— *Xi’an Guyue* – Xi’an Old Music in New China

“Living fossil” or “flowing river”?

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2005
Abstract

This is the first extended study of Xi’an guyue, a wind-and-percussion instrumental music native to Xi’an, northwest China. Xi’an guyue is one China’s most acclaimed, oldest and most sophisticated musical traditions by virtue of its extensive old notations and wide range of performing forms including hymns, percussion pieces, processional pieces and “sitting music” suites. The tradition can be seen as constituting three distinct but overlapping strands: urban (which embraces both Buddhist and Daoist traditions); rural; and most recently a state-sponsored music conservatory representation of the tradition. Though the conservatory draws from the folk roots, it has departed from the traditional musical and socio-cultural contexts and its representation is typically modern.

The thesis discusses a range of inter- and intra-musical questions set against the broader context of the contemporary Chinese theoretical debate as to whether cultural traditions should be regarded as either fixed and invariant (the “living fossil” position) or adaptive and changing in response to changes in wider social conditions and contexts (the “flowing river” position). The thesis also engages with Western scholarship regarding tradition and change. The first part of the thesis (chapters 2-4) explores the relationship of Xi’an Guyue to the prevailing historical, social, political and religious or ceremonial contexts and shows how this has affected the social significance and meaning of the tradition. The second part (chapters 5-6) examines the tradition’s musical and tonal elements, traces and analyses the historical links between the genre’s notation and earlier related Tang and Song and later Ming and Qing gongche systems; the inter-generational transmission of the tradition; and other aspects and musicological questions pertaining to the tradition’s instruments, repertoires, musical structures and so forth.

The study provides an ethnographic and contemporary historical study of the inter-subjective, socio-political, and musicological dimensions of Xi’an guyue. It shows the ways in which the existence, development and social meanings of the three main branches of the tradition are intimately bound up with their respective social cosmologies. As such, the thesis strongly supports the “flowing river” school of thought.
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Preface

Despite studying music in the Xi’an Conservatory, I only developed my interest in *Xi’an guyue* while I was studying ethnomusicology at SOAS, University of London in the 1990s.

Born in Beijing in the mid-1960s, one day in the snowy winter of 1969, I was suddenly brought with my family by the Cultural Revolution to the remote county of Gulang in Gansu Province, the northwest corridor which is linked to the Gobi desert. The journey took three days and nights. My parents were among the great many intellectuals sent to the rugged countryside to receive “re-education”. They were there for 14 long years. My mother, a paediatrician in Beijing, became a “barefoot doctor” in the Commune’s only clinic, which had hardly any medicines with which to treat patients. My father, a *pipa* soloist at the Central Orchestra of National Music, was made head of a pig-farm. Inconceivable as it may seem, my father had left his “landlord” family at the age of 14 and joined Mao’s Liberation Army in Yan’an in 1948. He served the Army as a cipher-decoder and musician and later joined the Communist party. In the late 1950s, he decided to give up his army rank in order to pursue music. He travelled four days and nights from Urumchi in Xinjiang to Beijing. There he passed the examinations and entered the newly established Central Conservatory of Music to study the *pipa* with Master Lin Shicheng, graduating in the early 1960s. Despite my father’s “red” past, he was somehow still on the “wrong side” of the Revolution. Too young to understand the dramatic change in my family’s life, I watched my parents’ anguish with a heavy heart.

One day an elm tree was cut down in front of our earth-brick home. My father said to me on my seventh birthday, “Today we start your first *pipa* lesson and I’ve made this *pipa* for you”. He had made a small size *pipa* for me from that elm tree. It was now up to me to fulfil my poor father’s musical ambition. Though that *pipa* was of poor quality by today’s standards, to me it was the best. I treasured it and practiced hard. For a long time, I had to hide my *pipa* under my bed and practice with a handkerchief tied around the strings to avoid being heard, especially if playing the now forbidden traditional tunes. I did not disappoint my parents, and in 1981 I entered the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, the only music institute among the five provinces in northwest China, with high marks. During my seven years at the Conservatory, I studied the *pipa* and *guqin* – but never heard of *Xi’an guyue*. Indeed, even if I had come across any ritual or religious music such as *Xi’an guyue*, I would have paid little attention to these
“feudal” or “superstitious” activities. At best, I would have regarded them as “folklore”, certainly not as “music”. To my mind, what we had in the Conservatory was “serious music”. This included Western classical music, traditional literati and solo instrumental music, art songs, opera music, some folk instrumental music such as Silk and Bamboo and Cantonese music. Having graduated in 1987 with good results, I proudly became a pipa player in the prestigious Central Orchestra of National Music in Beijing where my father used to be. At last, my father’s dream had been realised.

By chance, stepping into the West as a stranger, a young professional Chinese pipa player, in 1990, my feelings soon became like a Chinese five-spice bottle filled with a mixture of sweet, sour, bitter, hot and salty. On the one hand, my music - as I had learned it in China - was well accepted and appreciated. On the other hand, I was very surprised, challenged and even criticised by certain people because of the music I played. My conservatory training and urban professional music background became a problem to them. “Conservatory style” and “urban professional music” were not “traditional”, were too “westernised”. I was confused and asked myself a series of questions: Who am I? Where do I come from? What are my roots? What is Chinese music? What is traditional Chinese music? What after all is tradition? And how do people carry on their traditions in a rapidly changing world? Bearing all these questions in mind, I shuttled back and forth between ethnomusicology in the West and research into traditional music in China searching for answers. These are a part of the reason why I directed my PhD research towards the question of “tradition”.

My first encounter with Xi’an guyue was in 1994, during a trip to Beijing in search of materials for my MMus studies at SOAS. I heard an old recording of Xi’an guyue music and was immediately intrigued. The music somehow awakened in me an interest in Xi’an, an area in which I had family roots, and led me to a rich musical heritage of which I had been unaware during my period of study at the Conservatory. This encounter, coupled with the fact that I am familiar with Xi’an’s dialects and its environment, and have relatives and friends who could act as sources of information and support to me, heightened my interest in Xi’an guyue. To be honest, I was still struggling to decide what topic I should choose for my PhD study: should I study further areas of pipa or guqin music, for which I could rely on my existing knowledge and experience as a player? Or should I take on a totally unfamiliar topic – a complex ritual instrumental ensemble genre unrelated to anything I had done before? In the end I
chose the latter, perhaps for the simple purpose of taking on a challenge and expanding my areas of research interest.

My situation was unlike that of ethnomusicologists studying other peoples' musical cultures, and I did not have their difficulties in getting native sources and materials. On the contrary, one of my problems was that I was overwhelmed with a mountain of materials collected during my fieldwork in 1996-99. In it, however, I found an extremely unbalanced situation. On the one hand, there were dozens of volumes of old notation, transcriptions made during the 1950s and 1960s and articles almost exclusively on structural and tonal elements; on the other hand, very little had been written on the history of *Xi’an guyue*, and the social, cultural and contextual implications of the traditional genre. I accumulated a lot of questions. Why do the musicians play the music? What is the music played for? How is it learnt and transmitted? What are the cultural meanings and social contexts of *Xi’an guyue* performances? I recognised that the music tradition was represented by three different social strands: urban and village folk groups and the Xi’an Conservatory ensemble established only in 1985. I decided to incorporate all three strands into my research, linking their social and cultural backgrounds. As such, this thesis attempts to counterbalance the heavy emphasis on the musical and technical aspects and to deal equally with both musical and extra-musical elements and contextual aspects of the genre. In addition, the urban, rural and professional social presentations of the *Xi’an guyue* genre constitute a good case study for me to examine questions on “tradition”, “traditional” and how to carry on an ancient tradition in a contemporary social setting.

Many aspects of this thesis are my original contributions. These include a preliminary comparative discussion on the questions of “tradition” and “traditional” incorporating both Western and Chinese scholarship; a study of the arts policy of Deng Xiaoping and his government during the 1980s–1990s in Chapter 2.1; the history of *Xi’an guyue* and its distinct social bases and gender issues (chapter 3.1); performance contexts (Chapter 4), and learning and transmission (5.6). These aspects are discussed primarily against the backdrop of the three social strands of urban, village and conservatory. In particular, I have paid considerable attention to the conservatory’s representation of *Xi’an guyue*, since this is completely ignored in all studies of the genre both internally and externally. I think a more objective study, an ethnographical approach and a fuller understanding of the *Xi’an guyue* tradition in contemporary China cannot ignore the conservatory strand.
Pinyin romanisation, pronunciation, and translation

Generally, for Chinese terms and names, this thesis uses the Hanyu pinyin system—the standardised romanisation of modern Mandarin used as the official national language in the People’s Republic of China. Chinese terms are usually italicised, except for names of people, places and organisations. The Chinese titles of musical pieces are often translated directly into English according to the author’s interpretation; where necessary some are also given in pinyin and Chinese characters alongside the translations. Chinese characters for names and terms and their corresponding pinyin are given in the glossary. Names of Chinese people residing in China are given in the Chinese order—surname first and given name last.

A small number of Chinese terms and names do not follow the pinyin system because they are already familiar to Western readers in other spellings, for example, Chiang Kai Shek rather than Jiang Jieshi, Sun Yat Sen rather than Sun Zhongshan, Urumqi rather than Wulumuqi, and Yangtze instead of Yangzi. Conversely, a few Chinese terms pronounced differently from regular pinyin due to a variant pronunciation used in some specific terms. For example, gongchepu (工尺谱) rather than gongchipu, Daiyue (大樂) instead of Dayue. One other problem of conversion from the pinyin to the English phonetic alphabetic is that some Chinese pronunciations either do not exist or sound totally different in English, for example ü, q, x, c, and z. For a detailed explanation of the romanisation of Chinese pronunciations, please consult John De Francis’s Beginning Chinese Reader (1976, New Haven, Yale University). The following is a brief guide to pinyin pronunciation:

a as a in father
e as ear in British earl
i as ee in see
o as a in wall
u as oo in woo
ü as ü in the German “über”
c as ts
j as g in gin (with tongue tip further forward than for zh)
q between ch and ts
x between si and sh
z as dz
zh as g in age
Most of the translations from Chinese to English are my own, except where otherwise cited. As in English, Chinese words often have multiple meanings, so translations of the same terms can vary. For example, in this thesis I translate chaoshan jinjiang (朝山進香) as “making a pilgrimage to the mountains and presenting incense”. Other authors may translate it as “facing the hill and presenting incense”. Chao has the meaning “pilgrimage” and “facing”; shan can be understood as either mountain or hill. The translation therefore depends on the context and on personal interpretation. In this case, I think my translation is more appropriate since this is a highly religious and ritualistic term. Problems also occurred in finding precise English terms to translate Chinese words, to convey specific meanings. For example, the English terms “monastery” and “temple” have to cover all the different types of Buddhist and Daoist sacred places. However, Chinese has different terms, with different implications, for different Buddhist, Daoist and other ritual places, but there is some overlap. According to Xi’ an guyue tradition, an (庵), guan (觀) and gong (宮) are used exclusively for Daoist sacred places, si (寺) and miao (廟) are for Buddhist sacred places, but miao is shared by Daoist and other religions. In order to distinguish Buddhist and Daoist sacred places, I use the term “monastery” for Daoist and “temple” for “Buddhist” places of worship. In order to improve clarity for non-Chinese readers, I employ the Chinese suffix as well as the general English term, as in Chenghuang miao monastery, Wofo si temple and so on. I translate the meaning of the names of places and pieces on their first appearances only.

Xi’an dialect pronunciations are closer to Mandarin than to Southern Chinese dialects such as Hakka, Shanghainese and Cantonese, because Mandarin was based on Beijing dialect in north China. But the intonations and colloquial expressions are very different in Beijing and Xi’an and vary greatly even within Shaanxi province itself. For example, Yulin and Yan’an (in the north), Hanzhong (south west) and Baoji (north west) have distinct accents. However, the prominent difference between Mandarin and Xi’an dialects is embodied in consonant and vowel pronunciations as listed below:
Consonant Pronunciations
Mandarin/Xi'an dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bei</th>
<th>Hua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pei (^f/JE)</td>
<td>fa (?£/}£)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan</td>
<td>Sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san (</td>
<td>JL[/H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De</td>
<td>Xia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei (E ^/f#)</td>
<td>sa (厓/戱)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>Shuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dou ( 1 / r i)</td>
<td>fan (拴 - 反)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel Pronunciations
Mandarin/Xi'an dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bei</th>
<th>He</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pei (杯/胚)</td>
<td>huo (合/活)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan</td>
<td>De</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san (山/三)</td>
<td>dei (的/得)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acknowledgements

The completion of this work would not have been possible without the help and support of a great many people both in China and Britain. First of all, I owe an unrepayable debt to many folk musicians, especially to the elderly musicians and teachers in their 60s, 70s and 80s. They helped me whole-heartedly and selflessly with their deep knowledge and first-hand experience during my fieldwork in 1996 – 2000. They include Zhang Cunzhu, Cui Shirong, He Yongshun, Zhao Gengchen, Zhang Gui, Fu Jihua, Zhang Lunxing, Chai Tianbao and Yu Zhu. Sadly, the first three have subsequently passed away, filling me with a sense of painful loss for the tradition and the opportunities for those musical questions I did not ask in time. I am grateful to other musicians who generously spared their time and energy in contributing to this project, including Gu Jingzhao, He Zhongxin, Zhou Zhili and many more.

I own a huge debt to my mentor, one of the greatest Chinese musicologists, scholar Li Shigen, for his inspiration, in-depth knowledge and sharp insights, refined and strict scholarship and a lifelong dedication to Xi'an guyue. Without the contribution of scholar Li's massive collection of materials embracing manuscripts, audio, video, photographs and written works, I would not have known where to begin this project. I am grateful to many teachers and friends from my native conservatory in Xi'an, who gave me valuable support I would not have dared to expect. These include Feng Yalan, Cheng Tianjian, Fang Jianjun, Zhang Dihua and Ren Hongxiang, and my old classmates Chen Daming, Liao Jianbing, Wang Zhen and Han Lankui. I would like to record my respect for other scholars I visited and benefited from: Yuan Jingfang, Chu
Li and Xue Yibing in Beijing, He Jun, Li Shibin, Li Jianzheng, Lü Hongjing and Qu Yun in Xi’an.

I am grateful to my parents and relatives in both Beijing and Xi’an for their unshakable support, patience and practical help. They became Xi’an guyue enthusiasts the day I began this project. In Beijing, my father and sisters collected anything even remotely linked with the music for me. In Xi’an, my uncle and aunt welcomed me in their home and filled me with delicious food. My cousins accompanied me and assisted me for most of my fieldwork in temperatures of some 38 – 39°C. They shared the worries over my illness and a robbery at knifepoint in which I lost some of my equipment.

In Britain, I am grateful to my supervisor David Hughes for his steering of the theory, methodology, style and construction of this thesis, and the painstaking work of helping me with my musical analysis and correcting my English. I would especially like to thank my husband, John MacMillan, for his solid support and encouragement throughout these years. Stephen Jones deserves my gratitude for contributing his sources and materials for this study and for his critical views and ideas. I would also like to thank Keith Howard, Laurence Picken, Alexander Knapp, John Baily and Julian Joseph for their interest in and help with this research.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the generous financial support I received from SOAS and through the award of a Wingate Scholarship that enabled me to complete this study.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cbs</td>
<td><em>chuban she</em> (publishing company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMD</td>
<td><em>Guomindang</em> [Chinese Nationalist Party].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JX</td>
<td><em>Jiaoxiang (Xi’an yinyue xueyuan xuebao)</em> [Symphony: Journal of the Xi’an Conservatory].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mim.</td>
<td>mimeograph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MZMJ</td>
<td><em>Mingzu minjian yinyue</em> [Chinese folk music], Guangzhou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMYY</td>
<td><em>Renming Yinyue</em> [Peoples’ Music], Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XGQJ</td>
<td><em>Xi’an guyue quji</em> [Collected Xi’an guyue pieces], ed by Li Shigen, 9 vols. mim. 1982. The first 5 volumes were printed by China Musicians Association, Xi’an Branch and the last 3 by the Yanyue Research Office, Shaanxi People’s Art Bureau, 1956 – 1982.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YYWJ</td>
<td><em>Yinyuexue wenji</em> [Collected articles on musicology], 1994, Shangdong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YYYJ</td>
<td><em>Yinyue yanjiu</em> [Music research], Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YYYS</td>
<td><em>Yinyue yishu</em> [The Arts of Music], Journal of the Shanghai Conservatory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZGYY</td>
<td><em>Zhongguo yinyue</em> [Chinese Music], Chinese Conservatory, Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZGYX</td>
<td><em>Zhongguo yinyue xue</em> [Musicology in China], Music Research Institute, Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZYXB</td>
<td><em>Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao</em> [Journal of the Central Conservatory, Beijing].</td>
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</table>
# Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Sub-dynasty</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xia</td>
<td></td>
<td>21(^{st}) c. – 16(^{th}) c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang</td>
<td></td>
<td>16(^{th}) c. – 1066 c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou</td>
<td>Western Zhou</td>
<td>1066 – 771 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern Zhou</td>
<td>770 – 256 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring &amp; Autumn</td>
<td>722 – 481 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warring States</td>
<td>403 – 221 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin</td>
<td></td>
<td>221 – 206 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>Western Han</td>
<td>206 BC – 23 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern Han</td>
<td>25 – 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Kingdoms</td>
<td>Wei, Shu, Wu</td>
<td>220 – 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Jin</td>
<td></td>
<td>265 – 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Jin</td>
<td></td>
<td>317 – 420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Dynasties</td>
<td></td>
<td>420 – 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dynasties</td>
<td></td>
<td>386 – 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui</td>
<td></td>
<td>581 – 618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td></td>
<td>618 – 907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Dynasties</td>
<td>Later Liang, Tang, Jin, Han and Zhou</td>
<td>907 – 960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao</td>
<td></td>
<td>907 – 1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song</td>
<td>Northern Song</td>
<td>960 – 1127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southern Song</td>
<td>1127 – 1279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
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<td>1115 – 1234</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yuan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1279 – 1368</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ming</td>
<td></td>
<td>1368 – 1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing</td>
<td></td>
<td>1644 – 1911</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>People's Republic</td>
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Xi’an, the mysterious, ancient city in Shaanxi province (Map 2), northwest China (Map 1), has long fascinated people around the world. One of the wonders of the world, the famous terracotta army of the Emperor Qinshi Huangdi (221 – 206 BC), is in just one ancient tomb among thousands in “the underground museum” of Shaanxi. The city is the site of the glorious Tang Dynasty (618 – 907) capital known as Chang’an - the prosperous eastern terminus of the “Silk Road” of the Central Asian trade routes. As such, its history holds the key to the secrets and puzzles of historical cultural exchange in Central Asia. In the modern city of Xi’an, the splendid religious architecture of Buddhist temples and Muslim mosques, some dating from over a millennium ago, are themselves largely the fruits of the ancient “Silk Road”. The current existence of the ancient music of Xi’an is rather obscure in comparison with the architecture. Yet perhaps this is why the music of Xi’an intrigues me even more. Of this music, Xi’an guyue – the wind-and-percussion instrumental ensemble - has firmly captured my heart for various reasons.

One cause leading me to the research of Xi’an guyue is rather a personal one. Strangely enough, while studying the traditional pipa and qin at the Xi’an Conservatory of Music (Xi’an Yinyue Xueyuan) for seven years since 1981-87, I never knew or heard of Xi’an guyue. Nor did I know of my family’s deep roots in the areas of Xi’an and Shaanxi. In the summer of 1996, I accidentally discovered the records of my family lineage (jiapu) on my father’s side. It was handed down to my younger brother (only the eldest son in a generation is allowed to keep it) as a family treasure (chuanjiabao) when my grandfather died in 1995. The jiapu, dating back to 1348 in the late Yuan dynasty, recorded more than 20 generations of the Cheng family who dwelt in the Xi’an area and elsewhere in east-central Shaanxi near the Yellow River (Huang He). I was deeply surprised. However, fate has brought me to the West, where I have been studying ethnomusicology since 1993. In choosing my PhD topic, I finally but naturally settled on Xi’an guyue.

The establishment of ethnomusicology as a discipline in the mid 20th century has coincided with, and perhaps promoted, a greater recognition within the West of world musical cultures. In the case of China, for example, research on the Silk and Bamboo
music of Shanghai by Alan Thrasher (1978–93) and Lawrence Witzleben (1995), has brought this musical form to the attention of the outside world. Studies on music from the southeast coast, such as Nanguan (Kyle Heide’s PhD thesis, 1997) and Cantonese music (Bell Yung’s study of Cantonese Opera, 1989), have coincided with their increasing popularity abroad. But many folk traditions which are less well known and less accessible remain neglected both in China and abroad. Often, deep historical and cultural roots and a rich social context steeped in traditional values may surprisingly be hidden in a largely ignored earthy folk music genre such as Xi’an guyue.

I shall use the Chinese Pinyin spelling Xi’an guyue (and often simply call it Guyue) to refer to this musical genre as this term and this system are widely used in China. Xi’an guyue (literally: Xi’an drum music) is a scholarly term invented in the 1950s; there are, however, a dozen or so scholarly and folk names for the genre, as shown in Table 2.2 (p. 77). The full significance and evolution of these terms is discussed in Section 2.4. Despite this diversity of designations, it is safe to say that we are dealing with a single genre, with a common notation system, repertoire, style and characteristic social context. Understanding these various dimensions of Xi’an guyue in the modern context is the main purpose of this thesis.

Xi’an guyue is one of the most important old musical traditions surviving in China today and is often claimed by Chinese scholars to be a “living fossil” (huohuashi) descended directly from specific genres of music of the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1275) periods (Li Shigen 1983:9, Lü Hongjing 1988a:13, Yu Zhu 1983:11). The genre today is characterised by wind-and-percussion instrumental ensembles in the city of Xi’an and nearby villages in Shaanxi (Map 3, p. 63). For centuries, the music has been carried on by amateur musicians of lower social class such as labourers (gongren), small businessmen (xiaoshang) and stall-keepers (xiaofan) in Xi’an, and peasants in nearby villages. Unlike other more secular folk instrumental music in China today, Xi’an guyue is mainly played for religious and ritual activities such as pilgrimages, various Buddhist temple fairs and Daoist funeral ceremonies. Musicians do not accept payment for their music; rather, it is performed for self-enjoyment and social duty.

It is unfortunate that seven years of studying the pipa (4-stringed lute) at the Xi’an Conservatory in the 1980s did not provide me the opportunity to discover Xi’an guyue. According to a Chinese saying: “One cannot see the true features of Mount Lu while standing on its slopes”. Even today, Xi’an guyue is still not on the regular curriculum of the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, though it has been emphasised by many influential
scholars that the genre supposed to be the most important representative of the ancient musical traditions of the region. This reflects a common phenomenon in China today: folk music often cannot find a place in nationalised and government-supported music organisations. Instead, professional art music and Western classical music are usually the mainstream of the standardised system of conservatory music in China.

My first formal encounter with the music was at the Music Research Institute (Yinyue yanjiu suo) of the China Research Academy of Arts (Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan) in Beijing from December 1994 to January 1995, while I was searching for a PhD topic. Out of curiosity, I listened to a 1961 recording of Xi’an guyue: “Eight-beat double-gong-chime sitting suite in che key” (Shuangyunluo bapai zuoyue quantao). My reaction to this music was complete surprise. First, why had I never heard of Xi’an guyue in all those years in Xi’an? Second, its unique style and complexity was simply beyond my imagination. Third, I could not believe that the music was played by a group of amateur musicians. Since then, I have been strongly attracted by this music, and carried out an initial exploratory visit in January 1995, a four-month fieldwork trip in the summer of 1996 and two months each in 1998 and in 1999. The music is of interest not only for technical intra-musical reasons, but also for the rich socio-contextual factors which are obviously at play in its development and presentation.

Xi’an guyue is one of the most important surviving instrumental traditions in China today. The significance of this music has been recognised by many distinguished musicologists including Yang Yinliu, Huang Xiangpeng and Yuan Yingfang in China, and Laurence Picken, Kishibe Shigeo and Stephen Jones outside China. The importance of Xi’an guyue is reflected in the large collection of ancient scores (more than 3,000 pieces) in a rare, archaic form which is closely linked with Tang and Song notation systems. It consists not only of a large corpus of ancient Chinese melodies, but also, interestingly, of “non-Chinese” elements. The complexity of structure and instrumentation of Xi’an guyue is said also to have some similarities to specific musical genres of the Tang and Song periods. Xi’an guyue may provide important clues for research into ancient Chinese notation systems, the inter-relationship between Tang and Song musical elements and inter-regional cultural exchange and influence in Central Asia.

Of all the instrumental ensemble traditions in China today, Xi’an guyue is one of the most neglected by scholars and performers both in China and abroad. Regarding performance, the tradition is impoverished and is carried on principally by a small
number of elderly musicians. Though many Xi’an guyue societies have been revived or newly established during the last two decades, performances tend to be limited to percussion (tongqi) and a small number of repetitive pieces of melodic Processional Music (xingyue), while one of the most important suite genres – Sitting Music (zuoyue) – has been almost entirely lost. Even though Sitting Music is highly sophisticated and is claimed to have close links with Tang daqu suite music and Song yanyue music, the effort and attention given by the government to boost the sub-genre is rather superficial and condescending. Research has seriously declined since it began in the 1950s, suffered complete destruction during the Cultural Revolution, enjoyed a short revival during the 1980s but at present is almost at a standstill. In-depth and up-to-date research on the topic is much needed.

Unlike other types of wind-and-percussion ensembles in the region, Xi’an guyue has an inseparable relationship with religions (Buddhism and Daoism) and ritual activities. It is played only as a social and religious duty and not for commercial purposes. In Shaanxi, there are many semi-professional shawm bands, as there are in nearby Hebei and Shanxi provinces (Jones 1995), playing for hong (red-wedding) and bai (white-funeral) events. Even some of the traditional Naxi guyue (Naxi ancient music) in Yunnan was in the end unable to resist the economic incentive and has joined the tourist industry (Rees 1994). Xi’an guyue has its strict disciplines that have been passed on for generations: playing as accompaniment to pilgrimages, known as chaoshan jinxian, at various miaohui (temple fairs), douyue (musical competitions), as well as other ritual functions in villages (see Chapter 4). Up to the present time, Xi’an guyue has never been played for commercial purposes, despite the relatively low social status and difficult economic situation of the musicians.

Interestingly, three distinctive musical styles have emerged in Xi’an guyue: urban, village and, recently and contentiously, a conservatory style whose birth reflects a popular tendency of “returning to antiquity” (fugu) or a “heritage trail”. Each individual style of music represents a different social group of people with distinct statuses, music-making processes, and attitudes towards the tradition. Urban musical groups represent more authentic Buddhist (seng) and Daoist (dao) practices while more secular (su) practices are featured in village music. The conservatory ensemble was established in 1985 at the prestigious Xi’an Conservatory of Music under the name Chang’an guyue (Chang’an ancient music). The use of the name Chang’an which was Xi’an’s name in the Tang period, reflected an antiquarian urge which was evident in several other musical
developments of the 1980s: the recording of “music of a millennium ago reappearing in the world” – reconstructed music based on the Dunhuang pipa score (933) by various scholars including Ye Dong of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music; the creation of the dance theatre Silu huayu (The flower rain of the Silk Road) in Gansu province; and the Fangtang yuewu (Imitation of Tang music and dance) of the Shaanxi Song and Dance Ensemble. This shows a social phenomenon of different views and practices regarding traditional music between official and folk sectors. Often traditional and folk music is modified and modernised to a certain degree in governmental organisations compared to the music of the folk sector.

1.2 State of research on Xi’an guyue

Research on Xi’an guyue today still lacks depth and breadth, and is confined exclusively to regional music institutions in Xi’an. Before the 1950s virtually no research had been done on this specific subject. In 1952, detailed research was begun by Li Shigen and his group, supported by the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau. In 1953, Yang Yinliu’s (1899-1984, China’s most influential musicologist of his time) special trip to Xi’an and his attention to and concern for the music helped to raise its prestige and improve the climate for research into this music. Li Shigen’s group continued their work until the Cultural Revolution began in 1965. No different from many other traditional musics at the time, Xi’an guyue was prohibited under the government policy of eradicating “feudal” and “superstitious” practices. Li was locked up in a “niupeng” (“cowshed”, a prison-like place typically used for re-educating intellectuals) for his research on the genre. Not until the 1980s did articles about the topic start to appear in Jiaoxiang (Journal of the Xi’an Conservatory) and sporadically in some other major journals on Chinese music.

No monograph has been published on this topic except for Chang’an guyue pu (Chang’an classical music scores), a brief introduction and transcription with notation of a single old score, edited by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, in 1991. The quantity of material in my bibliography may be misleading in that most of these articles or pertinent sections of books are quite short and their research scope is very limited. Most of the works on the subject have concentrated on the transcription and notation of old scores and analysis of structural aspects, tonal relationships, instrumentation and performance forms. Attempts to link these musical aspects to specific Tang and Song musical genres and the search for a musical “living fossil” have been especially popular. The main scholars of the genre include Li Shigen, the most influential, with He Jun since 1952, Li Jianzheng,
Lü Hongjing of the Music Research Department in Shaanxi Research Institute of Arts and Feng Yalan, of the Xi'an Conservatory of Music since the 1980s.

More substantial introductions to the music are found in Luo Yifeng (1989), Yuan Jingfang (1987) and the article authored jointly by Li Jianzheng and Yu Zhu (1983), which gave a general understanding and overall picture of the musical tradition. The common title of the music since the 1950s – Xi'an drum music – is itself the subject of recent intensive debate by scholars (Li Shigen 1988b; Yu Zhu, 1987; Lu Hongjing 1987d; Fang Yulan 1988; Li Jianzheng 1990, Fang Yilie 1998). Each has brandished a different term based on their own theory and understanding. Li Shigen (1983, 1986a, 1987a, 1987d) has written in detail on the notation and the problems related to its interpretation and transcription; he has later been critically responded to by Yu Zhu (1988, 1991). Discussions on the gong mode systems and the “heptatonic scale with eight pitches” (bayin qisheng yinjie) have been offered by Feng Yalan (1989, 1991b) and Li Shigen (1986b). Jiao Jie (1993) and Lü Hongjing (1995) have carried out detailed analyses of the four keys (shang, liu, wu and che) of the music. The performance forms and usages of Processional and Sitting music have been studied in detail by Li Jianzheng and Yu Zhu (1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c) in their jointly authored articles. Research on the origins of Xi'an guyue and its links and relationships with specific Tang and Song genres is especially favoured. Hui Hongjing’s series of articles in the 1980s drew attention to the search for the origins of Xi'an guyue by comparing its metre (pai), structure and instruments with Japanese Gagaku (a Tang survival) and Tang daqu suite music. Many have written along similar lines, linking Guyue to certain Tang musical forms, including articles on the notation by Li Shigen (1983, 1993c), on the structure by Li Jianzheng (1985c), Li Mingzhong (1990) and Li Shigen (1980a), and on the texts by Feng Yalan (1987) and Jiao Jie (1990).

