Becoming *Chinese* Music:
Guqin and Music Scholarship in Modern China

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ABSTRACT

Since the birth of modern music scholarship, the *guqin* (the seven-string Chinese zither) has attracted much scholarly attention for its long documented history and almost mystical notation and performance practice. Yet, while indigenous music historians place too much stress on its aesthetical, theoretical (mainly of tuning and modal system), and historical aspects, traditional Euro-American ethnomusicologists are displaying excessive enthusiasm to present its distinctiveness, often laying claim to an ancient past while exhibiting a timeless present. This thesis tries to problematize *guqin* scholarship by putting three particular aspects of *guqin* music through critical examination; they include the modern reformation of notation, the concept of *dapu* (reconstruction/realization of ancient manuscripts), and the writing of music history. It concerns a wide range of ethnomusicological issues, including musical creativity, historical reconstruction, oral and written transmission of music, and music historiography.

Being criticized as backward and unscientific, *jianzipu* (traditional tablature notation of *guqin*) went through numerous reformations in the twentieth century. By surveying five significant reformation models, I suggest in chapter two that these models negotiate between firstly, notating gestures and finger positions (in *jianzipu*), and secondly, notating melodic, metrical, and rhythmic details (in staff notation).

In chapter three, I investigate the different concepts of reconstructing ancient

guqin music. Drawing arguments from early music revival and authentic performance, I understand the modern transformation of *dapu*, from a creative activity for personal enjoyment to an academic pursuit for archaeological reconstruction of ancient music, as a modernist movement to depersonalize and objectify the musical practice. Nationalizing *dapu* as a systematic, organized, and nationwide activity, modern *dapu*-ists aims to make practical use of the reconstructed music to cultivate a national style for new Chinese compositions.

Chinese scholars deliberately appropriate the European *werktreue* concept – the notion of being true or faithful to a work and considering a musical work as an autonomous and self-contained unit – in their writings on Chinese music history. In chapter four, I examine the role of *guqin* in modern music historiography and the regulating force of this work-concept in contemporary Chinese music scholarship. With its copious ancient notation and literary documentations, *guqin* music serves the purpose to respond to the predicament of having a mute music history with no composers and audible musical works. In addition, I read the writing of music history as a postcolonial discourse: by historicizing music and musicalizing history in order to meet the European model of narration, Chinese scholars seek to present not simply a history of Chinese music, but an internationally legitimate history of Chinese music.

Because the quest for a cultural modernization in modern China is always conducted under the impact of imperialism, I suggest that modern Chinese musical practices should be read under the theoretical inquisition of postcolonial modernity. As exemplified by these modernization movements, I conclude that, on the one hand, modernity is a site where the tension between old and new, traditional and modern takes place; on the other, these pursuits of modernity signify an anti-imperialist and nationalistic position to seek an active membership in the world of musical cultures.

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閱讀古琴：中國音樂研究與現代性的追求

黃泉鋒

論文摘要（中文譯本）

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自從現代的音樂研究興起，古琴音樂一直被受學者重視。箇中原因，包括古琴獨有的大量歷史記載及樂譜資料，及其近乎神秘的減字譜和音樂操作。可是，大部份中國學者過份強調美學、樂律理論及歷史的研究方向，而歐美學者則過於著重展現古琴與別不同的特徵。結果，古琴音樂一方面被說成是擁有「歷史悠久」的傳統，另一方面則被諷刺地展現成超越時空的博物館展品。本文嘗試從三方面重新閱讀古琴音樂，包括琴譜改革、打譜觀念的演變，以及古琴與音樂史學的關係。

傳統古琴減字譜一直被現代改革者批評為落後和不科學。因此，二十世紀以降，不少學者提出減字譜改革方案。本文第二章探討其中五個重要改革方案。作者指出，不同改革方案源於改革者對樂譜功能的不同理解。而改革者的最終目的，是要將琴譜從記錄指法和手勢的減字譜，改革成記錄音高和節奏的現代樂譜。

本文第三章探討古琴打譜觀念在當代的演變。現今學者一般稱打譜為音樂考古學，追求一種嚴謹和忠於原譜的觀念，以別於傳統創造性的打譜。作者指出，這種觀念源自現代性中對客觀與非個人化的追求。學者們透過有系統的全國性打譜活動，希望打譜工作能發掘更多所謂「中國」或「傳統」的元素，以協助作曲家創作更多具有「中國特色」的作品。

中國學者一直愧於中國未有一個像西洋音樂一樣充滿作曲家和音樂作品的音樂史。因此，他們一直期望學術研究能有助於發掘更多聲響和樂譜資料，從而將歷史「音樂化」，並將音樂「歷史化」。現代史學家更刻意在寫作音樂史時製造「作曲家」和「音樂作品」。本文第四章探討琴曲《梅花三弄》和《離騷》

在音樂史中的呈現,從而討論古琴音樂在構造「音樂作品」觀念中的角色。從後殖民理論看,學者想表現的,不僅是一部「中國的」音樂史,而是一部在國際眼光下的「中國音樂史」。

由於二十世紀中國對現代性的追求,往往在反帝國和反殖民的民族主義影子下進行,因此我們有必要從後殖民理論架構中解讀現代中國音樂的發展。一方面,樂譜改革、打譜觀念的轉變和現代音樂史寫作,都體現了現代性追求中所崇尚的科學和進步。另一方面,這種現代性的追求,又往往呈現一種後殖民的國族觀念:希望建立「國家的」音樂,從而得到國與國之間的平等,並獲得世界認同。

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Romanization and Translation

Throughout the thesis, I adhere to the *pinyin* system adopted as the standard romanization in the People's Republic of China. Alternative romanizations are used for terms and names originated from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and pre-1949 Mainland China, and have become standardized in English.

Considering that a substantial portion of my readers understand Chinese, I put Chinese (traditional) characters immediately after a term the first time it appears, which will be followed by an English translation. A glossary of Chinese terms will be provided at the end of the thesis. For quotations in Chinese, the original text will be quoted immediately in a footnote.

Unless stated, I have made all the translations for Chinese terms, texts, and quotations.

Chapter 1

Introduction

> For years, the dominant wing of East Asian historiography maintained that
> "China, Japan, and Korea" form one very long lived, very real, historically very
> homogeneous, social-cultural totality. Knowledge about this naturalized region
> was transparent and descriptive, analogous to that of the biological sciences,
> and therefore it enforced the idea that the building blocks or social science –
> culture, society, the individual – have indisputable epistemological authority.
>
> (Tani Barlow, *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, 1-2)

Beyond Ethnomusicology and Music History

The long-term separation between the study of history and anthropology, from which

the discipline of ethnomusicology benefits most, has already drawn attention from

many scholars.   Many write about a rapprochement between the two disciplines by

incorporating a historical approach in the study of anthropology and vice versa.

And the sub-discipline "historical ethnomusicology" seems to respond to the

increasing discontent with either discipline on their neglect to each other (see Rice

1987; Blum 1991; Widdess 1992; and Bohlman 1997).   In essence, the term

"historical ethnomusicology" comprises at least two distinct meanings: it can mean

either to write an ethnomusicological history, or to take account of a critical

historical awareness in the study of musical cultures.   Throughout the thesis, much

of my focus will be on the latter.   I am concerned mostly with the various ways

different cultural groups re-present and construct the past.

Inevitably, Chinese music scholarship should be discussed under an intertwining

web of imperialistic and postcolonial discussion.   In most of the traditional

anthropological accounts of histories, the "others" are often being excluded from

"ours" and placed in an altogether different time (Hastrup 1992:2, quoting Fabian

1983).   It should be noted that, while modern ethnomusicology is being shaped to

become a cross-culturally valid discipline, the traditional predilection for studying

music of the "others" remains strong and pervasive.   Concerning the study of

Chinese music, we see different yet paradoxical accounts between music historians

and ethnomusicologists.   In general, on the one hand, music historians are interested

in issues like the impact of Westernization, modernization, and the effects of

imperialism.   For most Mainland scholars, historical studies are even considered as

a quest to understand China's progress towards the modern period.   On the other

hand, anthropology-inspired ethnomusicologists tend to focus on ethnicity, stress the

distinctiveness of each musical culture but altogether neglecting historical changes.

In turn, they collaborate to lay claim to an ancient past and exhibit a timeless present.

The problem extends to the question of cultural presentation.   Oftentimes,

traditional anthropologists' endeavor for museumizing musical cultures has resulted

in a cultural presentation that tends to simplify and essentialize stereotypical ethnic

or native cultures.   In a revealing study of early twentieth-century Chinese popular

music, an area by and large neglected in Chinese music scholarship, Andrew Jones

points out that, "ethnomusicologists tend to focus their scholarly efforts on those

aspects of Chinese musical cultures in which China's difference from the West is

most pronounced, including various forms of traditional, regional, and folk musics"

(Jones 2001).   Yet, the issues being discussed in this thesis, in chapter four in

particular, go further to include the question of historical narration. Realizing that there should always be histories without the West, indigenous scholars react to the hegemonic historical discourse by writing about their own histories. Under the intricate and interpolating impact of cultural imperialism and nationalistic consciousness, indigenous histories are often created according to the model of the imperialists, as a way to pursue a universal justice in the world of nation-states, a "rationalistic aspiration toward acceptance, recognition, and active membership on the global scene" (Chow 2000:2). Notably, this desire to re-establish China's cultural status as comparable to that of Western countries is best exemplified in the appropriation of the European work-concept in the writing of Chinese music history, which I will discuss in chapter four.

Music Scholarship and Historiography in Modern China

Unlike the modern separation of historical and ethnographic research in Western ethnomusicology, historical knowledge is an inseparable and constitutive portion of many non-Western traditions of music scholarships; China is but one instance. For this reason, a survey of modern Chinese music scholarship necessitates an inclusive inspection of historiographic issues.

History is the story a culture tells and invents to affirm its constructed and imagined identity. The writing of Chinese music history should be regarded as a cultural invention, an invention of ancient China in terms of music. While around forty general histories of Chinese music have been published since the early twentieth century,[1] many historiographic issues such as periodization, work-concept, historicism, chronological narrative, aesthetic views, and so forth are simply

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[1] Please refer to Appendix C for a complete list of all general histories of Chinese music.

unquestioned in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.² In this thesis, I try to

problematize the music scholarship in China. Realizing the impossibility of

encompassing the many academic issues in Chinese music, I choose to focus my

discussion on the relationship between the instrument *guqin* 古琴 (known also as *qin*,

kuch'in or *ch'in*, the seven-stringed Chinese zither) and music scholarship. A long

literary history with copious notation and documentations has contributed to *guqin*

occupying an imperative position in Chinese music. Needless to say, *guqin* is

believed to be more *Chinese* than other musical instruments; it also epitomizes the

virtue, aesthetics and value of traditional Chinese music, and gives its musical

culture a defining quality.

Modern Chinese music historiography exemplifies what Treitler calls

"legitimation of a conception and evaluation of the present through reference to the

authority origins" (Treitler 1993:33). This concept is at its most explicit expression

in the cliché *chuantong shi yitiao heliu* 傳統是一條河流 [tradition is a river], first

formulated by the famed Chinese music historian Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬 and then

becoming somewhat of a common ground in music scholarship of Mainland China.

Under this notion, history is constructed by drawing any details that can effectively

be used to construct a continuous and linear narration. Living music, on the other

hand, is considered as having very long roots into the past, though certain

transformations are nevertheless admitted. Furthermore, these constructed

traditions are said to have a common origin among the Ethnic Chinese (*zhonghua*

minzu 中華民族), whose culture originated in a mother river, the Yellow River

(*huanghe* 黃河). As a result, despite the cultural diversity within the geo-political

China, it is a commonplace to see the titles of many books, articles, subjects,

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² Joseph Lam has written a critique on Yang Linliu's writings, based on Yang's two music histories *Zhongguo yinyue shigang* (1953) and *Zhongguo guodai yinyue shigao* (1981) (see Lam 1995:1-43).

conferences, and so forth, supplemented by the word "Chinese" *zhongguo* 中國 or "traditional Chinese" *chuantong zhongguo* 傳統中國, insisting on the distinguishing trait of traditional and Chinese culture. Putting all the historical constructions together under this homogenous notion of the authoritative origins of *zhonghua minzu*, modern Chinese music historiography, resembling Treitler's critiques on the painting *Musical Hall of Fame* (*Etude*, December 1911), provides a transcendent and timeless context for all our cultural achievement (Treitler 1993:23-45). To claim an equal status with the West, China's fundamental differences, which are nevertheless already framed in Western terms, are constantly put forward and stressed.

As in ancient times, music scholarship in modern China also typifies a chauvinistic orientation. Besides the obvious attempt to contrast against a cultural "other" by essentializing what is *Chinese* (like the many proposals for establishing disciplines *xueke jianli* 學科建立, attempting to summarize and theorize what they consider distinctively *Chinese* and *traditional*), Chinese scholars also claim origin to many other musical cultures. In his book *Zhongguo gongxian yueqi shi* 中國弓弦樂器史 [A history of Chinese bowed-string instruments] (1999), Xiang Yang 項陽 refutes the saying that Chinese fiddles have an origin in ancient Persian stringed instruments or the European violin, by trying to prove that an ancient Chinese bowed-string instrument *yazheng* 軋箏 and other similar instruments were actually the origin of all these Central Asian, Middle Eastern and European stringed instruments. Quite contradictory to what is being narrated, Chinese music history is comprised more of diverse than of unified musical influences. To cite one example, the royal banquet music (*yanyue* 宴/燕樂), which occupies a central position in the music history of the Tang 唐 dynasty, is in fact a suite of different musical pieces coming from nine or ten different countries. Putting these diverse elements under a single notion of *Chinese music* is an aspiration to save *yanyue* from being other-ed.

Positivist approaches to looking for historical data and considering its trend

scientific are also extensively adopted in Chinese music scholarship.   Reviewing the

Melody Conference held in June 2000 at the University of Hong Kong, Yang Mu 楊

沐, an Australia-based Chinese musicologist, notices that the conference exemplifies

the trends in modern Chinese music scholarship, which "emphasizes the presentation

of scientific methodology."   Furthermore, "it aims at summarizing an

all-encompassing theoretical model, by building up a set of 'logical,' 'scientific,' and

highly specific analytical vocabulary to comply with the grand narrating

characteristic of the modernists"[3] (Yang 2001:34-39).

Evolutionary theory was introduced to the Chinese in the late nineteenth century,

and immediately reached great popularity among the intellectuals.[4]   In his studies

on Chinese modernity, Leo Lee points out that, under the progressive notion,

"present (*jin*) and past (*gu*) became polarized as contrasting values, and a new

emphasis was placed on the present moment 'as the pivotal point marking a rupture

with the past and forming a progressive continuum toward a glorious future'" (Lee

2000:31).   Concerning music, Andrew Jones also notes that, "in the works of Xiao

Youmei [蕭友梅] and others, Chinese music was relegated to the bottom of an

evolutionary ladder presided over by the legendary composers of European

Romanticism" (Jones 2001:102).   May-fourth reformer Wang Guangqi 王光祈, an

activist, also proposed a movement of *shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中國 [youth China],

trying to resemble the *Junges Deutschland* movement of the German social and

literary reformers in the nineteenth century.   Wang pointed out that Chinese music

was still at a primitive stage: Chinese people had to climb up the evolutionary ladder

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[3] Original Chinese text:「強調『科學』的方法和表達法，爲達到總結上述巨型理論的目的，力
圖建立一整套邏輯的、『科學』的、符合現代主義宏大敘述需要的、高度精煉的分析語言系統。」
[4] Scholars usually see Yan Fu's 嚴復 Chinese translation (in 1898) of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics,
and Other Essays* (1844) as signifying the introduction of the evolutionary theories to China.

by creating their own national music. Meticulous historical research is required in order to construct national music by using ancient music elements (See Wang [1924] 1992:33). Under this notion, progressive and evolutionary approaches have underlain most historical research. History is seen as sequences of facts and truths that are resting quietly somewhere, and are waiting for historians to "discover" them. Musical or historical research, it turns out, is regarded as a long and tough journey, where the moment "now" is located somewhere near the starting point. Accordingly, as I will point out in chapter three, the outcome of historical research is expected to benefit new composition to create a national style of music, which is considered as a contribution to the progressive development of Chinese music.

Another problem with music scholarship in China deals with the fact that the old binarisms we used to articulate our discussion no longer work well. From the beginning of the interaction between China and the West, a binary concept between China/the East and Euro-America/the West has been used to articulate much cultural interpretation. In other words, the image of Chinese music is to a certain extent a projection of Western music. In essence, however, the West is just what "peoples in the so-called non-West have to refer to and rely on ... so as to construct their own cultural and historical identity" (Sakai 1997:61). Likewise, a binary division also exists between the traditional and modern. Meeting certain value judgments, those terms like modernization or Westernization are often being positioned on the opposite sides of traditional. This problem manifested itself in the thesis of modern Chinese scholars and philosophers who, in order to account for the crisis in modern China, are inclined to describe China's premodern period as having a certain innate incompatibility with modern values, (while European cultures are inborn with such values). Yet, as Metzger rightly points out, "in the West the transition from tradition to modernity ... also had to endure one horrible upheaval after another. ...

The Chinese vision of peculiarly Chinese incongruity with modern values is very likely just a concept meeting certain modern Chinese ideological needs, not a balanced way of looking at history, just as is the common Chinese claim that there is no ideological or cultural crisis in the West comparable to the Chinese one" (Metzger 1990:291).   In other words, however influential these binarisms are among modern Chinese scholars, they tend to confuse rather than clarify the problem at stake.

Modern Research on *Guqin*: Becoming a *Chinese* Instrument

The concept of *guqin* as a Chinese national instrument did not evolve until the fifties, when scholars carried out nation-wide research on *guqin* music.   This is not to say that *guqin* was not a Chinese instrument in the premodern period.   Rather, I mean to stress that an awareness of *guqin* as a trans-regional or national instrument was minimal until the late nineteenth century.   Musicians in each area seldom cared about music activities in other provinces, though they nevertheless know about the existence of other *guqin* schools and masters.   There were large-scale projects to compile manuscripts (*Wuzhizai qinpu* 五知齋琴譜, for example), but they reached neither a comparable quality or quantity of the modern ones.

Two large-scale *guqin* gatherings were held in 1919 in Suzhou 蘇州 and Shanghai.   The first one was held by a salt merchant Ye Ximing 葉希明 at Yiyuan 怡園 in Suzhou.   According to *Yiyuan huiqin shiji* 怡園會琴實記, a testimony compiled after the gathering, thirty-one *guqin* players from Beijing, Changsha 長沙, Yangzhou 揚州, Shanghai, Zhejiang 浙江, and Sichuan 四川 joined the one-day gathering, and fifteen of them performed.   The second one was a three-day meeting held by Zhou Qingyun 周慶雲, Shi Liangcai 史量才 et al. at Chenfenglu 晨風廬 in Shanghai, with two days for performances and one day for a conference (Xu 1982:187).

The well-known Jinyu qinshe 今虞琴社 [Jinyu *guqin* society] was founded in 1934 by Zha Fuxi 查阜西, Zhang Ziqian 張子謙, Wu Jinglue 吳景略 and others in Suzhou (later at Shanghai). Regular gatherings were held and the influential journal *Jinyu qinkan* 今虞琴刊 [Jinyu *guqin* journal] was published. Its scale was national, including trans-regional surveys on musicians, instruments, *guqin* association, manuscripts, and etc. Interestingly enough, many of the academic articles published in the journal shed light on the relationship between *guqin* and modernity.

It was not until the fifties when the *guqin*, together with other instruments like the *pipa*, the *erhu*, and etc., was promoted as a labeling instrument of China. The most important academic unit for such nation-wide research is the Zhongguo yinyue yanjiusuo 中國音樂研究所 [Music research institute] (thereafter MRI). Formerly known as Minzu yinyue yanjiushuo 民族音樂研究所 [national music research institute], the MRI started to recruit famous *guqin* players in every province to work as communicators, forming a nation-wide web of *guqin* musicians. To name some of the many famous musicians, they include Zha Fuxi, Pu Xuezai 溥雪齋, Guan Pinghu 管平湖 from Beijing; Wu Jinglue, Zhang Ziqian, Shen Caonong 沈草農 from Shanghai; Xia Yifeng 夏一峰 from Nanjing; Yu Bosun 俞伯蓀, Wang Huade 王華德 from Chengdu 成都; Yang Xinlun 楊新倫 from Guangzhou 廣州; Xu Yuanbai 徐元白 from Hangzhou 杭州, and etc. (Xu 1993:335).

