance and culture of *qin* song attracting increasing attention in recent years,⁹ further studies on the history of

⁶ For example, *Deyintang qinpu* argues: “the music of the *qin*, flowing spontaneously, represents the pure harmony of the nature. Thus, it hates to be bound by lyrics; otherwise, the sounds become impure and their natural rise and fall become restrained.” 琴乃天真元韻，音出自然，不喜以文拘之。拘之則音雜，滯其高下抑揚。In QQJC, vol. 12, 447.

⁷ Zha, “Qinge bian,” 162.

⁸ Whereas some scholars have noticed a decline of *qin* song starting roughly from the late Ming, current explanations for this phenomenon are brief and mainly from the aesthetic perspective. Guo, “Guqin qinge de yishu tezheng: cong lishi zhong kan qinge yishu,” 180; Zhan, “Qinge de lishi yu xianzhuang,” 100; Xu, *Qinshi xinbian*, 214; and Fu Murong 傅暮蓉, “Qinge de chuancheng yu fazhan” 琴歌的傳承與發展, 21-22.

⁹ A brief introduction of contemporary *qin* song performance, education, innovation, and

qin song will offer valuable guidance on the future of this traditional art form while enriching our understanding of *qin* culture.

reception, see Wei Xiaoyuan 韋曉遠, “Dangdai qinge fazhan xianzhuang ji chuanbo duice fenxi” 當代琴歌發展現狀及傳播對策分析.

Bibliography

- Ames, Roger T. *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011.
- Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846). *Baishi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集. Siku quanshu huiyao edition.
- Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). *Baihu tong* 白虎通, Baojingtang congshu edition. Reprint. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968.
- . *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han). Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Barish, Daniel. “Empress Dowager Cixi’s Imperial Pedagogy: The School for Female Nobles and New Visions of Authority in Early Twentieth Century China”, *NAN NÜ* 20, no. 2 (2018): 256-284.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Berling, Judith. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Birch, Cyril. “Feng Meng-lung and the ‘Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo.’” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18, no. 1 (1956): 64–83.
- Bol, Peter K. *“This Culture of Ours”: Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- . “Chu Hsi’s Redefinition of Literati Learning.” In *Neo-Confucian Education*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, 151-185. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Brindley, Erica Fox. *Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013.
- Brokaw, Cynthia J. “On the History of the Book in China.” In *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, 3-54. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.
- . *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton university Press, 1991.
- . and Kai-wing Chow, eds. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Brook, Timothy. *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- Cai Mengbi 蔡夢弼 (fl. 1201-1204) ed. *Du Gongbu caotang shijian* 杜工部草堂詩箋. Guyi congshu edition.
- Cai Renhou 蔡仁厚. *Wang Yangming zhexue* 王陽明哲學. Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1974.
- Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-192). *Qincao* 琴操. *Siku quanshu* edition.
- Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226). “Yu Wu Zhi shu” 與吳質書. In Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp., *Wenxuan* 文選, annotated by Li Shan 李善 (630-689), 591-592. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1717-1763) and Gao E 高鶚 (1758-1815). *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982.
- Chai Shimin 柴世敏. “Dayin xisheng, tianchao guyun: lülun *Qinding Shijing yuepu quanshu*” 大音希聲，天朝古韻——略論《欽定詩經樂譜全書》. *Dazhong wenyi* 大眾文藝, no. 2 (2012): 14-16.
- Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297). *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (active 13th century) comp. *Xinbian zuantu zenglei qunshu leiyaoshi lin guangji* 新編纂圖增類群書類要事林廣記, Chunzhuang shuyuan edition. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.
- Chia, Lucille. “Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing.” In *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, 107-151. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.
- Chow, Kai-wing. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- . *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- . “Disclosure, Examination, and Local Elite: The Invention of the T’ung-ch’eng School in Ch’ing China.” In *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, 183-219. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Chu Yunxia 褚雲霞. “Cong guqin dao qingge” 從古琴到琴歌. *Yishu baijia* 藝術百家 3 (2003): 132-134.
- Clunas, Craig. *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991.
- . *Chinese Painting and Its Audiences*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Cook, Scott. “‘Yue Ji’ 樂記 —Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary.” *Asian Music* 26, no. 2 (1995): 1-96.
- Dai Wei 戴微. “Mingdai nüxing qinren shiliao zhi kaoding yu ruogan wenti yanjiu” 明代女性琴人史料之考訂與若干問題研究. *Yinyue yishu* 音樂藝術 3 (2013): 94-109.
- de Bary, Wm. Theodore. “Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought.” In *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, 145-247.
- ed. *Self and Society in Ming Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