Of special significance in the field is the research done by Li Shigen: his in-depth and wide study on the subject is an indispensable starting point. He was the first scholar to draw attention to this now seriously impoverished musical tradition and persistently devoted his energy to it for more than 50 years, thus laying down a firm foundation for later research. His many published articles are highly important, ranging over notation systems, musical structures, instrumentation, repertory, and musical styles. One of his important contributions was to collect more than 3,000 surviving pieces from some 70 old manuscripts which were scattered among many individual music societies. Based on this collection, he has transcribed 8 volumes of old notation into the modern cipher system,
though the result is in mimeograph form with very limited circulation. Furthermore, he is one of the few scholars who has tackled “extra-musical” elements, in his article “Folk customs and religious aspects of Xi’an drum music” (1993).

The only English work about the subject until now is the 19-page section on “The ceremonial music of the Xi’an area” in *Folk music of China* by Stephen Jones (1995:227-45). The work well introduces and summarises the significance and main features of the tradition based on previous research done by Chinese scholars and on his personal visit in 1986 with Li Shigen. It gives a basic picture of the history, social background, performance contexts and main musical features including notation, instrumentation, structure and repertory. In addition, it points out that that “fieldwork is needed” on the living social context of the musical genre (1995:229).

During the 1990s, the state of research on Xi’an guyue did not improve. Some older scholars, such as Li Shigen and He Jun, have retired, and many have turned their interests to other subjects. Only a few young scholars are working on the subject, such as Cheng Tianjian (1997) MMus dissertation at Xi’an Conservatory and Chu Li (1998) PhD study on the subject in Central Conservatory of Music, Beijing). The research scope is almost exclusively confined to the music itself, but with no significant breakthroughs since the 1980s, and much has been repeated and is out-dated. Many problems raised earlier have not been solved. An in-depth and up-to-date study on the topic in a wider context and from different angles is seriously needed.

### 1.3 Source and collection of materials

I have been collecting Xi’an guyue materials since 1992. My initial data-gathering was at SOAS (The School of Oriental and African Studies) in London. Most research articles on the subject have been collected from *Jiaoxiang* (The Journal of Xi’an Conservatory of Music), to which I have subscribed since 1992 and bought all the back issues from 1978. Other pertinent publications have also been consciously gathered as much as possible in major Chinese musical journals such as *Zhongguo yinyue* (Chinese Music), *Yinyue yanjiu* (Music Research) and *Zhongguo yinyuexue* (Musicology in China). Some issues of these journals are available at the library of SOAS.

Given the paucity and inaccessibility of source material on the subject in the West, it is inevitable that the main part of my search for source materials should be carried out in the field in Xi’an, China. My research focuses primarily on the current situation of the music. Fieldwork has therefore been crucial for first-hand information, participant
observation and documentation of the actual performing contexts. After an initial three-week exploratory visit to Xi'an in 1994-5, I spent four months in Xi'an and its surrounding counties (Chang'an, Zhouzhi and Huxian) and villages (Hejiaying, Nanjixian and Baidaoyu) during the summer of 1996. Follow-up trips were made in the summer of 1998 and the spring of 1999 with specific targets and questions.

All four visits were fairly fruitful in terms of gathering both written and raw materials on the topic. In order to collect all possible sources and materials relating to the musical tradition, I made many visits to the Xi'an Research Institute of Arts, the Xi'an Conservatory of Music, the Shaanxi Provincial Library and the Hejiaying Exhibition Hall of Xi'an Ancient Music Musical Instruments in Chang'an County. Taking a few liberties with my roots and my links with Xi'an, I was soon able to establish connections with some scholars and musicians, through my old university mates, teachers and relatives. This enabled me to make personal calls on various scholars of different opinions (including Li Shigen, Li Jianzheng and Feng Yalan); over a dozen music societies (yueshe) both in the city and in the countryside; and many musicians from different social sectors, such as master musician Zhao Gengchen (79 in 1998, Dongcang Society), Zhang Cunzhu (63 in 1996, died April 1998, Yingxiang guan Society), Yu Zhu (75 in 1998, Xi'an Buddhist Society) and Zhang Gui (77 in 1996, a peasant musician of the Nanjixian Village Society). I also attended several religious and ritual functions including two of the most important temple ceremonies relating to the music: the Southern Wutai Shan chaoshan jinxiang (making a pilgrimage to the mountains and presenting incense) and the Western Wutai miaohui (Temple fair). The former is located some 30 km south of Xi'an city and is a branch of the famous "Zhongnan Mountains"; the latter is situated in the northwest of Xi'an city. Some of the activities were carried out solo, while on others I was with one or more paid assistants.

These rare opportunities enabled me to collect and document much fresh first-hand materials, in the following ways:

1) I conducted numerous interviews with musicians, researchers and other local and non-local participants at the events, either via tape recording or by taking hand-written notes. Interviews were carried out with musicians and musicologists in an attempt to understand the music from their own experiences and points of view.

2) I made audio and video recordings of the music, for example at both the Southern and West Wutai ceremonies mentioned above.

3) I photographed musicians, instruments and old manuscript scores.
4) I was accepted as a student by Li Shigen and Yu Zhu and took some lessons with master musician Zhang Cunzhu, learning some knowledge of the complicated notation system including yunqu (vocalization of notation) and henghe (ornamentation of the skeletal notes) and tried on the instruments sheng (mouth-organ) and di (horizontal flute). To my surprise, after a dozen lessons with Zhang Cunzhu, he generously gave me a copy of a set of four surviving manuscript scores of the Chenghuang Monastery Daoist Musical Society, and kindly said, “Now I trust you and I fully support your research on our music”.

5) In addition, in Xi’an I purchased some useful books and audio materials relating to guyue.

Library and individual work has also been an important part of my research. In China, I have made an extensive search for written materials and sound recordings at many libraries and institutions in both Beijing and Xi’an. In Beijing, these included both the Chinese Conservatory of Music (Zhongguo yinyue xueyuan) and the Central Conservatory of Music (Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan) in Beijing and the China Music Research Institute (Zhongguo yinyue yanjiu suo) and the Music Research Institute (Yinyue yanjiu suo) of the China Research Academy of Arts (Zhongguo yishu yuanjiu yuan), where I discovered several valuable old scores and recordings. In Xi’an, apart from materials gathered from the libraries of major music institutions such as the Xi’an Research Institute of Arts (Xi’an yishu yanjiu suo) and the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, I also paid attention to other non-music libraries including the Shaanxi Provincial Library, Shaanxi Institute of Religions, and Chang’an and Zhouzhi County Libraries where I found some useful gazettes and county annals. In England, my main library work was based at SOAS, while I also searched for relevant information at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, and Laurence Picken’s collections at Jesus College, Cambridge in an attempt to track down Western scholarship on the history, religion, ethnography and music of the Xi’an area.

1.4 Aims and scope
The primary aims of the study are to offer an overview and up-to-date monograph concerning the genre in a Western language, while examining the inter-relationships between Xi’an guyue and its social, historical and religious contexts, and introducing and evaluating different views and claims of tradition. In order to provide a fuller and wider understanding of the genre, I will bring in one fresh aspect which has never been dealt
with: the new version of the genre – Chang’an ancient music – which was established by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music in 1985. The tradition of Xi’an guyue is almost unknown outside Xi’an, and previous scholarship on the subject was confined to intra-musical relationships; in addition, much previous work has been based on information and materials from the 1950s and 1960s and is possibly out-dated. Therefore my research examines both the intra-musical character of the genre and extra-musical relationships within the wider social context. In particular, it focuses on the current situation and cultural meaning of the music. I have kept in mind the following aspects, each of which is mutually connected and essential for an overall understanding of the genre:

1) Historical, social and political background.
2) Current situation, changes and developments.
3) Intra-musical aspects: notation, tonal and structural relationships, instruments and instrumentation, repertories and their relationships with Tang and Song music genres.
4) Extra-musical aspects: performance contexts, religious, social and ideological factors.
5) Learning, transmission, practice and musical styles in different social groups: urban, rural and the Xi’an Conservatory of Music.

One of the primary aims concerned with extra-musical contexts, however, is a bi-directional discussion. Not only does this thesis inevitably address the impact of social, political and religious factors upon the changing elements of the musical tradition, but it demonstrates how the music can also influence and articulate the extra-musical contexts. The musical tradition represents an unusual social phenomenon that is not in keeping with modern norms and even reacts against modern social trends. There are several related questions that my research will address:

1) The inseparable relationship with religions (Buddhist and Daoist) and ritual functions. Xi’an guyue itself, in its traditional settings, is not officially religious music, and the performers are not religious specialists nor even necessarily believers, yet it plays an important part in and is almost exclusively integrated with religions and ritual activities. My study explores this inter-relationship and the factors and forces that determine their integration.

2) Resistance to commercialization and modernisation. Unlike many other “traditional” musics in China today that have been adapted and influenced by modern technologies and commercial values to a certain degree, Xi’an guyue is distinctively out
of the fashion, carrying on in its own way, and musicians have so far never accepted payment for their music. I analyse the apparent anomalies present in resisting the increasing social trend towards modernisation and commercialisation in the transmission and performance of traditional music.

3) Urban, village and conservatory. Three different musical styles co-exist today and each represents a distinct social group of people. My thesis discusses the social and ideological forces behind the changes and differences.

4) Finally, the main debate of the dissertation, although it lurks in the background, centres on the discussion of “tradition”. In particular, different social groups often have different concepts of tradition and different attitudes towards how to carry on a particular tradition. The two internal competing claims, which see tradition as either a “living fossil” or a “flowing river”, will be evaluated and argued throughout while examining the above issues. In addition, I will also apply and discuss Western theories and scholarship on the concept of “tradition” and related issues. Thus the debate will be examined both from within and from without.

1.5 Conceptual framework

Tradition is one of the most powerful and emotive concepts in almost every discipline. Recently, the issue of “tradition” and related questions has been of increasing concern in the field of music both in China and the West. A particularly important aspect regarding the concept of “tradition” is who defines it, who identifies its characteristics and its boundaries. Since ethnomusicology was established in the west in the 1950s, the theory and methodology of ethnomusicologists have been largely Western-influenced and orientated, even when dealing with a deep-rooted non-Western culture. Until the late 1970s, the theories, conceptions, viewpoints and thoughts of the indigenous populace were rarely taken into account in works produced by Western ethnomusicologists, let alone given a human voice. Research on Chinese musical culture by musicologists and ethnomusicologists in the West is a good case in point.

My theoretical approach is based on the discussion and examination of the “native” concepts of “living fossil” and “flowing river” towards musical tradition in China. This is, however, considered in the light of Western scholarship relating to the issue of tradition.

Why would people call a particular kind of music a “tradition” or “traditional”? What does this mean and what is it symbolising? Are all musics traditional? If not, what
makes a particular music traditional, and who defines it as such? Can a clear line be drawn between “traditional music” and non-traditional music? The study of “tradition” and its related aspects in music may open up a window for us to understand musical change and behaviour.

First, let us take a look at the origins and meanings of the Chinese translation of “tradition”, the word translates chuantong (傳統), which consists of two characters: chuan meaning “transmit”, “pass on”, “hand down”, “spread”; and tong meaning “system”, “overall arrangement”, “unite/integrate”, “rule/control” (the etymological dictionary Ciyuan 1979:489-91). The origins of the individual words chuan and tong can be traced to the Eastern Zhou dynasty over 2,000 years ago. But the origin of the compound word chuantong is not clear in Ciyuan, and the term has not been found so far in sources earlier than the 18th century. Presumably, it is a recent usage. Cihai (another etymological dictionary) states that “tradition: [is] continually transmitted thoughts, moralities, arts, customs, systems and so forth from history” (Cihai 1979:2691).

Regarding the definition of “traditional music” by internal Chinese scholars, Yang Yinliu remarked in the 1950s that any traditional Chinese music or traditional music type should possess the following three features:

First, it has more than two or three generations of transmission by well-known masters, whose names at least can be traced. Second, it has a unique repertory which has been handed down for generations. Third, its performance form, including instruments and instrumentation, has distinctive organisation and characteristics. (quoted from Huang 1991:2)

While agreeing with Yang Yinliu’s three points, Huang Xiangpeng (1997: 27) added a fourth point from the socio-cultural angle, with specific reference to Xi’an guyue.

Fourth, it [the genre] has formed a stable social collective, and functions mainly as a [music] lovers’ yaji (elegant/refined gathering) and as self-entertainment. It possesses a characteristic of non-commercialisation…. This is because on the one hand, it is less influenced by drastic changes of folklore and religious life, and on the other hand it cannot be completely orientated by musical commercialisation and modern trends. This is an important reason why this musical genre [Xi’an guyue] has survived even since ancient times.

In the West, the general understanding of tradition is as an inheritance which
involves the authoritative presence of a continuously transmitted past. This has been summed up by Martin Krygier (1986). There are three elements in his definition. The first is that tradition looks to the past: “the contents of every tradition have, or are believed by its participants to have, originated some considerable time in the past”. The second element is the authority within some community of an inherited practice or belief: its traditionality “consists in its present authority and significance”. Finally, there is the element of continuity in transmission: a tradition “must have been, or be thought to have been, passed down over intervening generations” (Krygier 1986: 240).

The concept of “traditional music” is a rather thorny issue in the West. Although “traditional music” is one of the most frequently used terms among ethnomusicologists, no clear definition has been agreed upon so far. Even when the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) announced the change to its new title, International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), in 1981, no explanation was given about what “traditional music” is. The president of ICTM stated (1981:1, 3):

After many deliberations, we hope to have found a name which, much better than the original one, explains what our council stands for in the world of scholarship... The IFMC has been concerned, from its beginnings, with all kinds of traditional music, not only with “folk music”... The object of the Council shall be to assist in the study, practice, documentation and dissemination of traditional music, including folk, popular, classical, and urban music, and dance, of all countries.

Indeed, the definition of “folk music” adopted by the IFMC had been problematic (Anon. 1955:23):

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are i) continuity which links the present with the past, ii) variation which stems from the creative impulse of the individual or the group, iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives...

For one thing, the definition rules out some genres which have a certain or considerable number of surviving written notations that play an important role in the process of transmission, such as many folk music instrumental ensembles in China including Nanguan, Silk and Bamboo Music and Xi’an guyue. I at least would not exclude these from a definition of “folk music”. The definition limits its scope to exclusively orally transmitted music genres, and also requires assuming the existence of a category of
people designated as "folk". For this reason, the term "folk music" had gradually fallen on hard times in academia by the 1980s and has been increasingly replaced by "traditional music".

However, the adoption of "traditional music" in ICTM's new title is by no means a satisfactory one, and has been subjected to a tortuous debate. Philip Bohlman argues that "traditional music hardly seems more precise than folk music. The change was not so much a result of believing in traditional music as of losing faith in folk music" (Bohlman 1988:xiii). Stephen Blum commented that "The term 'traditional music' is a pleonasm; and... it is an error for scholars 'to confuse historical continuity with 'timelessness'" (Blum 1991:6). More recently Nettl stated on the question of "traditional music": "Just what does the ICTM mean by 'traditional' music?... I don't propose to define it, heaven forbid" (Nettl 1998:5). However, no one has yet solved the contentious issue of defining the term "traditional music". Will it be resolved in the future?

The views just presented can be taken as typical of current mainline definitions of tradition in China and the West respectively. If we agree that a traditional music genre is a tradition, we can see from the above that the fundamental views on "tradition" in China and the West are quite close. Both stress antiquity and continuity. One states that it must have "more than two or three generations of transmissions by well-known masters" and be "handed down for generations"; while the other says that it should "have originated some considerable time in the past" and "have been passed down through intervening generations". Chinese scholarship claims that tradition should have "formed a stable social collective", and Western views emphasise that tradition "consists in its present authority and significance". Both China and the West recognise that a tradition needs to have a supporting base by certain social groups or a community who practice, believe and have a certain faith in it.

Interestingly, one more point on the side of China insists that tradition should be separated from "commercialization". Huang stresses that "traditional music" should "function mainly for [its] aficionados' yaji (refined gatherings) and as self-entertainment". He suggests this as "an important reason" that a tradition could have "survived even since ancient times" despite drastic social change, commercialisation and modernization.

From the above discussion and comparison, we can be certain that the genre Xi'an guyue is a perfect "tradition" by both Chinese and Western definitions, despite some differences between the two. The main objective of this section is not, however, merely
to decide whether Xi’an guyue is theoretically a “tradition” or “traditional music”. More importantly, it is to investigate some conceptualised notions and theories of interpretations and approaches to a musical genre which is deemed a “tradition“ by both Chinese and Western definitions.

Now, notice that neither of these definitions says anything directly about the question of change. They do not claim that a tradition must have been transmitted without change, but they clearly imply that there are limits on the degree that is acceptable. Let us consider this with reference to the competing Chinese concepts of “living fossil” and “flowing river”.

The notion of “living fossil“ conveys the sense that tradition is an invariant cultural element, and that it should therefore be preserved as unchanged and passed on in its “original“ form. The conceptualised metaphor was firmly endorsed by Zhao Feng (former chairman of the Chinese Musicians’ Association) during a conference on traditional music at Quanzhou, Fujian in 1987. Concerning Nanyin music in Fujian, he stated that “such surviving ancient music as Nanyin is simply living musical history, and is a living fossil“ (1987: 1-3). This notion was immediately welcomed and supported by a social group of people whom Huang calls “preservationists“ (baocun pai) (1990:31). Thus, qin (7-stringed zither) music, Nanyin (Li Huanzhi 1989:1, Wang Yaohua 1989:1), Naxi traditional music, Silk and Bamboo music in Shanghai, Uyghur chebiyat mukam in Xinjiang province and of course Xi’an guyue (Lu Hongjing 1989:37, Yu Zhu 1991:26) are often described as “living fossils“.

Lou Yifeng describes Xi’an guyue as “music descended from ancient times“ (guyun yisheng) and endorsed its classification into the “living fossil“ type (1991:346):

The ancient city of Xi’an and its nearby suburbs and counties possess extremely rich gradations of history and culture. It consists of the blood of ancient arts from ancient periods, and even from the Archaic Era. It is still surviving today in the folk [world] in Shaanxi and has become a “living fossil“ of the ancient arts. Music is the art of sound which is shapeless and textureless and emerges and disappears at any time. This kind of “living fossil“ is precious, and Xi’an guyue is amongst the most important kinds of such. It still holds large audiences today, has surviving organised musical societies with rich contents and a long history.

In addition, Buddhist temple music has been echoed as being a “living fossil“ in a reputable Chinese music encyclopaedia (Liao Tianrui 1998:175):
Generally, there is music played and sung internally in temples which is called temple music *(miatang yinyue)*. Temple music has a far distant origin and has been handed down from generation to generation. It has a divinity that is not allowed to change and divide north and south. [Therefore, temple music] has been practised and sung by Buddhist practitioners all over China. [Due to] the sacredness of the religion and the conservatism of the transmission methods, this music served as a part of religious ceremonies which survived into the modern world. [It] became a “living fossil” of Chinese classical music.

The term “living fossil” itself is an oxymoron, combining a pair of opposite and contradictory words: “living” existence/presence versus a long dead “fossil”. The apparent paradox rests upon the view that tradition is invariant, and should not be changed. The problems here are: how can a fossil be alive? and how can a living thing be a fossil? The concept of “living fossil” reflects a certain social group’s will and political ideology, who seek to preserve the past as “original” in a rapidly changing world. If the concept and its implication are true, then, questions need to be asked. What are the forces and factors allowing an “unchanging tradition” to survive in an increasingly changing society? And why do people want to preserve the past as it was?

“Flowing river” *(yitiaohe)*, on the other hand, recognises the constantly changing nature of tradition: it is not static and takes various forms under different natural, historical and social conditions. This term was formally proposed by Huang Xiangpeng in his book titled “Tradition as a flowing river” (1990), although he had outlined his ideas earlier. He stated that “Musical tradition is a flowing river. It inevitably takes and abandons, preserves and develops during its developmental history” (Huang 1993:249). This view is in direct contrast to the notion of “living fossil” in China. Huang (1987:56) explains:

This is to say that traditional Chinese music is not at all a narrow water-tight cultural system, whether we are considering its historical evolution or its status quo. The artistic life of traditional Chinese music has been through the blockades of many rocks and icebergs, surviving all dangers of being lost, and thus continuing to exist to the present day.

The philosophical view of tradition as a “flowing river” has been appreciated and supported mostly by the group of scholars whom Huang calls “developmentalists” *(fazhan pai)* (1990:31). Thus, this theoretical weapon has been used by some
musicologists against the “preservationists”. Tian Qing in his preface to Huang’s book “Tradition as a flowing river” endorses: “I especially praise the river of Chinese musical tradition thousands and thousands of times, because she is forever flowing... If you do not know her depth, width and length, you will not be able to understand her multifarious rich and marvellous resources... (1990:3-4)”. Wu Ben also applied Huang’s concept to the question of traditional Chinese instrumental music, and stated: “The music is never at a standstill. It is always changing, just like running water” (1998:17).

The term “flowing river” represents the desire and ideology of a different group of musicologists, who accept the changing conceptualisations of the functions and power of music in different eras of Chinese history. Is such change always politically neutral? Or does it to a certain extent reflect the interests and will of particular social groups using musical traditions as a tool to serve their political needs? Does a river always flow according to the laws of nature without human intervention? What about artificial “irrigation”, “diversion” and “damming”? And why?

The two competing conceptual notions reflect the internal controversy over whether a tradition is transmitted unchanged or, rather, has undergone significant modification. It shows the two contrasting views on the question of tradition and their attitudes towards how to carry on a tradition in the contemporary world. The “living fossil” school puts emphasis on “preservation” while the “flowing river” group addresses the question of “development”. Huang’s insight (1990:30) is that:

“Preservationists” think that “tradition” should be kept as “original” from content to form, from transmission method to performance arrangements. Any slight change is not allowed, otherwise it will lead to the complete loss of a Chinese tradition. [On the contrary], the “developmentalists” contend that it is impossible to preserve tradition without developing. Culture should be a “locomotive” (huochetou) of history rather than a “museum”.

Nettl’s (1983:172-86) theoretical concept of “the continuity of change” referring to traditional music in the modern context is relevant to my study. He has formulated a series of responses towards changing factors of non-Western music to Western music in the 20th century (1983: ch. 27). Some of his formulations may assist my discussion on the “traditional” genre of Xi’an guyue, for example: abandonment, impoverishment, preservation and modernisation. He also reminds us that the ethnomusicologist has the kind of attitude that “laments change, tries to ignore it” (ibid:174) or “seeing music
change as something which does not change, or in which change is an incidental, disturbing, polluting factor, making synchronic comparisons. All this despite the widespread belief in ethnomusicology as a field that holds onto disappearing traditions and that may in the end tell us the origins of music” (ibid:172). He claims that “ethnomusicologists must take change into account because it is always there, and that they have a special stake in the understanding of history. Indeed, if there is anything really stable in the musics of the world, it is the constant existence of change.” (ibid:174). His message has been warmly heeded in recent years, partly because the rate of change in the world’s music cultures has accelerated in the age of mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes and ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1990:1-24). The debate now is not so much about whether change is occurring, for change is more obvious than ever before, but about whether it should be resisted (as via the UNESCO Important Cultural Treasures Programme).

Taking a rather different angle, Blacking (1977) offered the valuable view that musical change does not always respond to social and cultural change. He reminds us that “music changes in ways which cannot be explained by parallels to cultural and social changes”. He points out: 1) “Music does not necessarily reflect the ethos or eidos of the culture; it may well be counteracting social trends”. 2) “The non-referential nature of music itself means that almost any meaning or value can be assigned to it”. 3) “An absence of musical change may reflect a retreat from challenging social issues, or a determination to face them and adapt to them while maintaining essential social and cultural values.” Points 2 and 3 are useful when discussing some less changing factors or some “authentic” aspects of Xi'an guyue.

Hobsbawm’s theory of “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) is particularly useful for my discussion on the music genre of Xi'an guyue. He recognises that “traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1). He cites three overlapping types of invented tradition since the Industrial Revolution (ibid:9):

a) Those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.
The concept of “invented tradition” has provided a wider dimension for ethnomusicology looking into musical change beyond its early formulations by Nettl and Merriam (1963:303-19). Hobsbawm’s concept may inspire us to seek the reasons for musical change from ideological and socio-political points of view rather than merely from the musical-technical and materialistic aspects. This is especially suited to the study of musical change relating to nationalist and political movements as they often pursue a reconstruction of the past to fit currently favoured political conceptions and programmes. As I show below, the emergence of the Xi’an Conservatory version and style of Xi’an guyue since 1985 is a case in point.
Chapter 2

Historical, political and regional background

2.1 The political and ideological contexts for analysing Chinese music in the 20th century

While Xi’an guyue may appear to be a localised, regional folk music tradition, it has itself been subject to political forces at the national and indeed the international levels that have influenced its development. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce this broad political and ideological context in general historical terms; the specific implications for Xi’an guyue are discussed in later chapters. A key theme of the discussion is the persistent question of the position of Chinese music in relation to Western music following the Western expansion into China in the nineteenth century. The tension between the two musical traditions is manifest in changing Chinese perceptions of the standing or quality of the music and in the institutionalisation of music performance and teaching in China.

China in the twentieth century has undergone the most drastic period of political and social change in its history. It experienced three epoch-making political regimes: the last imperial dynasty of the Manchu Qing (1644-1911), the National Republic of China (1912-1949) under the Guomindang (GMD) and the People’s Republic of China (1949-) under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The discussion shows how these changes affected the development of Chinese music and arts. The downfall of the Qing dynasty is marked by foreign invasion, the Nationalist period by efforts to forge a form of (uneasy) coexistence, and the Communist period by a purging nativism and political campaigns. Following the demise of Communism as a guiding principle in China since the mid-1980s, there is also a fourth period marked by the re-opening of China to Western influence. What is different, however, is that the state is much stronger than under either the Qing or the Nationalist regimes and seeks to support Chinese traditional music and arts.

Discussion of each historical period concludes with an examination of the broad implications of the political and ideological developments for professional and folk musical strands.

2.1.1 Downfall of the late Qing dynasty 1840-1911: Western invasion and the introduction of Western music
The Opium War of 1840 defines the beginning of the late Qing period, the decline of China’s last imperial dynasty and the transformation of the state from autonomous feudal
to semi-autonomous, part-feudal, part-peripheral satellite of the expanding capitalist system. The regime of the Manchu Court, led by Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908), is often characterised as incapable, corrupt, out of touch, and cowed by foreign aggression. Prior to the Opium War, a series of bourgeois movements had occurred on the other side of the world, including the American War of Independence of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. Meanwhile, capitalism was reinforcing its dominance and expanding through invasion, colonisation, co-option and trade across the non-Western world. This was the context for the outbreak of the Opium War in 1840 and its ending with the humiliating and unequal Nanjing Treaty in 1842 (Tao Yabing 1994:155). The Eight Allies (baguo lianjun) from the West including England and France began to plunder and exploit China economically, manipulate and control it politically, and discriminate against the Chinese culturally. As a result, there emerged in the major urban centres growing tensions between the processes of Westernisation (yanghua) (ibid:133-152, Liu Ching-chih, 1990:257-260] and, as a reaction, rising concerns to protect traditional Chinese music and arts. This contradiction between Westernization and “nationalism” (guocui zhuyi, Shen Qia 1994:15-16) persists to this day and is a recurrent theme in the development of Chinese music.

Following the Opium War, Western music funnelled into China through three channels: Western missionaries, the importation of European military and orchestral music and the overseas education of Chinese students.

Books on Western musical theory were introduced, and Christian missionaries taught Chinese practitioners hymns and church music. Western 4-line and 5-line staff notation systems (Ex. 2.1 and Ex. 2.2) and a large amount of 4-part choral and polyphonic music were introduced in large Chinese cities including Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Guangzhou. Many churches set up choirs, and some had their own Western music bands.

The period also witnessed the arrival of European military brass bands and orchestral music. The earliest Chinese European-style military brass bands belonged to Yuan Shikai’s Beiyang New Army set up in 1895 in Tianjin and Zhang Zhitong’s Self-Strengthening Army in Nanjing, established in 1897 under German training (Tao Yabing 1994:198-220). Yuan also sent his bandleader to learn brass music in Germany in 1896 for a few years. Subsequently, Western military music diffused through certain sectors of society more broadly, particularly those who regarded themselves as modern,

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1 Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), self-proclaimed Emperor Hongxian from 1915.
Ex. 2.1: This 1861 anonymous score of the Catholic hymn song ‘Respect the Bible’ shows the combination of Western four-line notation with Chinese *gongche* system as pitch signs. (Source: Tao Yabing 1994:159-61).
Ex. 2.2: ‘There is a Reason For the Gathering’ is one of the earliest hymns composed in Western staff notation by a Chinese Protestant clergyman named Xi Shengmo in 1883. It shows a Chinese pentatonic melody in Zhi mode with a folk song flavour.

and symbolised a new ideology, a new image and a new era. Furthermore, Western orchestral music was imported to many Concession Areas\(^2\) (zufiequ) more than a decade before military music. There were two distinct branches: Russian style in the northeast and Western European elsewhere (Tao Yabing 1994:192-97).