Most significantly, led by the famous *guqin* scholar Zha Fuxi 查阜西 (1898-1976), a group of scholars from MRI carried out several nation-wide fieldworks in 1956. They went through seventeen cities in China to carry out fieldwork among eighty-six musicians, making recordings and transcriptions which were later published as *Guqin quji* 古琴曲集 in 1962 (second volume in 1983),

including transcription of over thirty *guqin* players' recording for about eighty pieces

in staff notation (Xu 1982:1982).[5]

Though notable collections of manuscripts and pieces have been recorded from

the Tang 唐 dynasty onwards (see Xu 1993:337-78),[6] none has reached the

substantial quantity comparable to that of MRI.   From 1955-57, MRI collected 144

manuscripts with more than six hundred titles (or three thousand entries) of pieces,

covering the regions of Beijing, Tianjin 天津, Shanghai, Nanjing 南京, Chengdu,

Hangzhou, Suzhou, and Yunnan 雲南.   The manuscripts were then facsimiled and

published in the seventeen-volume (volume 15 missing) *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成

(1963 –).[7]

MRI not only revived the scholarship and the activity of *guqin*; more

significantly, it promoted *guqin* to a national level.   Despite the criticism for the

enduring "reformation" of the instrument after the fifties,[8] these researches and

agendas for reformation actually re-presented *guqin* as a national instrument in a

pan-Chinese musical context.   Rediscovery of copious literary documentation,

notation, recordings, and ancient instruments contributed to the recreation of *guqin* as

a tradition paradigmatic of Chinese music.   Trans-regional surveys also enabled an

increased awareness of a nationwide *guqin* musical culture.   These nationalizing

projects, eventually, promoted *guqin* from a regional instrument (even though it has

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[5] However, the transcriptions are notorious for their inaccuracy. In her hand-written manuscript, the Hong Kong *guqin* master Tsar Teh-yun 蔡德允 (Cai Deyun) mentioned, as a note after the piece *Shuixian Cao* 水仙操 (volume 3), the mistakes made in *Guqin quji* (see Tsar 2001).

[6] For example, *Qinshu daquan* 琴書大全 [Encyclopedia of *guqin* manuscripts] (1590), edited and compiled by Jiang Kelian 蔣克謙, an enormous project done by four generations of Jiangs. Altogether there are twenty-two volumes, with the first twenty volumes on documentation and essays on *guqin* music, and the last two volumes notating sixty-two *guqin* pieces.

[7] It is said the project is still ongoing and twenty-four volumes of facsimile manuscripts will be published in total.

[8] They include the change from silk to metal strings, "improvement" of notation (the use of staff notation or hybrid notation instead of the traditional *jianzipu* 減字譜 notation), transformation of performance practices (from personal pleasure to concert-hall performance and from private learning to institutionalization and professionalism), and so forth.

been practiced widely throughout the country)[9] to a trans-regional and national

minzu yueqi 民族樂器 [Chinese national instrument].[10]

On Methodology

My purpose in this thesis is not to describe empirical research.   Rather I seek

to explore the possibilities of employing new theoretical approaches in Chinese

music scholarship.   In writing this thesis I have tried my best to be interdisciplinary;

I deliberately draw on methodologies from the disciplines of anthropology, history,

musicology, as well as from literary criticisms.   If the way I approach *guqin*

scholarship does not seem to be familiar, it is because the "Chinese music" that

might previously have justified a narrow disciplinary approach is increasingly

breaking down.   We are at the time more and more unsatisfied by seeing a unilateral,

if not positivistic, approach to the study of a particular musical culture, which is

constantly being defined and redefined.

Some of my theoretical models are drawn from historical musicology, early

music scholarship in particular.   To date, the terms "Chinese music" and "early

music" are being categorized on the same hierarchal level.   In Shelemay's terms,

however, Chinese music is early, but we do not call it early music (Shelemay

2001:18).   Recognizing that many issues in the study of Chinese music, particularly

those on the revival and reconstruction of music, are similar to those of their Western

counterparts, I try to theorize the reconstruction of early Chinese music by drawing

on theories in historical musicology.   Specifically, in chapter three, I benefit from

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[9] Despite being imagined as having single and unified, *guqin* tradition actually existed in a range of diverse regional contexts, with each school having its own stylistic characteristics, manuscripts, and tradition. I suggest that it is with a unified notation system that such imagination has been made possible.

the theories on authenticity and early music performance formulated by Richard Taruskin; and in chapter four, I borrow the theorization of the *werktreue* conception formulated by Carl Dahlhaus and later developed by Lydia Goehr.

Ethnographic and historical research are treated as complimentary, and both approaches are emphasized in the thesis.   Many of the details in the thesis came from interviews, personal conversations and my observations in the course of learning *guqin*, and attending gatherings and academic meetings (see a report on the *dapu* conference in chapter three).   On the other hand, in order to contextualize my ethnographic findings, I made critical examination of historical documentation, ancient manuscripts, notation, music histories, etc., in the areas of both *guqin* scholarship and music historiography.

In a postmodern academic world where theory travels, no single indigenous scholarship or academic area can escape from a trans-local and inter-disciplinary inquisition of theoretical frameworks.   Music scholarship and that of Chinese music are no exceptions.   Throughout the process of working this thesis, I gained inspiration from several influential scholars and their theoretical writings.   They include, for example, Leo Lee and his writings on Chinese modernity; Rey Chow, Tani Barlow and their theoretical works on postcolonial Chinese identity in literary studies.   As I will argue in the last chapter, I aim to read the modern transformation of *guqin* musical practices in the context of postcolonial modernity, since the quest for modernization is always conducted under the sign of imperialism in modern China.

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[10] It should be noted that, in Mainland China (and gradually in Hong Kong and Taiwan under its influence), the term *minzu* refers not to the literal translation of "ethnic". Rather it means national or ethnic Chinese. In this case, thus, *minzu yueqi* is better translated as "national instrument" rather than "ethnic instrument".

Despite being packaged in the same thesis, the three middle chapters in this thesis can be read separately in any order. They concern three different aspects of *guqin* and its relationship to Chinese music historiography. I will show in chapter two how the reformation models for *guqin* notation throughout the twentieth century provided a space for reformers to compromise between two ideologically distinctive functions of musical notation. It has also enabled the Chinese to lay claim for an equal status of Chinese music (instruments) with its Western counterpart: as a *Chinese* musical instrument, *guqin* should be adaptable to pitch-oriented staff notation. Chapter three concerns the issue of musical creativity and historical reconstruction; specifically, it deals with conceptual changes in *dapu* (realization of ancient *guqin* notation) throughout the twentieth century. Considering *dapu* as an archaeological reconstruction of ancient music, modern musicians seek to nationalize *dapu* as a systematic and organized project, fostering modern Chinese composition. In chapter four, I will pay particular attention to music historiography and investigate how Chinese scholars appropriate the European work-concept to write about their own music history. Contextualizing the writing of music histories, I argue that *guqin* and its copious literary documentation and musical notation are being used to fulfill the endeavor of music historians' claim for an equal status of Chinese music history with that of the West. By appropriating the work-concept, composers and musical works are invented to musicalize the mute music history.

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Chapter 2

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The Making of Modern Notation: Reformation Models of Guqin

Notation in the Twentieth Century

Introduction

Although ethnomusicologists have recently started to display more awareness of the

concept of "change", notation of indigenous musical traditions is still regarded as a

relatively static entity.   Transformations in musical notation do not catch enough

attention, not to mention any contextualization on the changes.   Not surprisingly,

literature on *guqin* notation always presents it as a static artifact (see Yung 1994, for

example).   Even if changes were mentioned, seldom would they be subject to

critical examination. (As I suggested, the museum culture of emphasizing distinctive

ethnic features and treating natives as timeless and ahistorical partly accounts for it.)

However, reformation on *guqin* notation, together with other revolutionary musical

practices, has been one of the most important aspects of the modernization project in

the twentieth-century China.   If musical notation embodies the ideology of a music

tradition, its changes will always be coupled with those of other musical practices

and thus should be subject to critical study.   Rather than being a static notational

system, *guqin* notation went through significant transformations even in the

pre-modern period.   Quite distinctively, modification in *guqin* notation has been a

hot topic in indigenous Chinese scholarship.   In particular, scholars have written

extensively to defend traditional notation against modern reformations, claiming

relevance between *jianzipu* and traditional music aesthetics and ideology (see, for

example, Cheung 1975; Luo 1991; Lin 2001).

Being one of the few musical traditions that possess a significant notation

system in the pre-modern China, *guqin* offers an excellent example to investigate the

dynamics between musical culture and social changes.[1]   The present study focuses

on surveying the process of conceptual change in several reformation models.   I

will trace the course of change by reading these models critically.   The ways

reformers rationalize their attempts at reformation and come to terms with it will also

be examined.   In conclusion, I will contextualize each reformation model with

reference to the pursuit of modernity throughout twentieth-century China.

Two points deserve a remark in advance.   First, the somehow comprehensive,

all-encompassing, and chronological narration in this chapter should not mislead the

readers to assume a progressive development of musical notation from the

pre-modern time to the present day.   Any close examination of the late-Qing and

early twentieth-century manuscripts will suggest that transformation of musical

notation is diverse and multi-directional.   Second, while a number of reformation

models have been proposed, only some of them have been put into practice.   Yet,

the relative unpopularity of some reformation models should not lead us to overlook

their significance.   The hybrid notational system widely adopted today is, after all,

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[1] As an instrument partly linked to the literati, *pipa* 琵琶 also inherits musical notation, with *Huaqiuping pipapu* 華秋蘋琵琶譜 (1819) being the earliest published score. Regional operatic and instrumental genres have also preserved a comprehensive notation system, *gongchepu* 工尺譜, roughly resembling the solfège system. For example, the notations for *Fujian nanguan* 福建南管 (known also as *gongchepu*) and *Chaozhou yiyue* 潮州音樂 (known as *ersipu* 二四譜) are among those idiosyncratic *gongchepu* systems and are considered to be historical. Other folk, imperial, and religious traditions also preserve musical notations with different degrees of preciseness. Yet, the cipher or staff notations used for many solo traditions, including *dizi* 笛子, *erhu* 二胡, *ruan* 阮, *zheng* 箏 are predominantly twentieth-century inventions.

an outcome of these reformations (see Figure 2.6).   It is the conceptual change in

the use and function of musical notation that deserves serious attention.

Guqin Notation

The *New Grove* definition for "notation" roughly exemplifies the differences

between Western staff notation and *guqin* tablature notation.   "Notation" is defined

as "a visual analogue of musical sound, either as a record of sound heard or imagined,

or as a set of visual instructions for performers" (Bent et al. 2001:79).   The concept

of notation as "a record of sound heard or imagined" comes closer to that of Western

staff notation, while "as a set of visual instructions for performers" lies closer to that

of *guqin* tablature notation.

As a phenomenon of literate social classes, written notation has developed only

after the formation of a script for language and it has generally adopted elements of

that script (ibid.:73).   *Guqin* music has been notated in a kind of graphic or tablature

notation known as *jianzipu* 減字譜 [abbreviated-character notation] for over a

thousand years.[2]   These notational symbols consist predominantly of simplified

Chinese script.   Basically, rather than notating exact pitches, it indicates fingerings

and playing techniques for individual pitches or groups of pitches.   Other

parameters like emotional expression and tuning mode are also indicated.[3]   As a

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[2] It is commonly believed that *wenzipu* 文字譜 [text notation], which employed text to explain the positions and gestures of both hands, is the predecessor of *jianzipu*. The only existing manuscript for *wenzipu* is a piece of music entitled *Youlan* 幽蘭, which dates from the Tang Dynasty (618 A.D. to 907 A.D.) (See Cheung 1979 for a detailed study of this manuscript.) The *jianzipu* system is said to have been created by Cao Rou 曹柔 in the mid-Tang Dynasty.

[3] For a detailed study on the tuning system of *guqin* in English, please refer to Yung (1994:45-58) which provides a thorough evaluation of the notation system of *guqin*.

predominantly non-mensural notation, *jianzipu* offers few apparent metrical,

rhythmic or dynamic directions.[4]

Starting from the late nineteenth century after the Western impact, *jianzipu* has

constantly been judged against staff notation.   Its tablature and non-mensural

feature in turn became the rationale for the modern reformers to belittle the notation

system as unscientific, backward, and primitive, and one which deserves immediate

improvement.   Significant reformation proposals then appeared, attempting to

"modernize" the notation.   In general, the graphic nature of the traditional tablature

notation has been modified into a hybrid notation system.   Trying to balance

between what is Chinese and what is Western, I argue that modern reformation of

guqin notation manifests a constant negotiation between notation as a "visual

analogue of sound" and as "visual instructions for performers".

Yet, there is no lack of opposing ideas.   Some musicians defend against the

changes and maintain that traditional notation is not without its advantages: having

few apparent metrical, rhythmic and dynamic indication may well leave space for

stylistic creativity, which may otherwise be abandoned; rhythmic freedom may also

reflect "the players' aspirations for spiritual loftiness" (Kouwenhoven 2001:47).[5]

Concerning the traditional use of notation, I suggest that the modern way of

perceiving notation as the basis for performance does not hold true in the traditional

sense.   Rather than having any practical purpose, notation in the traditional sense

seemed to be suggestive and thus referential in general, reflecting the fact that *guqin*

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[4] The concept of *jianzipu* is often realized with reference to that of Western staff notation. However, we should be careful not to essentialize the difference between *jianzipu* and staff notation. Indeed, the *New Grove* suggests that both *jianzipu* and staff notation are to a certain extent a hybrid notation systems. The former contains symbols and number; the latter is "partly technical and tablature-like, partly representational" (Bent 2001:83-84).

[5] However, as Kouwenhoven rightly points out, *guqin* players "may decide to reshape and remould certain pieces according to their own understanding, but they still work within an established framework of rhythmical formulae and metrical conventions, and are certainly not reinventing the tradition every time they touch the instrument" (Kouwenhoven 2001:47).

music is both an oral and literal tradition. It is only under the ideological change in the function of notation, from a memory-aiding reference to a performance-based text, that reformation is needed.

Traditional/Pre-Modern Notation: An Imagined Tradition

China had been an imagined community long before the nineteenth-century when the concept of the so-called modern nation-state blossomed. The unified education system, examination system, bureaucracy, and printed script have contributed to this imagination of the Chinese as a single and unified community. What happened after the series of foreign attacks and social reformation starting from the late Qing dynasty was that, the Chinese people began to realize that "the Qing empire was no longer the world under heaven but ... one state in a world of theoretically equal but competing states." Joseph Levenson has described this intellectual process as a "transition from culturalism to nationalism" (Harrison 2000:7, quoting Levenson): China was transformed from an empire, a *tianxia* 天下 [that under heaven], or "*the* country", to a nation, a *guojia* 國家 [home country], or "*a* country".

According to Benedict Anderson in his much quoted *Imagined Communities* (1983), the invention of printing technology and a single and unified printing script enables a community to imagine itself as a limited entity and sovereign, setting the stage for the formation of modern nation-states. Rather than stepping into the theoretical discussion on empire and nation-state, I try to borrow this concept in the study of the transformation of *guqin* notation. I suggest that, resembling the unified script of Chinese language, *guqin* has inherited a unified notation system, *jianzipu*. People in the pre-modern age had already been able to imagine an exclusive, single,

and unified *guqin* tradition.[6]   Sue Tuohy calls this an "imagination of tradition," a

process of which "human beings select and invent ideas, poems, rituals, and so on to

create another image, an image of a coherent and vital tradition" (Tuohy 1988:47).

A unified *jianzipu* notation plays an important role in this imagination of tradition.

To say that a tradition is imagined is not to deny its historical continuity and

trans-regional correspondence.   Rather, it is to point out that its music tradition is

more diverse and multi-faceted than we assume.   As Kouwenhoven points out,

> in my view, *qin* [*guqin*] does not constitute a single tradition. Historically, there
> must have been different *qin* traditions in different places, with different kinds
> of co-involved instruments, different performance settings and different kinds of
> musical functions and perceptions. The *qin* may have featured as an instrument
> in folk traditions, even if (to our knowledge) no evidence of any recent tradition
> along those lines survives (cf. Evans 1998). If we focus strictly on evidence
> attesting to the *qin* as an instrument of China's wealthy elite, the picture of *qin*
> music that emerges from history is still impressively diverse. (Kouwenhoven
> 2001:48)

The notion of a single and unified musical tradition is imaginative in the sense

that, borrowing Anderson's words, any *guqin* player would seldom get to know most

of their fellow-players, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each

lives the image of their communion (Anderson 1983:6).   By the same token, while

acting as a vehicle to imagine a unified tradition, *jianzipu* is also not in the first place

a unified system.   Regional variation and historical modification of individual

symbols are commonplace, and have, according to Zha Fuxi, impeded *guqin* from

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[6] As Tuohy rightly points out, if a community is imagined on the basis of a unified written language, only a portion of the people is involved. She further distinguishes between the great tradition and the little tradition, where the community is being imagined differently in the two traditions (Tuohy 1988:58-62). I am not quite sure if the binary division is pertinent to the discussion of *guqin* tradition. While *guqin* is regarded as a elite and literate tradition with its extensive written notation and documentation, the transmission of *guqin* tradition is largely an oral one.

popularization (Zha 1953a:32-33).   For this reason, I argue that, together with the

endeavor to notate melodic, rhythmic and metrical details, a notion of standardization

plays a crucial role in this modernization project of *guqin* notation.   In the following

sections, I will examine how modern reformation models for *guqin* notation

articulate this already imaginative tradition in a complex and multifaceted web of

nationalistic and modernist relations that marks modernity in China.

Modern Changes

As mentioned, transformations in guqin notation receive much attention in

indigenous music scholarship.   In a detailed and comprehensive essay on the

modifications in *guqin* notation starting from the earliest *wenzipu* 文字譜 [text

notation], Cheung Sai-bun 張世彬 argues that these modifications follow the trend of

having the rhythmic and dynamic indication with notated more detail and precision

(Cheung 1975:414-22).[7]   He insists that such a process is not inevitable:

> The reason for *guqin* notation to become more and more detailed in the Qing
> dynasty is to aid the process of teaching. This does not mean that such
> specification is a must. Rather, the more detailed a notation is, the more explicit
> and simpler the resultant music. If so, one can hardly perceive the highly
> sophisticated ideals and the subtle changes in *guqin* music.[8] (Ibid.:422)

Reformation of *guqin* notation starting from the late nineteenth century owes a

great deal to European models, not just in the appearance of staff notation, but also in

the functional change of musical notation.   In this section, I will survey five

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[7] See also Xue (1981:105-156) for a similar but more detail discussion.

[8] Original Chinese text:「至於清代琴譜（如上舉最後二種）之趨於嚴密確定，其目的在便於師徒授受時作爲練習，而並不是表示非如此確定不可的。這一傳統如不預先了解，則愈是嚴密記譜的琴曲，將會愈顯得曲調簡單，境界不過爾爾。這樣，對於古琴音樂的深意境、微妙變化，就無從領會。」

reformation models, spanning the period from the late nineteenth century to 1999:

the first appeared in *Qinxue rumen* 琴學入門 [Rudiments for the study of *guqin*], a

late nineteenth-century manuscript; the second in *Qinjing* 琴鏡 from the early

twentieth-century; the third was proposed by Wang Guangqi 王光祈; the fourth was

proposed by Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏; and the fifth appeared in Gong Yi's *Guqin yanzoufa*

古琴演奏法 [The ways of performing *guqin*].[9]   These five reformation models are

worth noting for the reason that each of them added new elements to traditional

jianzipu.   In addition, each model exemplifies a significant conceptual change in

guqin notation, moving from a primarily referential and suggestive tablature to a

performance-based and pitch-centered notation system.

◆   **Notation Model in *Qinxue Rumen***

Qingxue rumen 琴學入門 (1864) (thereafter, *QXRM*), compiled by Zhang He 張

鶴 in two volumes, is significant in the sense that for the first time a column of

gongchepu 工尺譜 (the Chinese solfège notation, which was widely used in the

notation of folk instrumental and operatic music) was added to the original notation.

Of the twenty pieces included, ten are notated with *gongchepu*, following the original

jianzipu.   And of these ten pieces, five are further notated with simple rhythmic

markings (by indicating principal beats) (see Figure 2.1).   This unconventional

notation was explained in the "Fanli" 凡例 [directories] as follows:

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[9] According to Zha, several reformation models had already appeared before the early fifties. "Mr.
Hou Zuowu from Sichuan has proposed a systematic model to reform *guqin* notation two years ago.
Early this year, Mr. Wu Zhenping from Shanghai also employed *sishipu*, which includes finger, staff,
cipher, and *gongche* notation, for notating ancient and newly composed pieces. Mr. Chen Shusan from
Hankou also devised a *sanxian qixianqin jianpu* [simplified three-line *guqin* notation] this month"
(Zha 1953a:32). Original Chinese text:「四川古琴家侯作吾先生在前年提出了一套有相當體系，想
根本改革古琴譜的譜式，上海古琴家吳振平先今年年初把他演奏得最熟的古曲和他創作的琴曲
寫成包括指譜、五線譜、簡譜、工尺譜的四式譜，漢口古琴陳樹三先生在本月裡創作出一種『三
線七弦琴簡譜』。」

The addition of *gongchepu* has not been found in other manuscripts. [My teacher] Master Tong Jun taught his students to start learning a piece by singing the *gongchepu*. It is an easy way to get started. However, *guqin* music has natural rhythms, which are different from the strict rhythms of other popular/folk musics. … Once you have learned the piece well, you should be able to communicate with the music and understand it. Upon this, one will be acquainted with the dynamic, temporal, and metrical details, and there is no need to stick to [the added *gongchepu* and rhythmic markings].[10] (*Qinxue rumen* 1864, "Fanli")

Figure 2.1   *Pingsha luoyan* **in** *Qinxue rumen*, **with simple metrical markings and** *gongchepu*

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[10] Original Chinese text:「譜塡工尺，爲諸譜所未有。惟桐君先生教人以念工尺之法，洵操縵捷徑也。蓋琴曲有天然節奏，非如時曲，必拘拘板拍，惟在心領神會，操之極熟，則輕重疾徐自能合拍。…至於久久習熟，神而明之存乎，其人因不必拘拘於此也。」(張鶴《琴學入門》，「凡例」)

According to Zhang, the added *gongchepu* and rhythmic markings are aimed to assist

beginners when acquiring a new piece.   Relying too much on the notation is not a

proper practice after one has learnt a piece.   In addition, the dynamic, temporal, and

metrical details, with which modern reformers are most concerned, were perceived as

being in a higher level of acquaintance and are impossible and unnecessary to notate.