- DeWoskin, Kenneth J. *A Song of One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1982.
- Ding, Naifei. *Obscene Scenes: Sexual Politics in Jin Ping Mei*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Ebrey, Patricia B. *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Elman, Benjamin A. *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- . *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984.
- Epstein, Maram. *Orthodox Passions: Narrating Filial Love during the High Qing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019.
- Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648) ed., *Jinshu* 晉書. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Fei, Faye Chunfang. *Chinese Theories of Theater and Performance from Confucius to the Present*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Finnane, Antonia. *Speaking of Yangzhou: a Chinese City, 1550-1850*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004.
- Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646). *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言. In *Guben xiaoshuo jicheng* 古本小說集成. Ed. Guben xiaoshuo jicheng bianweihui 古本小說集成編委會. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990.
- Fu Murong 傅暮蓉. “Qinge de chuancheng yu fazhan” 琴歌的傳承與發展. *Chinese Music* 中國音樂, no. 2 (2010): 19-26.
- Goh, Meow Hui. *Sound and Sight: Poetry and Courtier Culture in the Yongming Era (483-493)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Gu Meigeng 顧梅羹 (1899-1990). *Qinxue beiyao* 琴學備要. Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 2015.
- Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1041-1099) ed. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Collection of the Yuefu Songs). Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition. Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Guo, Qitao. *Ritual Opera and Mercantile Lineage: The Confucian Transformation of Popular Culture in Late Imperial Huizhou*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Guo Rong 郭榮. “Guqin qinge de yishu tezheng: cong lishi zhong kan qinge yishu” 古琴琴歌的藝術特徵——從歷史中看琴歌藝術. *Zhongguo yinyue* 中國音樂 (Chinese Music) 1 (2008): 176-180.
- Guoshi Guan 國史館 ed. *Qing shi gao* 清史稿校註. Taipei: Guoshi guan, 1990.
- Hanan, Patrick. *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- He, Yuming. *Home and the World: Editing the “Glorious Ming” in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013.

- Henry, Eric. "The Motif of Recognition in Early China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47 (1987): 5-30.
- Ho, Ping-ti. *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- Hsiao, Li-ling. *The Eternal Present of The Past: Illustration, Theatre, and Reading in the Wanli Period, 1573-1619*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Hu Guang 胡廣 (1370-1418) et al. comp. *Liji daquan* 禮記大全. Reprint. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1976.
- Huang, Martin ed. *Male Friendship in Ming China*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007.
- . "Stylization and Invention: The Burden of Self-Expression in *The Scholars*." In *Self as Image in Asian Theory and Practice*, edited by Roger T. Ames, Thomas P. Kasulis and Wimal Dissanayake, 89-112. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Hucker, Charles. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Idema, W. L. *Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period*. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) et al., Siku quanshu yanjiusuo 四庫全書研究所 ed. *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu (zhengliben)* 欽定四庫全書總目整理本. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.
- Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155-1221). *Baishi Daoren gequ* 白石道人歌曲. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1967.
- Jin Shengtān 金聖嘆 (1608-1661). *Jin Shengtān quanji*. Punctuated by Cao Fangren and Zhou Xishan. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1985.
- Johnson, David, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds. *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Keenan, Barry C. *Neo-Confucian Self-Cultivation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Keightley, David N. "Shang Divination and Metaphysics." *Philosophy East and West* 38, no. 4 (1988): 367-397.
- Kern, Martin. "A Note on the Authenticity and Ideology of Shih-chi 24, 'The Book on Music'." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119.4 (1999): 673-677.
- . "'Shijing' Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of 'Chu Ci' (Thorny Caltrop)." *Early China* 25 (2000): 49-111.
- Ko, Dorothy. *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- . *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- Kristjánsson, Kristján. "Emotions Targeting Moral Exemplarity: Making Sense of the Logical Geography of Admiration, Emulation and Elevation," *Theory and Research in Education* 15, no. 1 (2017): 20-37.
- Kutcher, Norman. "The Fifth Relationship: Dangerous Friendships in the Confucian Context," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1615-1629.