\(^2\) Concession Areas were tracts of lands or ports forcibly leased to and administered by Western imperial powers.
The third main route by which Western music entered China was through the influence of Chinese nationals who studied Western music abroad. During the opening decade of the 20th century many Chinese intellectuals sought to “save” the country through knowledge of science and educational systems from the West. The old Confucian-based education system was banned in 1905 (Liu Ching-chih 1990:159). Interestingly, the earliest Chinese overseas students of Western music mostly went to Japan to study, as it had been well established there by the 1870s and transportation was easier than to the West itself. The first generation of music students going to Japan between 1901–1905 included Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), Shen Xin’gong (1869-1947) and Li Shutong (1880-1942). Only a few people went to America, such as Li Yuzheng (1890-?) and Zhao Yuanren (1892-1982), who arrived there in 1908 and 1910. The main significance of these foreign-trained intellectuals was to establish Western musical training and education in China upon their return. As a result, “School Songs” (xuetang yuege), for music used in the schools throughout China became the most popular new genre. This was shaped by the adoption of popular tunes from Europe and America (via Japan) and substitution of Chinese lyrics by progressive intellectuals to promote their ideology (Liu Ching-chih 1990:259). Subsequently cipher notation (jianpu) came to China via Japan and was used together with staff notation (xianpu). Learning Western instruments for performance in Western-style ensembles became increasingly popular in urban schools and modern-minded social organisations. For example, both the Tianjin Private School Brass Band (Fig. 2.1) and the Orchestra of Shanghai League for Poor Children (with 41 people, Fig 2.2) were established in 1910. Early overseas music students played an important role in introducing Western music and launching music education in China. More importantly, they laid the foundation for the development of Chinese-language “art songs” (yishu gequ), and “New Music” (xin yinyue) and the establishment of professional music education in the following period.

It should be noted, however, that in the late Qing dynasty, the radical change in China’s music through the introduction and transplantation of Western music and Western musical education was confined to the major cities and treaty ports. The rest of

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3 Jianpu is a numerical notation based on the French Chevé system in which 1-7 represent C-B or do-ti. It came to Japan via America in the late 19th century and was commonly used in Japanese music education. See Tao Yabin 1994: 224.
Fig. 2.1: The Tianjin Private First Middle School Military Brass Band with 28 musicians. In Education Magazine, 1910, Vol 2, no 5.

Fig. 2.2: Orchestra of Shanghai League for Poor Children with 41 musicians. In Education Magazine, 1911, vol. 3, no.1.
China's musical world remained largely unchanged: traditional literati music (such as qin, pipa and Kunqu) and folk music (including Xi’an guyue, Nanguan, Shifan and ritual music) continued in the same old way – at least for the time being.

At the same time, the introduction and transplantation of Western music to China in the late Qing dynasty was fundamentally different from the importation of foreign music during the Han and Tang periods through the “silk road”\(^4\). The Western intrusion was unequal, the Chinese position was one of passiveness and imitation against a background of political and military coercion. By contrast, although Tang China was a strong state and economically prosperous, earlier encounters were harmonious and gradual, marked by assimilation and syncretisation through cultural, economic and trading exchanges. Accordingly, the importation and assimilation of foreign (but non-Western) music into the Chinese system during the Han and Tang periods is largely seen as a proud and glorious development that enriched Chinese music. However, the engagement of Chinese with Western music in the late Qing period cannot be set apart from the unequal and foreign colonial circumstances of its arrival.

2.1.2 National Republic of China (1912–1949): war and cultural reform

Following the “Xinhai” Revolution in 1911 led by the KMT leader, Sun Yat-sen, a new era was born in 1912 – the Republic of China. With the fading of the feudal Manchu Qing dynasty, over two millennia of imperial rule finally came to an end (It was not until 1948, however, that Xi’an’s Manchu regime was finally overthrown).

From the outset of the Nationalist regime, however, China faced a series of disasters and general turbulence. A civil war between the KMT led by Sun Yat-sen’s successor, Chiang Kai-shek, and the CCP (established in 1921) commanded by Mao Zedong marked this period, and the situation was further complicated by the second Sino-Japanese War that broke out in 1937. In this civil war the Nationalists, supported by the Americans, were mainly in control of some large cities (Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan and Chongqing) while Mao developed guerrilla warfare and pursued the strategy of “surrounding the cities from the countryside” (nongcun biaowei chengshi). Following Mao’s famous 2,500 km Long March, the poor and remote cave dwelling area of Yan’an

\(^4\) An ancient trade route between China and the “Western region” (Middle East, Central Asia and India) in which many instruments such as the pipa, konghou harp, bill reed-pipe (today’s guanzi) and foreign music came to China. See Chang Renxian 1956:14-28.
in north Shaanxi became Mao’s strong “red base” until the “liberation” and proclamation
of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.

In the Nationalist period, China underwent a period of cultural reform,
particularly in the education system, sparked by the frustration of urban intellectuals and
expressed in the “New Cultural Movement” launched in May 4th 1919 (popularly called
the May Fourth Movement). The establishment of a “modern [Western] educational”
structure in schools, colleges and institutions had direct implications for music education.
Following a policy change in 1922-23, the “Standard Criteria for Music Courses” led to
compulsory music study in primary schools as distinct from the occasional “school
songs” (Xiang Yangdong, in YYWJ 1994:1234). Meanwhile, more overseas Chinese
 schooled in Western music - including Xiao Youmei from Germany, Zhao Yuanren and
Huang Zi from America, and Ma Sicong and Xian Xinghai from France - now returned to
China and introduced several reforms: the introduction of “Chinese Art Songs”5, the birth
of Chinese “New Music”6 and more significantly, the establishment of professional
institutions of music. It is the third of these that is significant for the purposes of this
research.

In 1927, the predecessor of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, the Shanghai
National Music College, was the first professional music institution to be formally
established under state support. The curriculum was predominantly Western: traditional
Chinese music, or “national music”, comprised only one-fifth of the total learning scope.
The other four-fifths were concerned with the following aspects of Western music: theory
and composition, piano, orchestral instruments and voice (ZYC 1985: 138). Even within
the Department of National Music, the scope was predominantly confined to literati
music, handed down from the contemporary urban intellectuals. Such a model was
quickly adopted in other major cities across China such as Canton, Changsha and Xi’an,
where the Xi’an Private Conservatory of Music was opened in 1943 (ZYC 1985: 416). It
was in this period, then, that “national music” (guoyue or minyue), the “conservatory
tradition” and the “conservatory style” were born; the model of professional music
education practiced in the conservatories of music today is largely the same as that
established in this Nationalist era. Isobel Wong (1991:43) stated that:

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5 Combination of Western Art Song style and musical techniques with Chinese poems, often including

6 Liu Ching-chih defines “New Music” as “Westernised Chinese music composed by Chinese composers in
European style during the 20th century...” For details see Liu 1997:8-15.
The establishment of the conservatory at this time was widely regarded as an indication of China's coming of age in her appreciation of "good", that is, Western music. Through the years, [the] graduates... with their Western bias, came to dominate the musical life of the intelligentsia of the treaty ports and to be regarded as authorities for acceptable musical standards and behavior. ...the majority generally regarded Chinese music as low culture, and few had any curiosity about it.

The place of traditional Chinese music in such a Western-looking music education system was to become an ongoing problem. The imbalance within and westward inclination of this system has encouraged the sentiment of "worship the West" (chongyang) and the disregard of traditional music. "Students' interest in Chinese instruments was rather limited. Most of them preferred the Western-orientated courses, which were apparently viewed as the more sophisticated part of the curriculum" (Schimmelpenninck & Kouwenhoven 1993: 63). "The Chinese element of these courses was not widely popular at first, with both Chinese music academics and students questioning the suitability of teaching such music in a modern 'scientific' educational context. [There was] resistance to indigenous musical traditions, and particularly those considered by the urban middle-class students and academics to be of low social status..." (Stock 1996:143). The confusion and concern among scholars as to how traditional Chinese music should be taught and developed is reflected in the comments of Shanghai University professor Zhao Meipa, in 1937:

Retaining Chinese music is as hard as adopting Western musical science. Will future musicians of the world be satisfied with our production without the beauties of harmony, counterpoint and orchestra? Can the world appreciate the theatrical singing of China in its traditional form? What kind of material should we use in our music schools? Suppose we were to adopt the Western system, then how far should we go? Can we some day invent a science of harmony and counterpoint of our own without being influenced by other schools? In singing should we adopt the Western method instead of the conventional falsetto? Should we introduce Western instruments, and can we modify our traditional instruments in a scientific way? (Schuman Chuo Yang's MA thesis 1973: 22, as quoted in Schimmelpenninck & Kouwenhoven 1993: 62)

In the face of such contradictory forces some Chinese intellectuals sought to pursue a way of saving Chinese music, albeit without directly challenging the supposed
superiority of Western music. In 1927, Liu Tianhua, a pioneer of traditional music reform, founded the Society for Improving National Music (Guoyue gaijin she) in Beijing with 35 people including Zheng Yingsun, Cao Anhe and Wu Bochao. They described their own approach as one of “borrowing Western music to research Chinese music”. Western music was to be employed to reinforce the essential Chinese elements of traditional music. From this “adjustment and cooperation of the West and China [the method will] battle out a new way” (ZYC 1985: 138). Liu’s extraordinary talent and extensive knowledge both of Chinese erhu, guqin, pipa, and gongche scores and aesthetics, as well as of Western piano, violin and music theory yielded him 14 compositions (11 for the erhu and 3 for the pipa) before his sudden death in 1932 at the age of 36. While Liu did not challenge the fundamental hierarchy that had been established between Western and Chinese music, he nevertheless raised the standing of Chinese music and encouraged enthusiasm for it among many young people in a troubled period.

Besides the “official” Nationalist approach to music outlined above, it was also in this period that Mao’s CCP established their first arts academy – the Lu Xun Arts Institute in 1938 in Yan’an (simply called Luyi in Chinese). The institute consisted of departments of theatre, music, art and literature and had as its objectives:

1) research advanced music theory and techniques; 2) train music cadres to resist the Japanese during the war; 3) research the Chinese music legacy, accept it and use it well; 4) facilitate the development of resistance music for the war.  5) organise and lead the rural development of music. (Miao Tianrui 1998: 383)

Apparently, the foremost agenda of the Arts Institute was Mao’s political propaganda against the Japanese invasion, reflecting his ideology that “art serves politics”. Resisting the Japanese was a powerful theme that echoed national sentiments and rallied the masses as well as some patriotic intellectuals. Secondly, Mao’s arts policy emphasised the “Chinese music legacy” which contrasted with the Shanghai National Music College’s idea of adopting Western-dominated content and format and was more in tune with the masses. Thirdly, the Communists targeted mainly the “rural” (bianqu)

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7 Lu Xun (1889 - 1937), one of the most progressive and influential literati ideologists of his time, founder of the Left-wing Writers League. Mao admired his ideology and his work.
and “mass” people, who constituted over 90% of the population. This theme was reflected in their journals Folk Music (Minzu Yinyue) and Mass Music (Dazhong Yinyue). Again, this contrasted with the Shanghai National Music College in which only small numbers of the middle classes and wealthy people from the major cities had access to music education. As such, one can agree with Isabel Wong (1991: 45) that:

the May Fourth Movement had been mostly urban and its manifestations, influenced strongly by the West, were produced by the educated for the educated; the revolutionary cultural products prescribed by Yan’an were predominantly rural and popular, produced for a mass audience and modelled after indigenous rural criteria.

Despite the different ideological disposition and social base, however, the music courses in the Lu Xun Arts Institute retained a large corpus of Western elements as “advanced theory and techniques”, including notions of harmony, composition, conducting, chorus, theory, solfeggio, voice and instruments (ZYC 1985: 246). They were brought in mainly by Western-style musicians who endorsed Communist ideology; indeed many core members, such as Lü Ji, Xian Xinghai, Xiang Yu and Li Yuanqing, were from the Shanghai National Music College. The Lu Xun Institute also had links with fellow Communist state the Soviet Union: some musicians had been sent to Russia and introduced Russian musical influences on their return.

During the Communist “Rectification” (zhengfeng) movement in 1942, Mao formally delivered his arts policies in his “Talks at the Yan’an Forum of Literature and Arts”. “The Talks” subsequently became the official guidelines and criteria for Chinese artists and still remain important. Mao famously stressed that “art serves politics” and “art serves the proletarian classes”. There was also a willingness to draw on a range of traditions in developing a Communist stance on Chinese music: “inherit every excellent literary and artistic legacy and critically absorb every good thing from it” (in Zhou Shenming 1992:31), which illustrated this point. What emerged was a new Yangge⁸.

A movement was launched in the Lu Xun Arts Institute (Luyi) in Yan’an which changed this from being a song-and-dance genre to a new Yangge dramatic (yangge ju) style with newly created contents to propagate Communist ideology. Ideology’s impact upon the folk sector is apparent in the views of the artist of Luyi. Some felt that the old yangge

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⁸ Yangge is a popular traditional folk song-and-dance genre of northwest China. During the war of resistance against Japan, Mao’s Communists launched the “Yangge Movement” in 1942 in Yan’an and developed a Yangge style that was new in terms of its form and content. See ZYC 1985:449-50 and Holm
contains “Feudal superstition” and its elements such as “Clown role”,
“guttering-crawling”, “flirtation characteristic”, “descriptions of sex” and “the vulgar
style of the song-and-dance of the urban lower classes” had to be rejected in order to fit
the revolutionary spirit and context. Only the “healthy, open and vigorous aspects of the
folk dance” should be retained (H. David 1991:143-145). This shift was reflected in the
titles of works such as “Drumming variations for supporting the army” (Yongjun huagu)
and “Brother and sister cultivating the waste-land” (Xiongmei kaochuang). Furthermore,
so-called “New Folk Songs” (xin min'ge) emerged from Yan’an. These were
characterised by fitting revolutionary texts to well-known folk tunes, featuring titles such
as “The east is red” and “Our leader is Mao Zedong”. From 1942, the Yangge and New
Folk Song movements expanded from Yan’an to all of the Communist bases until
liberation in 1949.

While in Southern China’s cities such as Shanghai and Wuxi, the music scene was
different from the CCP bases. The New Yangge didn’t penetrate into these cities and
instead the period witnessed other musical dynamics and developments. Popular and
Film Songs were rapidly developed in semi-colonised Shanghai and its dynamic movie
industry during the 1930-40s. The film star and popular singer Zhou Yun2 (1920-1957)
and the composer Li Jinhui (1891-1967) were the best-known representatives of such
genres. Li’s “music were essentially a kind of Sinified jazz which fused Western
instrumentation and harmony with largely pentatonic Chinese folk melodies (A. Jones
organisations in Shanghai had sprung up throughout the city and a gathering had attracted
over 200 participants. He gives a sketch of the folk instrumental sizhu music during the
(1937-49) war period (ibid:14)

“Despite the turbulence of this period, Jiangnan sizhu was still played, and it was ‘around
1941’, …that the concept of the Eight Great Pieces [badaqi] came into being. In the early
days of the People’s Republic, Jiangnan sizhu and other traditional musics flourished. New
music clubs were formed, Chinese music departments were established in the
conservatories, and collections of Jiangnan sizhu notation and recording were issued…”

In Wuxi where the blind musician Abing (1893-1950) lived, music activities were diverse
and vibrant including local tanghuang drama, tanci balladry, Daoist and sizhu

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instrumental ensembles and *shifan* percussion music. New music forms like Wuxi opera, Cantonese music, School Songs and Mess Songs also existed in Wuxi (J. Stock, 1995:88-91). Abing’s musicality was extraordinary: He was capable of playing all kinds of Chinese instruments and able to create new pieces. Abing’s musical creativity was largely drawn from his mastery and deep roots in traditional Chinese music, individual talents and sensitivity of the diverse and vibrant musical environment in then China. The six famous surviving instrumental solo pieces on the *erhu* and *pipa* that Abing left us embodied the talents and creativity of folk musicians during the turbulent period (J. Stock 1995). The music became part of the highly claimed heritage of the *erhu* and *pipa* solo music of the period and soon became classics of modern concert repertory.

While music in large cities was changing and developing rapidly by 1949, particularly along the coast, some inland ritual or ceremonial music remained conservative. S. Jones’ recent studies (1995; 2004) of folk instrumental musical traditions with a focus on northern China ceremonial music, suggest that “rural society seems to have been relatively unaffected by the urban development. … the traditional ceremonial genres seem to have been quite resistant to the new style” (S. Jones 1995:50). Jones’ 2004 book specifically documented the history and current situation of the musicians and their ritual wind-and-percussion musical activities in Gaoluo village south of Beijing. He observes that “in Gaoluo ritual and cultural activity seems to have gone on relatively undeterred during the War against Japan (S. Jones 2004:85)”. To a certain extent many rural ritual music genres contain more “traditional” elements than that of the major cites, including Xi’an Guyue.

To sum up, during the Nationalist regime of 1912 to 1949, China was troubled by continuous civil war and invasion by the Japanese. This catastrophic situation led some Chinese intellectuals to look beyond their own national resources to “save the country” (*jiuguo*) through the acquisition of advanced “science” and “education” systems. As a result, professional music education was established in major cities primarily by Western-style (often foreign trained) Chinese musicians adopting predominantly Western models and formats, as was the case in the Shanghai National Music College. The deference to the West found institutional form in the ratio of four Western departments to one Chinese department in the Conservatories. Efforts by those such as Liu Tianhua to raise the standing of Chinese music did not explicitly reject the legitimacy of Western influence over Chinese music. In the late 1930s Mao’s arts policies and the Lu Xun Institute did return to Chinese traditional musical forms in order to change and
re-present it in ways that were in keeping with Mao’s Communist project and to appeal to the peasant and worker classes. Even here, however, the music courses did not shake off Western domination in music elements since the main teaching force comprised Western-style musicians. One finds then, that the extent to which local music changes differed according to local context: western-style influenced music forms such as brass band, school song and popular song, as well as the conservatory system, were established in the major cities, but co-existing with more traditional music genres like Jiangnan sizhu and Abing’s music. In Yanan and other communist bases, music was created and modified under Mao’s arts policy and ideology like the New Yangge movement. By contrast, in the countryside musical traditions – such as Northern Village Ritual music in Gaoluo and Xi’an Guyue – were least affected by these modernizing influences.

2.1.3 Communist China:(1949–present) politics and music
Mao’s famous declaration of October 1949 – “the Chinese people have stood up” – marked the victory of his Communist forces over the Nationalists. In the years and decades that followed, the Communists consolidated power and, under Mao’s direction, pursued a series of radical policies including “anti-hegemonism” toward the USA, support for Land Reform and for the North in the Korean War in the early 1950s, the Great Leap Forward (1958–62), and the pervasive Cultural Revolution (1966–76). These developments had major implications for arts policies. The system of music conservatories was formally set up in major cites based on the model of the Nationalist period, but now turned from the West to strong Soviet influence due to the Sino-Soviet Communist brotherhood.
Professional music ensembles were established at the national level to implement the Party’s policy, expressed through the Ministry of Culture. It was now possible for the arts policy enunciated at Yan’an in 1942 to be deployed; it remained the ultimate guideline for arts policy during the Mao period and dominated the art and music realms. Deng Xiaoping, Mao’s successor, amended Mao’s policy in the light of certain doctrinal changes and changing economic and social circumstances in China.

2.1.4 Mao’s arts policy
Having long recognised the arts as an important tool for “revolutionary political movements”, Mao wrote many articles specifically on arts policies. The Yan’an Talks, grounded in Mao’s reading of Marxist-Leninism, established the ideological basis of Mao’s arts policies. The following is a brief outline of the key points. First, “art works
must shift their standpoint to the side of workers, peasants, soldiers, and the proletarian classes. Only by doing so can we have... real proletarian arts”⁹ (quoted and translated from Zhou Shenming 1992: 28-30). Of course, it was ultimately for the CCP, controlled by Mao, to decide what such a standpoint was. Second, the arts cannot be independent of, but are subordinate to politics. “The position of the Party’s literature and arts is definite, that is to be subordinate to the revolutionary tasks laid down in certain revolutionary periods” (ibid: 33).

Third, Mao recognised the importance of art criticism, and that the quality of art as well as its political standpoint was important. Politics, however, was primary: “our requirement is the unification of politics and the arts, in both content and form; the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form” (ibid: 35). After rallying against the myth of cosmopolitanism or “humanitarian love”, he asserted that for “a revolutionary artist, the targets for exposing [evil] can only be invaders, exploiters, oppressors and abominable influences remaining among the people, but cannot be the masses themselves”. Artists are either proletarian or bourgeois: there is no middle ground, and one cannot be neutral. In sentiments that were later to be unleashed on Xi’an guyue, Mao stated that “Marxism-Leninism... will definitely destroy feudal, bourgeois, petit bourgeois, liberalist, individualist, arts-for-art’s sake, aristocratic, decadent, pessimistic and other kinds of non-mass and non-proletarian creativity. They should thoroughly destroy these and meanwhile establish new things” (ibid: 37). Fourth, reflecting Marxism-Leninism’s teleological view of history, Mao encouraged the critical re-interpretation of what was excellent in all literature and arts. It was possible to engage even with feudal and bourgeois arts and literature, but “non-critical and rigid copying and imitation of ancient and foreign peoples is the lowest and most harmful dogmatism” (ibid: 31).

This ideological justification for the control of the arts was implemented in various ways during the different stages of Mao’s rule. During the Nationalist period, many artworks produced from Communist bases reflected Mao’s policies of “resist Japan” and “arts for the broad mass of people”. However, Mao’s Communist arts at the time remained geographically confined to his’s revolutionary bases in Yan’an and northern China, while Nationalist intellectuals continued to establish Western music in

⁹ All statements of Mao’s policies on literature and arts are quoted and translated by the author from “Research on the published thoughts of literature and arts by Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping” by Zhou Shenming, 1992. For a complete English translation of Mao’s “Talks” see “McDougall, 1980.
the major cities and folk musicians still practiced traditional music in the rest of China. In the case of Xi’an guyue, although Yan’an was very close to the areas in which Xi’an guyue was practiced, indeed was in the same province, old Guyue masters like Cui Shirong and Zhang Cuizhu have said that Guyue musicians did not know Western music, Yangge or Mass Songs at that time.

Analysis of Mao’s arts policies after 1949 in New China can be divided into two different and contradictory stages: development and encouragement (1949-1965), and the purges and destruction engendered by the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During the first stage Mao proclaimed “let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend” (1956), and stated eclectically “ancient for the purpose of modern, and Western for the purpose of Chinese” (1964). Despite several setbacks during the Anti-Rightist campaign (1957) and the Great Leap Forward (1958), the period witnessed a tortuous but steady building up of Chinese music in many areas. Conservatories of music were established in major cities, and professional ensembles of both Chinese and Western music were standardised from state to county levels across the country by the central government. Chinese music research was systematically carried out in the conservatories, despite the institutional model remaining predominantly Western as in the Nationalist period. Moreover, Mass Songs, newly created operas and music based on traditional and Western genres showed inevitable political influence during this period. Examples include “Battle song of the Chinese volunteer army” (Resist the US and Aid Korea 1950-53) and “The Long March cantata”; the new Chinese operas “The White-haired girl” and “The Red Guards of Hong Lake”; the Chinese instrumental ensemble piece “Celebrating victory” and the Western orchestral pieces “War of resistance against Japan “(by Luo Zhongrong) and “Heroes’ island” (by Li Huanzhi).

However, traditional music also gained a big boost at this time. Some influential literati and folk musicians were invited to conservatories to teach and research traditional music. They included guqin masters Zha Fuxi and Wu Jinglue, pipa masters Li Tingsong and Lin Shicheng, musicologists Yang Yinliu and Cao Anhe, all in the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing. Xi’an Conservatory of Music invited Pinghu School pipa master Yang Dajun and Shandong guzheng master Gao Zucheng. In addition, folk musicians were invited to teach traditional music genres at the conservatories. They included the well-known blind Beijing drum song (Jingyue dagu) master Wang Xiuqing and folk singer Ding Xicai from northern Shaanxi at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music; Hebei song-for-wind (chuige) drummer Yang Yuanheng and “silk and bamboo”
drummer Zhu Qinpu at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing (Li Huanzhi 1997: 715). In order to redress the pervasive influence of Western music in China the government decided in 1963 to establish the China Conservatory of Music. Then as now, it aimed to train talent in national music and focused on the development of traditional musical forms (ibid: 724). However, it is still the only one of its kind. Meanwhile, a large corpus of surviving traditional music was compiled and published. This included the still on-going project of over 20 volumes of the *Anthology of qin music*, the Uyghurs' *Chebiyat Mukam* in Xinjiang province, *The erhu music of Blind Abing*, research into Zhihua Temple Buddhist music and a major collection of *Xi’an guyue* music. Folk music in general was largely unaffected by the official policies and remained relatively active, as was the case with *Xi’an guyue*.

However, for various reasons Mao in 1966 launched the Cultural Revolution which led to the purge and destruction of “non-proletarian” arts. In 1962, Mao warned his country to “never forget class struggle”, and the turn against “feudalism, bourgeois and revisionism” (*feng, zi, xiu*) started in 1963. Mao further pointed out in 1965 that the focus of the socialist educational movement is on “the internal power holders who are bourgeois followers”. The Cultural Revolution aimed to clear bourgeois “black-line arts” (*heixian yishu*) and “eliminate superstition” (*pochu mixin*). It instructed people to “break the four old” (*posijiu*) elements: “old thought, old culture, old customs and old habits” (Li Huanzhi 1997: 56). In 1971, criticism of Lin Biao and the Confucian movement started.

The Cultural Revolution was the darkest and saddest age in the history of Chinese music. Almost all kinds of music including Chinese, Western and new works were banned under the accusation of “feudalism, bourgeois and revisionism”. All the institutions of music-ensembles, traditional and religious music, music publishing companies—were ordered to stop work and join the “Great Revolution”. China’s music was actually at a point of paralysis. The government encouraged “Red Guards” to sweep away not only “bourgeois” Western music, but also “feudal” and “superstitious” traditional music including folk and religious music. All that remained were the revolutionary songs and the so-called “eight model operas” including five newly reformed “modern Beijing operas” and three “modern dance dramas”. The violence and persecution that marked this period in which traditional Chinese and Western music was swept away was particularly tragic as it was frequently at the hands of people who knew
Schimmelpenninck & Kouwenhoven (1993: 78-9) describe the sad situation during the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai Conservatory of Music:

Professors were forced to write self-criticisms and to read aloud other people's big-character posters against them. ...teachers were paraded around the conservatory carrying placards around their necks. ...they were accused of political betrayal or a subversive love for Western music and were subjected all kinds of humiliation. .. Young revolutionaries poured boiling water in one of [composer] Sang Tong's ears, causing him to become deaf on one side. Red Guards ransacked their homes and terrorized their families. In 1966, five Conservatory teachers were killed or driven to death while as many as 80 were imprisoned.

Traditional music and musicians also suffered the same sad fate. Musical instruments from literati guqin and pipa to folk ritual drums and gong-chimes as used in Xi'an guyue were the targets of the “four olds” and were either confiscated or destroyed by the Red Guards. Pipa master Lin Shicheng was ordered to sweep streets and clean toilets; guqin teacher Li Xiangting was first locked up in a cow-shed (niupeng) and then sent to do manual labour at a “reform farm” (laogai nongchang) to receive “re-education” in the countryside. Xi'an guyue masters Zhao Gengchen and Cui Shirong were criticised at endless mass meetings where they were forced to wear tall, conical-shaped white paper hats that read “break superstition” and “eradicate poisonous weeds”. They were forced to watch the burning of their own precious surviving instruments and scores which had been handed down for generations. Drum master Zhang Zongzhu was exiled to a remote farm to reform himself in Xinjiang thousands of miles away from home for 12 years. The damage wrought on Chinese music by the Cultural Revolution was a devastating catastrophe that deeply harmed Chinese culture at all levels across the whole country.

2.1.5 Deng Xiaoping and his government’s arts policy since 1978
Whereas the seeds of Mao’s hard-line radical policies were imperial conquest, exploitation by feudal lords and foreign capitalists, civil war, and foreign invasion, Deng Xiaoping faced the problem of revolutionary excess with its cost of millions of human lives, political chaos and economic ruin. Accordingly, from the late 1970s but particularly the 1980s China entered a period of “reform” and “modernisation”. At the same time, however, Deng too would have to face the perennial problem of modern Chinese leaders: how to develop economically and politically and engage with the West, without jeopardising the country’s political order, territorial integrity and cultural
traditions. The Qing period had failed in this task, due in no small part to an insufficiently strong state. The Nationalists had sought to modernise through embracing the West and the Western model, but at the cost of national weakness and humiliation. Under Mao, the country eventually turned to Nativism, first under the Great Leap Forward but most profoundly and desperately under the Cultural Revolution. Whilst the cost of these episodes has been noted above, one should however state that Mao did bequeath to Deng a strong "state", understood in terms of its autonomy from outsiders, its unchallenged position domestically, and an extensive bureaucratic apparatus. From this position of relative strength, by historical standards, in which the "century of humiliation" was now in the past, Deng sought to modernize, which inevitably meant re-engaging with the outside world. Domestically, he sought to tread a careful path between preserving the socialist vision, the legitimacy of the regime, and political, economic and cultural liberalization.

Deng’s “Basic Four Principles”, grounded in socialism, were “adherence to socialism, the leadership of the CCP, the people’s democratic dictatorship, and Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong thought”. Thus, Deng legitimated his arts policies through grounding them in (a selective reading of) Mao’s own policies, emphasising the short-lived arts policy of letting “a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend”. Maintaining adherence to a socialist vision, Deng made some important revisions in principle to Mao’s policies.

In his 1980 article on “The Current Situation and Tasks”, Deng sought to rebalance the relationship between art and politics. He declared that “we... do not continue to raise the slogan of literature and arts being subordinate to politics, because this slogan easily becomes the theoretical basis for wilful interference in literature and the arts. Long-term practice has proven it is harmful rather than beneficial to the development of literature and the arts”. “But”, he also pointed out, “this of course is not to say that literature and the arts can be detached from politics. ... Any progressive and revolutionary literature and arts workers have to consider the social effects of their works and have to consider their benefit to the people, the country, and the Party” (Selected Articles of Deng Xiaoping 1989: 219-21). The old mantra of “art serves politics” was relaxed to become “arts serves the people, and serves socialism” (item 14, General Principles, Constitution of P. R. China, 5/3/1978, quoted from Zhou Shenming 1992: 710). While this change has to a certain extent encouraged greater freedom in the arts, it has not led to total freedom for artists in China.

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Secondly, Deng argued that bureaucratic control of the arts should be relaxed. He stated that “Yamen [official] style must be abandoned. The administrative interference must be abolished in the realm of creation and criticism of literature and arts... The absurd way of Lin Biao and ‘The Gang of Four’...strangled the vitality of the arts”. He urged: “the arts, a kind of sophisticated spiritual labour, very much need artists to play the roles of their individual creative spirits. What to write and how to write can only be resolved by artists gradually through their artistic practices and exploration. In this, do not wilfully interfere”.