This comment hints at a traditional concept of musical notation as a suggestive text

for referential purpose.

◆   **Notation Model in *Qinjing***

The manuscript *Qinjing* 琴鏡 (1918) (hereafter, *QJ*), was collected in *Qinxue*

chongshu 琴學叢書 [Collection of *guqin* literature], compiled by Yang Zongji 楊宗稷

(d.1931) between 1911-1931, in two volumes.   Notation in this manuscript is

revolutionary in the sense that the editor added three more columns to the *jianzipu*,

firstly *gongchepu*, secondly a simple rhythmic marking, and thirdly the number of

the string to be plucked and additional tablature signs.   The four columns are

tabulated and aligned horizontally so that the tune (showed by *gongchepu*) and the

rhythm (showed by the metrical markings) can match well (see Figure 2.2).   The

editor also explained this unconventional notation system in "Qinjing zixu" 琴鏡自敍

[Preface to *Qinjing*].

Musical sounds are shapeless. How to give shapes to musical sounds? Recently,
Western musicians say that musical notations are similar to mirrors, which
delineate and shape the shapeless musical sounds. … Now [in this manuscript],
the beats are indicated, so the rhythms are standardized and cannot be
changed.[11] (*Qinxue chongshu* 1911-31, "Qinjing zixu")

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[11] Original Chinese text: 「聲無形者也，而若或使之有形，近日西人音樂家言樂譜必如攝影鏡，
然後爲精非無形者，而使之有形哉。…今板已註明，則節奏確不可移。」(楊宗稷《琴鏡》,「琴
鏡自敍」)

Figure 2.2   *Pingsha luoyan* in *Qinjing*
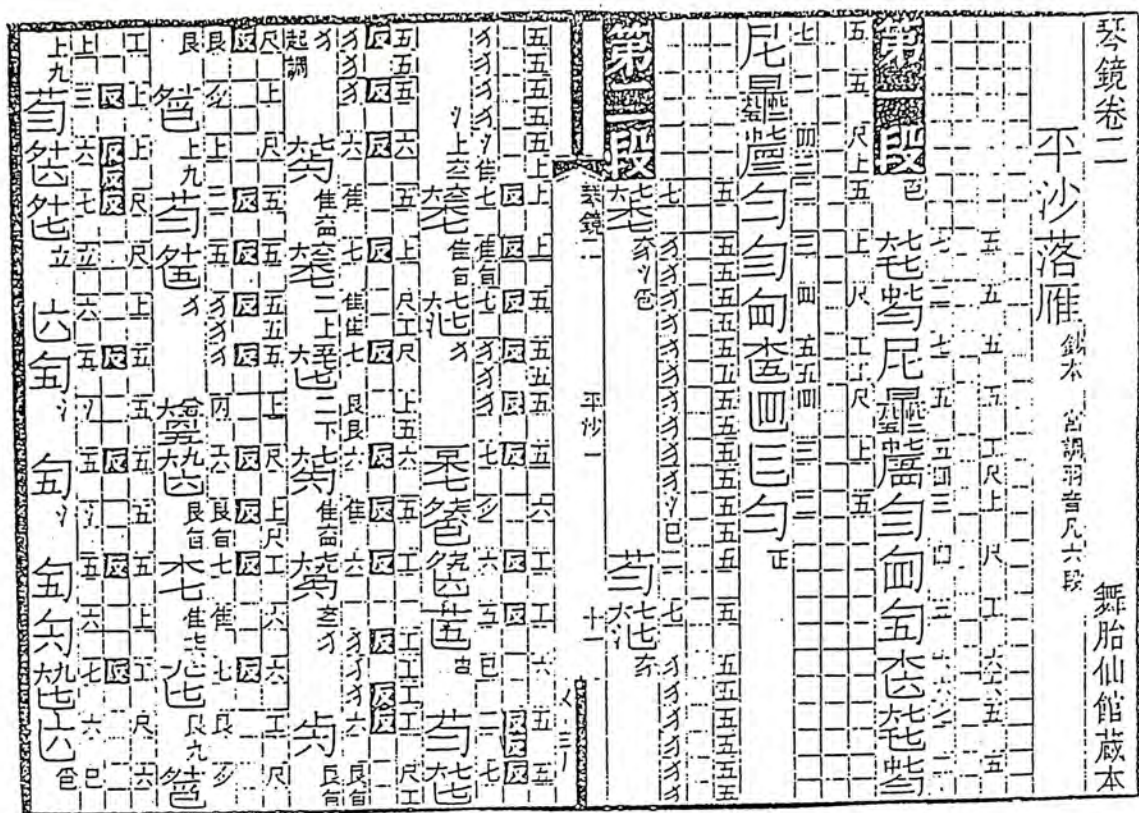
In "Liyan" 例言 [Directories], the editor wrote,

> The rhythmic markings and *gongchepu* are for beginners. Ancestors may
> criticize the fact that this practice [of adding rhythmic markings and *gongchepu*]
> had not been seen in the older manuscripts. But today it is not easy to find an
> instructor to teach *guqin*. This manuscript aims to help the learners to teach
> themselves. They can figure out how the music sounds from the manuscript.
> (*Qinjing*, "Liyan")[12]

Although the compiler of *QJ* mentioned that the rhythmic markings and *gongchepu*

are for beginners, individuality and creativity of the performers are no longer being

emphasized here and elsewhere.   On the contrary, he clearly stated his aspiration to

visualize *guqin* music by using a more detailed notation system that aims to reflect,

or in his word, "mirror" music.   This comment should not be overlooked.   *QJ* was

compiled in the early twentieth century, when the slogan of abandoning traditional

culture reached a climax after the *xinwenhua yundong* 新文化運動 [new culture

movement]. Yang's writings are commented on by Xu Jian 許健 in his *Qinshi*

chubian 琴史初編 [A preliminary study on the history of *guqin*] as "an exemplar of

the new thinking initiated by the May Fourth Movement"[13] (Xu 1982:186). It

signifies a conceptual change in musical notation: citing the Western concept of

preciseness in metrical and rhythmic details, Yang wished to improve traditional

jianzipu by devising the four-column tabulated notation, which is undoubtedly

aiming for better metrical and rhythmic clarity. Together with Yang's many

criticisms of the traditional/Confucian ideas of music,[14] it is reasonable to infer that

the contemporary May-fourth spirit of modernization and revolution has urged Yang

to reform *guqin* notation.[15]

◆ **Wang Guangqi's Model**

An influential early Chinese musicologist trained in Germany, Wang Guangqi

王光祈 (1892-1936) published extensively on topics ranging from historical studies

of Western music to Chinese operatic music. In *Fanyi qinpu de yanjiu* 翻譯琴譜之研

究 [A study of trans-notating *guqin* manuscripts] ([1934] 1971), he expressed an

aspiration to modernize *guqin* notation by devising a new model. Accounting for

the notation reformation, he noted that:

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[12] Original Chinese text:「是編專爲初學而設板眼工尺，古人或不屑道:「唱弦數指法字，舊譜未
之前聞。」特以好古者多，求師不易，創爲此譜庶幾，按譜尋聲，能自得師，不煩指授…。」
（楊宗稷《琴鏡》,「凡例」）
[13] Original Chinese text:「這些論點，…應該看作是五四運動抓起的新思潮在琴界的反映。」
[14] See also Xu (1982:184-86) for a brief account on this point.
[15] Not surprisingly, other musical instruments experienced reformation similar to *guqin* in the early
twentieth century. To cite but one example, Liu Tianhua 劉天華 (1895-1932) devised a notation for
erhu 二胡 [the two-stringed fiddle] by adding articulation markings, and metrical and rhythmic
details to the traditional *gongchepu* notation. The change in notation is coupled with the introduction
of violin techniques to the performance practice of *erhu*.

Our musical culture is now in disorder and in decline after the intrusion of foreign music. Only in *guqin* manuscripts have the aspects and theories of ancient music been preserved. However, due to the complexity of its notation, it is too difficult to play. And this in turn resulted in a break of tradition, and much *guqin* music was lost. According to my own studies, there are only about one hundred odd types of *guqin* symbols, less than one-tenth of those of the violin. ... Since Western notation is precise and perfect, the many types of technical symbols do not pose any problem. However, our *guqin* manuscripts are poorly notated in that ordinary people can hardly understand them. Moreover, it is not uncommon to see that there is more than one interpretation for a single symbol by different *guqin* masters. As a result, I think *guqin* notation needed to be systematized.[16] (Wang [1934] 1971:2)

The new notational system with revolutionary appearance can be exemplified by a single piece *Pingsha luoyan* 平沙落雁 (see Figure 2.3). The basic composition of the notation is a five-line system: a topmost line indicates which finger(s) of the left hand is to play, with a small circle underneath to indicate harmonics; the second line (notated in Roman numerals) indicates which string(s) is to be plucked, with a small number beside it to indicate the *hui* 徽 (inlay) positions; in the middle lies staff notation, in which exact pitches, durations and meters are notated; the fourth line indicates which finger(s) of the right-hand to play with; finally, by using down-bow and up-bow markings, the bottom line indicates the inward and outward movements respectively for the right-hand. Wang also listed 37 gestures for right hand and 138 gestures for left hand, each of which is devised a symbol (Wang [1934] 1971:23-49).

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[16] Original Chinese text:「吾國自 "胡樂" 侵入以後， "音樂文化" 衰而且亂。惟七弦琴譜，尚保有古樂面目，尚具有 "音樂邏輯"。不過指法繁難，彈奏不易，以致今日琴壇大有 "廣陵散從茲絕矣" 之歎。其實吾人若一詳查琴譜指法符號，僅有一百餘種而已，尚不及西洋提琴指法十分之一。…只因西洋樂譜精善完備之故，指法雖多，不足為患；而吾國琴譜則以寫法不良之故，以致除少數琴師外，無人敢於問津、即在此少數琴師中，對於一種指法，亦復往往解釋互異，意義多不確定、因此之故，吾人對於琴譜符號，實有加以根木整理之必要。」

Figure 2.3   *Pingsha luoyan* in Wang Guangqi's model.

Despite its eye-catching appearance, Wang's model is indeed less revolutionary than those of his followers for the reason that the new symbols are presenting traditional tablature in another way, rather than replacing *jianzipu*'s nature of emphasizing hand gestures over musical details.   Detailed comparison between the models of Wang Guangqi and Yang Yinliu (which I will come to immediately) can also tell us that the latter is more radical in abolishing tablature symbols. Nevertheless, Wang shared the same reformation passion with Yang Zongji and other reformers to search for new directions for the thousand-year old notation system.

+   **Yang Yinliu's Reformation Proposal**

Remembered today primarily for his ground-breaking music research, YangYinliu 楊蔭瀏 (1899-1984) was a Chinese musicologist whose music histories (1953, 1981) are by far the most influential and standard references for any music historians.   In an essay, "Guqin pushi gaijin chuyi" 古琴譜式改進芻議 [A draft on the reform of *guqin* notation] (1947), he proposed eight strategies for reforming *guqin* notation.   In essence, Yang's reformation proposal already anticipated Gong Yi's *Guqin yanzoufa* 古琴演奏法 [The ways of performing *guqin*] (1999), which appeared half a century after Yang's proposal.   Part of his proposal is oriented towards the addition of staff notation and aspiring to show exact pitches, and rhythmic and melodic details.   Using staff notation as the central body and tablature as auxiliary, he focused more on finding ways to reform the traditional symbols by combination, simplification and reduction.   At the beginning of his article, Yang explained the shortcomings of traditional notation:

> *Guqin* notation is comprised only of the string number, *hui* position and gesture markings. The most significant shortcoming is that it notates only tablature but not the tune. … *Pipa* manuscripts focus mainly on notating tunes, while tablatures only play an assisting role. This indeed surpasses *guqin* notation. (Yang 1947:140-41)[17]

Then, he figured out eight groups of symbols, which, according to him, deserve different levels of simplification.   I summarize the main ideas as follows.

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[17] Original Chinese text: 「古琴譜幾純由弦序徽分及指法符號結合而成；有指法之譜，而無音調之譜，是其最大缺點。」「琵琶譜式以曲調爲主體，而副之以指法符號，實有勝於古琴譜式。」

Eight groups of *jianzipu* symbols:

(1) Includes twenty-seven symbols. "Should be preserved." For example, *mo* 木 (abbreviated from 抹), a right-hand fingering directing the index finger to pluck inward.

(2) Includes eighteen symbols. "Doubled and repeated, so they can be abandoned." For example, *tidang* 易宕 (abbreviated from 踢宕) means a free and unrestrained rhythm. According to Yang, it is identical to *diedang* 跌宕.

(3) Includes thirteen symbols. "Rarely seen in recent manuscripts, so they can be abandoned." For example, *xie* 斗 (abbreviated from 斜) means a slanted left-hand finger.

(4) Includes four symbols. "Now we have staff notation, in which pitch, rhythm, duration and rest are clearly shown. As a result, these four symbols can be abandoned." For example, *ying* 更 (abbreviated from 硬) means a straight, swift, and strong movement of the left-hand finger onto an upper position.

(5) Includes thirteen symbols. "Since we now have staff notation, all kinds of double-stopping can be shown clearly. So, they can be abandoned." For example, *cuo* 早 (abbreviated from 撮), a right-hand fingering which means a simultaneous plucking of the index finger (outward) and middle finger (inward).

(6) Includes eighty-seven symbols. "There are many combined symbols (two symbols or above). ... If we keep creating these combined symbols, more and more will be formed. Combined symbols add further complexity to the notation system, which will in turn harm the development of *guqin*. Since we now have the staff notation, all those symbols like double-stopping on the same pitch and repeating consecutive notes can be shown clearly, together with their rhythm and pitch. So, there is no need to depend on combined-symbols anymore and all these can be abandoned." For example, *lun* 侖 (abbreviated from 輪), a right-hand fingering meaning a consecutive plucking of the index, middle, fourth finger.

(7) Includes thirty-four symbols. "Vibrato and glissado notes are related to personal symbols in expression, which are difficult and needless to write down precisely. All the thirty-four symbols for vibrato and glissado notes can be abandoned and we can create one or two simple symbols to generalize them." For example, *yin* 于 (abbreviated from 吟), a left-hand fingering which means a slight moving up and down after a tone, resembling vibrato.

(8) Includes sixty-six symbols. "Whether or not these sixty-six symbols can be abandoned is not yet decided. Maybe we can use other ways to notate them, or simplify them by dividing and combining." For example, *zuo* 卜

(abbreviated from 綽), a left-hand fingering which means sliding upward to the position producing the tone.

"Of the 266 symbols in these eight groups, 135 from Group II to VI are to be deleted; twenty-seven symbols from Group I are to be slightly reduced; around a hundred of symbols from Group VII and VIII are to be condensed into less than ten. Eventually, fewer than thirty symbols are left." (Ibid.:144-61)

Among the eight strategies above, (4), (5) and (6) deserve more attention. In Wang's model, staff notation had been limited to remind players of pitch and rhythm. In Yang's proposal, however, staff notation began to be consciously substituted for some of the traditional symbols. The main benefit of staff notation, as Yang put it, is that it can notate melody, rhythm, and meter, and so, according to Yang's concept, can take up the role of many perplexing symbols of *jianzipu*. To take a simple example, the left-hand symbol *wu* 午 (abbreviated from 淕) refers to this sequence of actions: after playing a note, hold on briefly, and then move upward (to the right) for one position to link to the following note(s). In Yang's proposal, it is categorized into group (4), in which staff notation can replace this symbol by simply indicating two consecutive notes. In this way, the exact pitch and duration of both notes can clearly be shown, at the expense of abandoning the concept of *wu* (link to the following note), which should be distinguished from *shang* 上 (move upward or to the right).

Yang's reformation proposal is significant in the sense that it set the stage for the later models to take place. If melodic, rhythmic, and metrical details are reformers' pursuits, *jianzipu* symbols will become barriers to reformation and need simplification. More ideological than the proposal suggests, the change also signifies a crucial move, which sacrifices the traditional sophistication in notating gesture and finger position for a simple and straightforward notation system.

◆ **Gong Yi's** *Guqin Yanzoufa*

Gong Yi (b. 1941) is currently an active *guqin* instructor and performer in the

Shanghai Conservatory of Music.   In a recent book entitled *Guqin yanzoufa* 古琴演

奏法 [The ways of performing *guqin*], he devotes a chapter to proposing a model to

reform notation.   The new notation model is called *wuxian jipufa* 五線記譜法

[five-line notation or staff notation] and was first proposed in 1962 by the *guqin*

department of the Shanghai Music Conservatory 上海音樂學院古琴小組.[18]

Of the four chapters on notation, chapter ten contains twenty *lianxi qu* 練習曲

[exercises], fifteen of which are in new notation;[19] chapter eleven contains nine

xiaoxing yuequ 小型樂曲 [short pieces], which are mostly adaptations of folk songs,

and six of which are in new notation; chapter twelve contains thirty *chuantong qinqu*

傳統琴曲 [traditional pieces], twelve of which are in new notation; finally, chapter

thirteen contains six *yizhi* 移植 and *chuangzuo* 創作 [adapted and newly composed]

pieces, three of which are in new notation.   From the table below, pieces in new

notation constitute a considerable number.

Figure 2.4   Number of pieces in new notation in Gong Yi's *Guqin Yanzoufa*

Chapter/content	Number of pieces in the chapter	Number of pieces in new notation
10. *lianxi qu* [exercises]	20	15
11. *xiaoxing yuequ* [short pieces]	9	6
12. *chuantong qinqu* [traditional pieces]	30	12
13. *yizhi and chuangzuo* [adapted and newly composed]	6	3

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[18] My personal dialogues with some musicians also suggest that this reformation model is not a new invention, dating back at least to the sixties.

[19] The Western notion of exercises, that is, separating pieces for technical exercise from proper musical pieces, did not find its counterpart in pre-modern China. Even *Xianwengcao* 仙翁操, the very beginning *guqin* piece tutoring the way of tuning and basic techniques, is not aimed for sheer exercise. The first appearance of *guqin* exercise was in 1961, when ten of them were included in *Guqin chujie* 古琴初階 [Elementary *guqin*]. This practice found its earliest ancestor in the 1920s, when the *erhu* master Liu Tianhua 劉天華 (1895-1932) composed for the first time forty-seven exercises for *erhu*.

If Yang's proposal signified a budding concept to substitute tablature-based *jianzipu* notation with staff-based modern notation, Gong develops this idea and fundamentally reforms *guqin* notation. Basically, this new notation "abandons the notation of *hui* positions, but reserves the string number, and marks with simple tablatures" (Gong 1999:39). The new model differs fundamentally from the previous reformations in that the emphasis is shifted from notating gesture and finger positions to notating melodic, rhythmic and metrical details. The player should be able to know where to play (on which *hui* position and which string) simply by looking at the staff notation, just like playing the violin or any kind of staff-notated instrument. The very premise is that the pitches of the strings have to be standardized. For the reason that *guqin* is more a solo instrument than one used for ensemble purposes, tunings of the seven strings, as indicated by the name of the modes, are often relative rather than absolute. The pitch of the third string in *zhengdiao* 正調 [fundamental mode], for example, can vary roughly from D to G, depending on the quality of the silk string. With the use of metal strings, the pitches are more or less standardized, with the third string tuned to F (in this case, a *zhengdiao* tuning will be C-D-F-G-A-c-d).

I use the notation of *Yangguan sandie* 陽關三疊 as shown in Figure 2.5 for illustration. As indicated at the very beginning, the piece is in the mode of *jinwuxian* 緊五弦 [have the fifth string tightened], which is also known as *ruibindiao* 蕤賓調. Standardizing the pitches of the strings (having the third string as F), this mode is often equalized and "translated" to Bb major, with the seven strings tuned as C-D-F-G-Bb-C-D.[20]

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[20] As mentioned, it should be noted that this equivalence is misleading, since either *ruibindiao* or *jinwuxian* refers to the relative tuning, while Bb major is an absolute tuning. It is only after the standardization of the pitches of the strings that the equivalence is justified.

Figure 2.5   *Yangguan sandie* in Gong Yi's new notation

The sign ( ) above the first note indicates an open string.   Since the tuning has

been standardized, the player should now be able to tell that the third string is to be

plucked to produce the first note, a dotted-quarter-note F; and then the fourth string

for an eighth-note G, and so on.   For the first note of the second system, a

quarter-note F, a symbol 五 [five] is indicated above the note to indicate that the

fifth string is to be plucked.   Although the notation does not indicate the position

(inlay) for the left-hand to stop (as in *jianzipu*), the performer is expected, after

training, to be able to tell that it is the fifth inlay position (because the open fifth

string is standardized as Bb, to sound F, the fifth inlay is to be stopped).   It should

further be noted that, in this model, tablature symbols like fingerings and

inward/outward are almost completely abandoned.