- Lam, Joseph S. C. "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China." In *Male Friendship in Ming China*, edited by Martin Huang, 70-110. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007.
- . "Eavesdropping on Zhang Xiaoxiang's Musical World in Early Southern Song China." In *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127-1279*, edited by Joseph S. C. Lam, Shuen-fu Lin, Christian de Pee, and Martin Powers, 25-54. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017.
- . "Ming Music and Ming History." *Ming Studies* 38, (1998): 21-62.
- . *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Lawergren, Bo. "Strings." In *Music in the Age of Confucius*, edited by Jenny F. So. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2000.
- Lee, Pauline. *Li Zhi: Confucianism and the Virtue of Desire*. New York: SUNY Press, 2012.
- Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447-1516) et al., eds. *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典. Reprint, Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1989.
- Li Le 李樂 (c.1534-c.1620). *Jianwen zaji* 見聞雜記. Reprint, Taipei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1977.
- Li Meiyan 李美燕. "Donggao Xinyue zhi qindao ji qi zichuang qinge yanjiu" 東皋心越之琴道及其自創琴歌研究. *Yishu pinglun* 藝術評論 21 (2011): 39-65.
- Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680). *Xianqing ouji* 閒情偶記. In *Zhongguo gudian xiqu lunzhu jicheng* 中國古典戲曲集成, edited by Zhongguo Xiqu Yanjiuyuan 中國戲曲研究院, vol. 7, 1-113. Beijing: Zhongguo xiqu chubanshe, 1980.
- Liang, David Ming-yueh. *The Chinese Ch'in: Its History and Music*. San Francisco: Chinese National Music Association, San Francisco Conservatory of Music, 1972.
- Lie Yukou 列禦寇 (ca. 450-375 BCE). *Liezi* 列子. Sikuquanshu edition.
- Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義. In *Shisanjing zhushu*.
- Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791-1855). *Lunyu Zhengyi* 論語正義. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957.
- Liu Fulin 劉富琳. "Mingdai qinjia Yang Biaozheng shengping kaoshu" 明代琴家楊表正生平考述, *Renmin yinyue* 人民音樂, no. 4 (2015), 53-55.
- Liu Minglan 劉明瀾. "Zhongguo gudai qinge de yishu tezheng" 中國古代琴歌的藝術特徵. *Yinyue yishu* (Art of Music), no. 2 (1989): 29-34 & 64.
- Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE.). *Xinxu* 新序. Sibugongkan edition.
- . *Shuoyuan* 說苑. Sibubeiyao edition. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-521). *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. Baibu congshu jicheng edition. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966.
- Lu Shulun 陸樹勳. *Feng Menglong yanjiu* 馮夢龍研究. Shanghai: Fudan Daxue chubanshe, 1987.
- Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (292-235 BCE.) comp. *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, edited by Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797). Jingxuntang congshu edition. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991.

- Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬. *Xiao zhi tianxia: Xiaojing yu jinshi Zhongguo de zhengzhi yu wenhua* 孝治天下:《孝經》與近世中國的政治與文化. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lianjing chubanshiye youxian gongsi, 2011.
- . *Yangming xue shiren shequn: lishi, sixiang, yu shijian* 陽明學士人社群: 歷史, 思想與實踐. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2003.
- Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323). *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考. Siku quanshu edition.
- Mann, Susan. "The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1600-1614.
- Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義. In *Shisanjing zhushu*.
- Meng Ke 孟軻 (c. 372-289 BCE). *Mengzi* 孟子. Siku quanshu edition.
- McDermott, Joseph Peter. A. "Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming." In Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, *Jinshi jiazhi yu zhengzhi bijiao lishi lunwenji* 近世家族與政治比較歷史論文集 (*Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*) vol. 1: 67-96. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1992.
- . *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006.
- Miles, Steven B. *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Ming shilu* 明實錄. Reprint, Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962.
- Mittag, Achim. "Change in Shijing Exegesis: Some Notes on the Rediscovery of the Musical Aspect of the 'Odes' in the Song Period." *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 79, Fasc. 4/5 (1993): 197-224.
- Naquin, Susan. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072). *Ouyang Xiu shiwen ji jiaojian* 歐陽修詩文集校箋, annotated by Hong Benjian 洪本健. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009.
- Owen, Stephen. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992.
- trans. *The Poetry of Du Fu*. Boston [Massachusetts]; Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Picard, Francois. "The Musical Avatars of a Buddhist Spell: Pu'an Zhou." *CHIME: Newsletter of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research* 3 (1991): 22-24.
- Qiu Qionsun 丘瓊蓀. *Baishi Daoren gequ tongkao* 白石道人歌曲通考. Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe, 1959.
- Qiu Shurong 裘樹榮 (fl. 1727) et al. *Yong'an xianzhi* 永安縣志. Yongzheng edition. In *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Fujian fuxianzhi ji* 中國地方志集成 (福建府縣志輯), vol. 39, 293-338. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2012.
- Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696). *Wengshan wenchao* 翁山文鈔. Reprint. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1948.

- Rawski, Evelyn S. "Economic and Social Foundations of Late Imperial Culture." In *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by David Johnson, Andrew Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski, 3-33.
- Rusk, Bruce. *Critics and Commentators: The Book of Poems as Classic and Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012.
- Shang Wei 商偉. *Li yu shiba shiji de wenhua zhuanzhe: Rulin waishi yanjiu* 禮與十八世紀的文化轉折: 《儒林外史》研究. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L. trans. *I Ching: The Classic of Changes*. New York: Ballantine, 1997.
- Shields, Anna M. *One who Knows Me: Friendship and Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015.
- Shisanjing Zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui 十三經注疏整理委員會 ed. *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000.
- Sibau, Maria Franca. *Reading for the Moral: Exemplarity and Confucian Moral Imagination in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Short Fiction*. Albany: State of University of New York Press, 2018.
- Sieber, Patricia A. "Nobody's Genre, Everybody's Song: Sanqu Songs and the Expansion of the Literary Sphere in Yuan China." *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 1, no. 1-2 (2014): 29-64.
- . *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-86 BCE.). *Shiji* 史記, Wuyingdian edition. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1955.
- . "Bao Ren Shaoqing shu" 報任少卿書. In Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp., *Wenxuan* 文選, annotated by Li Shan 李善 (630-689), 576-581. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Son, Suyoung. *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018.
- Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1714). *Mantang nianpu* 漫堂年譜. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- Tadao, Sakai. "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works." In *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, 331-366.
- Taibeishi guoli yuetuan 臺北市國立樂團 and Hongxi meishuguan 鴻禧美術館 comp. *Guqin jishi tulu* 古琴紀事圖錄 [*The Ancient Chinese Zither (Qin)*]: 2000 nian taibei guqin yishujie Tang Song Yuan Ming bai qin zhan shilu 2000年臺北古琴藝術節唐宋元明百琴展實錄. Taipei: Taibeishi guoli yuetuan, 2000.
- Tanqian 談遷 (1594-1657). *Guoque* 國榷. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1958.
- Tian Qing 田青. "Guqin de renwen jingshen: 2010 nian 7 yue 5 ri zai Zhongguo Yinyue Xueyuan de jiangyan" 古琴的人文精神——2010年7月5日在中國音樂學院的講演. *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 中國音樂學 4 (2010): 5-10.
- Tu, Wei-ming. *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989.