Thirdly, and in the context of the greater popular interest in Western music permitted under liberalization, Deng sought to establish vigilance against the “spiritual pollution” that would arise from an engagement with market-driven bourgeois liberalism and the commercialisation of art. Deng noted that bourgeois liberalism stood against the Party leadership and socialism (17/7/1981, in Deng 1989:344-8) and went on to raise certain very real questions regarding the production and dissemination of contemporary art. He criticised those people:

noisily advocating the Western trend of thought of the so-called ‘modern style’, openly publicising the highest aim of arts to be ‘self-expression’, or... abstract theory of human nature....humanitarianism... and pornography. This has embodied an evil trend of everything looking at money... and the commercialisation of spiritual products. Some people sneak into artistic, publishing and cultural relics circles simply as businessmen putting profit before anything else... The introduction of Western research and arts is very chaotic, even for some already recognised as low level, vulgar and harmful by the Western people themselves, such as books, films, music, dance and video and recordings, many of which have been imported [into the country]. This use of negative bourgeois culture to corrupt [our] youth can no longer be tolerated.... Spiritual pollution is more than enough to bring calamity to the country and the people. (In Zhou Shenming 1992: 143-4).

Fourthly, Deng encouraged the collecting and republishing of ancient books and other aspects of China’s historical legacy. Since Third Party Plenum of the 11th Central Committee in 1978 and the 4th Congress of Arts Workers in 1979, the government has explicitly ordered the protection of the “treasured cultural legacy of [our] motherland”.

In July 1979, “The Programme of Collecting and Compiling the National Music Legacy” was issued, and the work of publishing an Anthology of Folk Instrumental Music (Zhongguo Minzu Minjian Qiyue Jicheng) was begun (Li Huanzhi 1997: 789). The 1981 Government no. 37 document pointed out that:

The collection of ancient books and the heritage of our country’s treasured cultural legacy is one very important task relating to future generations... [We] should reinforce civil education in universities and let pupils study ancient literature starting from primary school.

The Central Government decided ... to organise a planning team [which] proposes a thirty year programme of collecting and publishing ancient books... Extant handbooks and original manuscripts must be protected... We should also strive to use all possible ways to get back the missing ancient books and materials now in foreign countries, or make copies of them. Meanwhile, the few surviving handbooks and original manuscripts should be systematically reprinted. (in Zhou Shenming 1992: 721-2)

Document 20, issued by the Government’ in 1985 further instructed that:

Every region ...should allocate special funds... to effectively do the work of inheriting and saving the nation’s legacy of traditional arts: compiling the Anthology of Folk Instrumental Music, Anthology of Folk Dance (Minzu, Minjian Wudao Jicheng), Annals of Folk Vocal-Dramatic Genres (Minzu Minjian Xiqu zhi) etc. In particular, we should pay attention to the work of compiling and adapting our traditional repertoires. For the typical performing arts of those old artisans as well as some young and middle-aged ones of outstanding merit, and those representative programmes and melodies, [we] must organise forces as early as possible to carry out transnotation, compilation, audio and video recording. ....meanwhile to facilitate the work of inheriting and saving the arts legacy of minorities... Higher institutions, arts organisations and performing arts ensembles can recruit a number of young students or transform existing artists into specialised researchers... that carry on the works of vocal-dramatic genres, traditional plays, balladry and other repertoires and ethnic and folk music and dance. Awards should be given to those who achieve outstanding merit. (ibid: 727-8).

Deng pursued the challenging (and in some respects radical) objective of increasing and reinforcing the position of Chinese arts while at the same time exposing China to the global market of music and art culture. He was at the helm of a much stronger state structure than either the Qing or Nationalist regimes had possessed, and as such operated
from a position of much greater confidence regarding the ability of Chinese culture to maintain its integrity when faced with international competition. To this end, he encouraged state support for the arts in the form of funding, administrative support for preserving the heritage, and merit awards for those who excelled.

Indeed, in a 1991 article the People's Daily expressed satisfaction with developments:

Following the development of cultural exchange between China and foreign countries, it is increasingly imperative to publicise and recommend our country’s excellent national culture, arts and creative works to the world... In recent years, our performers have performed well in music, dance, opera, film, TV, acrobatics, art, photography and literature at international competitions, exhibitions and performances. Our artistic creation has attained excellent results and has received praise and reputation internationally which symbolise the merits of our country's arts in stepping out into the world. (10/5/1991)

Deng’s post-1978 “open and reform” policy led to rapid changes in China’s politics, economy, culture and people’s values. Apart from the active revival and development of traditional, Western and new creative music under Deng’s arts policy, the more prominent change in terms of music during this period was the inevitable introduction and establishment of Western-style “pop music” (liuxing yinyue) as a genre in Chinese music. Pop music flooded into China and has established a large market there, especially among young people. Pop music came to China largely as a market commodity accompanying a general commercialism and global westernization, through mass-media penetrating all corners of China. Generally, two distinctive sub-genres in China’s pop music scene co-exist: “officially-sanctioned popular music (tongsu yinyue), and underground rock music (yaogun yinyue)” (A. Jones 1992: 3). The former often contains visions of Chinese traditional culture and its modernization in its ‘new era’, and its content is circumscribed by the ideological imperatives of the CCP, which are publicised through common state ownership such as TV, radio, film and recording companies. The latter is characterised by individualism, liberalism and subversion, its ideology often showing an oppositional stance to the government, and is routinely denied access to the most important of the nationalised mass media and hence driven “underground”. The pioneer rock star Cui Jian, who performed at Tian’anmen Square to
encourage the students’ democratic movement in June 1989, used the metaphor of “the knife” to describe the implications of Chinese rock music (ibid:1) as being “anti-tradition and anti-cultural. It is the ideology of modern man” (quoted in Woei Lien Chong 1991:10). Indeed, the rapid spread of contemporary popular culture of all forms from the West and its impact on Chinese cultural integrity caused great concern and serious problems for Deng’s basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist socialist ideology. This has been seen by some people as a threat and as contamination to China’s traditions and heritage.

To deal with these problems, Deng’s government launched two large-scale campaigns: the “Anti-Spiritual Pollution” campaign of 1984, and the “Anti-Bourgeois Liberalisation” campaign of 1987, which intensified following the June 1989 crackdown against the democratic movement in Tian’anmen Square. During 1979-89, a series of measures and policies were introduced in order to “save the nation’s traditional artistic legacy”. This included allocating special funds and organising professional and social forces and conducting a 30 year long-term plan to document and publish ancient manuscripts and books. As a result, the unprecedented and mammoth task, begun in 1979 but still ongoing, of publishing a national anthology of over 300 volumes was made possible by support from the “Nation’s Social and Science Fund for Important Projects”. It covers all provinces across the nation and consists of 10 different subjects including Folk Songs, Dramatic/Opera Music, Folk Instrumental Music, Balladry and Folk Proverbs and Stories and so on. Furthermore, the revival of traditional music genres such as Nanyin, Buddhist music and indeed Xi’an guyue, especially its newly established conservatory version, was largely a result of Deng’s strategy and policy.

Deng’s arts policies, then, can be understood in the political context of what Michel Oksenberg has called Chinese “confident nationalism” (1986: 501-23). This strand of nationalism analyses the cause of Chinese weakness to be domestic underdevelopment but maintains that Chinese culture and society is sufficiently resilient and robust to survive the engagement with outside (primarily Western) forces that is necessary if China is to acquire and develop the technology, skills and economic structure necessary for modernisation. At the same time, however, the importance of state support for Chinese traditional music has also been recognised as a necessary counterbalance to the market-driven and culturally corrosive influence of Western-modelled Chinese pop music.

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2.1.6 Conclusion
The purpose of this section has been to provide an overview of the development of Chinese music policy since the mid-nineteenth century. The key theme has been the issues and problems faced by Chinese traditional music as China itself was integrated into the modern world. Characteristic of this relationship has been the imbalance of power between the two parties, and the cultural manifestation of this in terms of the presumed superiority of the West, which itself became the “model” for China to follow. Even today, the conservatory system maintains the 5:1 ratio of Western to Chinese music established during the Nationalist period. Perhaps, the only one is exceptional so far is the China Conservatory of Music (zhongguo yinyue xueyuan) in Beijing established in 1964.

The relationship of Chinese to Western music has taken several different forms in different periods of Chinese history. In the Qing period, Western music became influential mainly in the Concession Areas of the main cities and tended to be confined to those self-defined “modern” sectors of society, such as the military organisations, Christian missions and churches, and schools. Under the Nationalists, the predominant trend was for Western-influenced (and in some cases Western-educated) Chinese to themselves apply and spread Western musical forms leading to establishment of the modern conservatory system. There was, however, a minority strand represented by Liu Tianhua that sought to establish a more even balance between Chinese and Western music, but this did not amount to a direct challenge to the legitimacy of Western music in China per se and in the broader political and ideological context stood little chance of success. Such a challenge did emerge under Mao, but ironically this was issued in terms of the Western-derived Marxist-Leninist ideology, albeit significantly modified by Chinese Maoist and Nationalist thinking. Particularly tragic for Chinese music was that indigenous as well as foreign music suffered dreadfully under Mao’s rule, and much violence was inflicted on China’s musical heritage. If there are any redeeming features of Mao’s rule, however, they are to be found in overcoming the “century of humiliation”, reinstilling national and racial pride, and bequeathing to Deng a relatively strong state, when compared to the late Qing and Nationalist periods. Deng’s engagement with the outside world does, of course, carry its own pitfalls, not least management of the encounter with globalising market forces. The future remains uncertain, but there is at present a conscious desire to protect, preserve and promote China’s cultural heritage.
2.2 Xi'an guyue: historical and regional context

We now move the discussion from the national to the regional level and outline the historical and regional context of the music genre Xi'an guyue. As Thrasher has stated, “Chinese music is not a single unified tradition” (1992:1), and one must understand its various strands in terms of social stratification, function and regional preference. These themes are developed in this and subsequent chapters, but the immediate focus of this section is the historical roots of this tradition and its relationship to the cultural and political centres of power in China, which are in turn crucial for understanding the authority and the special qualities of the tradition itself. The discussion also seeks to put Xi'an guyue into its broader regional musical context through the identification of other musical traditions of the region.

2.2.1: Xi'an and Shaanxi

Let us begin with a brief geographical and historical overview of Xi'an and Shaanxi. Shaanxi (also called Qin) is the major province among the five of the northwest including Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang. Shaanxi is situated towards central China with an area of 205,600 square kilometres, a population of 29.3 million which is 96% Han Chinese, with 27 other ethnic groups such as Hui Muslims, Mongolians, Manchurians and Tibetans constituting the remaining 4%. Shaanxi is divided into three geographical parts (Map 2): Shaanbei Gaoyuan (Eastern Plateau), Guanzhong Pingyuan (Central Plain) and Shaannan Pendi (Southern Basin). Shaanbei consists of the Yan'an and Yulin districts, where Mao's Communists were based in the 1940s; Guanzhong has the cities of Xi'an and Xianyang and the district of Weinan; and Shaannan includes the Hanzhong, Ankang and Shangluo districts. Its neighbouring provinces are Inner Mongolia in the North, Gansu and Ningxia in the west, Shanxi and Henan in the east and Sichuan and Hubei to the south.
Shaanxi is generally considered one of the birthplaces of Chinese civilisation and culture. Indeed, its historical importance has made it one of the most popular tourist destinations in contemporary China. From the Western Zhou (1134-771 BC), Qin (350-207 BC), Western Han (206 BC-24 AD), Sui (581-618) to Tang (618-907) periods, 12 dynasties administered their regimes in the region (see table 2.1). Scholar Li Shibin’s (1992: 1) account of the archaeological finds in Shaanxi clearly indicates the richness of its history:

To date, 34,837 historical land marks have been found in Shaanxi. These include 10,378 ancient sites, 4,011 tombs, 554 grottoes, 2,577 architectural sites, 14,551 stone-carving sites, 1,098 modern history sites and 1,345 other places of historical or cultural significance. They have a rich content and a historical value that has attracted the attention of the world.
Further, the discovery of the Lantian Ape fossils from the Palaeolithic period (5th or 6th millennium BC) and the Ban’po Neolithic village (6000 BC) show that humankind has long dwelt in this area. The mausoleum of the legendary ancestor of all Chinese, Xuanzhe Huang Di (The Yellow Emperor) is situated in Huangling county. Famous tombs include those of Emperor Qinshi Huang (r.221-206 BC) with its Terracotta Army, Tang empress Wu Zetian (r. 689-704), twelve Emperors of the Western Han period (206 BC -24 AD) and 23 of the 24 Tang Emperors (Wang Chongren 1983:5-9). There are many Tang surviving Buddhist sites, such as pagodas and temples, which form a part of the legacy of Buddhist transmission in China. Many kinds of musical instruments have also been found in archaeological sites. Of special importance is the Music Bureau Bell (yuefu zhong) found in the tomb of Emperor Qinshi Huang which was elaborately inlaid with gold, with the two words “Music Bureau” (yuefu) clearly inscribed. This discovery proved the existence of ancient court music organisation at least as far back as the Qin dynasty (350-207 BC). Indeed, Shaanxi has been regarded as the largest “underground museum” in China. The surviving artifacts and the living traditions of the region provide valuable sources and materials for understanding the social and cultural history of Shaanxi.

2.2.2: Xi’an, Chang’an and the Xi’an Region

Xi’an is the capital of Shaanxi and is itself one of China’s oldest cities. The city is on the site of the Tang capital, Chang’an, which in its heyday was the prosperous eastern terminus of the “Silk Road”. It was thus a key point for cultural, religious, artistic and musical exchange between various nations in Central Asia. Present-day Xi’an is on the site of what was the capital city for the longest period in China’s imperial history: approximately 1120 years in total (see table 2.1). Xi’an, then, was for over a thousand years the centre of China’s politics, economy and culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Duration of dynasty</th>
<th>Name of capital</th>
<th>Duration of capital (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Zhou</td>
<td>1134-771 BC</td>
<td>Fenggao</td>
<td>ca, 300 approx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin</td>
<td>350-206 BC</td>
<td>Xianyang</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Han</td>
<td>206 BC - 8 AD</td>
<td>Chang’an</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming Mang</td>
<td>9-24</td>
<td>Chang’an</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Jin (Min Emperor)</td>
<td>313-326</td>
<td>Chang’an</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Zhou</td>
<td>319-329</td>
<td>Chang’an</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Capital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Qin</td>
<td>351-383</td>
<td>Chang'an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Qin</td>
<td>384-417</td>
<td>Chang'an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Wei</td>
<td>535-556</td>
<td>Chang'an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Zhou</td>
<td>557-581</td>
<td>Chang'an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui</td>
<td>581-618</td>
<td>Daxing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>618-907</td>
<td>Chang'an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Capital</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca, 1120 approx.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Durations of capitals in the Xi'an area for each imperial dynasty.

Xi'an was the centre of Chinese music in the Zhou, Qin, Han, Sui and Tang dynasties, and hence for over a millennium. Chang'an was the largest city in Asia, perhaps in the world during the prosperous Tang period. Music in particular was flourished to an unprecedented extent as did poetry, which is more widely known in Tang time. “Tang music was in an advanced position in Asia at the time, and this enabled Tang China to become the centre of exchange for musical culture among the countries of Asia. As the Tang capital, Chang'an became an international music city” (Yang Yinliu 1980: 192). Unlike the highly Sinitic Tang poems, Tang court music and particularly the yanyue banquet music including daqu and faqu suite music developed mainly through absorbing exotic influences and styles. This new music set the trend and became more popular than the traditional yayue (elegant music) in the Tang court. For example, Tang yanyue used many foreign musical elements including temperaments, scales, modes and techniques, as well as instruments such as the pipa lute, konghou harp, bili reed-pipe and so on. Of the “Ten Section Music” (shibiyue) of Tang yanyue, eight sections were based mainly on the music of minority tribes of the Western Region (xiyu) and foreign countries. Of these eight sections, tianzhuyue was originally from India, and all the others had Persian and Arab origins (ibid: 214-5, Chang Renxia 1956: 17-9). Of special importance was the foreign pipa: its players found favour in Tang court music, and the names of over a dozen foreign pipa players are recorded in Chinese musical history. In addition, the Tang dynasty established a series of musical training institutions where the newly developed yanyue and its sub-genres were the main subjects to be studied. These institutions including the jiaofang (teaching studio) and liyuan (pear garden) departments, trained tens of thousands of musicians for the Court.

5 Yanyue is a large-scale Tang court music genre including instrumental, vocal, dance and drama for banquets and other grand celebrations. Daqu and faqu suite music were the two sub-genres of yanyue. They were newly created music that absorbed prominent foreign influences. See Yang Yinliu 1980: 213–46.
The rich fruits achieved by assimilation and exchange between Chinese and foreign music cultures had profound significance and far-reaching influence, both internally and externally. First, it enriched Chinese musical culture and brought about changes, creativity and new styles absorbed from these exotic sources. Second, Tang-period culture and music itself reached eastward to Japan and Korea, and westward to India and possibly also to some Islamic countries in the Middle East. The Tang music that reached Japan is known as *tōgaku*; that had certain influences in Korean’s *tangak* genre. In addition, the practice of sending cultural envoys and exchanging musical scholars was very popular and Tang musical instruments; books and scores were subsequently brought to Japan and Korea. Tang music also arrived in India: the famous Buddhist monk, Xuanzhuang went to India to study sutras from 629 – 645, and he recorded that both the Kings of Central and East India had talked with him about how great was the Tang Court music suite “The Emperor Destroys the Formations” (Yin Falu 1956: 57). This suggests that Tang music may also have had influence in India. Third, Tang court music also spread to the folk and religious sectors through retired and out-of-favour court musicians. In the words of the Tang poem by Wang Jian, “The musicians of the Pear Garden stole music scores and taught music to civilians until their hair turned white”. Most of the retired court musicians went to Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and taught music there to the folk sector. Moreover, both Tang court aristocrats and the folk sector were highly religious and would worship the gods at various religious activities where music was also played. For example, many Tang theatres were built in temple courtyards (Yang Yinliu 1980: 210). Thus, temples provide the middle ground for court and folk music to meet. This has in turn facilitated the development of folk music and enabled certain court music to be transmitted to the folk sector. *Xi’an guyue* might be a case in point.

Following the downfall of the Tang period, Xi’an went into a long decline and lost for good the position it had enjoyed for over a millennium as the imperial capital of China. However, despite the transfer of China’s political and economical power southeastwards, the city has continued to remain the regional centre of Northwest China to the present day. But, this standing should not belie the hardness of life in the area, for after 907 the Xi’an area became progressively more impoverished and much of the subsequent history has been marked by the dismal recurrence of droughts and floods, famines and peasant
insurrections. The city has, however, retained its rich cultural and multi-religious character. Daoism continued to find adherents, and Buddhism and Islam — introduced to Chang’ an through the ‘Silk Road’ continue to flourish despite periods of social unrest. Xi’an must be one of the few cities in the world in which one can find old Daoist monasteries, Buddhist temples and Muslim Mosques that are still active, which is quite remarkable bearing in mind the destruction of the Cultural Revolution period.

Between the fall of the Tang and the establishment of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the city changed its name many times. In 1368 the city was renamed Xi’an Fu, the Prefecture of Western Peace. It was to remain as Xi’an from then on, with the exception of the last year of the Ming period (1644), when the peasant leader Li Zicheng captured the city and renamed it Chang’an. In order to reinforce the brilliance of the once Imperial City (huangcheng) Chang’an, Ming Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (reigned 1368-1398) and his son rebuilt the city based on the Tang capital but covering only one-sixth of the area of Chang’an. Apart from the Ming Palace, much of 14th-century Xi’an still survives including the City Wall and many gates and the Bell and Drum Towers. Evidence of the music activities of the period exists in the written records of performances of the regional opera Qinqiang recorded in the Wanli (1573-1620) period manuscript Benzongliang (Wang Zhengqiang, 1993:2). The rebellion leader Li Zicheng made the Qinqian opera his military show. Despite the earliest surviving score of Xi’an Guyue dated to 1698, master musician An Laixu (1895-1977) witnessed Ming Jianqing (1552-65) period scores burned during the Japanese bombing in 1942 (§3.2.1).

In the Manchu Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the north-east of the city was occupied by Manchu troops. Under this Manchu dynasty, during the 18th century, the city enjoyed a musical-cultural revival. Qinqiang opera troupes were invited to perform in Beijing for the Qianlong Emperor (reigned 1736-1795) who encouraged wider appreciation of the music and who is reported to have said that “Qin excellent new music”(qinyou ninsheng) should be “revitalised for the new world” (zhengxing yushi) (ZGXQZD:226). The majority of surviving Xi’an Guyue score manuscripts are dated from Qing period consisting some 2,000 pieces, which suggest that Xi’an Guyue was at its zenith in this period and enjoyed both favour and popularity.

In the 19th Century, the area witnessed both natural disasters and a failed Muslim rebellion (1862-73). As a result, many Guyue instruments in Hejiaying village were destroyed and some musicians were killed during the rebellion. In 1900 Xi’an again became a capital of sorts during the Boxer Uprising, the Empress Dowager (Cixi,
1835-1908) had to flee from Beijing so set up her court in Xi’an for two years, although this had little impact in surrounding villages. In 1911 the Manchu Quarter in Xi’an totally collapsed and many Manchus were massacred, mainly by Muslims in revenge for the suppression of their rebellion some 40 years earlier.

During the Republican Era (1911-49), Xi’an gradually became less isolated from the outside world. The city had already established its first telegraph office in 1885 and an international post office in 1902. The railway arrived in 1934 which brought more visitors including foreigners to the city. Since Mao set up his CCP revolutionary base in Yan’an between 1936-47, some 270km from Xi’an in northern Shaanxi, Xi’an was an important site of political activities, such as the ‘Xi’an Incident’ in 1936. The GMD leader Chiang Kaishek was arrested by two of his own generals, Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, in Lintong near Xi’an in an attempt to persuade Chiang to form a ‘United Front’ with the Communists against the Japanese invaders. General Yang was murdered in 1949 because of the Xi’an Incident and many Xi’an Guyue groups played at his funeral (§4.1, p. 160-61).

When I revisited Xi’an between 1996-9, it still impressed me with the strength of its ancient cultural, religious and mysterious characteristics despite its modern development. To me, the image and cultural atmosphere of Xi’an are in a way different from those of rapidly modernised and commercialised cities based heavily on Western models such as Shanghai, Guangzhou and Xiamen. In Xi’an today, the recently renovated City Wall of the Ming Dynasty embracing inner Xi’an added to the city strong ancient characteristics and splendid views from the top of the wall; the largest history museum in the northwest, the Shaanxi Provincial Museum, is open to the public, displaying repositories of the region’s rich archaeological discoveries. However, the deep historical and cultural roots of the city are reflected not only in the numerous surviving historical landmarks, architecture and religious retreats, but also in the spirit of the people with their sense of affection, pride, and possessiveness towards Xi’an’s culture and tradition. Since the “Open and Reform” policy of the 1980s, the city has seen a great revival of cultural and other traditional activities that had been suppressed since the Cultural Revolution. Of course Xi’an guyue, being regarded as the city’s prestigious and most ancient music, is one of them.

2.2.3 The discrete geographical location of Xi’an guyue
Interestingly, the geographical location of Xi’an guyue is confined to a relatively small triangular area (Map 3). The music cannot be found elsewhere in Shaanxi (Li Shigen 1999:2), unlike “folk Guchuiyue (wind-and-percussion music), which is widely popular and spread over ten cities and districts throughout the province”6 (Li Shibin 1998:3). Xi’an guyue is practised only within an area 30km from north to south and 95 km east to west. As illustrated Map 3, the northernmost tip of this triangular area is the city of Xi’an, from where the triangle is formed south-east to the Qiushumiao Temple of Puhua village in Lantian county and south-west to Nanjixian village in Zhouzhi county. The bottom line is marked by the famous Qinling mountain range. The triangular area itself consists of the city of Xi’an and its southern suburbs and the four counties of Zhouzhi, Huxian, Chang’an and Lantian.

A further point of note is that Xi’an guyue has always been and still is concentrated in the city of Xi’an plus a few villages situated close to the south of the city. No historical record shows otherwise. This is very different from other folk and ritual wind-and-percussion music which is practised mostly in rural villages. In fact wind-and-percussion ensembles are the most common musical groups throughout rural China for weddings, funerals and calendrical rituals, especially in northern villages in provinces such as Liaoning, Jilin, Hebei, Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi (S. Jones 1995: ch. 10).

The question arises then as to why Xi’an guyue exists only in this triangular area. Li Shigen (1999: 2-4) offers us three reasons:

First, it [Xi’an guyue] has been maintained in the relatively enclosed Shaanxi region and has not absorbed or been corrupted by other musical genres. A second reason is the conservative transmission relationship whereby each school and individual Guyue music society is reluctant to divulge its skills and pieces to others. Third, owing to the comparatively lengthy musical structure and sophisticated techniques of Xi’an guyue, without the necessary conditions it is difficult to establish a complete musical society. As a result of this closeness and conservatism, the historical development of Xi’an guyue

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6 Guchuiyue (wind-and-percussion music) instrumental ensembles are very popular and widespread in Shaanxi. Some have a long history. For example, He Taiwa is the sixth generation of Chugushou family musicians in Lounan county, Su Youjing is the seventh generation of his Yuehu music family in the city of Tongzhou and Zhou Shuanwa is the tenth generation of his hereditary Guchtuyue musical family. See Li Shibin (1991b:12-17).
survives relatively untouched and possesses great value for reference. If we put it in the “open zones” along the coasts, this would not be the case.

Understanding the geographical relationships between the historically distinct Xi’an and Chang’an and the modern Xi’an Region leads us to another point: the modern-day geographical distribution of Xi’an guyue is basically the area of the Tang capital Chang’an. By the time the name of Chang’an changed to Xi’an (meaning “peaceful west”) in 1369, the geographical area of Xi’an was already 6 to 7 times smaller than its predecessor Chang’an (Wu Bolun 1981: 105). Hence the area of the ancient capital of Chang’an effectively covers the present location of Xi’an guyue. Thus, this sophisticated music was likely to have been transmitted from the Tang court to the immediate folk sector, but did not penetrate into other areas, due largely to its complex nature. This adds further credibility to claims that Xi’an guyue and Tang Court Music are linked together and reinforces the arguments often made by internal Chinese scholars based on the closeness of the notation, musical structure and repertoire, performance form and other musical elements between the two genres. However, apart from Xi’an and Chang’an, Xi’an Region (§2.1.1) is another geographical term frequently used by native scholars. It was officially defined in 1985 to include the areas with significant surviving historical landmarks around the city of Xi’an. As such, Xi’an Region includes Zhouzhi, Lintong, Chang’an and Lantian counties, and is thus more than enough to cover all the areas practising Xi’an guyue (Li Jianzheng 1990/1:17).

2.3 Musical Genres in Xi’an and Shaanxi

This section intends to offer a brief introduction to the musical genres in Xi’an and Shaanxi since little has been written in English on the subject. However, the survey of the regional musical genres may have limited relevance to Xi’an Guyue Music.

While the historical and archaeological importance of Xi’an and Shaanxi is widely known, the richness of their musical traditions is hardly recognised outside the region. Apart from various officially sponsored professional activities such as opera, song-and-dance, balladry, acrobatic and music troupes at the provincial, city and county

7 Open zones are Special Economic Zones, such as Shenzhen and Zhuhai.
levels, there are also thousands of amateur folk music groups of all genres, including *Xi’an guyue*. Yang Yinliu (1954:7) noted during his survey of *Xi’an guyue* in 1953–4:

As far as we know at present, there are more than 50 [traditional] musical genres in Shaanxi. Speaking only for the musical activities of one village – Nanjixian in Auli [present day Zhouzhi] county near Xi’an – there are nine different genres: *Guyue*, *Tongyue* (percussion), Blowing Music (*suona* music), Gong-and-drum for Shehuo, Hymns (*yinchang*), *Daoqing*, *Qinqiang* and *Meihu* [vocal-dramatic genres] and *Wanwanqiang* (shadow theatre).

While this is not the place for a detailed discussion of the different musical genres of Xi’an – for that the reader can consult the volumes on Folk Instrumental Music, Folk Songs, Balladry and Vocal-dramatic Music in the anthologies of Shaanxi music recently published in China - a brief summary of certain important genres provides a background for the ensuing discussion of *Xi’an guyue*. The discussion is divided into four sub-sections.

### 2.3.1 Vocal-dramatic genres (*Xiqu*)

**Qinqiang**: the most popular form of opera among northwest provinces, with dramatic facial make-up, costumes and instrumental accompaniment. It is the oldest and one of the four most important vocal-dramatic genres in China, along with *Jingju* (Beijing Opera), *Kunju* (Kun Opera in Zhejing and Jiangsu) and *Chuanju* (Sichuan Opera). *Qinqiang* developed gradually during the 15th and 16th centuries based on regional folk melodies and *Zaju* (variety shows) of the preceding four or five centuries. During the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1796) period, *Qinqiang* came to Beijing together with *Huiban* (vocal-dramatic groups from Anhui, southeast) and had significant influence in the formation of Beijing Opera in terms of style of performance, repertory and Banqiangti (rhythmic-melodic system in which melodic developments and decorations depend on rhythmic patterns and variations). The two main melodic systems of Beijing Opera, *xipi* and *erhuang*, originally came from *Qinqiang* (Wu Junda 1995: 1-7).

*Qinqiang* has four distinctive regional styles, each with its own repertoire, labelled melodies, facial make-up and instrumentation. *Qinqiang* has a repertoire of more than 4,700 traditional pieces, over 200 labelled melodies and 50 named percussion patterns (ZYXC: 226-8). Instrumental music plays an important part in *Qinqiang*, which
consists of two parts: wenchang (civil scenes) and wuchang (martial scenes). Wenchang includes two-stringed fiddles: banhu (lead instrument), qin erhu, erhu and zhonghu; plucked lutes: pipa, yueqin, ruan, sanxian; hammered dulcimer: yangqin; wind instruments: di, sheng and suona. Martial scenes consists of a drum group: gangu (also called bangu, leader), baogu, tanggu, zhangu, yazi (clapper) and bangzi (wood block); and a bronze group: daluo (also called gouluo), xiaoluo and maluo gongs, naobojiaozi and pengling cymbals and yunluo gong chimes. Qinqiang and Xi'an guyue music are said to have close links and mutual influences. For example, they share many similar wind and percussion instruments, certain tonal structures, rhythmic patterns and labelled melodies.