Needless to say, this model transforms *guqin* notation from a set of visual

instructions into a visual analogue of musical sounds: pitches, duration, and other

parameters are to be visualized on the staff.   Gong compares his new model to that

of *erhu* 二胡, *sanxian* 三弦 and violin, and infers that, if it poses no problem for the

players of these instruments to realize the finger position by relying solely on staff

notation, it can also be accomplished in *guqin*, by providing more training to the

players (Gong 1999:39).

From my observation, this notation is being used only by a limited number of

guqin players, mainly Gong's students.   My interviews also suggest that while many

guqin performers agree with the reformation model, few of them really adopt it.

Many in Mainland China still adhere to the conventional hybrid system combining

staff and *jianzipu* notation (see Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6   **Conventional hybrid *guqin* notation – horizontally written**
                   ***jianzipu* under staff notation**

Concluding Remarks: The Making of a Modern Notation

Grounded on Cheung's comment that the modern reformations of *guqin* notation follow the trend of having the rhythmic and dynamic indication notated with more detail and more precisely, I suggest that these modifications travel from notating gesture and finger positions (in *jianzipu*), to notating melodic, metrical, and rhythmic details (in staff notation). Each of the five models presented above occupies a position in this continuum (see Figure 2.7). The scales are arbitrary, but I want to show the perspective that these reformation models lie between the dichotomy of gesture-position notation and metrical-melodic notation.

Figure 2.7   Different reformation models
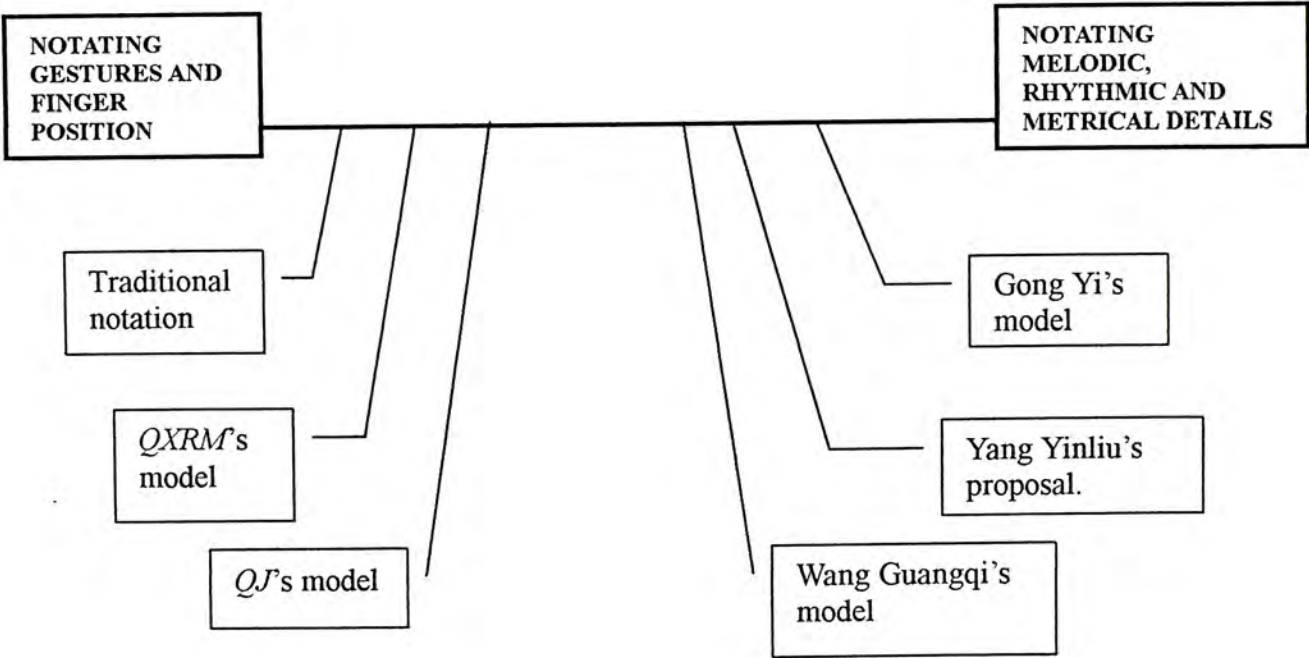
Gong's model is by no means an isolated outburst. The process of reforming *guqin* notation already started in the early twentieth century, when people were first exposed to Western notations. Notating exact pitch and rhythm is the recurring goal for reformers to accomplish. The four-column model in *QJ* is a first attempt to notate pitch and melody exactly, and to regard musical notation as a mirror to

"reflect" what is actually happening in music.   Such a "mirror" concept did not find

its counterpart in traditional *guqin* notation and manuscripts, to which, as Zhang He

noted in *QXRM*, players should not stick too much.   Wang Guangqi then succeeded

this budding concept with one which developed it into a seemingly sophisticated

model: staff notation is included, and *jianzipu* characters are replaced by other

symbols.   As I mentioned above, Wang's model was indeed less revolutionary than

that of his successor Yang Yinliu in the sense that, while Wang was looking for

alternatives to notating in abbreviated characters, Yang had already started to replace

jianzipu with staff notation.   Finally, Gong's model is an outcome of the efforts paid

to reforming *guqin* notation in the twentieth century, making it a staff-based modern

notation, which, together with the instrument, is considered comparable to its

Chinese and Western counterparts.

Modernist thoughts in modern China often bear a sense of pragmatism.   (See

chapter three for the pragmatic concept of *dapu*.)   Besides the underlying concept of

imitating Western notation and criticizing *jianzipu* as backward, unscientific, and

imprecise, these reformations indeed bear practical objectives.   "Due to these

shortcomings [of *jianzipu*], the speed of sight-reading, notating and copying was

reduced." Gong explains the necessity for reformation: "this imperfect notation also

hindered exchanges between different schools, popularization of *guqin* music and

composing new pieces" (Gong 1999:38).[21]   This imitation goes beyond the

five-line staff, clefs and time signature to, more importantly, include a notation that is

apt for sight-reading and composing music.

Reformations on *guqin* notation also lie close to the search for Chinese

modernity.   Notably, the beginning of significant reformation models for *guqin*

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[21] Original Chinese text:「由於上述的缺憾也影響了視譜、記譜、抄譜的速度。記譜技法的不完
善也影響了琴家琴派之間的交流、琴樂的普及與創作」

notation coincided with the effort to build a modern nation.   Echoing the

May-fourth's *zeitgeist* of imitating the more modernized West to build a modern

China, the rationale of notation reformation always goes like this: our heritages are

valuable and prosperous, but there are shortcomings that deserve improvement by

borrowing from the West (Quoted above, see Wang [1934] 1971:1-2).   Imagination

of a single musical tradition continues, with an underlying endeavor to unify any

regional and historical variations in *jianzipu* notation and make it a modern notation,

which is a unified and distinctive *Chinese* notation.   Interestingly enough, a sense of

musical universalism among the reformers is also obvious.   This universalism

ranges from Wang Guangqi's translation of Western musical concepts into Chinese

(and the belief that they are translatable), to Gong's insistence that notation employed

in other musical instruments should be usable in *guqin*.   This universalistic notion

allows the reformers to claim equal status with the West, by imagining that *guqin*

(and Chinese music at large) is and should be comparable to the standard of other

musical instruments, or musical cultures, of the world, if not the West.

In the whole story of the modernization project, *guqin* notation and its

reformation plays only a part in the entirety.   Besides the making of modern

notation for sight-reading and for composers to compose new pieces, the *guqin* is

being re-created as a modern and *Chinese* musical instrument, from playing for

private gatherings to the concert hall, from self-cultivation to professionalism, and

from private tutorship to conservatory lessons.[22]

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[22] Scholars have paid much attention to the increasing institutionalization and professionalism of *guqin* music. In a revealing study of *guqin* performance practice, Huang Yi-ping has compared the temporal, dynamic, and ornamental expressions among three generations of *guqin* players from their recordings. She further contextualizes the increased emphasis on virtuosity and professionalism under the rise of *xueyuanpai* 學院派 (conservatory style) after the institutionalization of *guqin* pedagogic practices. (See Huang 1998b:15-44)

Chapter 3

Between Creativity and Reconstruction:

Dapu *and Its Changing Concept*

Introduction

Together with other historical genres like the *Dunhuang pipa* pieces 敦煌琵琶曲

(manuscripts printed 933 CE) of the Tang dynasty, *ci* 詞 song notation from the Song

dynasty, and tunes of *kun*ju 崑劇, the music of *guqin* inherits a myriad of ancient

notation.   However, reconstruction of ancient *guqin* music (known as *dapu*) differs

from that of other historical genres in the sense that the product of *dapu* is usually

not perceived as a revived tradition.   In other words, the distinction between

reconstructed and existing pieces is often ignored and such difference is often

considered unimportant.   While teaching pieces, seldom will a *guqin* instructor

explain whether the piece is a living one or a reconstructed one.   Also, *dapu* is

considered a reconstruction-performance act; "the result of *dapu* is that of

performance" (Cheng 1996:25).   Eventually, reconstructed pieces are always

indistinguishably included in any performances, recordings, and teachings.   In that

sense, the practice of *dapu* resembles Western early music performance because,

firstly, reconstruction lies closely with performative acts; and secondly, the concept

of revival is not explicitly stated in musical activities.

Much of the discussion in early music scholarship rests on the authenticity of early music performance.   Summarizing the main critiques to the notion of authentic performance, Richard Taruskin writes, "the whole trouble with Early Music as a 'movement' is the way it has uncritically accepted the post-Romantic work-concept and imposed it anachronistically on pre-Romantic repertoire. ... A movement that might, in the name of history, [have] shown the way back to a truly creative performance practice has only furthered the stifling of creativity in the name of normative controls" (Taruskin 1995:13).   He further reassesses the notion of authentic performance: the "fidelity to the composer's intentions cannot be used as a yardstick by which the value of a performance may be measured, and ... it is not in expressions of such fidelity that the essential nature of authentistic performance resides" (Taruskin 1983:151).   Inspired by these arguments and given the resemblance between *dapu* and early music revival, I try to theorize the practice of *dapu* by reassessing the issue of authenticity and its related context in Chinese music reconstruction.

Despite its seemingly mystical image, (as with other *guqin*-related issues, like notation, performance practice, historical origin, and so forth), *dapu* is being widely practiced among *guqin* musicians.   After years of apprenticeship, most *guqin* students, if not all, will be taught some knowledges and ideas of practicing *dapu*. While any *guqin* player is allowed to practice *dapu*, only those cultivated and experienced *guqin* masters are considered as being able to truly experience the music. Their interpretations are thus considered authoritative.   Nowadays, apart from the local/private gathering *yaji* 雅集 [elegant gathering], the most important music activity assembling *guqin* musicians from all around the country is the *dapu* conference (I will return to it in the last section).   In addition, as I will argue, the modern conception of *dapu* is predominantly a twentieth-century invention, even

though some scholars suggest that *anpu xunsheng* 按譜尋聲 is a comparable practice in ancient time.   For these reasons, a critical examination to the practice of *dapu* enables us to understand the changing sphere of music scholarship in modern China.

Defining *Dapu*

In the simplest sense, *dapu* (literally, beating the notation) refers to a realization of *guqin* notation, a process of "deciphering and interpreting the tablature, whereby mute music in notation is converted to live music to be experienced" (Yung 1985:370).   As mentioned, the tablature notation of *guqin* indicates gestures and finger positions, but provides few melodic, rhythmic, and metrical details.   *Dapu* is an attempt to reconstruct music by realizing the rhythm, tempo, dynamics, and melody from an ancient notation that is no longer being played or passed on.   With the discovery of many ancient manuscripts in the fifties, hundreds of pieces that were no longer recognized or practiced suddenly re-appeared.   Musicians felt an obligation to launch extensive *dapu* projects in an organized and systematic way.

The origin of *dapu* is unclear.   The term "dapu" first appeared in an early twentieth-century essay "Duiyu changming qinxue zhi wojian" 對於昌明琴學之我見 [My opinion on promoting *guqin* music]; it reads, "the most difficult aspects of *dapu* is to deal with the different kinds of vibratos." (Shi 1937:52)[1]   Yet, as in other narrations of Chinese tradition, in which history extends into the mist of time, there is no lack of aspirations to claim a long history of the practice.   Scholars usually date *dapu* back to the Ming dynasty or even earlier; for example, Yung argues that the idea of *dapu* is suggested in the manuscript *Shenqi mipu* 神奇秘譜 (1425) (Yung

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[1] Original Chinese text:「而打譜之最困難處，亦厥爲安排吟猱。」. It is worth-noting that the most difficult aspect of *dapu* he mentioned is not rhythmic or temporal matters, but the arrangement of different kinds of vibrato.

1985:382-83).   Writing about his notion of historically-informed performance (HIP),

John Thompson also suggests that, "I believe that Zhu Quan's [朱權] aims in

compiling and publishing *Shenqi mipu* were thus quite in line with the aims of those

who today seek HIPs of early Western music" (Thompson 2001:4).   However, it

should be noted that neither the recognition of *dapu* as a *guqin* music activity nor the

term itself did appear until the early twentieth century.

In this chapter I try to problematize the practice of *dapu* by dichotomizing two

increasingly distinguishable approaches to *dapu*, namely, ancient and modern,

historic and creative.   I argue that *dapu*, whether as defined by scholars or as

practiced by *guqin* musicians, is not a concept as unified as what dictionaries try to

define.   It is, however, a space for constant negotiation by different ideas on *guqin*

music and music historiography at large.

Between Ancient and Modern, Historical and Creative

As mentioned, despite being claimed as having an ancient historical origin, the

modern sense of *dapu* is in essence a twentieth-century music activity.   Accordingly,

scholars usually distinguish between ancient (*gudai* 古代) and modern (*xiandai* 現代)

ways of *dapu*.   A problem in the scholarship of Chinese modernity is that it is

always difficult to distinguish between what is commonly called "pre-modern" and

"modern".   But we can still try to investigate the way people come to define their

difference from the past and to articulate a new mode of practice, which is

considered as "modern".

Scholars usually distinguish between an ancient way of *dapu*, which was

practiced by pre-twentieth-century musicians and the first generation of *dapu*-ists

(like Guan Pinghu 管平湖), and a modern way of *dapu*, which is now being practiced

by contemporary musicians.   A Shanghai *guqin* player Cheng Gongliang 成公亮

points out that *dapu* functioned as a pastime and entertainment for ancient people (*guren* 古人); while for modern people (*jinren* 今人), *dapu* "has academic and music-archaeological values, with an historical mission to rescue Chinese music" (Cheng 1996:22).[2] He further explains that, the text (*juben* 據本) used by ancient people to practice *dapu* was usually a contemporary manuscript that had just been published.   On the contrary, modern people seek to base their *dapu* on early and ancient manuscripts, such as *Shenqi mipu* and *Xilutang qinpu* 西麓堂琴譜 (1549). He also identifies the fifties as a borderline between ancient and modern ways of *dapu*: "Before the fifties, the texts for *dapu* came primarily from those manuscripts published in the late Qing dynasty, like *Wuzhizai qinpu* [五知齋琴譜 (1721)] and *Qinxue rumen* [琴學入門 (1864)].   After the fifties, following the large-scale fieldwork and thus discoveries of ancient manuscripts by Zha Fuxi 查阜西 and his colleagues, scholars started employing early and ancient manuscripts as text for *dapu*"[3] (ibid:22).   Technically, the ancient way of *dapu* is described as *anpu xunsheng* 按譜尋聲, to "follow the notation to search for the sound" (Dai 2001:35-37; Cheng 1996:20-21), while the modern way of *dapu* is regarded as a scientific and systematic process to probe some kinds of historical trueness.

The second dichotomy exists between historical and creative approaches to *dapu*.   It appears more contentious than the first one, and resembles the issue of authentic performance in the early Western music movement.   In general, *dapu* is regarded as both a historically informed activity and an inventive one.   Defining *dapu*, *Zhongguo yinyue cidian* 中國音樂辭典 [Lexicon for Chinese music] writes,

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[2] Original Chinese text: 「有學術研究和音樂考古意識，搶救民族音樂的歷史責任感」
[3] Original Chinese text: 「五十年代之前，打譜的據本多爲晚清刊印的琴譜，如《五知齋琴譜》、《琴學入門》等，五十年代後，因大量搜訪（查阜西等）發現古譜，才開始打古譜」

[d]apu, a technical term of *guqin*, refers to the process of playing pieces according to the notation. Since *guqin* notation indicates only the finger positions and gestures rather than notating the tune directly, there is a large space for rhythmic variety. As a result, a *dapu*-ist should accustom him/herself with the ways and techniques of performing *guqin* music. He should then speculate on the content of the piece. *Dapu* is a re-creation to regain the original appearance of the piece. Most of the ancient music has ceased to be heard today, so we should regain the music by *dapu*.[4] (*Zhongguo* 1985:62)

Resembling the practice of early music performance,[5] *dapu* inherits two distinctive, if not contrasting, natures: as a re-creation (*zaichuangzao* 再創造), or "creative *dapu*"; and simultaneously, as a practice to regain the original appearance (*zaixian yuanqu benlai mianmao* 再現原曲本來面貌), or "historical *dapu*". A basic formula to account for the dichotomy between historical and creative *dapu* will begin by acknowledging the presence of the two practices, and hail such a distinction as idiosyncratic to *guqin* music. In order to rescue either approach from antithesis, it will then try to discard the distinction, by showing how the historical approach guarantees the other. This paradoxical narration is obvious in many definitions of *dapu*: "As a special activity of music archaeology," writes Cheng, "*dapu* is also an activity of artistic creation" (Cheng 1996:26).[6]

John Thompson, an American *guqin* player who has spent twenty-four years in Hong Kong and completed several projects on *dapu*,[7] is among the most unambiguous in advocating "historically-informed performance" (HIP) in *dapu*. He

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[4] Original Chinese text:「打譜，彈琴術語，指按照琴譜彈出琴曲的過程。由於琴譜並不直接記錄樂音，只是記明弦位和指法，其節奏又有較大的伸縮餘地。因此，打譜者必須熟悉琴曲的一般規律和演奏技法，揣摩曲情，進行再創造，力求再現原曲的本來面貌。現存的古譜絕大部分已經絕響，必須經過打譜恢復音樂。」

[5] As Shelemay describes in her ethnography on the early music movement in Boston, early Western music revival shows a similar dual-nature. "While their performances are certainly 'historically informed,' the Boston Museum Trio is at the same time 're-inventing' music of the past, a process acknowledged as an imaginative and exciting one" (Shelemay 2001:10).

[6] Original Chinese text:「打譜這項特殊的音樂考古活動，又是一項音樂藝術創造活動」

defines HIP as "a performance done in accordance with the historical records of how it was performed at some time in the past" (Thompson 2001).   He further explains:

> My aim has been to reconstruct what those note values might have been, and play the melodies as they might have been played at the time they were written down. ... Some of these early melodies have survived into the modern repertoire, albeit much changed; others disappeared centuries ago. Efforts to determine how they might originally have been played parallel efforts to reconstruct Western medieval and renaissance music. The latter was also written down, but much information was left out; for centuries it was rarely played, and when played it was in a style contemporary with that of the performers. ... The materials available for the reconstruction of early qin music are comparable to those for early Western music. A careful analysis and rendering of these qin materials produces music that, to the trained ear, is quite different from qin music played according to the style of today. Early Western music as heard today is the result of the work of thousands of scholars and performers. A comparable effort with the materials for early qin music could produce qin players capable of creative performances in styles which would allow a similar level of confidence that these might truly be sounds bequeathed to us from our distant ancestors. (Thompson 2001)

In practice, Thompson is quite discontent with the careless treatment by other *dapu*-ists in terms of pitch and the material of the strings.   (I will return to this issue below.   Actually this is where he tries to distinguish between "accuracy" and "authenticity"; he insists that the practices of some *dapu*-ists are imprecise rather than inauthentic; see Thompson 2001.)   Concerning the decision of the pitch of the third degree of a scale, he writes, "early Ming or pre-Ming HIP requires the inclusion of the altered thirds; changing them to the standard pentatonic third is a late Ming or Qing *qin* style (ibid.).   Thompson shows explicitly his incongruence with Yung on the definition of *dapu*.   Quoting Yung's opinion that "the old tablature should be

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[7] Thompson has finished *dapu* projects for the complete *Zheyin shizhi qinpu* 浙音釋字琴譜 (1491) and *Shenqi mipu*. For a detail description of him and his projects, please refer to his website at http://www.iohk.com/UserPages/thompson/Welcome.html.

seen only as a source for creating new music, and that any attempt to use it to reconstruct old music or an old style is both futile and in violation of *qin* tradition," he comments that "this opinion of his seems to conflict with some of the evidence put forward in his own writings" (Thompson 2001).   In short, he believes that *dapu* should be regarded more as a historical activity than as a creative activity as Yung suggests.[8]

Despite Thompson's criticism, his conception of *dapu* as a historical approach is paradoxically quite in line with most of the *dapu*-ists.   Yao Bingyan 姚丙炎, a *guqin* player famed for his effort on *dapu*, pointed out that *dapu*-ists should "try their best to avoid subjectivity, and be loyal to the original notation"[9] (Yao 1981:28).   This concept of *zhongyu yuanpu* 忠於原譜 (loyal to the original notation) gives rise to *guqin*'s crucial position in the sub-discipline of music archaeology (*yinyue kaoguxue* 音樂考古學).   Lin Youren 林友仁, a Shanghai *guqin* player, put forth the issue in an essay "qinyue kaogu gouxian" 琴樂考古構想 [Thoughts on archaeology of *guqin* music] (Lin 1985:7-15).   In his opinion, *qinyue kaogu* 琴樂考古 [archaeology of *guqin* music] is a better term for *dapu*, because "*dapu* differs significantly from composition, ... it is an artistic activity with a research nature and regulations"[10] (ibid.:8).   Then he tries to theorize the practices of *dapu* in terms of its aesthetics, procedure, finger techniques, tuning systems, and etc.   As he puts it, his aim is to "change the traditional sense of *dapu* from an unconscious artistic activity, to an activity with both consciousness and unconsciousness, ... to upgrade *dapu* as a

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[8] A sense of de-familiarization is obvious in this aspiration of create historical *dapu* or performance. Thompson concludes his article by de-familiarizing today's practice, that "the notes which are considered odd today may be important characteristic of earlier styles" (Thompson 2001). This kind of de-familiarization is also common in early Western music movements.   Dreyfus notices the tendency of early music performances to "depart from expected norms of performance practice, at once upsetting conventional expectations and displacing attention from the interpreter on to the composition" (Dreyfus 1983:297-322).