- Tuotuo 脫脫 (1314-1355) et al. *Songshi* 宋史. Reprint, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Van Gulik, Robert H. *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay in the Ideology of the Ch'in*. 3rd ed. Bangkok: Orchid, 2011.
- Vitiello, Giovanni. *The Libertine's Friend: Homosexuality and Masculinity in Late Imperial China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Wang Di 王迪. *Qinge* 琴歌. Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1983.
- Wang Jide 王驥德 (1540-1623). *Qulu* 曲律. Reprint. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967.
- Wang, Richard G. *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Wang Xiaodun 王小盾. “Hujia shibapai’ he qinge” 胡笳十八拍和琴歌. *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 古典文學知識 5 (1995): 102-108.
- . “Qinqu geci ‘Hujia shiba pai’ xin kao,” 琴曲歌辭《胡笳十八拍》新考. *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)*, no. 4 (1987): 23-29.
- Watt, James C. Y. “The Qin and the Chinese Literati.” *Orientations* 12, no. 11 (1981): 38-49.
- Wei Xiaoyuan 韋曉遠. “Dangdai qinge fazhan xianzhuang ji chuanbo duice fenxi” 當代琴歌發展現狀及傳播對策分析. *Xiju zhijia* 戲劇之家 305, no. 5 (2019): 7-9.
- Will, Udo. “A Musicologist’s dilemma: Technology and the Analysis of Music.” *Finnish Yearbook of Ethnomusicology* 10 (1998): 5-12.
- Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1331) comp. *Qinyan shize* 琴言十則. Xuehai leibian edition. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967.
- Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp. *Wenxuan* 文選. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shoji, 1977.
- Xiong Penglai 熊朋來 (1246-1323). *Se pu* 瑟譜. Siku quanshu edition.
- Xu Jian 許健. *Qinshi xinbian* 琴史新編. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.
- . “Yushanpai de qingwei danyuan” 虞山派的清微淡遠. *Journal of Nanjing Art Institute (Music & Performance)* 南京藝術學院學報（音樂與表演版）, no. 1 (1989): 12-16.
- . “Xiangge yu qinge” 弦歌與琴歌. *Yinyue tansuo* 音樂探索, no. 1 (1991): 12-14.
- Yan Xiaoxing 嚴曉星. “Guqin jia Yin Ertao shiliao jikao” 古琴家尹爾韜史料稽考. *Huangzhong (Journal of Wuhan Conservatory of Music, China)* 黃鐘（中國·武漢音樂學院學報）, no. 1 (2010): 133-140.
- Yang Bojun 楊伯駿. *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯註. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- Yang Biaozheng 楊表正 (c. 1520-c. 1590). *Xinkan zhengwen duiyin jieyao qinpu zhenchuan* 新刊正文對音捷要琴譜真傳. 6 juan. Tangfuchun 唐富春 woodblock print edition, 1573.
- Yang, Shuhui. *Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1998.