There are many other operatic genres in Shaanxi, each of which reveals an individual locality and has its own characteristics, yet possesses common features and connections with Qinqiang. These include Handiao erhuang in the south, Meihuju (in Mei and Hu counties, central Shaanxi), Shaanbei daoqing and Errentai in the north, Xifu quzi, Tiaoxi and Duangongxi in the south, near the border of Sichuan province.

**Shadow Theatre (Piyingxi): Wanwanqiang**, literally "bowl-bowl melody", a popular shadow theatre in Shaanxi. The unique lead percussion instrument is a small bronze bowl which fits onto a wooden frame. It gives a bright, lingering sound when struck with a metal stick and leads the rhythmic pattern and sets the speed of the music. In China, shadow theatre is said to have been very popular since the Tang and Song periods (ZYC: 294). There are various kinds in many different regions. Wanwanqiang involves two parts: on-stage performers and off-stage musicians, including percussion sections and melodic instrumental sections. Unlike operatic genres, not only do performers play a role singing and reciting, they also need to master the operation of string-linked leather or paper figures behind a specially lit screen, to produce vivid artistic images and effects. Wanwanqiang is famous for its gentle and refined melodies that contrast with some Qinqiang operas with their rough and sonorous singing styles. The melodic instruments are yueqin (two-stringed lute), erxian and banhu (two-stringed fiddles), other wind and percussion instruments similar to those of Qinqiang opera and some which are similar to those in Xi'an guyue. Despite the long history of Qinqiang Opera and the rich variations of vocal-dramatic genres in Shaanxi, they have been little studied in the West in comparison to Beijing Opera.
2.3.2 Folk song (Min’ge)

Unlike Qinqiang and other vocal-dramatic genres, the folk song tradition of Shaanxi has long been recognised at a national level. Shaanxi folk songs are generally divided into four broad genres: “work songs” (haozi), “mountain songs” (shan’ge), ditties (xiaodiao) and children’s songs (erge) and each of them has many sub-types. Generally speaking, they have three characteristics, which combine to give them a distinctive local colour. First is their very varied melodic movement. They are often pentatonic in zhi 561235, and shang 235612 modes, with occasional slightly sharp 4th's and flat 7th's as unclear notes called kuyin – bitter notes. Multiple modes and mode shifting are also common within a folk song. Second is the great leaps between intervals, especially in “mountain songs” including its sub-type of “flexible style” (xintianyou) songs in the rugged mountain areas in north Shaanxi. Fifths and sixths are common; sevenths, octaves and ninths are also heard. Third is the sentimental and touching lyrics. These stylistic characteristics of Shaanxi folk songs have left people with long-lasting and deep aesthetic impressions.

Zouxikou (going west, a famous title of ditties) and xintianyou are the two best-known types of Shaanxi folk songs. Zouxikou has many different versions in different areas both within Shaanxi and outside it in Inner Mongolia and northwest China. It reflects the sad feelings of local people having to leave home to make a living. Xintianyou is a kind of flexible style of shang’ge and its lyrics are often improvised based on individual ability and mood, but generally describe love, feelings and the life of the local people. Textual structure often has regular patterns with each section usually having two phrases, each with seven words. Melodic lines usually have large rises and falls with frequent datiáo (wide-leap) intervals. Flexible tempo and rhythm and prolonged notes are essential to xintianyou songs.

However, the wide influence of Shaanxi folk songs in China is not just built on the excellence of its intra-musical elements, but also through extra-musical channels. First, as a political propaganda tool, Shaanxi folk songs were twice promoted by Mao’s Communist Party. The first time was during the period of the war of resistance against Japan and the Liberation Wars of the 1930s–40s; the second was during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–76. The fact that Yan’an and northern Shaanxi were the Communists’ revolutionary base before 1949 led to certain privileges for Shaanxi folk songs at a national level. Second, the widespread adaptation of Shaanxi folk songs and melodies by China’s pop music industry since the 1980s has given a boost and much publicity to certain genres. This trendy pop style is known as “Northwest Wind”
and was popularised by rock star Cui Jian with his famous song “I have nothing” based on the melody of a Shaanxi folk song. Third, the “Northwest Wind” trend also penetrated into media sectors including film, TV and broadcasting, led by the internationally famous film director Zhang Yimo, a native of Shaanxi. His passion for his native culture was reflected not only in his many well-known films relating to Shaanxi, but also in the extensive use of Shaanxi folk songs and music in such films as “Yellow earth”, “Red sorghum” and “To live”. As a result, many nationwide TV series based on stories taking place in Shaanxi followed in the same vein, including “Emperor Qinshi Huangdi” and “Empress Wu Zetian”. However, the popular “Northwest wind” trend seems to have died down in recent years.

2.3.3 Balladry (Quyi or Shuochang)
Balladry in Shaanxi is generally divided into 5 different types and 11 sub-genres. Sub-genres’ titles begin with a designation of the region where they are based (e.g. Shaanbei, Luonan etc.), although these prefixes are given mainly by scholars.

1) “Silk strings and singing” (Sixian qingqu): Shaanxi quzi in the centre, Yulin xiaoqu and Shaanbei errentai in the north. A common characteristic is that all three sub-genres use mainly strings with small percussion instruments to accompany the singing. Shaanxi quzi uses the sanxian lute and erhu and banhu fiddles, Yulin xiaoqu uses the yangqin dulcimer, qinzheng (15-string zither), pipa, sanxian lutes and fiddles; Errentai has the sixian 4-stringed fiddle and yangqin.

2) Story telling (Shuoshu): Shaanbei shuoshu in the north and Luonan jingbanshu in the south. It is often performed solo with self-accompaniment on sanxian or pipa, and traditionally the performers are usually blind musicians, for whom it is a means of making a living. Interestingly, the pipa is a unique type with 4-sheep gut strings, often 13 frets and a backward-bent head which still exists in the remote and poor northern Shaanxi (Li Shibin 1992: 20-22).

3) Hymn Singing (Quanshan jingyun): Guanzhong quanshan (meditation for kindness) in the central area and Shaan’nan xiaoge (filial songs) in the south. This kind of hymn singing is accompanied only by percussion instruments and is played at ritual and
ceremonial occasions such as funerals and memorials of 100 days, one year and three years after a death.

4) Sitting songs (*Daoqing yugu*): *Daoqing* in the centre and *Yugu* in the north. The former is played by a group of people sitting around a table with one singer and the others playing strings, winds and *yugu* drum. The latter is a solo performance with the singer also playing the *yugu* drum.

5) Processional songs (*Tage zouchang*): *Guanzhong yangge* in the centre and *Shaannan huagu* in the south. This genre is a combination of song-and-dance and small-scale drama with make-up and colourful costumes. Traditionally it is accompanied only by percussion instruments.

The various styles of balladry in Shaanxi share certain common features. First, each genre has a distinctive local musical colour, style, form and dialects within certain defined areas and yet has close links with neighbouring areas. As such, *Shaanbei errentai* belongs to the same *Errentai* genre found in the neighbouring provinces of Inner Mongolia and Shanxi. *Shaannan Huagu* is similar to the *Huagu* of Hunan, the province to the south of Shaanxi. Second, every genre is an inseparable part of the specific regional cultural and social life. It is closely linked with folk customs, rituals and ceremonial activities in the life of the common people. For example, *Quanshan* and *Xiaoge* recital are part of funeral and memorial events, while *Yangge* and *Huagu* are typically played at such occasions as weddings, birthdays, temple fairs and during spring festivals. Third, the interrelationships among Shaanxi’s balladry, folk songs and vocal-dramatic genres are prominent. The majority of Shaanxi’s balladry absorbed specific popular local folk songs and labelled melodies (*qupai*) from vocal-dramatic genres of the same region as their own melodic basis. But some have changed and developed more than others. For example, *Shaanbei errentai zouxikou* (Going west) is based on the four-phrase local folk songs of the same name, but has developed into a larger-scale ballad with dramatic changes in rhythm, beat, tempo and mode. Fourth, some balladry genres have developed into vocal-dramatic types, so that becoming one and the same piece co-exists in both balladry (*quyi*) and vocal-dramatic (*xi*) genres. Thus *Shaanxi quzi* became *Mihuxi*, *Guanzhong Daoqing* developed into *Daoqingxi*, *Shaannan huagu* developed into *Huaguxi* and *Shaanbei errentai* became *Errentaixi*. This phenomenon is at present more
common in the urban areas and was first encouraged by Mao’s communists in Yan’an, during the revolutionary war period of the 1930-40s, turning Yangge into Yanggexi. This change was perhaps an attempt to improve, elaborate and professionalise amateur folk genres into something more sophisticated and standardised. However, in the rural folk sectors these genres still exist as balladry.

2.3.4 Instrumental music
Chinese scholars classify the instrumental music of Shaanxi into two broad categories: folk music and religious music. The two sometimes overlap, and it is difficult to draw a clear line between them as they have close relationships both musically and contextually. Folk music comprises Xi’an guyue, Luogu yue (gong-and-drum music), Sizhuyue (silk and bamboo music) and Guchuiyue (drum-and-wind music); religious music includes Daoist and Buddhist music.

Religious music only occupies a very small part of Shaanxi’s musical spectrum. Daoist music is practised mainly at Baiyunguan Monastery in Jiaxian county, north Shaanxi and Buddhist music is centred amongst the temples of Yangxian county in south Shaanxi. The two types of religious music have similar performance forms: hymn or sutra singing, drum-and-blowing music centred around guan, di and/or sheng, and gong-and-drum music which are used in different religious contexts. Apart from a small number of pieces handed down directly for religious purposes, most Daoist and Buddhist music is absorbed from folk drum-and-blowing and gong-and-drum music.

Of Shaanxi’s instrumental music, the most popular and widespread genre is Guchuiyue (drum-and-blowing music), despite the great significance placed on Xi’an guyue by scholars. While Xi’an guyue today is struggling to survive within a small triangular area south of Xi’an, Guchuiyue is thriving throughout the 10 cities and 44 counties in Shaanxi (Li Shibin 1992: 12). It is a kind of shawm band centred on suona (conical shawm) and sheng, guan and di winds with drum(s) and other percussion instruments. There are over a dozen different sub-genres of Guchuiyue, each with its own distinctive character and combinations of instruments. Musicians often belong to hereditary Guchuiyue music families (yuehu) or music societies and groups of this kind. The music is mainly learnt by heart, and the musicians usually do not read music. Unlike Xi’an guyue, Guchuiyue bands do not have sophisticated surviving notations apart from a few manuscripts in the gongche system. Furthermore, most players are full-time musicians, and music is their means of making a living. As such, the music is played at
every possible occasion when rural cultural activities are taking place in Shaanxi, such as weddings, birthdays, funerals, temple fairs, pilgrimages and other ritual functions.

Despite both Xi’an guyue and Guchuiyue being deeply rooted in folk culture and customs, the fundamental difference between the two genres is that Xi’an guyue is mainly played for social duty rather than for economic reasons.

The second most popular folk instrumental genre in Shaanxi is gong-and-drum (Luoguyue) music. Like Xi’an guyue percussion groups, Luoguyue groups are often known as tongqishe (bronze instrumental society), guyueshe (drum music society) or daguashe (banging and beating society). The genre is commonly seen in the Ankan area south of the province and throughout central Shaanxi. The instruments used in Luoguyue include drums, gongs, cymbals and others very similar to the percussion instruments of Xi’an guyue. There is a distinction between cutongqi (rough and loud bronze instruments) and xitongqi (fine and gentle bronze instruments) among groups. There are three sub-styles in this gong-and-drum music: 1) Large ensemble performances: The percussionists often do fancy dance movements while playing. Examples include yaogu (waist drum) in the north and baimiangu (a hundred drums) in central Shaanxi. It is often seen at public celebrations and mass activities with hundreds or even thousands of performers. 2) Gong-and-drum playing for accompanying other dance and/or singing performances such as Yangge, lion, stilt and dragon dances and so on. 3) Pure gong-and-drum performances: This kind of group usually performs traditional pieces based on luogujing mnemonics (also known as zhazi as in Xi’an guyue) with more complicated structures and sophisticated techniques. Pieces are named after the descriptive sounds of the music, such as “Tigers sharpening their teeth”, “Hundreds of birds worshiping the phoenix” and “Ambushed on ten sides”. Shaanxi’s Luoguyue has also gained a national reputation through the media due to its spectacular presentation, popular form and up-beat spirit.

Silk and bamboo (Sizhu, also known as Xiansuo) instrumental music in Shaanxi is much less popular – it has a small repertory and is only practised in the Xi’an, Ankan and Yulin areas. It often refers to solo performances on string and wind instruments such as pipa, zheng, sanxian, di and xiao. Sizhu music usually plays traditional labelled melodies either separately or as a prelude and/or interlude with vocal-dramatic and balladry performances. Two rare string instruments often claimed by local scholars as having historical significance are the crook-headed pipa with 13-14 frets and the Yulin zheng
zither with 15 strings both in northern Shaanxi (Li Shibin 1992: 20-22; see also §2.3.3; item 1 above). Nevertheless, Shaanxi folk Sizhu music is declining at present.

Xi’an guyue will not be discussed here, as it is the focus of this thesis and a detailed study of the music is presented in subsequent chapters.

2.4 The problematic nomenclature of Xi’an guyue

Before discussing the musical genre of Xi’an guyue it is important to recognise the controversy and problems brought about by the term itself. Written in the most usual way, it means, literally, Xi’an drum music, and was first coined by Li Shigen in 1952 (Li Shigen 1988b: 28). Subsequently, this usage has been widely adopted by prominent academic authorities in such works as Chinese Instrumental Music (Yuan Jingfang 1987: 520), Anthology of Chinese Folk Instrumental Music (Jicheng), Shaanxi, volume 2 (1992), and The Form and Structure of Chinese Instrumental Music (Ye Dong 1983), Musical Theories of Western China (Luo Yifeng 1991: 346). However, some scholars adopt Xi’an Ancient Music rather than Drum Music including Laurence Picken (1990:127) in Music From the Tang Court. This meaning of the term Xi’an Drum Music is not universally accepted since neither prominent local (Xi’an) musicologists nor the local folk musicians use the term in this way. Indeed, since the early 1980s the local musicologists have actively criticised the above usage on the grounds that it homogenises diverse, culturally significant, inter-subjective local meanings. Furthermore, local folk musicians - the custodians of the tradition - have their own nomenclature for this music, and the few that are aware of the academic term Xi’an guyue reject it in favour of the homophonous term meaning "Xi’an ancient music", where the character 古 (gu), ‘ancient’ replaces 鼓 (gu), ‘drum’. Table 2.2 below provides an overview of the various scholarly and folk terms for this music, and includes the names of the major academic proponents (but not those who have subsequently adopted the term without engaging in the nomenclature debate) and the year in which they espoused the term.
Scholarly terms
(with academic proponents) | Folk terms
---|---
*Xi'an guyue* – Xi’an drum music

*Xi'an guyue* – Xi’an ancient music
Li Jianzheng (1982-90), Yu Zhu (1982-88) | *Xianghui* – Incense association

*Chang'an guyue* – Chang’an ancient music
Li Jianzheng (1990), Yu Zhu (1988), Xi’an Conservatory of Music (1985) | *Daguashe/Tongqishe* – Percussion society

*Shaanxi guyue* – Shaanxi drum music
Yang Yinliu, (1954) | *Xiyue* – Fine music

*Xi'an guchuiyue* – Xi’an drum-and-wind music
Lu Hongjing (1987) | *Yueqishe* – Musical instrumental society

Ceremonial music of Xi’an

| Table 2.2 A comparison of scholarly and folk terms for *Xi'an guyue*. |

The existence of a dozen terms for *Xi'an guyue* is largely due to the application of different criteria for classification and/or different ideological and social positions of the classifiers. Such differences of nomenclature are not, however, confined to *Xi'an guyue*, but reflect a common phenomenon throughout Chinese folk music whereby scholarly terms differ from those applied by the folk practitioners themselves. For example, the scholarly term for the *sheng* (mouth organ) and *guan* (reed-pipe) music of Hebei province is *Jizhong* (another name for Hebei) *guanyue* (Yang Yinliu 1981: 991, Yuan Jingfang 1986: 49), while the local folk titles are *Music Association* (*Yinyuehui*) and *Songs-for-Wind Association* (*Chuigehui*). In Shanxi province the scholarly name for the region’s wind-and-percussion instrumental ensemble is *Eight Suites of Shanxi* (*Shanxi badatao*), whereas the folk musicians often call it *Striking Loud* (*Xiangda*), *Drumming Association* (*Gufang*) or *Drumming Band* (*Guban*). Similarly, the regional folk gong-and-drum music is named by researchers *Shifanluogu* (Ten variations on gong-and-drum), but has traditionally been called *Shiyanyin* (Ten sceneries) and *Shibuxian* (Ten non-stopping).

In considering the extent to which this situation is problematic, it is worthwhile asking whether it is simply a matter requiring clarification, for example through drawing up a comparative chart outlining the scholarly terms and their folk equivalents, or whether there are deeper issues at stake. I argue below that while it is worthwhile to enable comparison between the different classification systems, there are also important
political, cultural and methodological issues here. Accordingly, addressing the former question in the light of this, I argue that some scholarly classifications are better than others. As suggested in the introduction, the scholarly terminology can be corrosive of the music’s social, cultural and religious significance, thereby secularising and defacing the folk heritage and its cultural significance. In an age of greater sensitivity to the importance of “identity politics”, this is an important factor and one that carries with it methodological implications. Those methodologies that attempt to recognise and represent the social meaning of the music, such as participatory observation, are at a premium here. While the efforts of researchers to transcribe and classify the genre have been important, the focus on the music and the relative neglect of its social dimensions has also had a problematic if unintended effect. In developing a distinct scholarly (and therein privileged) language through which to denote the music, scholars have effaced the very character of the music that reveals much about the deeper structure of knowledge and meaning in these local cultures.

Having discussed the broad aspects of Xi’an guyue’s nomenclature, and some of the sensitive questions that arise, I turn now to the question of how the term guyue itself came to be adopted, and the confusion it presents. Prominent here are such factors as the unequal spread of education and literacy throughout society and the consequences of the tradition being partially reproduced through oral means, both of which have led to the fracturing and differentiation of the tradition itself. The key distinctions employed are between the urban and rural folk sectors and between the folk and scholarly sectors. Two further important preliminary points are, first, that the terms “drum music” and “ancient music” are homophonous, pronounced guyue; second, that neither of these terms were originally used in the titles of the music. However, the character guyue ( 古 ) meaning “ancient” does sometimes feature in old manuscripts of the music as in the Chegong liuwu (Four key ancient music) of Hejiaying village in Chang’an county. But this does not mean that the title of the music is necessarily “Ancient music”. For example, the words “ancient music” can be easily found in the surviving manuscripts included in a Japanese source compiled around 1171: “Biwa saibara” (Saibara for the biwa), as in the piece “The king of Qin destroys the formations” (Fig. 2.3). The words “ancient music” were used to distinguish it from new music at the time, such as the suite “The emperor destroys the formations”. The preface stated “The Emperor destroys the formations’.

8 Saibara was a form of Japanese music derived from folk song during the Heian Period (AD 794-1185).
New Music. There is a dance. Dancers emerge with the Processional; when retiring, [with the] Modal Prelude” (translated in Picken 1981) (Fig. 2.4). This shows that from ancient time around 12-13th centuries, the characters for “ancient music” were already used to distinguish “old” from “new” music, but do not appear to have been adopted as a title for any particular music genre.

Fig. 2.3 Biwa Saibara score “The King of Qin destroys the formations” showing the characters of “ancient music”. Undated probably 11th Century (see Wolpert 1981:71, fn.8), Japan. (Source: photocopied from microfilm in the Library of Cambridge University).
Fig. 2.4 Suite score for the sheng (mouth organ) "The Emperor destroys the formations" showing the characters "new music" (see my double lines), Ko fu/Hosho-ryo-kan (1224), Japan.

2.4.1 Folk terms

The most important point of the folk terms is that the performers generally focus on the social groups (huì and shē) that perform the music rather than on the music per se. The societies often describe their music as "fine music" (xiyue) or themselves as "instrumental music societies" (yueqishe) in order to distinguish themselves from pure percussion folk music societies, which are often known as daguashe and tongqishe. Instrumental societies usually possess old scores and melodic instruments as well as percussion, and thus often claim for themselves greater musical sophistication and social standing than those of percussion-only groups. In countryside areas such as Zhouzhi and Lantian counties, the music is still known as "water association" (shuihuì) and "incense association" (xianghui), which itself indicates the social and cultural properties of the music in the villages. The music plays an important and integral part in pilgrimage and ritual functions such as "praying for rain" (qiyu) and "presenting incense to the gods" (jinxiang). However, certain urban folk groups, themselves becoming increasingly aware of the cultural premium of "tradition", and familiar with the term "gu" as ancient in the
old manuscripts, have recently adopted the term, and it is today commonly seen on the T-shirts, banners and flags of folk ensembles such as xxx Ancient Percussion Music Society (Fig. 2.5) and xxx Ancient Instrumental Society (Fig. 2.6). Whereas scholars tend to use the terms “drum”, ”drum-and-wind”, “wind-and-percussion” “ceremonial”, “Chang’an”, and “ancient” music to refer to our Xi’an guyue genre, (urban) folk musicians – to the extent that they would not recognise any of these terms – would accept only the last. In the countryside, the folk musicians mostly remain unfamiliar with the term guyue as ancient music. It is worth noting that in general, the more remote the village, the more the terminology for the music will be linked to ritual.

Three reasons may be offered for the adoption of the characters for “ancient music” in the urban folk sectors. 1) As noted above, the simplified character gu (古) from the word drum (鼓) has been mistakenly used and confused with the character gu meaning “ancient”. For example: drum score ((鼓乐)), drum section (鼓段) and drum playing (擂鼓) are often written with the simplified form gu (古), which is identical to the word “ancient”, instead of the full character for drum. This use of simplified characters was widely used in old notation systems such as those for guqin and pipa; e.g. san (散) as ( ) and gou (勾) as ( ). 2) The modern-day realisation of the “antiquity” of the music led to a conscious emphasis on the long history of the genre. The word “ancient” was sometimes used or added when hand-copying or writing a preface for an 18th or 19th century music manuscript such as “preface to the Ancient Music Society of Hejiaying” in one manuscript called “Nameless” (Wuti). Here “ancient” is apparently an addition under certain ideological circumstances, because no music should claim to be ancient when it is first established. 3) The desire to exploit the increased credibility and social recognition of the “ancient” and “traditional” in the modern world. Since Deng’s “open and reform” policy of the 1980s, the social trends of “return to antiquity” and “imitation of the Tang” have been very popular, especially in Xi’an, the site of the ancient Tang capital Chang’an and one of China’s most significant historical and tourist centres. Many musical works have been produced, such as the Fangtang Yuewu (Reconstruction of the music and dance of the Tang) by the Shaanxi Song and Dance Ensemble and of course, Chang’an Ancient Music by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music. This social trend may have influenced to a certain degree the thinking of folk musicians as well as the rest of the traditional music world.
2.4-2 The nomenclature debate: problematic among scholars
Apart from several folk names for the genre, there are many more scholarly inventions, and each scholar insists on using their own. Li Shigen defines the musical genre as *Xi'an guyue* (Xi’an drum music), while Yang Yinliu (1954: 3, 1981: 988) calls it *Shaanxi guyue*
(Shaanxi drum music). Interestingly, Li Jianzheng and Yu Zhu in their several jointly authored articles during the 1980s employed the title Xi'an guyue (Xi’an ancient music), but somehow changed to Chang'an guyue (Chang’an ancient music) in the 1990s. While she does not agree with all the above terms, Lu Hongjing (1987e: 29) defines as her own term for the music Xi'an guchuiyue (Xi’an drum-and-wind music). Since the Chang’an Ancient Music Society was established by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music in 1985, Chang’an Ancient Music has been the consistent label for their version. Abroad, perhaps sensitive to the troublesome internal problem, Stephen Jones (1995:228) suggested that “a suitably neutral English rendition might be Ceremonial music of Xi’an”. Thus, the confusion and problems caused by various scholarly titles for the genre remain greater than ever before and give rise to 1) misrepresentation of and change to “traditional” names and meanings, 2) inconsistencies among scholars themselves, 3) inconsistency and conflict with the folk sector, 4) confusion and false impressions to readers and outsiders.

The term Xi’an drum music was chosen by Li Shigen in 1952 when scholars started to take an interest in Xi’an’s most significant instrumental tradition within the region. Given that the existing diversified folk titles for the music could not represent the genus and characteristics of the music from a musicological and typological point of view, there was a need for a unified nomenclature for the music genre among scholars. Li stated that “originally, there was no formal name for this music genre” (Li Shigen 1988b: 30). “I choose the name ‘drum music’ according to the characteristics of its performance and instruments” (Li Shigen 1988b: 28). He addresses the dominant role of drum playing in the music and states that “unlike other instrumental music which centres around melodic instruments, with rhythmic [percussion] instruments serving a supplementary role, in the performance of “Drum music”, drums are often used as main instruments and even perform individual ‘drum sections’” (Li Shigen 1988b: 28). Xi’an drum music, is perhaps, a reasonable term which fairly embodies the genus and the prominent characteristics of the music, though wind instruments have no mention in it. First, it limits the locale of the music, which is mainly in Xi’an. Second, it indicates the dominant characteristic of the music, which is drum playing. Third, it is basically consistent with the definition in The Chinese Music Dictionary (1985:126), which states “Drum music is a general term for folk instrumental ensembles mainly using wind and percussion instruments”. In addition, it is consistent with other scholarly terms for similar kinds of music which consist of wind and percussion such as Shifan gong-and-drum in southern Jiangsu, Zhedong gong-and-drum in eastern Zhejiang and Chaozhou gong-and-drum in Guangdong.
The term Xi'an Drum Music was the favoured scholarly nomenclature from 1952 until the 1980s, but after three decades intense arguments and criticism towards it suddenly arose. Meanwhile, several other terms have been invented and used one after another. The term Xi’an Drum Music has been strongly criticised by Yu Zhu (1987) and Li Jianzheng (1990) and rejected by the Xi’an conservatory of Music. They argue that firstly, Li Shigen ignores the folk names, and the antiquity of the music by changing to the homophonous word gu “drum” instead of using gu “ancient”. Secondly, the invented name goes against traditional custom and is mixed up with other existing semi-professional guyueban (drum music bands) in the region who play music as a means of living. These Guyue (drum music) bands play mainly for weddings, funerals, birthday and other celebrations, whereas this specific genre is performed exclusively as a social duty at ritualistic functions and funerals for members of the family and the music society. One other distinction between the two is that the former has no old surviving scores while the latter “uses ancient Tang style notation – half-character notation” (Li Jianzheng 1990:17).

Thus, the term Chang’an guyue (Chang’an ancient music) appeared when the Xi’an Conservatory established its own version of the genre and named its group the Chang’an Ancient Music Society. Apparently, Chang’an, the name of the ancient Tang dynasty capital, is another invention for the music which suggests that the music has a history of at least a millennium. Yu stated that “Chang’an Ancient Music indicates not only the locality but also the antiquity of the music” (Yu Zhu 1987: 14). The three main points they give in support of their term are: First, Chang’an was six or seven times bigger than the present city of Xi’an and covered the entire area in which the music occurs today; Xi’an could not demonstrate this point. Secondly, the genre uses an ancient Tang style of notation – the half-character system- and it preserves and performs ancient music which has been transmitted within the area of Tang Chang’an; therefore, it should be called Chang’an Ancient Music. Thirdly, old surviving ensembles of the music genre today are still using the traditional term “ancient music” which is evident in their societies’ old scores and on their flags and banners.

Li Jianzheng (1990:18) gives a lengthy definition of the music based on these three points, stating:

Secular names for Chang’an Ancient Music are “fine music” and “instrumental”. It is transmitted in the area of ancient Chang’an using surviving Tang half-character
notation. It is a wind and percussion ensemble and performs ancient music of all
dynasties since the Tang. The main instruments of the music are di, sheng and guan,
and they are supplemented by percussion with singing and dancing. It is used for
amateurs’ entertainment and folklore such as qiyu (praying for rain) and douyue
(music competitions).

Nevertheless, his claim of “surviving Tang half-character notation” for the music
lacks concrete evidence. Yu strongly appeals for a “recertification of the names on behalf
of Chang’an guyue” (Yu Zhu 1987: 14). He urges that “we should be serious and
conscientious about the name of Chang’an Ancient Music. It should no longer called
‘Xi’an drum music’, nor should we continue to use the incorrect name just because Xi’an
Drum Music has been a fact for a long time. [The incorrect title] will give future
generations a misleading impression of our ancient musical heritage” (Yu Zhu 1987:14).

The term “Chang’an Ancient Music” appears to be problematic in many ways, and
has been disputed by scholars such as LÜ Hongjing, Fang Yilie and Li Shigen. Lu points
out that “the widely accepted division between ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ is the year 1840.
The concept of ‘ancient music’ is a general term for all music [before 1840], which is
unsuitable [for this music genre]” (Lu Hongjing 1987e:29). Li refuted Yu, arguing that
“any surviving music genre today may have inherited some tradition from ancient music,
but [it] cannot replace an ancient musical tradition. This is because musical art can only go
forward, not backwards” (Li Shigen 1984: 28).

According to Yu Zhu and Li Jianzheng’s view, “It [the musical genre] is transmitted
in the area of ancient Chang’an using surviving Tang half-character notation”, so it
should be called “Chang’an Ancient Music”. Based on this logic, there are many
surviving musical genres possessing old scores. Can they all be called “ancient music”?
These include Beijing Zhihua Temple Buddhist Music, Nanyin in Fujian, Silk and
Bamboo Music in Shanghai, and Chebiyate Mukam in Xinjiang. Why should these
individual diverse traditions all be lumped together as “ancient music”? On the other
hand, how can a version of a “traditional” music genre newly established in the 1980s
represent the music of Tang Chang’an a millennium ago? The irony and inconsistency
here is that the two main claimers of the term Chang’an Ancient Music were also regular
users of the term Xi’an Ancient Music in their works of the early 1980s. Changing the
word from Xi’an to Chang’an extends the history of the genre by at least seven centuries
(Xi'an was first chosen as the name of the city in 1369 AD). Why did this change occur, and what ideology and motivations lay behind it?