[9] Original Chinese text: 「⋯盡力減少主觀，忠於原譜，⋯」

systematic theory"[11] (ibid.:7).   In that sense, to understand *dapu* as music

archaeology, an authentic musical "original" is assumed and is waiting to be restored

to its pristine condition.   As I will point out in the last section of this chapter, in

order to stress the archaeological function of the historical *dapu*, *dapu*-ists are also

deliberate in delimiting and distinguishing between the historical and the creative

approach.

The Power of Silk String

Being classified as a "silk instrument" in the ancient *bayin* 八音 classification,[12]

guqin's strings have been made of silk throughout its history.   Documentations on

the production of silk strings is plentiful.   Huihuitang 回回堂 in Hangzhou, for

instance, was famed in the Ming dynasty as a string production firm, whose product

bingxian 冰弦 [ice string] was regarded as the most precious silk string brand and

was reserved for imperial usage.   Yet, the quality of silk strings has started to

decline since the late Qing dynasty.   Not until the seventies, when the *guqin* master

Wu Jinglue 吳景略 started to produce metal strings, had silk been replaced by metal

(wrapped with nylon) to increase the volume and erase the stylistic noise, as an

attempt to modernize Chinese musical instruments.[13]   Today, while silk-string

playing no longer exists in Mainland China (though there are recent revival

movements), a majority of Hong Kong and Taiwan *guqin* players are still playing

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[10] Original Chinese text: 「這種藝術的再創造與一般作曲家的創作是有很大的區別。…它是一項帶有研究性質和有限定性的藝術創造活動。」

[11] Original Chinese text: 「將傳統打譜從完全處在潛意識狀態下的藝術創作活動，轉化爲一定程度的顯意識與潛意識相結合的藝術研究和創造的活動。」

[12] The *bayin* classification, dating back to the Zhou dynasty, categorizes musical instruments according to their materials. They include *jin* 金 (metal), *shi* 石 (stone), *si* 絲 (silk), *zhu* 竹 (bamboo), *pao* 匏 (gourd), *tu* 土 (earth), *ge* 革 (skin), and *mu* 木 (wood).

[13] However, it should be noted that the reason for the decline of silk strings goes beyond the modernization fervor to include the poor quality of modern string production, which resulted from shortage in the silk supply from the fifties. See Wong (2000:5-6).

with silk-stringed *guqin*.   Actually, silk strings found a new champion in Hong

Kong and Taiwan *guqin* players, who are very proud of being tradition-guardians.

Having been experimenting with the production of silk string for many years, Wong

Shu-chi 黃樹志, a Hong Kong *guqin* player, studies and publishes extensively on

guqin strings.   Naming the string as *Taigu qinxian* 太古琴弦, the production of

strings was seen as an important act to continue the silk tradition.[14]

Another advocate of silk strings, John Thompson performs extensively with a

silk-string *guqin*, including all the pieces in his CD *Music Beyond Sound.*   Silk

strings also play an important role in Thompson's rhetoric of historically informed

performance; using a silk *guqin* is being compared with the use of period Western

music instruments.   Emphasizing the use of silk strings in his presentation of

historically informed performance, the silk-stringed *guqin* is seen as an embodiment

of traditional and authentic sound and tone color.

> Medieval Western music is most readily identifiable through the instruments
> used to play it. These are all different from instruments played today. Until the
> Chinese Cultural Revolution, however, the qin had been basically unchanged for
> at least 1500 years. (Thompson 2001)

In short, I suggest that the issue of silk strings is more political than the question

of material, sound quality, or tone color.   Silk strings provides a site for the

musicians and audiences to imagine the music they play as ancient, and the music

they listen to as authentic.   It is also a persuasive instrument for musicians to claim

antiquity, if not authenticity, in their performance and practice.   Unlike the metal

string, the silk string stands out as a signifier of traditional.   Together with the aged

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[14] For a brief review of the history of *guqin* string, please refer to Wong (2000:5-6) for Chinese and Thompson (http://www.iohk.com/UserPages/thompson/03b3silk.htm) for English.

instruments, reconstructed tunes, and theoretical modal scale, the silk string enables

people to imagine an ancient world of *guqin* music.

Dapu in Modern China and Its Practical Uses

Xu Jian 許健 describes *dapu* as war (*zhanyi* 戰役), and until now there have

been six wars of *dapu* since the fifties.   Although the rhetoric of describing a project

or plan as a war is a typical communist one, the word "war" still implies an enemy to

fight against.   But what kinds of enemies can *dapu* have?   The answer lies in the

predicament of having a dumb and unmusical music history. (I will come to this issue

in the next chapter.)   Xu explains his concept clearly:

> China our country has a long and colorful ancient music history. It is not a silent
> history. If we can enliven the three thousand odd *guqin* pieces into audible
> musical compositions, it will provide plenty of examples and details for
> research. ... After [the *dapu* of *Guanlingsan*], Chinese music history has this
> famous piece as a musical example. (Xu 1993:339-40)[15]

Xu shares a widespread apprehension among Chinese music historians of

having a silent, dumb, and unmusical music history.   To solve this problem, *dapu*

seems to be a good warrior to fight the war against a silent music history.

According to Xu (1993:340-42), there are six "wars": first, the *dapu* of *Guanlingsan*

廣陵散; second, the *dapu* of *Jieshidiao youlan* 碣石調幽蘭 (known also as *Youlan* 幽

蘭),[16] in around 1956; third, the *dapu* of *Hujia shibapai* 胡笳十八拍; fourth, the

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[15] Original Chinese text:「我國古代音樂史源遠流長豐富多彩，它並不是無聲的歷史，如能將現
存三千多首琴曲傳譜復活爲可聽的音樂作品，將能提供豐富的例證，和可供究研究的資料。…
將打譜作爲古琴事業中具有戰略意義的任務。」

[16] Notated in *wenzipu* 文字譜, a predecessor to the tablature notation *jianzipu*, the manuscript of
Jieshidiao youlan was discovered by a Chinese officer 楊守敬 in Kyoto, Japan in 1899. The Chinese
then came to know this oldest surviving manuscript. Yet there is another totally distinctive piece,
despite the similar title, called *Youlan*, which has been playing and publishing in China since its
appearance. Since people also abbreviate the former piece as *Youlan*, the title may create certain
confusion.

pieces attributed to Xi Kang 嵇康 (223-63) and Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-63), including *Changqing* 長清, *Duanqing* 短清, *Changze* 長側, *Duanze* 短側, *Jiukuang* 酒狂, and so forth; fifth, the second *dapu* conference in Beijing; and finally, the third *dapu* conference in Yangzhou 揚州.

Besides the obvious eagerness of using reconstructed pieces to compensate for an unmusical music history, *dapu* is also believed to have further practical uses. Reviewing the achievement on *guqin* research of the last forty-years, Xu points out that *dapu* can benefit composers to compose musical works with Chinese national characteristics:

> The outcome of the research [of *dapu*] is undoubtedly essential materials for Chinese music history, but that is not all. Composers aiming at writing musical works with Chinese national characteristics need to borrow materials from *guqin* music.[17] (Xu 1993:344)

Similar opinion is echoed elsewhere and presented in a more sensational manner.

> Let's imagine, if we can revive the sound of hundreds of *guqin* pieces, how much it can benefit the development of Chinese music, the research on Chinese music theory, and even the nationalist composers who employs native devices, by providing them with plentiful nutrients and energy! (Dai 2001:35)[18]

The theories of *dapu* are further elaborated by Wu Wenguang 吳文光, the son of Wu Jinglue 吳景略 (1907-1987), a master of the *yushan* 虞山 school.   Both Wus are respected *guqin* players and scholars in the Mainland China.   In an essay discussing the nature of *dapu* read at the fourth *dapu* conference in 2001, he showed an eagerness to justify *dapu*, and *guqin* music activity at large, as a practical and

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[17] Original Chinese text:「研究成果誠然是中國古代音樂史中很需要的教材，但決不止於此，一些志在創作出具有中國民族特色的作曲家需要借鑒古琴的創作經驗」

meaningful activity in the modern world.   *Dapu* is useful because, according to him, it can help in constructing a database of Chinese music historical symbols, to aid new composition, rearrangement and so forth.   I summarize the long paragraphs as follow.

What is the significance of *dapu* in modern society and how can the products of dapu contribute to the building of modern music? Starting from the twentieth century, the originally self-sufficient system of Chinese music was confronted with the great challenge of the massive influx of western music. ...

The music of *guqin* is basically an independent music activity, which contrasted with today's "composer-performer-listener" system. In order to incorporate *guqin* music into today's music system, *guqin*, besides acting as a solo instrument, should also have its music played and incorporated into the orchestra. Composers have adopted ancient *guqin* music as an element in their composition, to incorporate it into the Western composing devices. However, this method does not work well in ancient instrumental pieces, *guqin* music in particular. These kinds of adoption neglected the integrity and organic feature of Chinese ancient music.

As a result, the establishment of Chinese music historical symbols will be an unavoidable topic in Chinese music research of the new millennium.

Until now, we have already accumulated a wide and deep amount of music research in terms of music cultures and morphology. So the important thing to do now is to sieve and inspect this accrued music database, to choose suitable pieces to reconstruct, and to formalize them in terms of their cultural and morphological aspects.

The various archetypes of musical genres are like the numerous species in the nature, full of variation and developmental possibilities. Thus musicians should learn from the scientists in their ways of studying their subjects.

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[18] Original Chinese text: 「試想，一旦幾百首琴曲復響成功，那對我們現在的民族音樂的發展和民族音樂理論的研究甚至對立足於本民族風格創作的作曲家們，將帶來多麼豐富的創作養料和活力。」

The reconstruction of Chinese music historical symbols requires us to aid the transformation of ancient musical pieces, like that of *guqin*, into modern orchestral pieces, to depart from the traditional way of tune adoption. So, *moxie* [literally, mimetic composition] is a good method. Mimetic composition means to reproduce every hierarchical structure of the music archetype, including the melody, rhythm, tone color, vibration, glissando, etc.[19] (Wu 2001)

Concluding Remarks: *Dapu* and Modernity in China

Writing extensively on the issues of early music performance, Taruskin has formulated the theory of relating authentic performance to the rise of modernism. As he notes, the relationship between historical and modern performance is often confused.   "The split that is usually drawn between 'modern performance' on the one hand and the 'historical performance' on the other is quite topsy-turvy.   It is the latter that is truly modern performance, … [which] can be seen as modernist performance."   In short, the so-called "historical" or "authentic" performance in the early European music revival movement is actually a truly modern performance, and the notions of *historical, authentic*, and *revival* are paradoxically all modern inventions.   According to Taruskin, the practice of authentistic performance is

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[19] Original Chinese text:「最後要討論的是打譜這一項琴樂的傳統活動在當代社會中究竟有哪些現實意義呢？除了實現其自身的價值外，它所創造的文本和曲庫對當代音樂的建設還有哪些應用價值呢？二十世紀以來，隨著西方音樂的急劇大量傳入，原本自足的中國音樂體系受到了巨大的沖擊和挑戰。

在中國音樂史中音樂作品佔很大比重的琴樂，它基本上應該是一種獨樂樂的個體行為。這種個體性行為與今天時尚「作曲－演奏－聽眾」三位一體的模式甚為不同，要使這種獨樂樂行為納入今天的體系，…除古琴獨奏外更主要的是把琴曲交與樂隊去衍繹。歷來音樂家所作的實踐基本上可以用「改編」來概括，亦即為把古代琴曲作為創作的一種素材來看待，將其納入到作曲者所擅長的曲體曲式中去，並用西方作曲技法（古典主義佔了相當大的比重）加以發揮。…然而，用這種方法來處理古代器樂作品特別是古琴音樂時，就顯得力不從心了。…主題改編主義忽略了中國古樂的整體性和有機性以及微觀性等要素。

中國音樂歷史符號的確立和重建將是中國音樂研究在新世紀時不可回避的重要課題。…篩選和多方位審視這個業已累積起來的龐大曲庫，確定某些易於重建的曲目，並對之進行文化和形態兩方面的相對定型，就顯得越來越重要了。

形形色色的樂種原型就像大自然中的萬千物種一樣充滿了變化和發展的生機，音樂工作者應當像自然科學家一樣來對待它們。

中國音樂歷史符號的重建要求我們在對於古代的音樂作品特別是古琴作品轉化為現代樂隊作品時，脫開近現代歷史上所形成的一般主題改編的模式。…摹寫則是一種仿真，它首重的是對原型各個結構層面的忠實再現（包括曲調、節奏、音色、吟猱及滑音等微觀層次在內）。」

related to the emergence of modernism. "The ideal of authentistic performance grew up alongside modernism, shares its tenets," he writes, and "its values, its justification, and, yes, its authenticity, will only be revealed in conjunction with those of modernity" (Taruskin 1995:102). He uses T. S. Eliot's notion of "depersonalization" to describe the modernist ideal of impersonality, which "links modernist thinking to the value implicit in authentistic performance." Both regard the individual "as he is at the moment" (ibid.:102). For Taruskin, depersonalization results in the erasure of the concept of music as language (rhetoric) that has dominated much of past musical aesthetics. Modern performance, thus, in Taruskin's term, can be seen as "modernist performance" (ibid.:140-41).

Likewise, the *New Grove* defines "Modernism" as a twentieth-century historicism and as a kind of "scholarly objectivity."

> "Modernism helped impel and sustain a new objectivity towards the past and its attendant revisionism that profoundly influenced scholarship and principles of textual criticism and editing. ... The later 20th-century penchant for historically based performing practices, pre-Classical repertory and period instruments can also be linked to Modernism. At stake in these trends were a reaction against Romanticism and a reassertion of the primacy of an inherent logic of musical materials. Likewise, late Romantic historicism in taste and subjective appropriation in performance were superseded by a revival of interest in pre-Classical eras, particularly medieval and Renaissance music. Scholarly objectivity with respect to history became a Modernist conceit." (Botstein 2001:870)

Though it would be risky to parallel authentic early music performance with historical *dapu*, and traditional performance with creative *dapu*, it should not nevertheless stop us from theorizing the practice of *dapu*, and the music of *guqin* at large. In terms of methodology, the modern approach of historically informed performance or the pragmatic notion of *dapu* as music archaeology shares a similar

ideology of authentic performance. The traditional emphasis of *dapu* as a creative, personalized, and emotional activity is constantly compromising with an objectified and depersonalized process. Even if freedom and re-creative interpretation are still valued, modernist pragmatism is the very intention of *dapu*. The ancient/modern and creative/historical dichotomies mentioned above are not unrelated. Resembling authentic or historical early music performances, historical *dapu* is, ironically, predominantly a modern approach. The pursuit of authentic sound, loyalty to notation, and the archeological approach to musical activity are all twentieth-century invention.

As I demonstrated above, the modern projects of *dapu* are no longer restricted to personal enjoyment. It goes even beyond the notion of music archaeology, to include a progressive notion of a constructing database for future compositional use. Today is seen, under a progressive ideology, as a moment in history leading to a glorious future and the efforts paid are seen as an accretion for future betterment. Unlike the traditional notion of *dapu* as a creative activity, modern *guqin* musicians perceive *dapu* as a systematic and academic activity. A definite, correct, and commonly agreed-upon version of a particular piece can even be expected, if not required, after discussion and comparison. The change was gradual rather than abrupt. A close examination of the *dapu* practices of Master Guan Pinghu 管平湖 (1895-1967) will suggest that *dapu* practices in the sixties maintained much freedom in altering the musical structure, finger position, and tablature symbols of the original notation.[20] Nevertheless, the idea of impersonality is in line with the notion of

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[20] Compare, for example, Guan's version and the original notation of the piece *Aoai* 软乃 in *Tianwenge qinpu* 天聞閣琴譜. In addition to sectional alteration, Guan also added an idiosyncratic passage of harmonics at the end of the piece, which is absent in the original manuscript. Guan also admitted an impact of social and cultural change on the outcome of his *dapu* (see Guan 1985:492-97).

modernity, and resembles the modern notion of authenticity in early music revival in

particular.

Remarkably, the beginning of the modern sense of *dapu* coincides with the

decline of *guqin* activity.   According to Chan, there were only about two hundred

guqin players in the thirties, and this number further declined to around eighty in

1956 (Chan 1998:31).   A twentieth-century history of *guqin* music is even described

as *jiuwang yundong* 救亡運動 [rescuing movement] (Lau 1994:397-411), an

enthusiasm to rescue our "treasure tradition" from extinction.

Ideas from modern cultural movements are reflected in *guqin* music activities.

Although the *zeitgeist* of newness (*xin*) is not explicitly stated, articles in *Jinyu*

qinkang 今虞琴刊 (1937) reveal a clear awareness of defining and redefining *guqin*

against the new context. (The issue of females and *guqin*, for example.)   Not

surprisingly, reformation of notation (as shown in chapter two) and improvement of

the instrument have never stopped even today.   Alongside the effort to modernize

China in all technical, institutional and ideological aspects, Chinese music is

nevertheless included in this modernization project.

In addition, scholars are eager to seek an authentic and native face of Chinese

music.[21]   By *dapu*, ancient *guqin* music, which is regarded as distinctively and

essentially very *Chinese*, can be reconstructed and imagined; "natives" and

"authenticities" are then engendered.   Furthermore, in order to legitimatize *dapu* as

a useful activity in the whole modernity project, people also try to construct a

database, from where composers can draw national elements to compose music with

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[21] Opinions on "Chinese modernity" are as diverse and complex as the term modernity itself. Leo Lee Ou-fan, one of the pioneers in the discussion of Chinese modernity suggests that modernity in China "was closely associated with a new linear consciousness of time and history, which was itself derived from the Chinese reception of a social Darwinist concept of evaluation made popular by translations of Yan Fu and Liang Qichao at the turn of the century" (Lee 2000:31). I will return to this point below in chapter five.

Chinese characteristics.   After all, if this is true for composers, the claimed *Chinese*

characteristics, it turns out, are conjectures that come from those imagined and

constructed *Chinese* elements of the *dapu*-ists.

The four *dapu* conferences have all been held at a national level, gathering

guqin musicians from all over the country.   Unlike the local gathering activity *yaji*,

a *dapu* conference is a trans-regional activity aimed at reconstructing ancient music

through congregated effort.   The aspiration to promote *guqin* to a national or even

international level is also unambiguously stated in the fourth national *dapu*

conference.   Speaking at the opening ceremony, Qiao Jianzhong 喬建中, former

director of the Music Research Institute, addressed that, "on the one hand, we should

preserve the traditional characteristics of each *guqin* society and school.   On the

other, we should reinforce the cooperation between Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong,

Taiwan, and overseas *guqin* musicians; and devise long-term planning, to aid

national and international communication and interaction" (Qiao 2002:38).

In conclusion, I argue that the significance of *dapu* goes beyond the simple

definition of realizing of ancient notation; it provides a site for different

historiographic concepts to compromise.   Reading *dapu* under the twentieth-century

Chinese cultural context, I also suggest that modernist movements in postcolonial

China also played a part in the whole project of ancient music reconstruction.   As I

will point out later, postcolonialism and modernity in China are more complex than

simple definitions can encompass.   These concepts always appear to be perplexing

and constantly mutating.   Preferably, theorization of *guqin* scholarship and music

historiography in modern China can benefit and shape the constantly shifting

concepts of postcolonial Chinese modernity.