- Yang, Shuhui and Yang Yunqin trans., Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) comp. *Stories to Caution the World: A Ming Dynasty Collection*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- . *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Yang Xiaodong 楊曉東 comp. *Feng Menglong yanjiu ziliao huibian* 馮夢龍研究資料彙編. Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007.
- Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏. “Dui guqin qu ‘Yangguan sandie’ de chubu yanjiu” 對古琴曲《陽關三疊》的初步研究. In *Yang Yinliu quanji* 楊蔭瀏全集, ed. Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo 中國藝術研究院音樂研究所, vol. 4, 181-193. Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 2009.
- Yang Yuanzheng 楊元嶢. “Yongle qinshu jicheng xieben zhenwei de kaocha” 永樂琴書集成寫本真偽的考察. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 1 (2015): 81-91.
- Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. 147-196). *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義. Sibuhong edition.
- Yip Mingmei 葉明媚. “Nü qinren: guixiu, gongting funü, mingji, nūni, nūshen” 女琴人——閨秀、宮廷婦女、名妓、女尼、女神. In *2010 nian Zhongguo guqin guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 2010年中國古琴國際學術研討會論文集, edited by Zhejiang Provincial Museum, 28-37. Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011.
- Yongrong 永瑆 (1743-1790) et al. *Qinding Shijing yuepu quanshu* 欽定詩經樂譜全書. Sikuan edition. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1979.
- Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫. “Liji Yueji yu Shiji Yueshu” 禮記樂記與史記樂書. In *Yueji lunbian* 樂記論辯, edited by Zhao Feng 趙楓, 56-67. Beijing: Renminyinyue chubanshe, 1983.
- Yu, Jimmy, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Yu Yingshi 余英時. “Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen” 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神. In *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士與中國文化, 441-579. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Yung, Bell. “Instruments: Qin.” In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, volume 7, East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, edited by Robert C. Provine, Yosihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence J. Witzleben, 157-165. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- . “An Audience of One: The Private Music of the Chinese Literati.” *Ethnomusicology* 61, no. 3 (2017): 506-539.
- Yü, Chün-fang. *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Zagzebski, Linda. “Moral Exemplars in Theory and Practice,” *Theory and Research in Education* 11, no. 2 (2013): 193-206.
- Zha Fuxi 查阜西. “Jieshao guqin duzou he qinxiao hezou” 介紹古琴獨奏和琴簫合奏. In *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui* 查阜西琴學文萃, 334-335.
- . “Qinge bian” 琴歌辨. In *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui*, 161-163.

- . “Qinge de chuantong he yanchang” 琴歌的傳統和演唱. In *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui*, 212-215.
- . “Qinge puli zayan” 琴歌譜例雜言. In *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui*, 200-208.
- . *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui* 查阜西琴學文萃, edited by Huang Xudong 黃旭東, Yi Hongshu 伊鴻書, Cheng Yuanmin 程源敏, and Zha Kecheng 查克承. Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 1995.
- comp. *Cunjian guqin qupu jilan* 存見古琴曲譜輯覽. Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2007.
- Zhan Qiaoling 詹橋玲. “Qinge de lishi yu xianzhuang” 琴歌的歷史與現狀. *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 中國音樂學 4 (2005): 99-101.
- Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672-1755). *Mingshi* 明史. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Zhang Xianqing 張顯清 comp. *Sun Qifeng ji* 孫奇逢集. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2003.
- Zhang, Ying. *Confucian Image Politics: Masculine Morality in Seventeenth-Century China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- . “The Confucian Ideal Friend.” In *The Ming World*, edited by Kenneth Swope, 241-257. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Zhang Zongyou 張宗友 comp. *Zhu Yizun nianpu* 朱彝尊年譜. Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2014.
- Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志. Yongzheng edition. 1735.
- Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162). *Tongzhi* 通志. Reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Zhongguo guji zongmu bianzuan weiyuanhui 中國古籍總目編纂委員會 ed. *Zhongguo guji zongmu* 中國古籍總目. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan 中國藝術研究院 and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui 北京古琴研究會, comp. *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2010.
- Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之. *Zhongguo yinyue wenxueshi* 中國音樂文學史. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006.
- Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) et al. comp. *Yili jingzhuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解. *Siku quanshu* edition.
- . *Shi ji zhuan* 詩集傳. Reprint, Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007.
- Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉 (1536-1611). *Xiangyin Shi yuepu* 鄉飲詩樂譜. In *Yuelü quanshu* 樂律全書, *juan* 31-36. *Siku quanshu* edition.
- Zhu Zhangwen 朱長文 (1039-1098). *Qinshi* 琴史. *Sikuquanshu* edition. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1977.
- Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (c. 502-422 BCE). *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, edited by Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.