The re-invention of the name Chang'an Ancient Music is largely a conscious one under a particular social and political climate in the 1980s. It can be understood in terms of broader political developments such as the policy of certain groups in the ruling Communist Party who wished to preserve a sense of the past in the modern world. During late 1970s and 1980s, China began to be modernised under Deng’s government policies of “open and reform” and “fulfill the four modernisations” (i.e. industry, agriculture, science and defence). This caused concern to certain social groups who were worried about the country’s national identity and cultural integrity. There is tension within the government's open-door policies. On the one hand, China wants to acquire advanced technologies from the West, enabling the country to prosper, while on the other hand, some worry that China’s cultural heritage and national traditions will be influenced and contaminated by the “bourgeois” West. Given the fascination of China’s ancient civilisations and rich culture, does China allow its pride to be mixed up and polluted by the “less cultured” force of the West? The answer is largely no! China wants to maintain its unique national identity, prestige and strength in the international arena. Thus, “the December 1980 Central Work Conference hardened its stance... on preserving the country’s economic and cultural integrity, while downplaying economic development...” (Lieberthal 1984: 64). Thus, the social trend of “returning to antiquity” and “imitation of the Tang” was very popular at the time. The term “Chang’an ancient music” was produced largely under such social and political conditions.

Perhaps Lü Hongjing's title Xi’an drum-and-wind music is more appropriate and specific in terms of reflecting the nature and characteristics of the genre, but there are also difficulties in practice. Lu thinks that the music is not simply “drum-centred music” as Li defines “drum music”, and melodic instruments play a rather important role in the music. So “it should belong to the Drum-and-wind music system in which sheng, guan and di are the main melodic instruments, and various drums, gongs and cymbals are the main percussion instruments” (Lu Hongjing 1987e: 29). She explains that this title “distinguishes on the one hand, Drum music in which drum playing dominates, and on the other, Wind-and-drum music in which the suona is central. Furthermore, it also embodies the characteristics and the instrumentation of the music”. The obstacles to Lu's title are: 1) It contradicts Yuan Jingfang’s (1987:439) general category Wind-and-percussion for the music genre. 2) It is inconsistent with the definitions of
Drum-and-wind music in several dictionaries. *The Concise Chinese Dictionary* describes “Drum and wind: an ancient instrumental ensemble using xiao, guan etc.”. *The Dictionary of Chinese Music* (1985:125) states that “Drum-and-wind music’ is an ancient instrumental ensemble formed during the Han period (25 BC – 220 AD). The main instruments are drum, zheng (bronze bell), xiao, jian etc. It often includes singing.” Thus, it claims that the term Drum-and-wind music is a specific name for a kind of ancient instrumental music existing since the Han dynasty.

One of the main problems with the terms of Yang Yinliu and Stephen Jones is that they tend to over-generalise the scope of the music and lack specificity as to the genus and species of the genre. Yang's Shaanxi Drum Music changes Li’s Xi’an Drum Music by enlarging the area of the music from Xi’an city to Shaanxi province. Perhaps he considers that Xi’an could not cover the area of the genre, and thus, his term adds more problems to the already difficult issue relating to the title of the music genre. Yang’s term not only further confused the widely used pre-existing nomenclature of Li’s Xi’an Drum Music, it is also unsuitable as a general category for various wind-and-percussion ensembles in Shaanxi province. There are dozens of folk wind-and-percussion ensembles in Shaanxi, but none of them was originally called “drum music”. Jones’ suggestion of “Ceremonial Music of Xi’an” is also too broad and polemical: 1) It fails to distinguish between this specific music genre and others which are also mainly for ceremonial functions, such as Daoist music in Baxian’an Monastery and Muslim music at mosques in Xi’an. 2) It does not embody the genus and properties of the music at all, and so we do not know whether the genre is, for example, vocal or instrumental music. 3) It is not in tune with folk customs for naming their music: no kind of music is called “ceremonial music” in Shaanxi. 4) It is also inconsistent with the existing concept of “ceremonial music” as defined in the *Dictionary of Chinese Music*, which defines ceremonial music as “an ideology and system in which music is subordinate to authorised ethics in the Zhou Dynasty” (1985:225). The core of the ideology is “to distinguish between the status of the monarch and nobles, father and son, friends and enemy, superior and inferior...”. However, Jones’s term does indicate one aspect of the socio-cultural significance of the genre.

### 2.4.3 Discussion and suggestion

The above shows that it is almost impossible to define a complicated genre in one single title which can precisely embody its locality, age, uniqueness, generality of same
grouping and social contextual significance. The various scholarly terms for the music create a gulf between theory and practice, academia and the folk sector, and insider and outsider. Often, folk musicians do not know or use scholarly terms in practice. In Chinese academia, there is a lack of unified criteria in defining nomenclature for music in general, especially for folk musical genres. On the one hand, many tend to start from musicological and typological points of view and try to specify music properties and characteristics in detail, such as the terms “Drum music”, “Wind-and-percussion music” and “Drum-and-wind music”. On the other hand, some scholars attempt to define their terms from a sociological point of view, for example “Ceremonial music”, “Buddhist music” and “Daoist music”. Furthermore, political and subjective views and ideological motivation have been imposed on a folk music genre by certain social groups through such terms as “Xi’an ancient music”, “Chang’an ancient music” and “Naxi ancient music” (Rees 1995).

Perhaps Li Shigen’s “Xi’an drum music” is a fairly suitable generic term for the music in question, in comparison with other scholarly terms. The genre includes three aspects: *nianci* (Buddhist hymns often with percussion), *tongqi* (percussion only) and *yueqi* (instrumental with wind and percussion). The former two are largely neglected and only the latter has been given significant attention by scholars, thanks to its vast surviving corpus of ancient pieces and the complexity of its notation and structures. According to the definitions in *The Dictionary of Chinese Music* and *Chinese Instrumental Music* (Yuan Jingfang 1987), there is a common generality within the definitions of “Drum music”, “Drum-and-wind music” and “Wind-and-percussion music” which are used for this music. They all accept and include wind, drum and percussion instruments, although each tends to specify the lead instruments as discussed earlier. The term “Drum music” can generally reflect the properties of the instruments in the music genre, and does not exclude the two percussion-centred and non-wind instrument aspects of the music, whereas the terms “wind-and-percussion music” and “drum-and-wind music” fail to indicate the non-instrumental aspects. In this sense only the term “drum music” could embrace all three aspects of the genre. With regard to the location of the music, Xi’an is apparently a better word for the music than Chang’an or Shaanxi (the latter two I have criticised earlier). In 1985, the Xi’an region was enlarged to include the city of Xi’an and several nearby counties such as Zhouzhi and Lantian (Li Jianzheng, 1990:17), Xi’an thus includes almost all areas in which the music occurs. However, Li’s term “Xi’an Drum
Music" does not indicate any of the sociological importance or cultural meaning of this highly spiritual folk tradition.

There is a lesson to be learned from the arguments and problems over the naming of Xi'an's music genre. What should we take into account in determining a scholarly term for a long established folk tradition? As a matter of fact, a music tradition has often constituted certain musical behaviour, customs and social foundations through a considerable historical period. Scholarly scientific approaches often result in ignoring the socio-cultural importance of a folk tradition. I offer two suggestions relating to the question of coining a scholarly term for a folk music genre.

First, direct application of a folk term if a genre has a specific name which has been widely accepted in society for a considerable period is possible, as in the case of Jiangnan (southern Jiangsu) "silk and bamboo music" or "Cantonese Music". Sometimes folk terms may not satisfy academic criteria, but hasty change to the original name can lead to unnecessary misunderstanding between academic and folk sectors. For example, the name "Wanwanqiang" (§2.3) in Shaanxi was changed to Hua Opera in by scholars in the 1950s, on the grounds that it is located in Huayin and Hua counties. Eventually, Hua Opera resumed its original name of "Wanwan melody", due largely to the fact that local people do not recognise the new term (Fang Yilie 1988:31).

Second, a generic term may be necessary if one music genre does not have a fixed name but rather several diverse names, as is the case for Xi'an guyue. Such a generic name should include location, genus and/or main musical features of the music genre, and recognition of any cultural or social significance the music has. It is important that scholars should always state the original terms explicitly when adopting an "invented" scholarly title.
Chapter 3
Social units and gender issues

3.1 Social units of Xi’an guyue

One of the characteristics of contemporary Xi’an guyue is its basis in diverse strands of Chinese society. Xi’an guyue is differentiated along both religion-based transmission lines – Buddhist (seng) and Daoist (dao) – and according to musical forms – instrumental (xiyue) including Sitting Music (zuoyue) and Processional Music (xingyue), Percussion (tongqi) and Hymns (nianci). Scholars have also invented their own terms for the musical styles within the genre such as secular (su)1, urban (cheng) and village (xiang) styles2. Indeed, I shall add a further category, the institutional (xueyuan) style of the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, since this style is crucial to our discussion of the representation of “traditional” forms in the modern world. Regardless of which names are used, however, if one is to understand the importance of the differences between the various musical styles, performance contexts and cultural meanings of the genre, it is essential to trace the historical roots and contemporary social units (shehui danwei), or bases of the music.

Since little has been written either historically or currently on this topic, the following two sections provide an overview of the different social units of Xi’an guyue through a discussion of typical and important musical groups that representing different strands of the tradition. I focus particularly on the history, key events, contribution to the genre, surviving manuscript scores, the role of leading musicians, and the current situation of the groups. I gathered a considerable body of information from both historical and current sources including field investigations and interviews with elderly musicians. These musicians themselves often comment that the tradition is qinghuang bujie, which means that it is old and will die before the young take over. Sadly, two of the few living old master musicians themselves have died subsequent to my round of interviews. I then realised how valuable and important their knowledge of the music

1 Li Shigen (1987c:107-108) first defined the musical style of some village groups’ Guyue to “su” secular category. Detailed discussion on musical styles of the genre in Chapter 7.

2 Li Jianzheng and Yu Zhu (1983a:12-13) do not agree with the existing designations of Buddhist, Daoist and secular styles of the music. They classified Xi’an guyue into Urban and Village styles. Their division has subsequently been applied by many scholars including those in the Conservatory of Music in Xi’an.
was to my research. This part of my thesis may serve as a history of Xi’an guyue music societies during the 20th century. Hopefully, it will supply useful information for future research on the topic. The discussion is organised under the two general headings of traditional and contemporary Guyue societies.

3.2 Traditional Xi’an guyue societies

A typical traditional Xi’an guyue society would be characterised by four features: first, it possesses scores and/or instruments which date back to the 18th – 19th centuries; second, it has existed for more than three generations and the names of masters can be traced; third, the members are amateur musicians who perform as a social duty and for ritual activities, and not for commercial purposes or financial payment; fourth, it represents one of the cultural forms of a particular social community. The above working criteria through which to identify traditional Xi’an guyue societies are fundamentally consistent with both Chinese and Western scholars’ definitions of “tradition” (§1.5:14 – 17).

Based on the social and cultural significance of the musical genre, I divide traditional Xi’an guyue societies into four sub-types. The first three are yueqishe – instrumental societies: urban Daoist, urban Buddhist and village musical societies. The fourth – tongqishe – consists of percussion music societies.

3.2.1 Daoist Guyue Societies in Xi’an

Daoist Guyue societies in Xi’an guyue are distinguished by a music transmission line originating from Daoist musicians, but current members are not necessarily practitioners of Daoism. Daoist Guyue societies constitute an important strand within the musical tradition. The name of a group is often consistent with that of the community area monastery. Amongst Daoist groups miao, guan and an are often used in the names of the monastery. They are based mainly in the centre of Xi’an city and include Chenghuang miao, Yinxiang guan, Qingshou Tang, Fushou Tang and Wufu Tang music societies, but for various reasons all have ceased their activities apart from the Yingxiang guan group. Now, let us look in detail at the two most significant of these groups: the Chenghuang Monastery and the Yinxiang guan Guyue societies.

The Chenghuang Monastery Guyue Society (Chenghuang miao Guyue she)
Though it ceased its activities during the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, the reputation and influence of the Daoist ensemble remain profound. The Chenghuang Monastery was one of the largest religious sites in Xi’an (Fig. 3.1), about 100 yards east of Zhonglou (The Tower of the Bell in the Tang period), the central point of the city of Xi’an.

The term Chenghuang, derived from the Daoist classic *Yijing*, means the deity who protects the town and is often used as the name of Daoist monasteries, such as the one in Shanghai. Xi’an’s Chenghuang Monastery was first built in 1384, during the Ming period and was located in Jiuhua street in the eastern part of the city. In 1433 it moved to its present location where, during the 18th and 19th centuries it was renovated and extended many times. The monastery later developed into a magnificent architectural site which included some 30 individual small temples that could accommodate about 300 Daoist priests. The monastery was one of the main places for Daoist activities. Unfortunately, following the fatal destruction wrought during the Cultural Revolution, the great Daoist pilgrimage site was itself finally destroyed in 1969. As the result, all Daoist activities were stopped and the priests and musicians were dispersed into folk sectors. The monastery is presently the site of an open-air market, but some traces still remain.

No written records have so far been found detailing the early history of the Chenghuang Monastery Music Society. It is difficult to know exactly when *Guyue* started there. Fortunately, I was just in time to gather first-hand material (1996, 1998 and 1999) in Xi’an through the last three surviving old musicians of the Daoist music group (Fig 3.2) and the scholar Li Shigen (b. 1919 ), who since the 1940s had a close relationship with the society and its most prestigious drum master An Laixu (1895 – 1977). The three musicians are *dizi* player Zhang Cunzhu (1934 – 1998), *sheng* players Chai Tianbao (b.1918) and Zhang Xinlong (b.1916 ). They joined the Yinxian Guan Daoist *Guyue* Society in the early 1980s since their own society had ceased activities at the end of the 1960s.

According to the surviving musicians and scholar Li Shigen, *Guyue* in Chenghuang Monastery can be traced back to at least the 15th or 16th century. Sheng player Zhang told me “My great-grandfather was a Daoist musician. He told me his drum teacher said to him that [as far as he knew] *Guyue* was practised together
Fig. 3.1  The front temple of the old Chenghuang miao Daoist Monastery built in 1384 and destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The site is now an open-air market.

Fig. 3.2  Three remaining musicians from Chenghuang Daoist Monastery with the author: *dizi* player Zhang Cunzhu (1934 – 1998), *sheng* players Chai Tianbao (b. 1918) and Zhang Xinlong (b. 1916), in September 1996, Xi’an.

with other Daoist activities before the old monastery was moved [i.e. before 1433] and continued [uninterrupted] until the present day”. Li also wrote that “An Laixu said that
he has seen Ming Jiaqing period (1552 –1565) manuscripts. They had been kept in Kuaixinglou tower together with most of the ancient notation, some instruments and Daoist scriptures which were completely destroyed by Japanese bombing in 1942” (Li Shigen 1984c: 86). One existing piece of evidence is a manuscript score dated 1731 from the Chenghuang Monastery. Some of the pieces are similar to one of the Xicang Buddhist manuscripts of 1689, entitled “Complete Collection of Drum Sections and Small Pieces”. In addition, scholars generally accept that the notation system of Xi’an guyue is pre-Qing because it is unlike most commonly used Qing scores such as the gongche system (§5.3). It is, then, fair to say that the history of Chenghuang Monastery Daoist music can be traced at least as far back as the 17th century.

Before the 1950s, the musicians of the Chenghuang Monastery Guyue Society were all Daoist priests selected from the monastery. According to its sheng player Chai Tianbao, the main activities of the music society involved performing in Daoist ceremonies such as chaodu (for the dead to reach heaven), songjing (reciting Scriptures), zangshi (funerals) and qingshou (birthday celebrations). The group gained a high reputation for its music in terms of strict training, technical excellence, neat grouping and gentle manners. Musicians of the monastery were highly skilled, with only the best being selected to perform. As well as daily Daoist Scriptures courses and routine events, masters and pupils practiced Guyue every day. Not only did they need to be excellent on their own instrument, but also it was essential for them to learn yunqu (vocalisation of melodies in old gongche character style), memorise their own parts, be familiar with other parts, and be capable of playing more than one instrument. For example, drum players were required to master both guzhazi (notation for drum) and yunqu. In this way the co-ordination between each part of the music group was harmonious and well-matched. In addition, the grouping of musicians for performance was rather strict with no more than 19 and no less than 7 musicians depending upon the circumstances, thus maintaining sensible organisation, orchestration and acoustic effect. A further prominent feature is that the Daoist music society was not secretive regarding its “musical property”. Its musicians taught Guyue to many people, regardless of social status, group or religion. This behaviour is largely influenced by Daoist ideas: one of their mottos is that “your desire to serve other people should be greater than that to serve yourself”. As a result, the Chenghuang Daoist Monastery Guyue Society was widely respected by society at large. It is unfortunate that this respectful Daoist ensemble is
unlikely to be revived in the present day, due in part to the loss of its religious base and functions. However, its remaining musicians have been vital in passing on its musical heritage to other Guyue communities.

The Daoist Master Musician – An Laixu (1895–1977)

One of the outstanding figures of the Chenghuang Monastery Daoist Guyue Society was the drum master and the leader of the group before the 1970s, the Daoist priest An Laixu (Fig 3.3). His tortuous life spanned three historical periods: the last imperial dynasty of Manchu.

Fig 3.3 Daoist master musician An Laixu (1895–1977) of the Chenghuang Daoist Monastery Music Society. Photo by Li Shigen in 1952.
Qing, the Nationalist and the Communist regimes. An Laixu was born in the suburbs of Xi’an to a poor family named Yan with 11 children; he himself was then adopted by his family’s landlord, a Manchu official named An, who wanted a son (Wu Wenbin 1992:30). When the Qing Dynasty government in Xi’an was defeated by Sun Yat Sen’s nationalist “Xinhai Revolution” in October 1911, his Manchu father was killed and the rest of the An family fled. He became a homeless street boy wearing a long Manchu gown and was thereby in danger from the Nationalists. However, he was later taken in by the Chenghuang Monastery, where he was given the Daoist name An Laixu. Due to his talent for Guyue and extreme diligence, he soon established a reputation as an excellent drummer and double-gong-chime player. He was also good at both guzhazi and yunqu notations. Before the 1940s, An Laixu led many of his monastery group’s Daoist musical activities. In 1946 he established the “Music Research Association” which trained many pupils.

Since the ‘liberation’ in 1949, while continuing to play mainly at traditional contexts, An Laixu led his group to participate in new events such as those for foreign visitors, wounded soldiers from the Korean War and for government organised music festivals (Fig. 3.4). In 1952 and 1953, Yang Yinliu visited him and gained valuable understanding which helped to complete his important transcription of the songs of

Fig 3.4 Chenghuang Daoist Monastery guyue society playing sitting music in 1953. Photo provided by Li Shigen.
Jiang Baishi of the Song period (Yang Yinliu 1979). Due to his contribution to *Xi’an guyue*, An became a member of the prestigious Chinese Musicians Association in 1958 and a committee member of Lianhu District Community in Xi’an where he partly dwelt after retirement from the Chenghuang Monastery. An attended the Third Cultural Representatives Meeting in Beijing in 1960 where he met Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi. In 1961, his group was invited to play in Beijing and made valuable recordings. One of his important contributions was the systematical compilation of 4 volumes of lost traditional pieces based on his memory and knowledge. These became an important research resource for the Daoist music society and for *Xi’an guyue*.

The Yingxiang Guan Guyue Society (*Yingxiang guan Guyue she*)
The Yingxiang guan group is the only Daoist *Guyue* group existing in the present day. This monastery was originally called Jinglong guan, after a famous Daoist monastery in the Tang Dynasty that was totally destroyed in the Cultural Revolution. The present Tang period Jinglong bell in the Zhonglou (Bell Tower) of central Xi’an was originally in Yingxiang guan monastery. When Emperor Xuanzong (713 – 756 AD) received the picture of the Daoist founder Laozi (Li Er), in a grand ceremony removing it from the Laozi Monastery (present Zhouzhi County) to the capital Chang’an, he changed the name of Jinglong guan to Yingxiang guan, meaning welcoming benevolence. Yingxiang guan is only 100 yards from Chenghuang Monastery, so naturally, the two music societies had close links. Until the Cultural Revolution, half of the ensemble’s musicians were Daoist priests from the monastery and the rest were street-stall vendors. Since the monastery was completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, all the priests had to be laicized (*huan su*) to resume a secular life like the Daoist musicians in Chenghuang Monastery. Indeed, in 1961, some musicians were chosen to join the Chenghuang Monastery Musical Society to perform in Beijing.
The musicians in the Yingxiang guan group (Fig. 3.5) today are based in the street community of the same name which include the three above mentioned surviving Daoist musicians from the Chenghuang Monastery. Unfortunately, the youngest of the three Zhang Cunzhu (Fig 3.2) died at the age of 64 in 1998, still a single man. He was the most important figure in the Yingxiang guan music society and was a wonderful *dizi* player who also played *sheng* and drums. After receiving 15 years of *zaijiaoyu* (reeducation) in Xinjiang during the Cultural Revolution, Zhang was jobless and returned to Xi’an only in the early 1980s. There his home measured less than 8 square metres and he worked as a rickshaw man. He remained a real lover of *Guyue* and played an important role in resurrecting the Yingxiang guan Music Society. He maintained a Daoist manner and trained many young pupils without accepting any payment, continuing to take part in all *Guyue* activities until the day he died. In addition, he was kind, gentle and unusually selfless and gave his knowledge of the music unreservedly to many researchers including myself. Today, the future of the Yingxiang guan Music Society is a matter of considerable concern because the young generation have not yet acquired the skills of the old masters.

Between them, the above two Daoist Music Societies have 17 surviving manuscripts of old scores including two from the Yingxiang guan group.
3.2.2 Buddhist music societies

Buddhist music societies in Xi’an guyue refers to groups having a transmission line rooted in Buddhism, but whose members are not necessarily themselves Buddhist believers. Two important Buddhist musicians of the 19th century, Monk Yuan from the Southern Wutai Shan (30 Km south of Xi’an) and Monk Mao of the Taiyang Temple in the Manchu Xi’an, are frequently mentioned as teachers among Buddhist Guyue societies today. Most Guyue groups in Xi’an city are referred to as Buddhist music societies and it is a very strong strand with about two dozen yueqi instrumental and tongqi percussion music groups today. These include Dongcang, Xicang, Dajichang, Xianmi si, Nanyuanmen and many tongqi societies such as Fushanxun and Luoma si. Members of those groups are mainly working class people including factory workers, small stall owners, and retired elders of their own street communities.

The Dongcang Guyue society (Dongcang Guyue she)

The Dongcang (East Storehouse) ensemble is one of the best known Buddhist music societies and is located in the eastern part of Xi’an city (Fig. 3.6). Though the early history of the Dongcang group is unclear, its surviving instruments from the 18th century show its deep roots. The vicissitudes of the Dongcang group have been well described by its present master Zhao Genchen (b. 1919):

Dongcang used to be called Jinglu Cang, meaning Emolument Storehouse, which was the place where grain was kept for the Manchu military and officials during the Qing period. Due to the popularity of Guyue at the time, workers at the storehouse were encouraged to play the music. The best ones were chosen to play for its music society full time without doing other storehouse work and were rewarded with a full salary. The ensemble was equipped with good quality instruments, costumes, pennants and wanmin umbrellas. The group was admired by many people when it appeared at pilgrimages, temple fairs and spring festivals. The group was one of the best and was often described as sanguo dingii (Three Contending Kingdoms) together with the Chenghuang Monastery and Xicang groups in Xi’an. Since the storehouse was destroyed in 1911 during the fam heng (Xinghai revolution led by the Nationalist Party), the music was discontinued. It was revived in 1918 by the surviving musicians including Wang Tiangui and the residents of the Dongcang community. We have since actively played and trained for four subsequent generations until now and even managed to continue during the civil war and Japanese invasion during the 1940s. But we did not survive the
Cultural Revolution and stopped for over 15 years, and many of our precious scores and instruments were destroyed. The group reformed in 1981 but has not regained its former strength.

Master Zhao has lived in the Dongcang street all his life and learnt *dizi* and drums since he was 15 years old. He is one of the most respected *Guyue* masters today for his excellent *dizi* and drum performing skills as well as his unique style of *yunqu*. Presently, he leads the Dongcang group (Plate 3-11) with his son Zhao Jimin. “One of the problems today is the difficulty of gathering all the musicians to do serious rehearsals because some of them work shifts in factories, some are shopkeepers working during weekends and some are cadres working regular hours. This is a problem common to all city *Guyue* groups”, said master Zhao. However, the group has made important recordings of their repertoire and performed several times for the Northwest Arts Festival in Xi’an during the 1950s, the early 1960s and the 1980s. The surviving hereditary instruments of the group from the 18th century, such as the double-gong-chime, drums and *dizi* flutes with equidistant holes, provide rare evidence for research into old Chinese instruments and temperament systems.

Unlike other groups, no scores have been collected from the Dongcang ensemble by researchers from official institutions, though scholars believe that the group possesses no less than 17 manuscripts of the Xicang ensemble in Xi’an. Today, Zhao is still secretive and conservative towards their old scores and told me that “scores are not allowed to pass to people outside the ensemble – this is our old rule....You are welcome to learn from them inside the group but they cannot be taken away”. Hence whilst people have heard famous pieces belonging only to the Dongcang group, no one outside of the society owns any of the old scores.
Fig. 3.6 Dongcang Buddhist guyue society in 1950s. Photo provided by Zhao Gengchen.

Fig. 3.7 Master musician Zhao Gengchen of the Dongcang guyue society playing his Qing period Dizi of over 200 years old, August 1998.
The Xicang Guyue society (Xicang Guyue she)
The Xicang (West Storehouse) group was one of the most important Buddhist music societies but has unfortunately been inactive since the 1950s. Like the Dongcang group, Xicang was a grain storehouse for Qing officials but in the western part of Xi’an. After the Qing government in Xi’an was overthrown in 1911, the Xicang music group drifted into the local residential area. According to its last master Cui Shirong (1918 – 1998, Fig. 3.8) “Xicang’s music society had a glittering past. Not only was our group’s history longer than that of Dongcang and others, we also had a huge group and owned two bands that often won in douyue (music competitions). Our masters Zuo Dang’re (d. 1954) and Xie Qinglian (d. 1961) were well-known and had taught many other groups”. Indeed, the Xicang group helped to set up several other Guyue societies such as Liuli miao, Sanyi miao and the Dajicang group that is still active today. Xicang preserves 16 manuscript scores including the earliest one found so far, dated 1689.

The Dajichang Guyue society (Dajicang Guyue she)
The Dajichang Guyue Society is one of the most active and energetic groups in Xi’an today. It is situated near the South Gate (nanmen), next to the famous Beilin (Forest of Calligraphy Steles) Museum. The group was established in 1918 based on its predecessor, the Baoqing Si Temple (Plate 3-13) Percussion Music Society. Its then leaders included Fu Zhenzhong and Zhou Dingshan. The present leader Li Pei’en (b.1946) said, “when the group started, it was poor and lacked funding. In 1934, we had to pawn most of our instruments to pay off a debt of 90 yuan. So the group was disbanded for two years until members of the community gathered enough money and redeemed all the instruments. You see, our community is very unified and supportive”. The Dajichang group inherited mainly the style and repertoire of the Xicang Guyue Society and before the 1950s constantly learnt from Xicang’s well-known masters Xie Qinglian and Cheng Jinlin. The Dajichang and Xicang groups often played together
(Fig. 3.9), when Xicang’s team was in decline. The Dajichang group trained a large number of energetic and skilful players such as Yang Jiazhen (dizi player

leader of the second generation) and Zhao Jiquan (drummer), and during the last two decades has laid down a solid foundation for its continued success.

Though the Dajichang ensemble is considered a young group by Xi’an guyue standards, it has made notable achievements. In 1961, its dizi player Yang Jiazhen was honoured by being chosen to play with the prestigious Chenghuang Monastery Daoist group in Beijing. Since the group resumed playing in the early 1980s, Dajichang’s Guyue has further flourished, having assimilated many enthusiastic youngsters, enlarged its repertoire and frequently been involved in a wide ranges of Guyue activities. They have learnt complicated zouyue (Sitting music) suites in liu, che and wu keys and made recordings in 1984 in Xi’an. Pieces such as Yujiaozhi (The delicate jade branch), Manyuan chun (Springtime in the garden) and Yumen san (Free-rhythm at the Jade gate) have been broadcast widely and adopted by modern composers. Having gradually established their reputation, the Dajichang Guyue Society were chosen as the core group to represent the genre and to perform at the Fifth Huaxia Zhisheng concerts in Beijing in 1987. The concert was very successful, ranging across Tongqi sanlian percussion

Fig. 3.9 Dajicang guyue Society playing sitting music in 1986. The cymbal player, was Cui Shirong who also taught the group.
pieces, *Nianci* liturgical hymns and instrumental pieces such as *Youyue gong* (Visiting the Palace of the Moon) and *Shiliu pai* (Sixteen beats). This event gave a boost for *Xi’an guyue* at the national level. Further, the group contributed a quarter of the pieces for the only CD played by folk groups of the genre, which was published by Hong Kong’s Hugo Productions in 1993. One of the main members, Zhou Zhili (*guanzi* and *dizi* player), said to me that “at the present, our Dajichang group is still one of the strongest *Guyue* societies in Xi’an, but there is concern about the decline in interest among the younger generations”.

### 3.2.3 Village *Guyue* societies

Village music societies are an important strand within the scope of *Xi’an guyue*, but they have too seriously declined, with only a few groups today remaining. The transmission lines of village *Guyue* groups are more complex and less clear cut than the Buddhist and Daoist societies in the city of Xi’an. Therefore, many scholars often share Li Shigen’s approach: “in order to differentiate [the village group] Nanjixian from the Buddhist and the Daoist Societies, we will refer to it as a *su* (secular) style of *Guyue*” (Li Shigen 1987b:108). Unlike the Western concept of a village, Chinese villages are largely agricultural units, hence they are called *nongcun*, meaning agricultural villages. Since the “open door” policy, the difference in the standard of living between urban and rural has been greater than ever before. The lives of peasants became even harder and this resulted in a huge influx of village people into cities. Therefore, in order to improve the lives of villagers, Deng’s government introduced the policy of “active economy” (*gaohuo jingji*) and “sideline occupation” (*fuye*). This has resulted in a certain degree of improvement in the economic situation of the *nongcun*, especially for those villages close to urban areas. However, village musicians are mainly peasants playing music as a social duty and cultural activity for their own communities.