Epilogue: A Brief Report on the Fourth National *Dapu* Conference, 19-26 August 2001, Changshu

A *dapu* conference is not a regular activity among *guqin* musicians. Owing to financial problems, the last *dapu* conference was held in 1985, sixteen years before this fourth one. The conference was called Quanguo disijie *guqin* dapuhui ji guoji qinxue yantaohui 全國第四屆古琴打譜會暨國際琴學研討會 [The fourth national *dapu* and international *guqin* conference]. It was held from August 19-26, 2001, at Changshu 常熟, a town in Jiangsu 江蘇 province.[22] The *dapu* conference (hereafter refered to as such) gathered hundreds of the *guqin* players, including those of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas. In this section, I will briefly review the *dapu* conference and relate it to the aforementioned issues. Unless cited, all the quotations come from my notes, personal dialogues, and interviews during the conference.

Much of the one-week meeting had been devoted to the *dapu* demonstrations of individual participants. Each presenter was asked either to prepare one of four pieces from the standard repertoire, namely *Shangzhong siyouren* 山中思友人, *Xiuxiyin* 修禊吟, *Guanzui* 關雎, and *Lisao* 離騷, or to choose any particular piece from four manuscripts: *Xilutang qinpu* 西麓堂琴譜, *Shenqi mipu* 神奇秘譜, *Fengxuan xuanpin* 風宣玄品, and *Dahuange qinpu* 大還閣琴譜 for presentation and demonstration. Yet some presenters chose their own favorite pieces instead of this standard repertoire, while others simply played a piece.[23] In turn, forty-six

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[22] Changshu, also known as Yushan 虞山 or Qinquan 琴川, has been an important town since the Ming 明 dynasty. The famous *yushanpai* 虞山派 [*yushan* school] (also known as *shupai* 熟派 or *qinquanpai* 琴川派) was originated in this town and had its heyday during the late Ming dynasty. Master Yan Tianchi 嚴天池 (1547-1625), the compiler of the important manuscript *Songxianguan qinpu* 松弦館琴譜 (1614), is said to be the creator of the school. Another important figure of the school is Xu Shangying 徐上瀛, the author of the famous *Xishan qinkuang* 谿山琴況 (1673) discussing the issue of *guqin* music aesthetics.

[23] However, some participants complained and suggested that the *dapu* conference should be restricted to *dapu* presentation exclusively.

participants demonstrated twenty-nine pieces of *dapu* (Chen 2002:35).   Actually,

most presenters chose one of the four pieces, so that more than one interpretation

resulted for each piece.   The running of the conference went like reading papers in

any academic conference: each presenter was given around twenty minutes to present

his/her methodology of *dapu* and to demonstrate, which was followed by brief

question taking.   In addition, several sessions were devoted to the reading of

academic papers.[24]

As John Thompson rightly points out, "opinions expressed at the *dapu*

conference August 2001 in Changshu ranged from 'do whatever you want' to 'we

must reconstruct our ancient tradition'" (Thompson 2001).   Oftentimes an essay

was distributed before the presentation, explaining the historical background of the

piece and technical details of *dapu*, and so forth, to accompany a *dapu* demonstration.

From the essays, the practice of *dapu*, echoing the arguments mentioned, is more a

mixture of creative and historical approaches than of either one.   As noted by Chen

Changlin 陳長林, a respected *guqin* player who is also known as a physicist, the two

approaches are more complimentary than contradictory: "Firstly, we should speculate

on the ideas of ancient people in order to regain and revive the ancient tastes of the

guqin pieces; secondly, we should be permitted to incorporate the styles of different

schools and personal colors" (Chen 2002:35).

Given the dichotomy of approaching *dapu*, some scholars proposed to

distinguish clearly between the academic/re-appearance *dapu* (*xueshu dapu* 學術打譜

or *zaixianxing dapu* 再現性打譜) and performance/creative *dapu* (*yanzou dapu* 演奏

打譜 or *chuangzhaoxing dapu* 創造性打譜).   Wang Zichu 王子初, a music historian,

---

[24] For the academic papers, presenters were, in general, interested in mathematical calculation of tuning systems, ambiguous aesthetic features of *guqin* music, descriptive writings on historical figures and events, and so forth. Zhao Songguang's 趙宋光 essay provides a good example (Zhao 2001:34-39).

argued that in academic *dapu*, we should strictly observe the notation; while in *dapu*

for appreciation, we should leave space for changes.   The attempt to draw a strict

borderline between creative and historical approaches so as to emphasize the

importance of the latter was also echoed by other scholars.   Lin Chen 林晨

suggested that even though we cannot know exactly about the rhythmic details,

historical *dapu* is still important as it can at least allow us to understand ancient

music by knowing the pitches and finger positions.   The demonstration of John

Thompson was notable.   Demonstrating his *dapu* of *Dongting qiusi* 洞庭秋思

[Autumn contemplating on the *Dongting* lake], he hung up a Chinese painting

featuring a scene of autumn.   According to him, the aim of *dapu* is to revive ancient

music.   *Dapu*-ists should be governed by this principle in order to imagine that

"ancient music is like that."   He further pointed out that, given the plentiful

documentation, reviving Chinese music is easier than that of Western music.   The

use of silk string was another point of emphasis for his historically informed

performance-demonstration.   As mentioned, the use of silk strings enables

musicians to claim antiquity and authenticity in their performance.   In a meeting

where most *dapu*-ists demonstrated their work by playing metal-stringed *guqin*, the

role of silk strings as a tradition-carrier was again made explicit.

Figure 3.1   **Group picture at the Fourth National *Dapu* Conference, 19-26 August 2001, Changshu**

全国第四届古琴打谱会暨国际琴学研讨会
2001年8月20日于江苏常熟

Chapter 4

Becoming a Chinese Music History: Guqin and Music Historiography

> I do not want to follow the predilection of foreign readers, to single
> out some speciously resembling but impertinent facts of Chinese
> music to cater for their taste. Neither would I pick up some
> distinctive but trivial features of Chinese music to satisfy the
> curiosity and proclivity of foreign readers, just like selling antiques.[1]
>
> (Yang Yinliu, *An outline of Chinese music history*, 2)

Introduction

The modern conception of *werktreue*, the notion of being true or faithful to a work

and considering a musical work as an autonomous and self-contained unit, has been

widely questioned.   In her book *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, Lydia Goehr

clearly explains this *werktreue* conception:

> Most of us tend … to see work as objectified expression of composers that
> prior to compositional activity did not exist. We do not treat works as objects
> just made or put together like tables or chairs, but as original, unique products
> of a special, creative activity. We assume, further, that the tonal, rhythmic, and
> instrumental properties of works are constitutive of structurally integrated
> wholes that are symbolically represented by composers in scores. Once created,

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[1] Original Chinese text:「另一方面，也決不願意過於注意國際讀者興趣的方向，將世界音樂園
地中所共有的事實爲網，從本國音樂園地中專門拾取一些與世界音樂貌似相符，而實際無關宏
旨的事實，以遷就國際讀者的原有背景，或者從本國音樂園地中，專門拾取一些與世界音樂特
殊爲異而實際並不重要的事實，作古董的賣弄，以遷就國際讀者好奇的癖性。」

we treat work as existing after their creators have died, and whether or not they are performed or listened at any given time. (Goehr 1992:2)

Two defining features of art music underline the concept of *werktreue*: first, the partial separation of composition and performance in the process of music making; and second, the survival of the products of composition as written texts independent of performance. (Berger 2000:118)   This concept of the work of art in the emphatic sense, Carl Dahlhaus argues, is hardly more than two centuries old (Dahlhaus 1987:210), and it is "closely bound up with the institution of the bourgeois concert which crystallized in the eighteenth century" (ibid.:221).   Tracing the origin of this work-concept (hereafter I refer to it as such), Goehr argues that the regulative concept of the musical work did not begin to take place until around 1800, when music "achieved its emancipation from the extra-musical and ... simultaneously found its new emphasis to be placed on works" (Goehr 1992:148).   In addition, "it all began around 1800 when musicians began to reconstruct musical history to make it look as if musicians had always thought about their activities in modern terms" (ibid.:245).[2]

Rather than being influential only in European art music, the work-concept has also "increasingly been adopted by musicians involved in the production of many different kinds of music" (ibid.:250).   Many forms of musical production are being packaged in terms of work, even in the domains of early music, jazz, folk, popular music, and even non-western musical cultures.   Not surprisingly, we witness a substantial and pervasive impact of work-concept in the scholarship and musical activities of Chinese music.   Textbooks identify "musical works" by demonstrating transcription of recordings or transnotation of ancient notations, fitting them into the

dynastically defined historical periods.   Composers, musical styles, and composing

background are then identified in order to write a composer-centered and

work-oriented music history.[3]

The work-concept being discussed here, I should emphasize, is not as a

theoretical concept, which would demand philosophical argument, but rather a

phenomenon, which calls for cultural and historical approaches.   Grounded in the

studies done on Western and Chinese music historiography, I try to problematize the

writing of music history in modern China by shedding light on certain

historiographic issues.   Specifically, I am concerned with the appropriation of the

work-concept in Chinese music scholarship, with particular attention paid to the

music of *guqin*.   I read the writing of music history as cultural invention, in which

modern reconstruction of surviving historical manuscripts and documentation

occupies a crucial position.   Central to this chapter is the argument that *guqin*, with

its copious manuscripts and literary documents, is being used to construct a music

history comprised of composers composing musical works.   As a preliminary study

to the whole project of investigating the work-concept in Chinese music, this chapter

examines the ways the work-concept regulates the research and writings of music

history in the twentieth century.   I will also address the historical imagination in

Chinese scholarship, music historiography in particular, of the twentieth century as a

whole.

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[2] Dahlhaus has investigated extensively into the inception of the work-concept, its decline in the music of the early twentieth century, and its cultural and social connotations (see Dahlhaus 1987, 1989).

[3] Anticipating the following discussion, the case of Abing 阿炳, a blind folk musician offers a good example. Jonathan Stock notes the re-creation of Abing as a composer and his piece *Erquan yingyue* 二泉映月 as an *erhu* composition (Stock 1996).

Music Historiography and the Work-Concept in China

It has become a cliché to describe Chinese music history as a *meiyou yinyue de yinyueshi* 沒有音樂的音樂史 [music history with no music].[4]   As a discipline borrowing many of its approaches from general history, historical studies of Chinese music always begin with pre-historical periods, when there is hardly anything relevant to the aesthetic sense of "music".[5]   Joseph Lam explains that, "Chinese music histories include few descriptions of actual music. ... Published accounts of China's musical past include little hard evidence about the structure and sounds of specific musical works" (Lam 1994:1).   Music historiography, it turns out, rests primarily on the study of ancient manuscripts, archaeology carvings, frescos, excavated instruments, artifacts and mural paintings in ancient tombs, calculation of tuning systems, and so forth.   The first "music" in the phrase "music history with no music" has assumed an aesthetic sense of music.   From a modern Western historiographic perspective,[6] there exists a great gap between historical background (biography of composers, social context under which the work is being composed, etc.) and the aesthetic sense of music (identified styles, formal structure, actual sounds, etc.)   For this reason, it is difficult to make relevance of sound materials to music history; even manuscripts or historical documents alike may suggest such relationship.

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[4] Joseph Lam elsewhere translates the same phrase into "there is no music in Chinese music history" when he is discussing the reconstruction and perpetuation of some tunes from the *Yuan* 元 dynasty (see Lam 1994:165-88).
[5] Nearly all music histories begin the first chapter with a discussion on the origin of music, which is then followed by chapters on the music in the *yuangu* 遠古 [far ancient] time, *Xia* 夏 dynasty, and the *Shang* 商 dynasty (see Yang 1981:1-27, for example). These chapters usually occupy a considerable number of pages. Part of the reason for such emphasis on pre-historical periods, I suggest, has to do with the excavation of numerous ancient musical instruments after the fifties; for instance, the set of sixty-five chime bells from the Marquis Zeng (Zeng Hou Yi) of the Warring States Period.
[6] Of course, in terms of periodization, music historiographies in the West are also distinct and diverse in different historical periods (see Stanley 2001:552-55).

Scholars show different reactions to this predicament of having no *music* in a music history.   According to Lam, some Hong Kong scholars criticized the reconstruction of early Chinese music as inauthentic.   They argued that the accounts in Chinese music histories are "more theoretical than factual, and their musical descriptions [are] disputable" (ibid.:1).   On the other hand, that the history of Chinese music does not inherited audible musical works has puzzled many music historians.   An indigenous music historian Zheng Zuxiang 鄭祖襄, for example, explicitly shows his endeavor to solve the problem in his rubrically titled essay "Ba 'meiyou yinyue de yinyueshi' bianwei you keting zuopin de yinyueshi" 把沒有音樂的 音樂史變爲有可聽作品的音樂史 [From 'a music history with no music' to a music history with audible musical works] (1999).   In the book *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shixue gailun* 中國古代音樂史概論 [An overview to historiography of Chinese ancient music], Zheng further explains the importance of focusing on "musical works" in the study of music history.   Referring to Western music histories as models, he feels a need for the study of Chinese music history to meet the condition of the work-concept.   In practice, he proposes to contextualize musical works with their backgrounds of individuals, periods, ethnic groups, and nation:[7]

> The musical work stands distinctively in music history. In musical cultures of human beings, the musical work embodies the artistic talent of human beings who create music. It is the product of musical art. The study of music history should aim at summarizing the previous artistic values of the music of human beings. Naturally, then, we should firstly focus on the musical work. In Western music history, the musical work is the primary concern for academic study. According to Materialism, a complete musical work is able to achieve a perfect unity in its content and form. It symbolizes the characteristics of individuals,

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[7] Actually it was Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬, a respected Chinese musicologist famed for his research on ancient tuning systems, who suggested in the eighties that the research of music history should be oriented toward constructing a music history with audible musical works. Zheng even hails Huang's attempt as representative of the most recent development and advance of the discipline of music history (Zheng 1999:9).

periods, ethnic groups and nations. What does a musical work embody? How does it embody? What are the rules of composition? What kind of artistic styles does it forms? How is the content related to the period and the ethnic group in question? How are composing techniques imparted, and how is creativity achieved? All these require meticulous study and investigation by music historians.[8] (Zheng 1998:6)

Not until the late Ming dynasty did most surviving musical genres, like Kun opera, Beijing opera, silk and bamboo ensemble, wind and percussion ensemble, etc., take their shape. Interesting enough, the study of these surviving musics is often separated from the study of music history, and compartmentalized into the four sub-disciplines (*sidajian* 四大件), namely, operatic music (*xiqu yinyue* 戲曲音樂), narrative music (*shuochang yinyue* 說唱音樂), instrumental music (*qiyue* 器樂) and folk song (*minge* 民歌).[9] Rather than focusing on historical study, *sidajian* is concerned more with analysis, in which formal structure, tuning systems, modes, rhythmic patterns, etc., are identified. For systematic purposes, indigenous scholars even propose to establish a sub-discipline called *yinyue xingtai xue* 音樂形態學 [music morphology] concerning the study of music analysis. Quoting Huang Xiangpeng's saying in the eighties, Wang Yaohua defines the term:

Music morphology of Chinese national music is targeted on traditional Chinese music. It studies the artistic and technical rules and national characteristics. While music morphology in general studies the common rules of all musics,

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[8] Original Chinese text: 「在音樂史中音樂作品居於特殊的地位。在人類音樂文化中，音樂作品集中體現了人創造音樂的藝術才能，它是音樂藝術的結晶。音樂史研究要總結以往人類音樂的藝術價值，就自然先把目光放在音樂作品上。在西方音樂史學上，音樂作品始終是研究的主要對象。唯物主義音樂觀認為，一部完整的音樂作品是內容和形式的完美統一。在內容上表現出個人、時代、民族和國家的種種特點。音樂作品表現甚麼內容？又如何表現？其中的作曲規律是怎樣的？形成了甚麼樣藝術風格？作品的內容跟時代民族有甚麼關係？作曲的技法是如何繼承傳統而又有所創造的？等，這些都需要音樂史工作者作深入細致（按：緻）的分析研究。」

[9] Sometimes a fifth category "religious music" (*zongjiao yinyue* 宗教音樂) will be added.

Chinese national music morphology aims at finding the unique rules of Chinese national music. (Wang 1999:11-12)[10]

In a general sense, the sub-discipline of music morphology assumes that any music can be regarded as a unit, and can be analyzed scientifically to find out unique rules. In that sense, musical pieces are often crystallized and presented as individual works; neglecting historical changes and stylistic distinctions among different performers and schools. In turn, ahistorical and definite versions of musical works are identified.

Guqin and Musical Works

Compared with their counterparts in the first half of the twentieth century, music historians after the fifties appropriate the work-concept more extensively into their writing of music history.[11] *Guqin* music plays a crucial role in such appropriation. In a much-read music history textbook *Zhongguo gudai yinyueshi jianshu* 中國古代音樂史簡述 (1989), transcription, transnotation, or reconstruction of *guqin* pieces are responsible for many of the musical examples in the ninety chronologically arranged chapters. It should be noted that there is often a long temporal discrepancy between the historical periods in question and when the notation appeared. For instance, the piece *Guangling san* 廣陵散 is included in the chapters on the late Han dynasty (ca. 200 CE), but its notation only appeared for the first time in the manuscript *Shenqi mipu* 神奇秘譜 (1425) and the present recordings and staff notation are an outcome of modern reconstruction by Guan Pinghu 管平湖

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[10] Original Chinese text: 「中國民族音樂形態學是以中國傳統音樂爲對象，從音樂形態學一般理論所觸及的各個方面，研究其藝術技術規律與民族特徵的學科。當一般的音樂形態學旨在探尋音樂形態的普遍原理時，中國民族音樂的形態學研究旨在探尋民族的特殊規...。」

[11] Music historians of the early twentieth century primarily follow the traditional fashion of writing music history. Discussions on tuning systems, instruments, imperial music systems, etc. constitute the majority of these books. See Xu (1930) and Wang (1934) for example.

(1895-1967) in the sixties (Liu 1989:139-42).   Also, in the textbook, the piece *Jiu*

kuang 酒狂 is placed in the Wei and Jin dynasty (220-439 CE) to illustrate the

compositions of Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263 CE).   Yet its notation appeared for the first

time in the manuscript *Shenqi mipu* (1425) and current recordings and staff notation

were a modern reconstruction by Yao Bingyan 姚丙炎 (1921-1983) (ibid.:150-60).

The reason for using the music of *guqin* to construct a work-composer oriented

music history is relevated to *guqin*'s copious literary documentation and manuscripts.

As an instrument closely tied to the literati, the music of *guqin* has no lack of

notation and literary documentations, providing details on its musicians, history,

aesthetics, tuning system, and musical notation.   The over 6000 titles of *guqin*

music have been preserved in more than 150 published manuscripts, starting from the

earliest *Shenqi mipu* in 1425 (Chan 1998:29).   In addition, the titles of many *guqin*

pieces are similar or identical to those in many other musical genres throughout

history.   For instance, *Meihua sannong* 梅花三弄 is at the same time the title of a

guqin piece and of a *qingshangyue* 清商樂, a musical genre in the Wei and Jin

dynasties (220-439 CE).   With the survival of the manuscripts and performance

practices (though they can only be traced back to the Ming and late Qing dynasties

respectively), *guqin* music provides plenty of audible and *musical* materials.   As a

result, if one has to construct a music history of composers and musical works, with

anthology-like scores and audio materials, the music of *guqin* serves well.   Zha Fuxi

查阜西 spoke unambiguously on this issue:

> An authoritative person once said, "Chinese music history will become a dumb
> music history." He should not have neglected the fact that *guqin* notation has
> preserved ancient pieces for over thousands of years. With the notation, how
> will the history become dumb or blind? (Zha [1960] 1995:189)

A recent six-CD set *Zhongguo gudian yinyue xinshang* 中國古代音樂欣賞 [Appreciation of Chinese classical music] (1998) further exemplifies this point.[12] The chronologically arranged recordings encompass a historical period of nearly three thousand years, from the Zhou 周 dynasty to the Qing dynasty.   The first CD, "*Xianqing, Hanwei liuchao - Guyue yixiang*" 先秦, 漢魏六朝: 古樂遺響 [*From Zhou to Wei* dyasties – the relics of ancient music] for instance, covers the period from 770 BCE to 580 CE.   Seven of the eleven pieces recorded involve *guqin*, not to mention those pieces adapting *guqin* tunes to reconstruct ancient music for bell-chimes (*bianzhong* 編鐘) and modern orchestra.   The notation preserved in ancient manuscripts (from the fifteenth century onward) provides the sources for modern reconstruction of ancient Chinese music.

Situating *Guqin* Music into History: The Irony of *Meihua Sannong*

Meihua sannong provides a good example to illustrate how scholars deliberately contextualize and historicize *guqin* music in their writing of music history.   I will examine three recent music histories, namely, *Zhongguo gudai yinyueshi jianshu* (1989) (hereafter, *ZGYJ*) by Liu Zaisheng 劉再生, *Zhongguo yinyue shilue* 中國音樂史略 (1983) (hereafter, *ZYS*) by Wu Zhao 吳釗 and Liu Dongsheng 劉東昇, and *Zhongguo yinyue chubu* 中國音樂初步 (2000) (hereafter, *ZYC*) by Miao Jianhua 苗建華 and You Yun 游韻, for their different discourses on this piece.

---

[12] The 6-CDs set aims partly to provide audio materials to assist the teaching of Chinese music history., which is "always abundant in with documentary materials but scarce in audio materials." The producer also comments that the publication of the CD set is beneficial to the modern "cultural construction" of music history (Xiu 1998).