According to my investigation, there were nearly before the Cultural Revolution, a dozen *Guyue* societies scattered among Chang’an, Lantian, and Zhouzhi counties, but only three are still managing to survive. Below, I investigate the historical vicissitudes and present situation of the two foremost village groups: the Nanjixian and the Hejiaying groups.

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3 A national music festival based in Beijing, begun in 1960s.
The Nanjixian Guyue Society (Nanjixian Guyue she)

When I was visiting Nanjixian village in the summer of 1996, I noticed an interesting inscription on the stone stele at the entrance of the village (Fig. 3.10). It reads:

...Until the 31st year of the Yuan [dynasty] (1294 AD), there were ten gentleman sages living in the village, hence its name was changed to Nanjixian cun [village of the gathering of the sages].... Today, it is [often] simply called Jixian village.... Folk today can still play the court music of the Sui, and Tang [periods]”.
Zhouzhi County Committee 1992.

Fig. 3.10 The backface of the Nanjixian Village stone-slab.

The stone slab was dated 1992 and authorised by the Zhouzhi County Naming Committee. It is notable that the village gives its musical heritage such a high profile. Village steles are the public face of the village, and only the most significant features are presented. In this instance, apart from an explanation of the changes in the village name, music is the only asset mentioned. According to Yang Yinliu (1954:12), there are 9 different genres within the village. Two questions arise, however. First, what kind of music do the villagers refer to on the stele, and specifically, is it the music genre that I
am investigating? Second, why are the people so sure that this music is court music from the Sui and Tang periods, some 1400 years ago?

Nanjixian, some 80 km northwest of Xi’an – is the largest village in the county of Zhouzhi, with a population of over 10,000. It is located along the foothills of the beautiful Zhongnan mountain range and is about 10 km west of two famous historical sites, Louguan Tai and the Xianyu si Buddhist Temple which was renovated during the Tang period. The former is the place where the Daoist philosopher Laozi (literary name: Li Er), is reputed to have transmitted the Daoist classic Daode jing, and the latter was where the then Governor of Zhouzhi County, the great Tang poet, Bai Juyi, wrote his eminent lengthy narrative poem “Song of everlasting regret” (Changhen ge). The village has a river in the centre which divides it into an East village and a West village. Nanjixian is well known in the area for its richness of cultural and musical heritage, and as I mentioned earlier, there are nine different forms of music in the village: Guyue, Gupai (percussion music), Chuiyue (wind music), Shehuo (music for stilt dances), Nianci (hymns), and four vocal-dramatic genres: Daoqing, Meihu, Qinjiang and Wanwanqiang (shadow-puppetry).

Interestingly, among all these music genres, it is Guyue that has gained the highest prestige and has been referred to as “court music of the Sui and Tang [periods]” on the village stele. In fact, Guyue is not as popular as some of the other musical forms in the village, and is at present in serious decline. Nevertheless, it is still regarded as the best cultural asset of the village for three reasons. First, the villagers believe Guyue to have the longest history and highest degree of sophistication. They often refer to it as “fine music” (xiyue). Second, Nanjixian is the only village in the whole county of Zhouzhi which can still play Guyue. Hence, the music becomes not only an important aspect of cultural identity and a symbol of the village itself, but also adds pride in the cultural history of the county. Third, changing social attitudes and value judgements towards that which is old, historic and antique – such as traditional culture – gives the genre a certain cachet. This may partly explain why Guyue was not mentioned by the villagers on previous village steles. Ironically, it has only become the favourite cultural symbol of the area during the last two decades when the music genre is actually in serious decline.

The origin of Guyue in Nanjixian is unclear since no historical records on the subject have been found. Rather unusually, the village has two co-existing Guyue
groups: the East and West Village Incense Associations (Dongcun and Xicun Xianghui). The earliest surviving score from the east village is dated 1821. However, there is no concrete evidence to support the claim on the village’s stele that the Guyue was “the court music of the Sui and Tang [periods]”. An interesting fact is that the villagers, including the old master of the east village Zhang Gui (b. 1919, Fig. 11), persist in believing that Guyue music is handed down from the Sui and Tang periods. Amongst my other 12 interviewees (including non-musicians) in the village, 11 said the same thing and only one said that he was not sure. When I asked a high-school educated young man named Chang Youde “Why do you think that the Guyue in this village is from Sui and Tang dynasties?”, he replied (18/8/1996):

Nanjixian is one of the well-known cultural and civilised villages in Shaanxi. We have so many historical sites, and so much literature and poetry of the Sui and Tang relating to this area, music should not be an exception. Besides, not only did older master musicians and older generations think so, but also the village stele says the same. Of course, I believe it and I think that Guyue represents the music of the Sui and Tang periods in the village.

The villagers, then, certainly hold the unshakeable belief that their Guyue music dates from Sui and Tang times.

Like other musical activities, Guyue is one of the amateur cultural events of the village. The main time for Guyue activities is during the holiday of the spring festival (chunjie) and after the summer harvest (xiashou). Most of the funding comes voluntarily from the people of the village. Each Guyue group has its own annual day which is called guohui, meaning a community gathering (§4.5). The guohui for the East village group is on the 15th day of the 3rd moon and for the West village group it is on the 25th day of the 6th moon. The spring festival is the most exciting period for Nanjixian’s Guyue: a douyue music competition is usually held during the lantern festival (dengjie or yuanxiaojie) on the 14th and 15th days of the 1st moon, sometimes continuing for a third day (§ 4.5). Apart from attending the grand annual Guyue activity of “pilgrimage to the mountain and presentation of incense”, during the first three days of the sixth moon in the Southern Wutai Mountain in Chang’an county, they also participate in a local ritual called tiaomajiao (dispersing the evil spirits) during the sixth moon.
That Nanjixian Guyue shares the same origin as other Guyue societies in Xi’an and Chang’ an and Lantian counties is apparent from its notation, typical instrumentation, and performance contexts; stylistically, however, it has formed its own characteristics. First, the grouping of Nanjixian Guyue is especially large, often with more than 40 musicians. In order to discourage young people being involved in indecent activities during nongxian (agricultural holiday) periods, parents usually send their children to join Guyue practice. The music society cannot select only the better suited pupils because of the close relationships between the musicians and the villagers: many families are directly or indirectly related to each other. Therefore, they have to let everyone join the ensemble. Second, Nanjixian Guyue has for a long time absorbed noticeable elements from other folk musical genres common in the village which have been juxtaposed with the Guyue. For example, pieces such as Qiaoban and Du Linchong are adopted from Daoqing and Meihu vocal dramatic genres, and percussion playing has adopted certain rhythmic patterns of the Qinbangzi vocal dramatic genre. Because Nanjixian Guyue has long existed in the nongcun (agricultural village) environment, the genre has inevitably been influenced by the social life, cultural habits and locality of the villagers.

According to the two respected master musicians Zhang Gui of the West village and Gu Jingzhao (b. 1949, Fig. 12) of the East village, both Guyue groups have experienced tortuous histories. The West village group had learnt partly from the Buddhist monks of the Youxian si temple 10 km west of the village. From the 1920s – 1940s, both groups had been beset by civil war, Japanese invasion and poverty. In the early 1940s, the drum master Zhang Youming (1901 – 66) led the West village group to resume its activities. In competition with the West village group, the dizi master Wen Ming (1902 – 70) helped to reform the East village ensemble and trained over two dozen young musicians. Until the early 1960s, both groups thrived and were very dynamic with up to 40 – 50 musicians in the East village and 30 – 40 musicians in the West village. When most of the skilful old musicians passed away in both villages in the early 1960s, it was decided to join the two groups together (Fig. 3.13). Subsequently, problems occurred because of the different performance skills and instrumental pitch standards between the two groups. (§ 6.4). Thus, they could not play together until the West village finally agreed to use the system of the East village. In 1962, Li Shigen and
He Jun of the Shaanxi Music Research Institute helped to boost Nanjixian Guyue by adding and repairing instruments and training young musicians.

In the late 1970s, after the Cultural Revolution, the two groups gradually resumed their activities. During the 1980s, as well as being energetic in all kinds of traditional activities, they occasionally joined in government festivals and concerts. In 1982, they performed their own repertoire including “Good manners in Zhenggong mode” and “Reed flowers in the Marshes” with a fresh appearance at the Northwest Music Week (Fig. 3.14). In 1983, they played the “Complete Sitting music suite in the che key” for Japanese Tang music specialists Hayashi Kenzo and Kishibe Shigeo, and recorded it for the Music Research Institute and the Xi’an broadcasting station in 1985. The Nanjixian groups have attended the prestigious 5th Huaxia Zhisheng festival in Beijing in 1987 and played “Three variations of drumming and drum beats”. But in recent years, Guyue in Nanjixian is facing another serious decline, which may lead to the end of the proud musical symbol of the village. I learned during my fieldwork (1996 – 99) that there have been only a few occasions when the Nanjixian groups have attended activities during the last decade. Old musicians are too old to carry out activities and young people are less interested in the “old-fashioned” music and more engaged in economic matters.

Fig. 3.11 Sheng master Zhang Gui of the East village of Nanjixian with the author, summer 1998.
Fig 3.12 Durm master Gu Jingzhao of the West village of Nanjixian with the Author, summer 1996

Fig. 3.13 The older generation of musicians of the Nanjixian Village guyue society in 1962.
According to the statistics of the fieldwork report of Guyue in 1954 (Yang Yinliu 1954:17), Nanjixian owned 32 surviving manuscript notations – 24 from the East village and 8 from the West village. There are still more in the village; I saw one in the East village in an extremely fragile condition in August 1998.

The Hejiaying Guyue society

The Hejiaying Guyue Society is the most active village group in the present day and is situated in the county of Chang’an, some 25 km south of Xi’an and 30 km north of the place of Buddhist pilgrimage, the Southern Wutai Mountains. The population of the village is just over a thousand and 75% of them have the same family name, He. Surprisingly, I found that the village stele (Fig. 3.15) of Hejiaying also prominently mentioned Guyue, leaving all other important things of the village out. It says:

During the years of Tianbao (742 – 756 AD) in the Tang dynasty, He Changqi, the vice general of Guo Ziyi, set up military camps here, hence it is called the He Family’s Campsite. Because General He loved the music of the Tang period, the music has been handed down to later generations. The village has now established a Tang music society and its exhibition hall which holds over ten instruments and music scores”.

The Civil Administration Bureau of Chang’an County, October 1993
Again, the people of Hejiaying are obviously very proud of their *Guyue* and have chosen it as the foremost cultural asset of the village. They too believe that the music has descended from the Tang dynasty, just as in Nanjixian.

The history of Hejiaying *Guyue* history is widely accepted as dating back to at least the 18th century. I have seen a manuscript notation dated 714 AD, “5th year of Kanyuan in the Tang period”, but its authenticity has been firmly denied by Li Shigen who criticised it as a “contemporary forgery” (1985a). According to the pitch signs and other symbols, the surviving notations of Hejiaying are very similar to those of the Buddhist and Daoist groups in Xi’an. The *daiyue* suite and *qupo* pieces in the “Ancient music in the four keys che, gong, wu and liu” strongly suggest that it must have the same origin as Xicang’s score dated 1628.

![Fig. 3.15 The backface of the Hejiaying Village stone-slab.](image)
Fig. 3.16 The exhibition Hall of Hejiaying guyue society.

Fig. 3.17 The only surviving old musician, sheng player, He Yongshun of the Hejiaying village, April 1999.
Fig. 3.18 He Zhongxin (leader, left), He Jun (musicologist, middle) of the Hejiaying village guyue society with the author in April 1999.

Fig. 3.19 Hejiaying Village guyue society in 1963.
The only surviving old musician, He Yongshun (sheng player b, 1921, Plate 3-23) gave the following picture of Hejiaying Guyue:

The tradition of Guyue in Hejiaying has a long history. Unfortunately, in 1862 (1st year, Tongzhi) during the Huihuipianluan (the Muslim rebellion), Hejiaying village suffered a heavy attack. As a result, some old musicians were killed and instruments and scores were burned and destroyed. The Guyue society had to stop. After the Xinhai Revolution of 1915, Hejiaying invited four experienced musicians from Nanjixian village and learnt two sets of long suites. Since then, the embattled group has gradually resumed (Plate 3-24). In 1952, our leader He Shengzhe (dizi player, 1907 – 1989) went to Nanjixian again and invited Wen Ming (dizi), Wang Shuntang (drum) and Chen You (sheng) to teach Guyue; they trained many young people in Hejiaying. Thus, our group has been further consolidated and improved. At present, the Hejiaying group is still a very active, young and hopeful Guyue force (5/4/99).
During the last half century, the development and achievements of the Hejiaying group have been significant. Not only has Hejiaying partly inherited the tradition of Nanjixian Guyue, but it has also developed its own musical identity. Among the Hejiaying repertoire, many pieces are taken from their own surviving notations which Nanjixian does not possess. These include “Yellow pea leaves”, “Du Fu [a Tang poet] appreciating the flowers”, “Full of joy” and the large suite “Banquet of the heroes”. When the ensemble played for the prime minister of Hungary in 1954, he praised the music as “an ancient symphony of China”. From the 1950s to 1965, Hejiaying won several prizes for its Guyue including those at the First Northwest Music Festival and the First Shaanxi Folk Arts Festival. After the disaster of the Cultural Revolution, Hejiaying quickly regained its previous form and obtained second prize at the Third Shaanxi Folk Arts Festival. The group has become even more dynamic in recent decades and has frequently joined in various music festivals (Fig 3.19-20) and traditional ritual activities in both the city and the countryside. They played for the Japanese Nara Gagaku Ensemble in Xi’an in 1981 and performed “Banquet of the heroes” at the Fifth Huaxia Zhisheng Festival in Beijing in 1987. In 1985, the first exhibition hall for Xi’an guyue was established in Hejiaying, consisting of two large rooms, one for exhibiting Guyue instruments and related materials, and the other for the Guyue society to rehearse (Fig. 3.16). The two surviving Tang period rooms were relocated from Xi’an to Hejiaying Village, funded by the villagers themselves. Thus, it became the first music exhibition hall in China to be established by the peasants themselves. The Hejiaying group was invited to play at a folk music festival in the United States in September 1999, though in the end that did not happen.

The present leader of the Hejiaying group is He Zhongxin (b. 1954, Plate 3-28), who leads a team of more than 30 musicians, most of whom are in their 20s and 30s. The music society has five surviving manuscript notations.

3.2.4 Percussion music societies (tongqi she)

Percussion music societies are generally known as tongqishe (literally: bronze instrument society) or daguase (beaten and hung [instruments] society). In contrast to the above-mentioned yueqishe instrumental societies, which are largely in decline with only a few traditional groups struggling to survive, the tongqishe percussion societies are more active than ever before. Presently, there are about 3 to 4 dozen percussion
groups in the city of Xi’an alone. Since Deng’s “open and reform” policy of the 1980s, the Chinese government has loosened its control of religious and ritual activities. Thus Xi’an gyoue, banned as “feudal” and “superstitious” during the Cultural Revolution, has regained its vitality in the realm of percussion. In comparison with Gyoue instrumental ensembles, percussion societies often do not demand long-term training and expensive instruments. But percussion performance is essential for both yueqi and tongqi groups. Often, instrumental societies develop from an existing percussion group, as in the case of Dajichang ensemble. In Xi’an today, almost every street community has its own tongqishe percussion society.

Tongqishe is the most widespread sub-genre of Xi’an gyoue. Some local musicians have said that “Tongqishe has existed since the Han period and was very popular in the Tang dynasty.” (Yang Yinliu1954:116). However, Yang argues that “there is no reference to prove this point”. Generally speaking, the history of Gyoue percussion societies should not be longer than that of the instrumental groups because a musical genre usually develops naturally from simple to complex and from small to large. According to Mr Cui Jinting, (72 in 1952) leader of Chang’an Ancient Cultural Protection Committee for decades and in charge of both instrumental and percussion societies of Gyoue:

There were 54 instrumental and percussion societies in Xi’an and its environs; 43 have survived since liberation [in 1949] (ibid:7). Before liberation, there were more than 30 old tongqi percussion societies. After liberation, the Xi’an Cultural and Educational Bureau held meetings to select skilled musicians to organise core groups. As a result, three core [percussion] groups were established: the Southwest, Southeast and Northwest, and each had about 20 musicians. The old societies still coexist with the three [new] groups (ibid:116).

Cui Jinting’s description shows that in and around Xi’an in the 1950’s percussion groups comprised over two thirds of all Gyoue groups, with instrumental societies making up the other third. Today, the ratio between yueqi and tongqi groups is much wider, the number of yueqi groups having declined to approximately one tenth of all Xi’an gyoue groups.

Percussion Gyoue societies consists of two performing parts, the liturgical hymns (nianciigelzhang) and the purely percussion sections (tongqi sanlian). As in
Guyue instrumental ensembles, the percussion societies also play at various temple festivals, pilgrimages and other ritual functions. Hymns are usually accompanied by drums, gongs and cymbals which have strong religious and ritualistic colours. Lyrics of Hymns have certain links with Buddhism and Daoism but do not belong to any particular religion. They tend to eulogise Buddhas and Celestials, depict heavenly paradise, and persuade people to practice kindness in order to reach heaven in the afterlife. For example:

Xiangbaojuan (Reading the precious scroll)
Reading the precious scroll does not save effort,
Inside it has both kindness and evil.
Kindness is imbued with the music of heaven,
reciting “mi ya tuo fo”.
The evil people have seen the forbidden door,
And suffer torture.
Whom do you blame?
And what do you blame them for?
Persuading people to once again have kindness in their hearts,
Worship the Buddha and read the precious scroll.

Percussion music often features before and after Hymns and is commonly known as tongqi sanlian (three consecutive sections) with rhythmic patterns that vary from group to group. Despite the popularity and strong presence of tongqi percussion music in Xi’an guyue, it has often been omitted from research on the subject. Most scholarly attention has concentrated on musical-technical analysis of the yueqi instrumental style, such as tonal relationships and structure, key and modality, instrumentation and temperament. This demonstrates a common phenomenon in music research in China, of focusing on melodic instrumental “high” music and neglecting the simpler musics as exemplified in the tongqi music in Xi’an guyue.

Fusan Xuefang Percussion Music Society – (Fusan muefang tongqi she)
The Fusan Xuefang Percussion Music Society is one of the best known tongqi percussion societies, representing the Fusan Xuefang street community in Xi’an. The
present leader and best virtuoso of *nianci* hymns, Ji Fuhua (b. 1925, Fig. 3-21), described the group with pride:

The society has existed since at least the Qing period. It used to be a *shehuo* (folk stilt dance with characteristic costume and make up) and *longdeng* (dragon lantern) dance group and later became a percussion instrumental ensemble. I could name the famous musicians of four different generations of our society including Jiang Shenglian and Wang Geng of the Manchu Qing dynasty, Ji Chengqian of the Republican period, myself of the post-liberation era, and my pupils of the following generations. We have taught many *tongqi* percussion groups in Xi’an and possess over a hundred different *nianci* songs which have been handed down by “oral transmission learnt by heart” (*kouchuan xinshou*) for generations” (16 April 1999 at Xingshan Temple Fair in Xi’an).

Fig. 3.21: The best known virtuoso of Hymn songs, Ji Fuhua (middle), leader of the Fusan Xun Percussion Guyue Society at the Xingshan Si Temple Fair in the Summer of 1998.

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In the 1950s the group’s reputation led them to be accepted as part of the team of the Bodhisattva Temple (Pusa si) for regular activities. The Bodhisattva Temple helped the Fusan Xuefang group to build up the Dabei si Temple in the Southern Wutai Shan Buddhist site as the group’s own place of pilgrimage. Thus the society has become the most welcomed music group at the annual pilgrimage to the Wutai Shan and at various temple fairs. The nianci songs of Fusan Xuefang society have a strong Buddhist influence which is embodied in lyrics and song titles such as “High Tune of the Bodhisattva”, “Laughing Buddha” and “Weituo”. The group was selected as the only model to perform Hymns at the Beijing Huaxia Festival in 1987, featured in a documentary “Xi’an guyue” by the Xi’an Film Production Company in 1989, and recorded two Hymns on the CD - Xi’an guyue by Hugo Productions, Hong Kong in 1993. The performances of the Fusan Xuefang tongqi percussion instrumental music society reflects the characteristics and artistry of hymns and percussion instrumental music in Xi’an guyue.

3.3 Guyue music societies since the 1980s
Apart from the traditional Guyue music societies investigated above, a few instrumental ensembles have been newly established since the 1980s. I distinguish below between groups from two different social bases: the official Xi’an Conservatory and folk instrumental ensembles in Xi’an.

3.3.1 The Xi’an Conservatory’s Guyue society (Chang’an guyue she)
The conservatory’s Guyue Society was established in July 1985 (Plate 3-30) and is named the Chang’an Ancient Music Society (for details see §2.3). It consists of a Chang’an guyue research team and a performance team. Its members are mainly teachers with some students from the conservatory. This is the first time that the conservatory has taken its local folk music genre into the academic institution since its establishment in 1943. In the past, the conservatory’s curriculum was focused on traditional literati music, Western music and theory, and contemporary art music. The “open and reform” policy of the government in the 1980s, raised concern among some people that many traditional art forms were in danger of being lost or “corrupted” by the West in a period of turbulent economic and social development. Consequently, China’s
cultural heritage, antiquities and traditional music genres have developed greater prestige (and value) in contemporary China. Stephen Jones (1995:8) pointed out that:

...historical extrapolation has become a popular subject in China since 1979. The search for the lost music of former dynasties, notably the numerous Tang, has prompted many scholars to compare data on early music with living traditions. The ceremonial music of Xi'an [Xi'an guyue], Nanguan and Chaoshou music have been special focuses of this trend.

Fig. 3.22 The Chang'an Ancient Music Society of the Xi'an Conservatory of Music established in 1985.

The Xi'an conservatory's Chang'an Ancient Music Society was established largely under such a social trend. The society has the following objectives:

First, establish the Chang'an Guyue Society as a strong centre for the conservation, transmission and development of Xi'an guyue. Second, continue collecting and compiling surviving notations, and recording performances from folk Guyue societies and, for research and performance purposes, pieces which have not been played before. Third, deepen and broaden the scope of existing research into Guyue and make new breakthroughs in terms of folklore, sociology, history, aesthetics, comparative musicology and musical temperament. Fourth, set up Guyue as part of the curriculum in the Conservatory and teach Guyue theory and performance in the classroom. In this way it will enrich the teaching content of traditional music courses. Finally, assimilate rich nourishment from Guyue for the creation of new works; enlarge the audience and

The above shows that the aim of the Conservatory's Guyue society is not only to preserve the musical treasures of the region, but also to consciously emphasise the development and production of new works based on the old tradition. This point is rather different from folk Guyue societies which generally regard Guyue as an ancestral legacy which should be kept intact. Another clear use and function of the musical genre is that it has shifted from local self-entertainment and ritual functions in traditional contexts, to regional, national and international arenas in order to exert more social and political influence and obtain greater cultural recognition for the region and for the country.

The establishment of the conservatory Guyue society has been generally regarded as a positive boost to the declining tradition of Guyue. Many people have pinned their hopes for Guyue on the Xi'an Conservatory of Music because it is the only authoritative and prestigious conservatory amongst the five provinces (Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang) in Northwest China. Since its founding in 1985, the conservatory's Guyue society has made a significant contribution to both research into and performance of the traditional genre of Xi'an guyue. Indeed, the conservatory's journal Jianxiang has provided a valuable forum for Guyue research and published numerous articles by various scholars presenting different views, opinions and controversies. Well-known scholars such as Li Shigen, Li Shibin and Li Jianzheng from the provincial music research institute have been invited to publish their work and to join the relevant research activities at the conservatory. A monograph on Guyue notation, "The Scores of Chang'an Ancient Music" was published in 1991 by the research team at the Conservatory. Guyue has been taught as a part of traditional music classes in the conservatory since 1990, three years after I graduated.

In addition, the conservatory holds regular conferences on Guyue including the "International Forum for the Music of the Silk Road" in 1992. Besides these research activities, Guyue performance at the conservatory has made significant achievements. The conservatory's performance group has studied and practised under many distinguished Guyue master musicians and specialists from different styles and societies. These include the main teacher Yu Zhu (a hereditary specialist from the formal Buddhist
Guyue Society in Xi’an), He Shenzhe and He Shengbi (sheng and dizi specialists of Hejiaying village), Wang Shuntang and Gu Jingzhao (drum masters of Nanjixian village), Zhao Gengchen and Cui Shirong (master musicians of the Dongcang and Xicang groups). The conservatory’s ensemble has performed at numerous venues and festivals both in China and abroad, such as the annual Red May Festival and Ancient Cultural Festival in Shaanxi, performances for foreign visitors and concerts in Beijing.

Abroad, the group has been invited by the Europe Folk Arts Association of Germany to play Guyue at the Silk Road Arts Festival touring France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Spain in May and June 1991. In March 1997, the conservatory Guyue Society also attended the 1997 Taipei Arts Festival in Taiwan and played a programme entitled Tangfen liuyun (Sound descended from the Tang style). In addition, the group has featured in many television and radio music programmes, and made recordings including cassettes “Chang’an Classical Music 1 and 2”, (1993) and “Ancient Music of China” (1992) published by Shaanxi Audio and Video Publishing House, and a CD “China: Ancient Music of Chang’an” produced by INEDIT, France in 1991.

Although the conservatory’s version of Guyue is grounded in and learnt from the traditional folk genre, it has subjected the music to a certain degree of change and development, which has raised a number of issues. First, why has the most recently established Guyue group adopted both “ancient” and Chang’an (Xi’an’s name in the Tang dynasty) in their title? Second, the conservatory group uses a most ancient name for their musical genre, wears Tang style costumes, yet it adopts modern musical instruments and a modern musical system which is essentially different from those of the traditions in question. Should the conservatory respect and stick to the tradition? Third, new forms of the music have been developed within the music genre such as solo, plucked instruments ensemble and songs with newly added Tang and Song classical poems and words of the same title as pieces in Guyue. Further, a plucked instrument section has been added based on the traditional wind-and-percussion ensemble. Fourth, should the conservatory’s group become the authoritative representative of the music tradition, raising it above folk Guyue societies which have in recent years, since the foundation of the conservatory ensemble, been excluded from important national and international festivals and cultural exchange events?
3.3.2 Other instrumental music societies

Apart from the conservatory's Chang'an Ancient Music Society, only two new folk instrumental *Guyue* societies have been established in recent decades: the Baojixiang (Fig. 3-22) and Duanlimen *Guyue* Societies in the city of Xi'an. They are separate from the conservatory's ensemble and resemble the urban folk tradition in style, social context, performance and repertoire. Both groups were taught by well-known *Guyue* masters from more established societies. Baojixiang was under the teaching and guidance of master musician Zhang Cuizhu of the Daoist Yinxiang guan ensemble, while the Duanlimen *Guyue* Society was taught by leading musician Li Peien of the Buddhist Dajichang group. However, the two latecomers are still developing and both can so far only perform certain hymns and a few processional pieces. Ironically, although both the conservatory's ensemble and the two new folk groups are rooted in the urban folk tradition of the music genre and formed in the same period, they have taken completely different routes in terms of musical system, instruments, style and social and performance contexts.

Fig. 3.23 Newly established Baojixing *gu Yue* society at the Temple Fair in Lianzhi Village east Xi'an, summer 1998. Two women sheng player were in this Group.
3.4 Gender

Music “reflects, and in a sense symbolizes, male-female roles”, Alan Merriam pointed out (1964:248). The gender dimension has become increasingly important in ethnomusicology but for some time lagged behind developments in other disciplines such as anthropology, literature and art. In the realm of Chinese music, women and music is a neglected topic, and Su Zheng (1997:91) has criticised the “nearly total absence of feminist studies of Chinese music both in and outside China”. She laments that “music, considered by both traditional Confucianists and contemporary Communists as one of the essential constituents of governing power, has been omitted from this feminist reinterpretation and revision of Chinese culture” (ibid:91). Amongst a few recently published works in the specific field of gender, women and Chinese music, Nora Yeh’s 1990 article on women performers of Nanguan music is a pioneering study and was followed by a series of in-depth studies on feminist issues pertaining to women’s identity and gender/sexual politics in modern Chinese music by Su Zheng. In today’s music and cultural studies, it is important for scholars to take gender into account and analyse women’s role in music making.

In ethnomusicology, the central argument of gender asymmetry and injustice in music making pertains to the issue of patriarchy – male dominance of “power and/or control” (Koskoff 1987:14) in relation to the female in most societies. This imbalance in the inter-gender relationship is reflected in music as “appearing to be natural, based on common sense and biological difference” but is “in fact culturally constructed” as pointed out by Margaret Sarkissian (1992:337). To a large extent, gender inequality reflected in music is strongly linked with social, political, economic and ideological factors. Many recent studies on gender and music show that “in all [sic] societies... males control access to most educational, political, religious, and economic institutions” (Koskoff 1987:9). In most cultures men dominate public life including the realm of ethnomusicology, “this may result from the dominant role of man in determining approaches and methods” (Nettl 1983:334).

It is no exception that Chinese music is still a largely male centred territory, especially in folk music. As Stephen Jones writes, it is “male music” (1995:85), although the patterns and the degree of male dominance in terms of inter-gender
relationships has been increasingly challenged and changed in recent times. Jones summarises the gender situation in Chinese music (ibid:85-86):

Instrumental music-making in Chinese villages and small towns has traditionally been a male monopoly, and still is. Women generally only learn the plucked solo instruments *pipa* and *zheng*, and then only in the bigger towns. Since 1949, women have taken up instruments in the urban conservatories and gained jobs in the professional urban troupes, but traditional patterns persist in rural society, and even in traditional Shanghai music clubs... In general, instruments are played by men only; I have see no sign in the villages of this obstinate feudal tradition being eroded.