Nowadays we have come to know *Meihua sannong* as a *guqin* piece, with its notation initially appearing in a Ming-dynasty manuscript *Shenqi mipu* (1425).[13] Yet it is also commonly believed that *Meihua sannong* was originally a piece for *di* 笛, a vertical bamboo flute in the Eastern Jin 東晉 dynasty,[14] *composed* by Huan Yi 桓伊. It was then arranged into a *guqin* piece at the Tang 唐 dynasty by Yanshi Gu 顏師古. However, according to another manuscript *Yuexian qinpu* 樂仙琴譜 (1623), it was actually "composed" by Yanshi Gu (Liu 1989:245). Nevertheless, based on the fact that *Meihua sannong* is either composed or arranged by Yanshi Gu, the piece was placed in the Tang dynasty in *ZGYJ*, and the idiosyncratic central theme of the piece is then illustrated in a musical example (ibid.:244) (see Figure 4.1a).

However, in another much-read music history *ZYS*, *Meihua sannong* was placed in the Wei and Jin dynasties as an example of the musical genre *qingshangyue* 清商樂. The authors illustrate the relation between the *guqin* piece and *qingshangyue* by analyzing the piece:

> There are some fine musical works in *qingshangyue* at the court of the Eastern Wei and Liu Song dynasties. The *di* piece *Sannong* composed by Huan Yi is among those famous ones.[15] (Wu and Liu 1983: 58)

> This piece has three special characteristics in its formal structure. Firstly, it makes use of many superimposed phrases; (2) every musical phrase ends with an identical codetta, which is possibly the *shang* section in *qingshangyue*; (3) an identical melodic theme appear thrice in the high, low, and middle register, which is a usual device in *qingshangyue*. In terms of *di* music, this device is

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[13] Also known as *Meihua cao* 梅花操, *Sannong* 三弄, *Meihua yin* 梅花引 and *Meihua* 梅花, the *guqin* piece *Meihua sannong* appears in more than forty manuscripts from the *Ming* dynasty. A hallmark of the piece is the central theme repeating thrice in different registers. See Dai (1999:82-92) for a detailed account on historical changes and stylistic differences in the formal structure, tablature, and performing practices of the piece.

[14] To date, *di* 笛 (or *dizi* 笛子) is known as a transverse bamboo flute, as distinct from the vertical bamboo flute *xiao* 簫 (or *dongxiao* 洞簫). However, it is commonly believed that before the Tang dynasty *di* referred to a vertical flute.

[15] Original Chinese text:「在東晉和劉宋時期，宮廷清商樂創作中出現了一些較好的作品，其中以東晉桓伊創作的笛曲《三弄》比較著名。」

called *sannong: shangshengnong, xiashengnong* and *younong*. In addition, it is a frequent device for pieces of *xianghege* to have superimposing phrases and use identical codetta in their endings. As a result, we can clearly see the transition and development from *xianghege* to *qingshangyue*.[16] (Ibid.:59-60)

Qingshangyue was known as a popular musical genre during the Han, Wei and Jin dynasties.[17]   By analyzing *Meihua sannong*, the authors try to illustrate the formal structure of another historical musical genre *qingshangyue* and to show that *qingshangyue* was developed from another earlier musical genre *xianghege* 相和歌. Yet it should be pointed out that, except for some brief textual descriptions, no single musical detail of either *qingshangyue* or *xianghege* has been preserved.

A recently published music history *ZYC* poses further ambiguity when presenting *Meihua sannong*.   The piece is categorized in the chapters on the Wei and Jin dynasties, together with another piece *Jiu kuang*.   According to the authors,

> *Jiu kuang* and *Meihua sannong* were two famous pieces in the Wei and Jin dynasties. ... *Meihua sannong* was originally a piece for *di*, which was composed by Huan Yi. It was then arranged into *guqin* piece.[18] (Miao and You 2000:92-96)

Interestingly, laying claim on *Meihua sannong* as a composition of the Wei and Jin period, and placing it accordingly in the corresponding chapters, the authors show no attempt to mention the term *qingshangyue*.   *ZYC* further confuses the picture by associating a rhythmically and melodically standardized notation of *Meihua sannong*

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[16] Original Chinese text:「此曲在曲式上的特點是：（1）大量運用疊句；（2）每個樂段結都有一個相同的尾句，它可能就是清商樂中的『送』；（3）同一個主題旋律在高、低、中三個音區反覆再現。這也是清商樂中常用的手法。從笛曲來講，就是所謂『上聲弄』、『下聲弄』、『游弄』合稱『三弄』。其實以疊句開始，每段樂曲結尾有一相同的尾句，在相和歌中已屬常見。所以，通過《梅花三弄》，可以明顯看出清商樂和相和歌在形式上的繼承、發展關係。」

[17] According to Liu Zaisheng 劉再生, *qingshangyue* was a kind of song accompanied by more than fifteen musical instruments. It combined the folk music element of the North and South (see Liu 1989:136-38).

[18] Original Chinese text:「《酒狂》和《梅花三弄》是魏晉時著名的兩部音樂作品。···《梅花三弄》原是一首笛曲，相傳爲桓伊所作，後被移爲琴曲。」

with a particular historical period (see Figure 4.1c), reinforcing the essentialized work-concept relation of period-composer-work.

The case of *Meihua sannong* demonstrates how the work-concept regulates the writing of music history. Needless to say, it is impossible to include concrete music examples, visual or audio, in writing music histories of ancient periods (the third to fifth century in this case). Aiming to write a music history with musical works and composers, music historians find it convenient to illustrate ancient musical genres (*qingshangyue*) by using *guqin* pieces with similar or identical titles (*Meihua sannong*), which provide visual musical examples through transcription or transnotation and audio musical examples through recordings, to imagine a relationship between the musical past and present. Ironically, using a standardized notation, staff or cipher (see Figure 4.1a-c), different history books historicize *Meihua sannong* in different historical periods under different musical genres. Eventually, crystallized musical works are being used to "musicalize" the "unmusical music history", and to fill the gap between historical background and the aesthetic sense of music.

Figure 4.1   *Meihua sannong* in three music histories

a. Liu Zaisheng, *Zhongguo yinyushi jiansu* (Liu 1989:245-46)
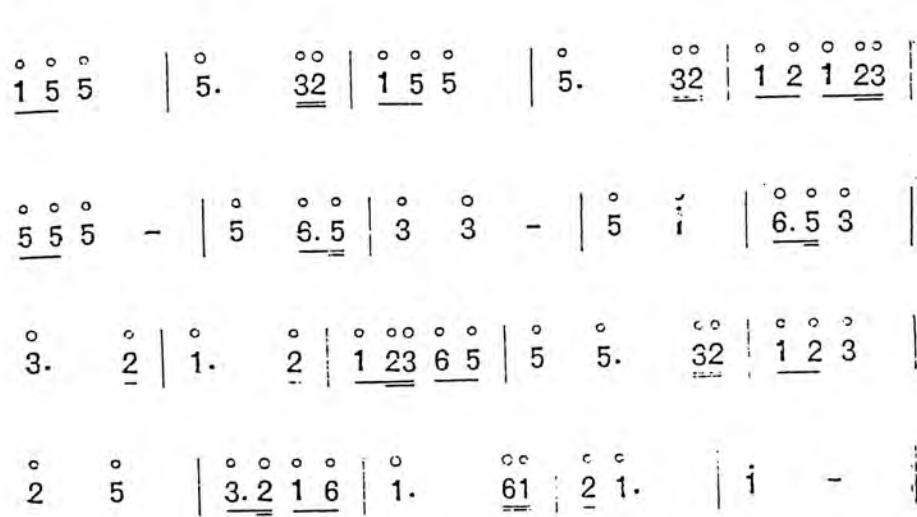
b. Wu Zhao and Liu Dongsheng, *Zhongguo yinyue shilue* (Wu and Liu 1983:59)

1 = F

起句 ·········· ············· ···· ·

‖: 1 5 5 | 5.   3 2 :‖ 1 2 1 23 | 5 5 5   – |

5   6 5 | 3 3 – | 5 i | 6 5 3 | 3.   2 |

送 ································

1.   2 | 1 23 6 5 | 5   5.   32 | 1 2 3 |

2   5 | 3.2 1 6 | 1.   61 | 2 1. | 1 – ‖

c. Miao Jianhua and You Yun, *Zhongguo yinyue chubu* (Miao and You 2000:96)

The Tactics of Historicization: The Case of *Lisao*

The notation for the piece *Lisao* 離騷 initially appeared in *Shenqi mipu* (1425), and today's performance version comes from a reconstruction by Guan Pinghu 管平湖 (1895-1967) in 1961. It is commonly believed that the composer is a Tang-dynasty *guqin* musician Chen Kangshi 陳康士.[19] Accordingly, *Lisao* is often categorized as a Tang-dynasty work in most music histories (Liu 1989:246-48). In

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[19] Historical details of the piece and biographical data for Chen Kangshi are unclear. It is known that he was a late-Tang dynasty *guqin* player (see *Zhongguo* 1985:46). However, it is also believed that another late-*Sui* 隋 dynasty *guqin* player Zhao Yeli 趙耶利 (563-639 CE) is actually the composer of *Lisao* (Yang 1999:219a).

addition, for the reason that the title *Lisao* is also an ancient verse written by Qu

Yuan 屈原 (a poet of the *Chu* 楚 State during the East *Zhou* dynasty), it is also

believed that Chen composed this *guqin* piece according to Qu's verse (ibid.:246).

In a recent essay "Chushangdiao qinqu yanjiu" 楚商調琴曲研究 [A study of

guqin pieces in *chushan* mode], Yang Chunwei presents an inter-genre study by

trying to relate the *guqin* piece *Lisao* to other music traditions along Chinese history.

She explains the objective of the research:

> *Chushang diao* is an ancient mode in the *Chu* area. To date, the characteristic
> of the *chushang* mode is largely preserved in *guqin* music. They are living
> fossils for studying the music of the ancient *Chu* area. So this article starts from
> studying the *chushang diao* pieces in the manuscripts *Shenqi mipu*, *Zheyin shizi
> qinpu*, and *Xilutang qintong*. Study of these manuscripts will be coupled with
> research on historical documents and folk songs in today's Hubei area. I will
> study the *chushang diao* pieces from the perspectives of music morphology,
> historiography, etc. By investigating these music relics, I hope to discover and
> describe the distinctive characteristic of ancient *Chu* music and answer the
> question "what is *chushang diao* music"?[20] (Yang 2000:218b)

It is commonly believed that *chushang diao* 楚商調, a modal scale found among

guqin pieces, was a pervasive modal scale in the ancient *Chu* area, roughly

present-day Hubei 湖北 province (see the map in Appendix B).   Often "translated"

as "re-fa-sol-la-do-re-mi", *chushang diao* is also known as *qiliang diao* 凄涼調

(literally, sad mode) for its character of grief and sorrow.   In this project, the author

wants to rediscover ancient music in *chushang diao* by finding the relations between

firstly, folksongs in today's Hubei province; secondly, a *guqin* piece realized or

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[20] Original Chinese text: 「『楚商調』，爲古代楚地音樂的一種調式。現存的楚商調音樂主要保存
在古琴音樂中，它們是研究古代楚樂的活化石。所以，本文擬從最早的明代《神奇秘譜》及《浙
音釋字琴譜》、《西麓堂琴統》中記載的『楚商調』琴曲入手，並參（按：參考）其他版本的琴
譜，結合歷代的文獻記載和今天流傳在湖北地區的民間歌曲，對『楚商調』琴曲本身進行音樂
形態學、史學等方面的初步探討。希望能通過對這些遺存的音樂資料的研究，發現和描述古代
楚樂的一些顯著特徵，找尋 "什麼是『楚商調』音樂？" 的答案。」

reconstructed in 1961; thirdly, manuscripts published during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and fourthly, the music of over a thousand years ago.

The aspiration for studying the relationship between the apparently distinct musics throughout history is not unrelated to the very notion of *huohuashi* 活化石 [living fossil] (as mentioned in the quotation). "Living musical traditions," according to Zheng Zuxian, "should be regarded as living fossils for the study of ancient music history" (Zheng 1998:155). Being labeled as *huohuashi*, living traditions like *Fujian nanguan* 福建南管 (an ensemble genre in southern *Fujian* province and Taiwan), *Kunju* 崑劇 [*Kun* opera], and *Xian guyue* 西安鼓樂 [Xi'an drum music], are said to have a long history, dating from the Tang dynasty or even earlier (ibid.:157-59). Scholars are then enthusiastic to correlate music theories (as documented in historical treatises) to living musical practices. Reviewing the study of *Fujian nanguan*, however, Stephen Jones rightly points out that the notion of living fossil should be taken with great carefulness:

> The resemblances between aspects of *Nan guan* and early Chinese genres have been studied perhaps overzealously, even to the detriment of studies of modern practice. As with other Chinese genres, one may trace links with the Han, Jin, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties in turn. However, one should note the differences, as well as the similarities. ... It is worth stressing again that neither *Nan guan* nor any other genre is a 'living fossil': the music has continued to evolve, in its texts, repertory, and instrumentation. (Jones 1995:310)

The problems of the project are straightforward. Firstly, the musical examples employed come from the modern reconstruction (or *dapu*, "a process of deciphering and interpreting the tablature, whereby mute music in notation is converted to live music to be experienced" [Yung 1985:370]).[21] For this reason, music performed

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[21] See also Yung (1994:45-58) for *guqin* notation. For *dapu*, see also chapter three in this thesis.

today should not be unquestionably imagined as what was heard during the fifteenth or sixteenth century, when the manuscripts were compiled.   In addition, the relationship between folksong and *guqin* music, folk and literati traditions respectively, is yet to be proven, not to mention the great fickleness of folk songs resulting from oral transmission.   Furthermore, no music of the ancient *Chu* area, which was over two thousand years ago, had been preserved in any form.   In short, the author seems to neglect the changes resulted from the discrepancies in text, style, transmission, instrumentation, manuscript, and so forth over two thousand years. Looking for similarities between the folksongs in Hubei province, *guqin* music as performed today, *guqin* manuscripts in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and ancient music of the *Chu* area is just an imagination of geographic-historical connection across the long history.

As mentioned, the notion of "living fossil" has convinced indigenous scholars that it is an effective approach to benefit historical studies (Zheng 1998:155). Likewise, relating living traditions to dead ones is a powerful and persuasive way to historicize the music, by contextualizing it with historical, geographical, and cultural background.   Such endeavor is unambiguous in the narration on *Lisao* in *Qinshi chubian* 琴史初編 [A preliminary history on *guqin*] (1982):

> The *guqin* piece *Lisao* represented Qu Yuan's hope for political reform in the *Chu* State, and his despair for this unsuccessful reformation."[22]   (Xu 1982:72)

Central to the problem is the appropriation of work-concept, which is regulating the study of music history.   Since no apparent visual and audio music material has been preserved for such an ancient piece, living-fossil-oriented research has to be done to

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[22] Original Chinese text:「琴曲《離騷》表現屈原一心要在楚國實行政治改革，但是理想又不得實現的苦悶。」

link living traditions to the ancient, in order to historicize *guqin* music persuasively

with the ancient story.   On the other hand, *Lisao* is regarded as a musical work of

single entity, with its historical changes ignored.   A musical work is then seen as an

objectified expression of an imagined composer and is treated as an original and

unique product of a special and creative activity.   In turn, to write a music history

according to the Western work-concept, music has to be historicized and history has

to be musicalized.

Werktreue and Chinese Music Historiography: A Conceptual Imperialism

This chapter began with a quotation from Yang Yiuliu's *Zhongguo yinyue*

shigang 中國音樂史網 [An Outline of Chinese Music History] in 1953, the pioneer of

general music history in modern China and still a standard reference for any music

historians.   Recently, while working on the thesis, I became reacquainted with this

book, in which Yang showed his worry about the problem of writing and studying

Chinese music for the taste of foreign scholars.   It is still unclear exactly to whom

and what Yang was referring, in his two paradigmatic music histories (Yang 1953,

1981), however, the influence of work-concept was insignificant.   Nor did his

research share a similar living-fossil fancy with his successors.

As Alun Munslow points out in *Deconstructing History* (1997), "history, as a

form of literature, is like music, drama and poetry, a cultural practice" (Munslow

1997:15).   By the same token, the writing of music history should also be regarded

as a cultural practice, and "cultural representations made and consumed according to

specific and oftentimes ideological paradigms" (Lam 1995:34).   For this reason, I

attempt to relate the historical imagination in the writing of music history to the

scholarship, music historiography in particular, of twentieth-century China as a

whole.

Goehr uses the term "conceptual imperialism" to describe the fact that the

"work concept, as a view the *romantic* aesthetic originally provided, has continued

since 1800 to be the dominant view." Moreover, "this view is so entrenched in

contemporary thought that its constitutive concepts are taken for granted" (Goehr

1993:250). In a study of the reconstruction of Confucian ceremonial music, Lam is

also aware of the issue raised by the different historiographies of the East and the

West. He argues that the ceremonial music practiced by the historian-musicians is

traditional because they are constructed with the conventional Chinese paradigm of

Yin and Yang. Shedding light on the historiographic issues, he concludes that,

> We begin to contrast us, modern and scientific scholars, with them, traditional
> Chinese historian-musicians. Then, it becomes apparent that their music
> histories are built differently from ours.
>
> Music cultures like those of China, Japan, and Korea have their abundance of
> historical sources, and long traditions of historical scholarship and music
> performances. They have their music histories and historiographies. We may
> not agree with them, nor do we have to adopt their paradigms. However, we
> have to ask whether we can rely solely on our paradigms to understand their
> musical past. (Lam 1995:47-48)

The we-they binary division is commonplace in many inter-cultural studies, in

which we often tend to essentialize the resultant we and they, researcher and natives,

or modern and traditional, or colonist and colonizer, as we call them. Yet, the case

presented in this chapter goes beyond this over-simplified dichotomy to suggest that

the boundary between the colonist and the colonizer is more a dynamic than a static

relationship: the natives are perceiving as talking about their own stories in the ways

the imperialists do. I follow Goehr's notion of "conceptual imperialism" to argue

that this imperialism is not a unilateral power exerted from the imperialist, but also

an interactive process.   Rey Chow's postcolonial critique on modern Chinese

literature offers a similar argument:

> Apart from the general attribution of 'anonymity' to native artists, 'native
> works' have been bifurcated either as timeless (in which case they would go
> into art museums) or as historical (in which case they would go into
> ethnographic museums). While most cultural critics today are alert to the
> pitfalls of the 'timeless art' argument, many are still mired in efforts to invoke
> 'history,' 'context,' and 'specificities' as ways to resurrect the native. (Chow
> 1993:37)

> Consider one of the primary tasks faced by Chinese intellectuals in the
> twentieth century – that of establishing, in the throes of imperialism, a national
> literature. If the desire to establish a national literature is a desire for a kind of
> universal justice – a justice in the eyes of which Chinese literature and culture
> would become legitimate internationally rather than simply "Chinese" – how is
> this desire pursued?" (Ibid.:102)

Reading the writing of history as cultural practice, it is not unreasonable to

parallel modern Chinese literature with the writing of Chinese music history.   I

argue that the appropriation of the work-concept is an aspiration to present not

simply a history of Chinese music, but an internationally legitimate Chinese music

history.   In the case presented in this chapter, music historians feel a need to justify

themselves by showing some enthusiasm to write music histories to meet the

condition of work-production.

The appropriation of the work-concept in Chinese music history can be viewed

partly as a postcolonial response of Chinese intellectuals to imperialism, and partly

as a quest for modernity in twentieth-century China.   Meeting the concept of

work-production, Chinese music history is believed to conform with an

internationally legitimized narration, which is considered more desirable and ideal, if

not scientific and advanced.   Likewise, to strive for an active membership in the

world of musical cultures, Chinese music is being promoted to an international level

that is comparable to that of Euro-American countries.   The worry expressed by

Yang Yinliu did not make a change to subsequent music scholarship.   Rather, an

eagerness for gaining international recognition is echoed in much other music

activity and scholarship, which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Chapter 5

Conclusion: Guqin and Postcolonial Modernity in China

My ultimate hope is that, in the coming future, China will have a

national music that can stand for itself. This national music should

be built upon our ancient music and contemporary folklores. ...

Once we have created our national music, we will be qualified to

play a part in the world of musics, and be able to form an opposing

force to Western music. By then, there may be some distinguished

international musicians who can combine the two great music

currents, east and west, to create a global music.

In my opinion, we should create the national music as soon as

possible. On the one hand, we should start studying our ancient

music; on the other, we should work hard to collect folklore. Then

we should employ scientific methods of Western music to construct

[these elements] into a national music.[1]

(Wang Guangqi, *An evolutionary theory of European music*, 2)

Introduction

For years, both Euro-American and native scholarship fell short in generating an

interdisciplinary and cross-cultural understanding of Chinese music, with *guqin*

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[1] 「著書人的最後目的，是希望中國將來產生一種可以代表"中華民族性"的國樂，而且這種國樂，是要建築在吾國古代音樂與現今民間謠曲上面的。…我們的國樂大業完成了，然後才有資格參加世界音樂之林，與西洋音樂成一個對立形勢。那時或者產生幾位世界大音樂家，將這東西兩大潮流，融合一爐，創造一種世界音樂。
照上面說來，中國音樂既那樣衰落，西洋音樂又這樣隔閡，究竟怎麼樣辦呢？依我的思見，我們只有從速創造國樂之一法。現在一面先行整理吾國古代音樂，一面辛勤採集民間流行謠樂，然後再利用西洋音樂科學方法，把他制成一種國樂。這種國樂的責任，就在將中華民族的根本精神表現出來，使一般民眾聽了，無不手舞足蹈，立志向上。」

scholarship in particular. Part of the problems, Andrew Jones suggests, deals with the presence of disciplinary boundaries and institutionalization of area studies programs in the Euro-American academies. "A narrow focus on one area," Jones says, "precludes engaged analysis of imbrication of capitalist modernity with imperialism on a *global* scale" (Jones 1997:10, quoting Tani Barlow 1997:375). Yet indigenous scholarship, I argue, is equally silent, for most of the scholarly interests are being devoted to positivistic historical studies, tuning systems, aesthetical essentialism, and so forth.

Throughout the thesis, I deliberately take up the intricate undertaking of reading the modern transformation of *guqin* practices under a postcolonial context of pursuing modernity. Part of the reasons is that the quest for a cultural modernization is always conducted under the sign of imperialism in the semi-colonized China. In addition, as Jones convincingly points out, such a perspective "helps us view modern Chinese cultural history in terms of the circulation of migrants, culture, capital, and commodities across national borders, the notion of colonial modernity also sidesteps reductive theories of cultural imperialism which hold that these transactions are entirely one-sided. Thinking through modernity and coloniality in the same breath, in other words, ensures that we never construe Chinese modernity merely as an mechanistic effect of imperialist encroachment, or simply in terms of a 'belated' or even as yet incomplete project in which a backward China is condemned to forever play 'catch-up' with the West. Instead, we need to look at the ways in which both parties are inextricably bound up in a complex process of globalization, a process whereby 'national cultures ... had to be rearticulated within the new global framework' of colonial modernity'" (Jones 1997:11).

A Postcolonial Reading

Rather than restricting the term to denote any temporal or specific event after colonization or the independence of the colony, postcolonialism actually "describe[s] the second half of the twentieth-century in general as a period in the aftermath of the heyday of colonialism." Even more generically, "the 'postcolonial' is used to signify a position against imperialism and Eurocentrism" (Bahri 1996). It is the different modes of anti-colonial nationalism that have attracted most scholarly attention. In this thesis, I have presented a picture of postcolonial discourses in terms of *guqin* musical practices: traditional *jianzipu* notation is constantly being rearticulated against the imperialistic staff notation in the reformation proposals; the writing of music history is put through a postcolonial narrative framework of *werktreue* to obtain legitimization; and finally, the practice of *dapu* is always responding its to European early music counterpart. More significantly, these postcolonial discourses are simultaneously linked to signify a position against imperialism. And such a position is always more intricate and perplexing than straightforward. Notation reformation, for instance, does not simply mean to oppose the use of Western notation. Rather, it attempts to employ a more "scientific" Western method to rescue *guqin* tradition (and believe that *guqin* is adaptable to foreign notation), which would otherwise not be comparable to other Western musical instruments. Likewise, the nationalized project of *dapu* as an archaeological research activity is believed to assist the establishment of a national style of Chinese music, which would otherwise be voiceless in the world of music compositions, by cultivating new compositions with national elements. The writing of music history, again, does not simply mean to resist any European historiographic concepts. Rather, a music history narrated in terms of composers and musical works is considered more "advanced" and "scientific", which ensures a position of

Chinese music history comparable to its Western counterpart.[2]   The appropriation of

the work-concept adds a sense of legitimacy to Chinese music history, which would

otherwise become insignificant.

The Quest for Modernity

As a pervasive form of cultural expression and practice, music has no simple

connection with modernity.   Throughout the thesis, I have tried to investigate how

the Chinese define their difference from the traditional and articulate a new meaning

of what they consider "modern".   As a term coined in Western scholarship,

"modernity" seems to be problematic when being used in Chinese context.   The

term itself, actually, deserves more explanation than it suggests.   As Leo Lee points

out, "[i]n twentieth-century Western literature and arts, the terms stemming from the

word *modern – modernity, modernism, post-modernity –* have so dominated creative

imagination and critical thinking as to become themselves paradigmatic 'traditions.'

In China, such terms have remained on the margins of intellectual discourse as

amorphous metaphors with confusing, often flippant connotations through most of

this century" (Lee 1990:109).   Writing extensively on Chinese modernity

concerning early twentieth-century Chinese literature, film, media culture, and so

forth, Lee suggests that the May-Fourth notion of new (*xin* 新), as seen as a prefix in

many newly created terms like *xinmin* 新民 (new people), *xin qingnian* 新青年 (new

youth), *xin wenyi* 新文藝 (new literature and art), and etc., is the signifier of Chinese

modernity.   Chinese modernity, as Lee terms it, is a "new historical outlook [with]

an emphasis on, even a mystical apotheosis of, the moment 'now' as the pivotal point

marking a rupture with the past and forming a progressive continuum toward a

glorious future." (Lee 1990:111)   The importance of this newness lies not primarily

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[2] See again footnote no. 7 in chapter four for Zheng's argument of a musical Chinese music history.

on its clichéd difference with the oldness, but rather that the new epoch is better and

is leading prophetically to a purposeful future (ibid.:122).

It adds further perplexity when the use of the term departs from a

social-political framework, where the term itself was coined, and is being used in the

discussion of artistic creation, like painting, sculpture, architecture, and after all,

music. The question to ask here is: how does the pursuit of modernity in the

process of modernizing *guqin*, and Chinese music at large, articulate the anti-colonial

strategies of nationalism? All the three main chapters suggest that the quest for

modernity and recognition of the present as a new epoch are the recurring themes in

the twentieth-century Chinese music scholarship. This modernity is a

self-conscious act to change, which is justified by claiming a valuable heritage but

with shortcomings. The change is, furthermore, a mix of modernization and

Westernization: the former is a belief of the omnipotence of scientific and positivistic

approaches; the latter is fervor to catch up with the world by imitating the West.[3]

The quest for modernity, as Lee points out, is also manifested in the "influence

of Darwinian strains of evolutionary thought" (Lee 1990:122). The quotations

starting this chapter embedded at least three important inter-related concepts of

contemporary thoughts in Chinese music and its scholarship. Firstly, Chinese music

is at the bottom of an evolutionary ladder that leads us towards a glorious future.

Secondly, construction of a distinguishable *Chinese* anything is needed, in order to

become an active member in the world of musical cultures. And finally, music and

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[3] Bruno Nettl distinguishes between modernization and Westernization so that, for modernization, "compatible but noncentral elements have been adopted;" while Westernization is to change the "traditional musical culture in the direction of the Western by taking from the latter those elements they consider to be central of it." However, I have reservations on any kind of over-simplified classification such as this one; as Nettl himself also points out, "the centrality of these characteristics in such a situation must ... be somehow agreed upon by both cultures involved in the exchange" (Nettl 1983:353). In my opinion, whether a certain cultural change is modernization or Westernization is more a matter of discourse than something that can be judged by any universal standard.

its practices are, or at least can be regarded as, universal. So that on the one hand adaptation of Western notation and historiographic narration can be justified; on the other, Chinese *national* music, after the construction project, can contribute to the worlds of musics.

The questions being played out over and over again throughout the thesis typify this evolutionary concept. *Jianzipu* is believed to have inherited a certain amount of deficiency, (but accounts on the point of its deficiency are being changed from time by time), which necessitates reformation by borrowing from the more scientific staff notation, (be reminded of Wang's quotation). Such borrowing is authorized by the belief that staff notation is more or less universally applicable. The nationalized *dapu* project also exemplifies a progressive notion: research on ancient music functions to foster national music construction by benefiting the composers with so-called ethnic or national musical elements. Lastly, the enthusiasm among modern historians to have a music history of composers and musical pieces also embodies Wang's aspiration to obtain Chinese music's qualification for an active membership in the world of musical cultures.

Tradition is often perceived as an ideologically opposite term to modernity; and modernity is seen as the erasure of tradition by engendering hybrid and Creole, (so Westernization is sometimes realized as a synonym of modernization). I suggest, however, that modernity, rather than denoting what is not traditional or authentic, is actually a site where tension between old and new, traditional and modern takes place. As explained in chapter two, modern reformation of *guqin* notation is a negotiation between a referential/suggestive tablature, and a performance-based, pitch-oriented notation system. The case of *dapu* presented in chapter three also suggests that modern conception of *dapu* is a dynamic process between a subjective/personal and an objective/impersonal activity.

Final Remarks: On Translation and Chinese Music Scholarship

In the postcolonial world of transnational scholarship today, we can no longer assume any indigenous scholarship to be purely native, and any Euro-American scholarship to be merely imperialistic.   Rather, the cultural artifacts as presented today in any academic writings, native or nonnative, are products of a complex and tangled web of postcolonial discourses that should be subject to critical inquisition. By the same token, the constructed identity and its essentialized aesthetic values in *Chinese* music and its scholarship should be put through serious re-reading. Concluding this chapter, I hereby put forward the problem of modernity's relationship to native cultures, and its translatability.   One of the aspects of modernity, Chow argues, is its endeavor to engender authenticities.   "The production of the native is in part the production of our postcolonial modernity" (Chow 1993:30, quoting Clifford 1988:5).   "The question to ask," Chow explains, "is not whether we can return the native to her authentic origin, but what our fascination with the native means in terms of the irreversibility of modernity" (Chow 1993:36).   She further elucidates the point:

> The problem of modernity, then, is not simply an "amalgamating" of "disparate experience" but rather the confrontation between what are now called the "first" and "third" worlds in the form of the *différend*, that is, the untranslatability of "third world" experiences into the "first world." This is because, in order for her experience to be translatable, the "native" cannot simply "speak" but must also provide the justice/justification that has been destroyed in the encounter with the imperialist. (Ibid.:38)

As I have suggested, the discourse of Chinese music has been made to fit into the schematic structure of the West, with its vocabularies already framed in the West. Ironically, as Yeh notes, "to understand Chineseness is to understand how the West is

"translated" into Chinese and vice versa" (Yeh 2000:268).   It is my hope that such a

postcolonial inquisition as presented in this thesis will be illuminating to Chinese

music scholarship, partly because it allows a wide-ranging investigation into the

multi-faceted relationship in various contexts, and partly because it enables a broader

space for academic communication between indigenous and Euro-American

scholarships.

Appendix A

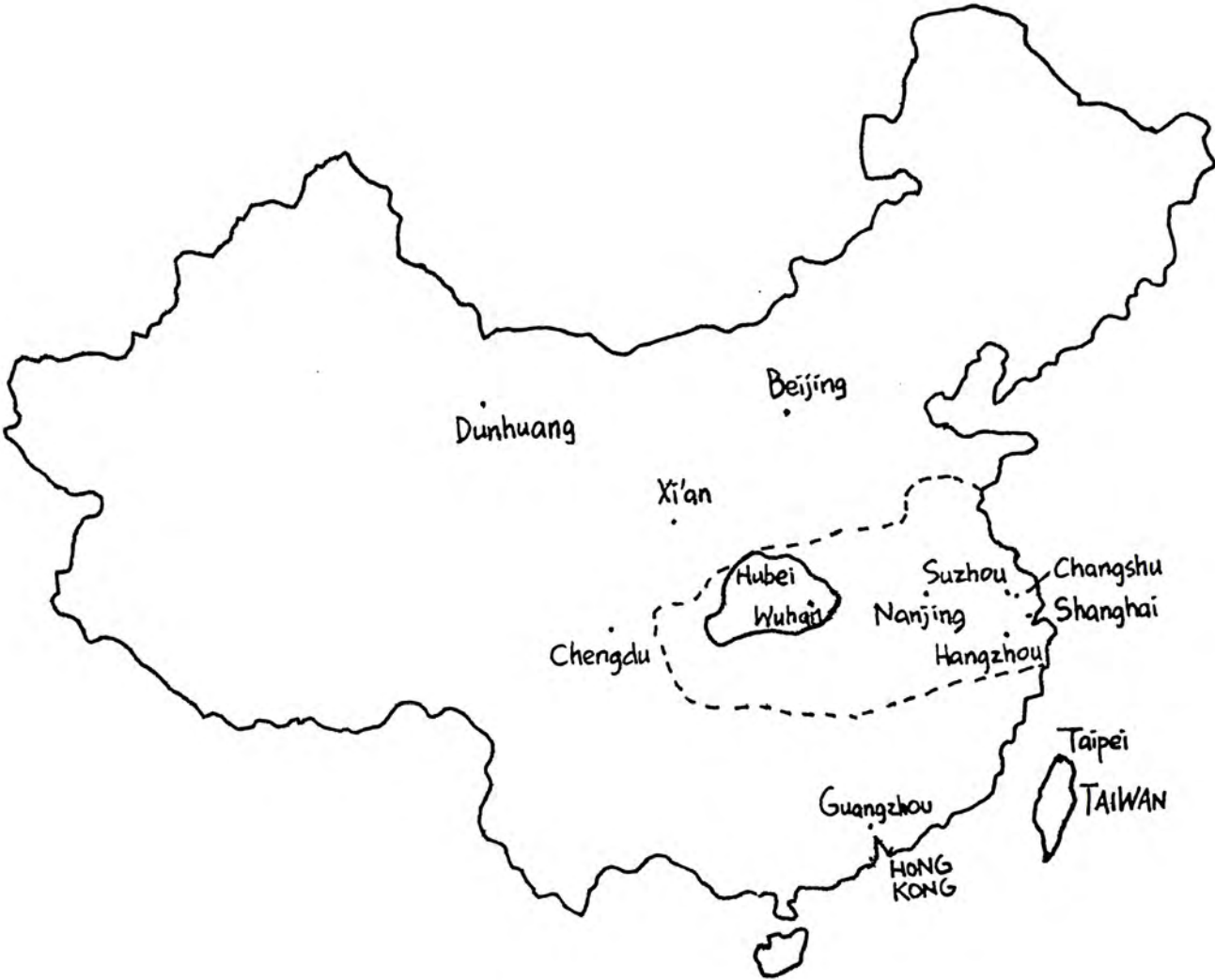*Chinese Dynasties and Historical Periods*

The dynastic history of China is more complicated than any table can summarize. I hereby tabulate a simplified list of the major dynastic periods, starting from the 21st century BCE. The source comes mainly from *Zhonghua xinzidian* 中華新字典 [New Chinese dictionary] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 696-98.

Xia dynasty 夏朝	ca. 21st century – ca. 16th century BCE
Shang dynasty 商朝	ca. 16th century – ca. 1066 BCE
Western Zhou dynasty 西周	ca. 1066 BCE – 771 BCE
Eastern Zhou dynasty 東周	770 BCE – 256 BCE
Spring and Autumn Period 春秋時期	722 BCE – 481 BCE
Warring States Period 戰國時期	403 BCE – 221 BCE
Qin dynasty 秦朝	221 BCE – 206 BCE
Han dynasty 漢朝	206 BCE – 581 CE
Wei and Jin dynasties 魏晉	220 – 439 CE
South and North dynasties 南北朝	420 – 581
Sui dynasty 隋朝	581 – 618
Tang dynasty 唐朝	618 – 907
Five dynasties and ten kingdoms 五代十國	907 – 979
Song dynasty 宋朝	960 – 1279
Yuan dynasty 元朝	1279 – 1368
Ming dynasty 明朝	1368 – 1644
Qing dynasty 清朝	1644 – 1912
Republic of China 中華民國	1912 –
People's Republic of China 中華人民共和國	1949 –

Map of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan

Dunhuang

Beijing

Xi'an

Hubei

Suzhou   Changshu

Wuhan   Nanjing   Shanghai

Chengdu   Hangzhou

Taipei

TAIWAN

Guangzhou

HONG
KONG

- - - - - - *Chu* State during the Warring States Period

Appendix C
General Histories of Chinese Music

In this appendix, I try to list out all general histories of Chinese music published from the early twentieth century in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and overseas.[1] For the sake of simplicity, collected essays, articles, documentations, pictorial histories, and historiographic critiques are, however, not included. General music books like *Zhongguo yinyue* 中國音樂 [Chinese music] are also excluded, even there are chapters on music history.

I do not follow the conventional division between *gudai* [ancient period] (before the late nineteenth century), *jinxiandai* [modern period] (roughly 1840-1949), and *xiandai* [contemporary period] (after 1949) of the music scholarship in Mainland China. In this appendix, rather, I arrange all music histories chronically under the same list. (In essence, few of the published general music histories actually cover both the *gudai* and *xiandai* periods. Exceptions are, for example, Zang 1999, Miao & You 2000).

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　　葉伯和《中國音樂史》（上卷）
Tong Fei. 1927. *Zhongyue xunyuang* [Search the origin of Chinese music]. Shanghai: Commercial Press.
　　童斐《中樂尋源》上海：商務印書館
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　　鄭覲文《中國音樂史》上海：大同樂會
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　　許之衡《中國音樂小史》上海：商務印書館

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劉燕當《中國音樂史綱》臺北：樂韻出版社

Yang Yin. 1977. *Zhongguo yinyueshi* [History of Chinese music]. Taipei: Xueyi chubanshe.

楊隱《中國音樂史》臺北：學藝出版社

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B. *Guqin* Manuscripts

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Xilutang qintong 西麓堂琴統. 1549. Compiled by Wang Zhi 汪芝.

Wuzhizai qinpu 五知齋琴譜. 1721. Compiled by Xu Qi 徐琪.

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Glossary of Chinese Terms

Chinese terms are arranged in alphabetical order, according to pinyin, the
romanization system employed in Mainland China. Alternative romanizations are
used for Hong Kong, Taiwan, and pre-1949 Mainland Chinese terms. I include all the
major names of composers, authors, performers, musical terms, musical pieces, and
etc. mentioned in this thesis.

Abing	阿炳	Guan Pinghu	管平湖
anpu xunsheng	按譜尋聲	guojia	國家
bianzhong	編鐘	guqin	古琴
Cao Cao	曹操	Guqin yanzoufa	古琴演奏法
Cao Rou	曹柔	huanghe	黃河
Chenfenglu	晨風廬	Huang Xiangpeng	黃翔鵬
Cheung Sai-bung	張世彬	Huaqiuping pipapu	華秋蘋琵琶譜
Chu	楚	hui	徽
chuangzhaoxing dapu	創造性打譜	Hujia shibapai	胡笳十八拍
chuantong zhongguo	傳統中國	huohuashi	活化石
chuanzhuo	創作	Ji Kang	嵇康
chushangdiao	楚商調	Jiang Kelian	蔣克謙
ci	詞	jianzipu	減字譜
Daoyan	導言	Jinyu qinkan	今虞琴刊
dapu	打譜	Jiukuang	酒狂
dizi	笛子	Lisao	離騷
Dunhuang pipapu	敦煌琵琶譜	Liu Tianhua	劉天華
erhu	二胡	Meihua sannong	梅花三弄
fanli	凡例	minzu yueqi	民族樂器
Fanyi qinpu de yanjiu	翻譯琴譜之研究	Minzuyinyue yanjiushuo	
Gong Yi	龔一		民族音樂研究所
gongchepu	工尺譜	Pingsha luoyan	平沙落雁
Guanglingsan	廣陵散	pipa	琵琶

qiliang diao	淒涼調
qingshangyue	清商樂
Qinqu jicheng	琴曲集成
Qinshi chubian	琴史初編
Qinjing	琴鏡
Qinjing zixu	琴鏡自敘
Qinxue chongshu	琴學叢書
Qinxue rumen	琴學入門
qinyue kaogu	琴樂考古
Qu Yuan	屈原
ruan	阮
Ruan Ji	阮籍
ruibindiao	蕤賓調
sanxian	三弦
shaonian Zhongguo	少年中國
sidajian	四大件
Suzhou	蘇州
tianxia	天下
Wang Guangqi	王光祈
wenzipu	文字譜
Wu Jinglue	吳景略
Wu Wenguang	吳文光
Xian Yang	項陽
Xiao Youmei	蕭友梅
Xiaoxiang shuiyun	瀟湘水雲
xinmin	新民
xin qingnian	新青年
xin wenyi	新文藝
xinwenhua yundong	新文化運動

xueke jianli	學科建立
Xu Jian	許健
yaji	雅集
Yang Mu	楊沐
Yang Yinliu	楊蔭瀏
Yang Zhongji	楊宗稷
Yangguan sandie	陽關三疊
yanyue	宴/燕樂
yazheng	軋箏
Ye Ximing	葉希明
Yiyuan	怡園
yinyue kaoguxue	音樂考古學
yinyue xingtaixue	音樂形態學
yizhi	移植
Youlan	幽蘭
yushan	虞山
zaixianxing dapu	再現性打譜
Zha Fuxi	查阜西
Zhang He	張鶴
Zhang Ziqian	張子謙
zheng	箏
zhengdiao	正調
Zheng Zuxian	鄭祖襄
zhonghua minzu	中華民族
Zhongguo yinyue yanjiushuo	中國音樂研究所
Zhou Qingyun	周慶雲
Zhu Quan	朱權