Jones’ point regarding gender issues in rural folk music as “male monopoly” may still be true, but only to a certain extent. In the case of *Xi’an guyue* today, the question of gender is more complex and varied; it is not such a clear cut case of “male music”. In the swiftly changing China of today, male-female relationships in music are shifting and adjusting to follow social and ideological changes and gender inter-relationships vary from genre to genre and place to place as reflected in *Xi’an guyue*. Due to its nature, typical social organisations and geographical distribution, the current gender distributions of *Xi’an guyue* could well be regarded as a representation of China’s gender relationships in music as a whole. Traditionally, *Xi’an guyue* is typical northern China wind-and-percussion instrumental music and was for centuries “masculine music territory” like the *gamelan beleganjur* percussion ensemble in Bali, Indonesia discussed by Michael Bakan (1997/98:37-80). But since the 1980s, the long-established male-only music genre has been challenged, changed and reconstructed in modern society. Interestingly, the patterns and degree of change in genre structures in *Xi’an guyue* are different in each distinctive social class/strand. In this section, I focus on the significant changes in women’s involvement in the musical genre of *Xi’an guyue* since the 1980s, analysing the different gender-pattern constructions and underlying forces of the three distinctive social strands: urban, village and conservatory.

### 3.4.1 Urban *Xi’an guyue* – A challenge to the masculine tradition

First, I shall describe the unprecedented involvement of urban women in *Xi’an guyue* since the 1980s as a challenge to the masculine tradition. Since the early twentieth century, urban women have been searching for new social positions and identity as part
of the conflict between their secondary status under traditional Confucianism, and the promise of emancipation under the new, modern ideologies. The May Fourth democratic movement promoting freedom, equal rights and the image of “new women” (xin nüxing) in 1919, and Mao’s championing of the cause – “women can support half the sky” (funü nengding banbiantian) – in Communist China since 1949, have had a huge impact on urban women’s perceptions. As a result, many old rules and conventional constructions placed on women have been broken and challenged by urban women, including the “male monopoly” of the tradition of Xi’an guyue. But the degree of involvement and the role of women musicians in the genre is still limited and controlled by men.

Generally, men play a dominant position and women often have a subordinate role in the music. Women tend to feature in less complicated sub-genres and play less technically demanding instruments. For example, in the nianci hymn genre, men lead the nianzan recitation while women sing in unison with men in the chorus; men play more complicated melodic instruments such as dizi, guan, sheng and double-gong-chime, whereas women play simple percussion instruments such as smaller cymbals, gongs and woodblocks. Further, women are totally excluded from playing drums, mainly because drums often lead an ensemble. In addition, men play sophisticated suite Sitting music, whereas women feature in less complex processional and hymn music (Fig. 3-24). During my fieldwork (1996 – 1999), I only twice saw women play wind instruments in Xi’an guyue among folk groups in the city of Xi’an: Li Xunlian and Wang Xiaomei of the Duanlimen Guyue society played sheng in Processional music at the Lianzhi Village Temple Fair in East Xi’an in 1998. They are both in their 40s, educated to high school level and now work as cashiers in Dongfeng supermarket in the centre of Xi’an. Mrs Li told me that:

Men often think that women haven’t enough qi [breath] and strength to play wind instruments. Even when we can play well, they still think we are not serious about it but just to cou renao [add excitement]. In fact, I practice harder than most of them and am doing very well. Today, women can do most of the work men do in society, why can’t we play music like men? The problem is that society today still does not accept women playing wind instruments, because they are traditionally supposed to be men’s music.

(9th August 1998, Xi’an).
Despite certain challenges and efforts by a few liberal-minded city women, the general attitude towards the female challenge to traditionally and customarily “male music” genres is largely negative. Most people, including women, think that *Xi’an guyue* is not suitable for women musicians despite women being able to play certain wind instruments. First is the biological difference between male and female. Men usually have bigger lungs and greater strength. Thus, on the whole, they generate longer breath, greater volume and a brighter timbre for wind instruments. Therefore, unlike other forms of music such as string instruments and singing, the nature of *Xi’an guyue* favours male musicians. Second is the ideological difference towards the traditional genre norm. Why do we have to change a long-established gender tradition in *Xi’an guyue*? A male citizen said to me “it does not look feminine and graceful aesthetically for women to blow out their cheeks as required to play wind instruments”. Thus, the encroachment of women into conventionally male music territory has provoked conflict between modern notions of an equal male-female relationship and the traditional gender norm of male-only music.

A relevant comparative case is the emergence of a women’s *gamelan beleganjur* ensemble in contemporary, Bali, Indonesia, studied by Michael Bakan (1997/98:37-80). He describes it as (ibid:37)
An unusual and surprising development in the recent history of Balinese musical culture... the women's beleganjur phenomenon, ...the involvement of women in a quintessentially male music performance medium has problematized the dynamics of interaction between gender, Balinese cultural tradition, and Indonesian national ideology in contemporary Balinese society.

Despite women’s beleganjur being endorsed and supported by the government’s New Order and emansipasi ideals, public opinion and social reaction towards this gender-reversed female music remains, to a certain extent, negative in Indonesian society.

Local comments indicate “Beleganjur is music for men, not for women”. “I don’t think I would enjoy women playing beleganjur. With gong kebyar, the women are still seated. There’s still the grace and beauty of femininity. But to have women marching on the street, playing that loud [beleganjur] music is too much”. “...a development that threatens established gender norms in dangerous ways, presenting not only formidable but unfair challenges to the delicate balance of traditional Balinese music”. (ibid:48-49).

The above demonstrates that for some people the new developments of both the women’s beleganjur in Bali and the involvement of women in Xi’an guyue in China are seen as an inappropriate and unwelcome change in “the most masculine of Balinese genres” and the “male monopoly” of northern Chinese wind-and-percussion musical traditions. Bakan argues from a deeper social and political perspective that:

...cultural symbols such as women’s beleganjur, ostensibly designed to project images and reflect values of women’s empowerment in modern Indonesia, are in actuality used to reinforce stereotypes, or sociocultural myths, that reinforce the stability and durability of male-dominated structures of power whose legitimacy depends on widespread public assumptions of women’s marginality (ibid:42).

To a certain extent, the appearance of women’s involvement in Xi’an guyue has in this way exposed the women musicians’ weakness in terms of lack of practice, skill level and persistence. This has certainly alerted and disturbed the traditionalists or purists wanting to hold on to “authentic” cultural forms and prevent them from being changed. Master musician Zhao Gengchen, the head of Dongcang Guyue Society in Xi’an complained that:

I have seen a few women playing Guyue recently and they played terribly. It is such a bad example that they expose themselves in public. None of them are trained properly
and they don't practise enough. We are talking about a serious musical tradition with a proud history and a high degree of musical sophistication. I understand that some women join in Guyue mainly to satisfy their curiosity (haoqi) and to add excitement (con renao) to their lives. But it is hard to see them take the music seriously and persisting with it until the end. Besides, they have their own jobs, housework and families to take care of. However, I think that any serious Guyue societies would not accept a woman player in their group. Certainly, I shall not. (5th August 1998).

Furthermore, women’s “naturally” given domestic roles in the family limit their freedom to join public activities as do men in China today. Although family size has been dramatically reduced under Chairman Mao’s birth control and “one child” policies since the 1970s, most city women have their own jobs and a degree of economic independence, but this is not enough to liberate them from the domestic sphere. Often they still have to do a large amount of housework outside their daily job. The female sheng player Wang Xiaomei (41 in 1998) depicted a typical working class woman’s life in rural Xi’an today as follows:

I work six days a week as a cashier in a supermarket and sometimes do extra hours in order to earn more income for the family. I live with my son who is 13 years old, my father-in-law who suffers from diabetes, and my husband who luckily survived redundancy when the mechanic tool factory he worked in changed to computer hardware production. However, because of his ignorance of modern technology, he is now working as a security guard and his salary is rather low and he is unhappy. I usually get up very early, about six in the morning, cook breakfast and also prepare lunch for everybody in order to save some money. After work, I buy fresh vegetables and meat to cook for the family. In the evening, I do the washing and tidying up, and supervise my son’s homework. My husband is taking an evening computer course trying to change to a better job. On Sundays, I need to accompany my son to his paid private English class in the morning and mathematics lesson in the afternoon. He has to be good in order to go to university and survive the intensive competition these days. My husband, after finishing his computer assignments at the weekend, goes out to meet friends, and he likes to play Chinese chess and has recently developed an interest in playing snooker. He does not do much housework and cannot cook much either. This is the way that most men live their life in modern times. All in all, I have very little time to practice sheng music with our Guyue society. Although I do not care what other people think of me as a woman sheng player in the society, I do feel embarrassed and less confident for my lack of practice in our group. (Interview, 19/8/1998)
Still, it remains largely a social norm in northwest urban China that women should sacrifice their personal interests and chances to improve their social status in order to bear the domestic burden and put their family before themselves. Despite some women citizens wanting to break the old conventions — including the forbidden territory of *Xi’an guyue* — there is still a long battle before this is actually achieved. There needs to be a change in society’s perception toward gender equality and women’s role in society, and greater support and recognition from society.

### 3.4.2. Village *Xi’an guyue* — a forbidden territory for females

In villages one finds the persistence of traditional gender relations, but at the same time this is evidence of drastic change since the new 21st century. In villages, *Xi’an guyue* is strictly a single gender music — “male monopoly”. This means that the musical genre has been forbidden territory for females throughout its history, and is in this respect similar to most folk instrumental ensembles elsewhere across China. Both the urban May Fourth movement on women’s emancipation and the Maoist “half the sky” dictum had little influence on traditional life and orthodox musical culture in the rural folk world. Over two centuries of Confucian and feudal gender norms remain deeply rooted in rural China. It is well known that the dominant ideology in traditional China, Confucianism, sanctions discrimination against women and has resulted in lower status, submissive behaviour, few social rights and little independence for women. Only since the early twentieth century have women no longer had their feet bound into “three-inch golden lotuses” (*sancun jinlian*); until 1949, Chinese women, especially in rural villages, had no right to go to school, to choose marriage or divorce, or to join in public social activities. In fact, they were told to obey their fathers, husbands and sons. In present day China, strong Confucian and feudal restrictions still remain on women in Chinese villages.

The traditional process of music transmission is strictly guarded by village musical societies and is deliberately gendered. Regular practice is to “hand down music to sons and males of the same village, but not to daughters or females”. Daughters and unmarried girls are regarded as “wai ren” (outsiders) because they will eventually marry and live somewhere else and take their husbands’ surnames. Far more than in the West, there are still large gaps in China between city and countryside in terms of economy, cultural values, lifestyle and ideology. The degree of inequality between men and
women in the countryside is much larger than in the city, and this, in turn, has an impact on village Xi’an guyue. First, it is rooted in the longstanding feudal and Confucian idea that “man is superior and woman is inferior” (nanzun nübei). It is still true today that men often receive higher education, take important social roles and generate the main source of income in a family. By contrast, women’s education is often the last choice in a family, and consequently they have been forced into low social status and economic dependence.

Second, men have been regarded as a symbol for producing future generations and carrying on a family’s name. It is a fact that boys are much preferred to girls. Even Chairman Mao’s “one child” policy has not been implemented in the countryside as thoroughly as in the cities. Families are heavily penalised for having two or more children in order to obtain a boy. It is still true that families who do not have a boy child will pay a fairly high price to buy out a “reversed live-in son-in-law” (daochamen nüxu) often from a poorer place (usually, a married woman lives with her husband’s family). In the eyes of society, this is not a glittering thing for the son-in-law since his children may have to follow their mother’s family name. Indeed, the situation is rather a humiliation for the man, who is considered to have “lost face”. It is, however, a way for the family name to be carried on. For example, one of the three daughters of the drummer Gu Jingzhao of east Nanjixian village had a marriage arranged to a live-in husband. She is a good-looking young woman with a high-school education who runs a family shop in the village. Her husband, whom she had never met before their wedding, came from a very poor village in Anhui province, south China, having very little education. Her mother told me “they are not very happy together. It is largely my fault because I did not have a son. Otherwise, my poor daughter could have married a much better man. What can I do? This is how society is”. Mr Gu never taught his daughter to play Guyue, but he is going to teach his grandson in the future.

Third, men take the leading and dominant positions in society and in public while women endure the domestic burden and look after their children, husbands and in-laws. Traditionally, women are often described by men as “inside people” (neiren), “humble insiders” (jianren) and “in-home people” (jialiren). Thus, they do not want or do not dare to contemplate joining the traditional village “men’s music” genres such as Xi’an guyue, percussion ensembles and shawm bands. Even in the customarily joint men and women’s musical genres such as Qingqiang and Meihu operas, the women’s
role is mostly confined to singing, while men write the play, arrange and the music and play the instruments. The above factors explained why the traditional gender norm of Xi'an guyue – a forbidden territory for women – is kept unchallenged and untouchable in village society as a whole. At the end of the twentieth century, rural villages in China still remained largely Confucian “patriarchal” societies where men take control of social activities including the genre of Xi'an guyue.

3.4.3: Changing gender relations in Xi'an guyue, Nanjixian Village, at the beginning of the 21st century

Since 2000, an unprecedented change has occurred: more than a dozen female musicians have joined each of the East and West villages of Nanjixian. (Fig. 3-25) Not only do they play percussion instruments but they also perform the melodic instrument sheng alongside the male musicians of the village. Thus the history of “male-only” music and the “forbidden territory for women” of village Guyue has for the first time been re-written by the Nanjixian groups. In November 2002, the Nanjixian group was invited played at the “Urban and Aboriginal Festival XV: China” in Berlin, Germany with 4 women and 12 men (Fig. 3.26). The group’s music was recorded and broadcast by “SFB – Radio Kultur, Musik Fremder Kulturen”. The performance was very well received and Mr Vilem Wagner, the Festival organiser, said “it was the highlight of our Festival”. The Nanjixian Village’s ensemble has had an epoch-making impact on the history of Xi’an guyue: the first performance abroad by folk musicians, and the first village ensemble with women players.
Fig. 3.25 Women sheng players of Nanjixian west village group, in April 2001. The banners read: “Sui style and Tang flavour” (left), and “music fossil” (right). Photo provided by Stephen Jones.

Fig. 3.26 The group of Nanjixian with 4 women players at the Urban and Aboriginal Festival XV: China in Berlin, Nov. 2002, Germany.

The above discussion of gender issues in Xi’an guyue in rural villages is based on fieldwork undertaken between 1995 and 1999. Whilst part of my argument in this thesis is that musical traditions change in response to broader changes in the social and political environment, the recent participation of women in large numbers at the
Nanjixian Village Guyue ensemble is nevertheless a radical change and a surprise to me. As we can see, women’s participation as melodic instrument players hardly happened either in open minded urban ensembles or in the “half the sky” gender pattern of the conservatory in Xi’an (see 3.3?). Rather, it happened in the comparatively remote rural village of Nanjixian. This radical change, occurring at the very beginning of the 21st Century, contradicts the traditional notion of Guyue as a male-only music genre. The discussion below will briefly analyse this development and make a preliminary evaluation of its significance. While it is possible to argue that this may be only a localised and limited phenomenon due to certain exceptional and temporary circumstances, its connection to deeper economic and social factors suggests that this may come to be recognised as a major point of departure for the tradition.

First, the policy of economic “openness and reform” has produced changes to the economy of Nanjixian, including changes to the traditional role of women in the labour market. Further, the growth of tourism expands the range of social experience which has encouraged women to become more liberal and open minded. Nanjixian is a very large village with over 10,000 people, and has recently become increasingly prosperous and culturally significant. More and more young men from other areas and provinces come to marry the women of the village, becoming what was conventionally regarded as the disgraceful “reversed live-in son-in-law”. This is in contrast to the traditional practice whereby many young women of the village left to marry into a better future elsewhere. The changing fortune of Nanjixian is due largely to its geographical significance as an important transportation centre for tourism and religious activities as well as its own historical and cultural importance (see § 3.3). Recent developments, particularly the migration of young males – including Guyue players – to the cities in search of better economic opportunities, have had considerable significance for women. One consequence is that women have become more engaged in public, economic and cultural activities than ever before. Women have taken on more public roles in general, and this includes being asked to join in prestigious cultural activities such as the village Guyue ensemble. While this has been to make up for shortages, many have said that the village women have done a better job than their male counterparts because they are more steady, hard-working and committed.

Second, the recent policy (see § 2.3) of wanting to protect the “authentic musical tradition” and the” village’s cultural identity” – an aim shared by officials and village
leaders and influential musicians – has played an important role in the inclusion of women. Nanjixian Guyue ensembles have had special attention from and a relatively close relationship with official music scholars from the Shaanxi Provincial Music Research Institute since the 1960s. This is due to the special status of Nanjixian Guyue – the only unbroken, surviving genre of the music in a rural area. In 1962, under Yang Yinliu’s direction from Beijing, Li Shigen and He Jun from the Provincial Music Research Institute lent moral and financial support for the purchase and repair of instruments, collection of scores and training of young musicians for the village’s groups. Since the 1980s, in addition to the continued concern and attention from the retired Li Shigen and later Li Jianzheng and Li Shibin (the present head of the Provincial Music Research Institute), there have also been many scholars from both the Beijing Central and Xi’an Conservatories of Music, including Yuan Jingfang, Cheng Tianjian and Feng Yalan. In addition, scholars from outside China have also shown an interest in the village’s music and have visited the village musicians many times. Meanwhile, apart from the village’s traditional activities such as the douyue music competition, the pilgrimage to the Wutai Shan and the Temple Fair at the Daoist Louguan Monastery, Nanjixian music groups have participated in a considerable number of officially organised performances, festivals and recordings (see § 3.3).

Village leaders and influential musicians have become increasingly aware of the prestige and importance of Nanjixian’s Guyue music, which is evident in the village stone stele: “the court music of the Sui and Tang [periods]”. Interestingly, they adapted the scholars’ language more directly than those of urban groups, for example, adopting Guyue as “drum music” rather than “ancient music”; describing the music genre as “Sui style and Tang flavour” and “musical fossil, international reputation” (Fig. 3.25). To a large extent, the inclusion of women was a practical way for officials and village leaders to continuing practise the musical tradition and to protect the “cultural legacy” of the village from being lost.

This change does, however, raise questions regarding the very authenticity of the tradition that the innovation is intended to protect. When presented with the choice between letting the music fall into decline and sanctioning the involvement of women, the latter option was taken. But, for those who would regard the tradition as a “living fossil” this change remains problematic and contradictory for this historically male dominated tradition. For those who regard the tradition as a “flowing river”, on the
other hand, this is more easily accepted as a feasible and expected adaptation to changing external circumstances.

However, at this stage, it would be premature to draw firm conclusions regarding the significance — or even the permanence — of this dramatic and, at first sight radical, development. After all, other village groups such as Hejiaying ensemble and many wind and percussion groups in the more chauvinistic northwest China, however, remain “forbidden territory for females”. Even in Nanjixian village, women are (at least at present) playing secondary instruments such as the sheng and percussion and these only in supporting roles. Hardly any women have as yet played leading roles in Guyue groups with instruments such as dizi or guan, drums and double-gong-chime. Moreover, this musical gender reconstruction has not yet shifted the fundamental Confucian notions of male and female roles. Accordingly, the question remains open as to whether this is a localised and temporary expediency or whether it represents a new trend and social norm in the China of the 21st century.

3.4.4: Conservatory Xi’an guyue — “women can support half the sky”?
In contrast to both the urban and folk traditions, the Conservatory strand of Xi’an guyue holds the official ideology of gender equality. However, in practice, the music remains highly gendered. Mao’s famous “half the sky” statement quoted above reflects Communist ideology’s objective of emancipating women from feudal Confucian oppression. Under Mao, women have been actively involved in landmark events such as the Long March, the Anti-Japanese war, the Liberation struggle and the Cultural Revolution. It is well known by both traditional Confucianists and contemporary Communists that music is an important propaganda tool for self-promotion, ideology and reinforcement of the regime’s power. Generally under the Communist regime women have enjoyed a higher profile in public life than under past regimes, especially in the realm of music, but behind the official ideology of equality, and the undeniable fact of progress in certain respects, women remain secondary, exploited and manipulated.

Institutions such as the Yan’an Lu Xun Arts Institute (established in 1943) and later music conservatories across China have encouraged women to be educated to a professional level, under largely male-designed policies on the basis of curricula that fulfil Communist goals. Gender relations at the Xi’an Conservatory of Music, for
example, reflect the rapid change in gender ideology since 1949 among urban-educated intellectuals and professionals. Mao’s advocacy of female equality has been instituted mostly at the official level, known in China as guanfang. The guanfang spectrum is confined to the organisations that are directly constituted under government leadership, funding and policy. In music, the scope of guanfang comprises various professional ensembles from the state level in Beijing, provincial capitals, major cities and at county level. Academic institutions include music research organisations, arts schools, university music departments and music conservatories in major cities such as the Xi’an Conservatory of Music. The national institutions are the major channels for training and transferring talents for professional ensembles. Consequently, a greater gap has been created between the guanfang music system and the more spontaneous folk music world.

Women’s participation at the guanfang official level in urban areas has been dramatically increased as a direct result of Communist gender constructions, modernisation and ideology. This marks a historical difference in gender relations between the old and the new China.

When the music conservatories were established in the 1950s, the ratio of women to men musicians amongst the educated intellectuals throughout the history of China had remained very low. In the beginning, the new institutional system of music inherited the gender relationships of the literati prevalent before the New China. There were less then half a dozen women qin players recorded among over 270 men players in biographical writings about historical qin players from the 11th to early 20th centuries.

Similarly, very few women pipa players have been mentioned compared to men in historical records. In the important qin music recordings made by the Beijing Guqin Research Association during 1952 – 53 involving 72 elderly qin players from 12 major cities, there was only one woman. The situation is similar for pipa music as no recording by a woman was made before the 1960s. Even during the 1950s and 60s, very few women studied music at the conservatories. For example there was only one woman, Yuan Jinfang, among ten men in my father’s class during 1956 – 1961 in the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing. She is now Head of the Department of

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4 See Qin History (Qin Shi) by Zhu Changwen dated 1084: biographies of about 150 qin players; and in Qin History Supplement (Qinshibu) by Zhou Qingyu published in 1919 added over 110 further biographies. Also see Van Gulik, 1969, the Lore of the Chinese Lute, p. 177 and 182.
Musicology at the conservatory and one of the most successful scholars with numerous important publications.

During the 1970s and 1980s the ratio of female to male musicians in conservatories increased to a third or more; for example, in the 1987 class at Xi’an Conservatory of Music 10 out of 27 graduates were female. At the beginning of the 21st century, it is probably fair to say that numbers in the class are now about equal, so in this sense women do hold “half the sky”. This does indeed present a dramatic change in gender relations within the last 50 years in the institutionalised music conservatory system.

Despite this change, however, there remain underlying imbalances and inequalities, which reflect the ongoing subordination of women. For example, in comparison with male students, very few female students study what are thought to be the more sophisticated and intellectual subjects such as composition, conducting, theory, musicology and research. In conformity with social norms female students tend to choose supposedly more feminine subjects such as singing, string instruments and piano. It is still unusual for females to learn wind and percussion instruments in the conservatories. And if some do, they find it is somehow rather hard for them to find ideal boyfriends. Male students, by contrast, can take any subjects they like without pressure from society.

Furthermore, most of the leaders and teachers in the conservatories are men. They make policy, decide marks and results, supply references and opinions to employers. These all directly influence the future of the young musicians and gives them power over female students in particular. Similarly, the representation of women in music remains the prerogative of men. Men are usually the leaders of professional ensembles and will write lyrics and create musical images for females based on their ideas and interpretation, rather than those of the women themselves. Women’s identity and musical talent are passively blended with those of their male colleagues. The women and female roles may be depicted as the objects of male possessiveness, desires, or fantasies. Thus behind the formal equality of women found in the guanfang conservatory system and in the professional ensembles there remain several layers of discrimination and exploitation.

To turn specifically to the conservatory’s Guyue, one finds, in keeping with the guanfang, the significant reconstruction of gender roles so as to include female as well
as male musicians. Women appear alongside men and play in important concerts and foreign festivals. However, behind the apparent success of the “half the sky” policy one finds that “art serves politics”. For example, during the 1960 to 1970s a number of women-themed operas and ballets were written and directed largely by males, to promote women centred-works, women’s images, emancipation and new roles in the society, including “The Red Detachment of Women”, “The White Haired-Girl”, “Sister Jiang” and “The Red Guard Team of the Red Lake”. The main theme of those works focused on condemning the callous torture and evil towards women in the past, and eulogising the achievements and important roles that women have played in the new Communist China.

The emergence of the conservatory’s *Guyue* ensemble is largely a product of Deng’s policy to protect the “national heritage” in the 1980s. As a result, the “half the sky” female musicians have been added to the ensemble – but playing a newly added section of plucked instruments (*pipa*, *ruan* and *guzheng*) despite conflicts and divergence from the “original” tradition of the music. However, women are not essential in this ensemble and are sometimes replaced or omitted by their male seniors. For example, when the group performed at the international folk music festivals in Germany in 1992, all the plucked instruments were played by male teachers. The ensemble comprised top ranking males of the conservatory including several senior lecturers, professors, the vice-chancellor and the head of the Department of National Music. One can understand why, under such a male-dominated team, there was no room left for female junior musicians. On the one hand, the male seniors have the authority to take the opportunity themselves to see the West and bring honour back home. On the other hand, it may well be an ideological motivation that the officials wanted to present a more “authentic” version of the traditionally male-music genre to the West. However, during a visit to the Taipei Arts Festival in 1998 (Fig. 3.28) in Taiwan, the ensemble’s gender structure had been reshaped to include 4 female musicians in Sitting music, presenting the modern image of the traditional genre. Thus it can be seen that the national gender policy on women’s emancipation is not always in keeping with the realities: to a certain degree, gender construction is directly influenced by male-dominated power and politic inclinations.
To sum up, Xi'an guyue is clearly a gendered musical tradition, reflecting the broader gender relations found in its three constituent strands. Until the end of the twentieth century, rural village practitioners of Xi'an guyue stuck tenaciously to traditional Confucian roles, making the music totally “forbidden territory” for women. Both urban folk sectors and the national music conservatory of Xi'an city have broken this conventional gender norm of “forbidden territory”, but the degree and pattern of women's involvement in each are different. The challenge by some urban women to gender conventions has achieved very limited change, but they have nevertheless broken new ground compared to the village folk strand. The conservatory’s reconstruction of gender roles has achieved a certain success in terms of balances between overall numbers, but inequality and exploitation nevertheless remain. The issue of gender portrays in stark relief certain ideological and historical tensions and challenges those prone to sentimentalise tradition.

The clash between traditional Confucian and modern Communist ideologies is apparent and embodies Mao's statement that “art serves politics”. At its extremes, the choice is currently between a “half the sky” policy that has made the formal move towards greater equality but at the same time generated its own patterns of exclusion and exploitation, and the complete exclusion of women among folk musicians who want to protect their autonomy and the music’s traditional identity.

One major change at the start of the 21st century was the participation of significant numbers of women in the Nanjixian village Guyue ensemble. Not only has
this broken with the traditional gendering of the music, but also, surprisingly, it
overtook the usually more open and progressive urban and Conservatory ensembles in
terms of gender structure. This exceptional phenomenon is rooted in economic and
social change, but is also a reflection of the ideology of village leaders wanting to
preserve the village’s “cultural identity” and “musical fossil”, largely under the officials’
influence. It is, however, a paradoxical development: in order to preserve the tradition
of the only unbroken “authentic” ritual music of the Xi’an guyue, one is compromising
that very tradition through breaking the traditional gender norms of the music. Of
course, the persistence of this development remains to be seen.
Chapter 4
Performance contexts

There is no shortage of articles and analyses in Chinese on performance forms, structures, tonal-relationships, instrumentation and various musical-technical aspects of Xi’an guyue. But no work has yet been undertaken that specifically discusses the contextual relationships between Xi’an guyue musical performances and the purpose and cultural significance of the music performances. Allan Merriam pointed out that “in the study of human behavior we search constantly... not only for the descriptive facts about music, but more importantly, for the meaning of music... what it does for people and how it does it” (1964:209). This chapter concentrates on exploring performance contexts of Xi’an guyue (Table 4.1) and its social environment and cultural meaning. I discuss the issues through two distinct channels: traditional performance contexts of Xi’an guyue societies in the city and villages, and contemporary performance contexts of the Xi’an Conservatory of Music.

4.1 Traditional performance contexts
Like many northern folk wind-and-percussion ensembles such as those in Hebei, Shanxi, Liaoning and Shandong (Stephen Jones, 1995), Xi’an guyue historically plays an important role in various ceremonial and ritual activities. The activities often take place during the “winter break” (dongxian), the Spring Festival (chunjie) holiday and over the period of the “agricultural break” (nongxian) after the summer harvest. Xi’an guyue is needed and practised by the local communities to serve at many of their calendrical rituals for the gods, pilgrimages and temple fairs, community affairs, Chinese New Year and funeral ceremonies. Thus, the performance contexts of Xi’an guyue have formed their own regional characters and specific cultural meanings. The main traditional performance contexts of Xi’an guyue are qiyu (praying for rain), douyue (musical competitions), chaoshan jinxiang (pilgrimages to present incense), miaohui (temple fairs), guohui (community gatherings), zangshi (funerals), chunjie (spring festivals) and tiaomajiao (dispersing evil spirits). Whilst I shall discuss all of these, I focus particularly on the first five as they have certain links and overlaps with each other. The last three are less typical and were not performed commonly during my fieldwork.
Table 4.1: Performance contexts for Xi’an guiyue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of group</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Conservatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Instrumental Society</td>
<td>Incense Association</td>
<td>Chang’an Ancient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percussion Society</td>
<td>Water Association</td>
<td>Musical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fine Music</td>
<td>Ancient Music</td>
<td>(Established in 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transmission Line</td>
<td>Buddhist /Daoist + urban ceremonies</td>
<td>Buddhist /Daoist + rural rituals</td>
<td>Buddhist /Daoist + official ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transmission unit</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation/ status</td>
<td>Workers, small businessmen</td>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>Lecturers / students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Men and women (since 1990s, occasionally)</td>
<td>Men and women (since 2000, so far only in Nanjixiang)</td>
<td>Men &amp; women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Countryside</td>
<td>City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Modernised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance contexts</td>
<td>Miaohui (Temple Fair)</td>
<td>Miaohui (Temple Fair)</td>
<td>Concert halls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaoshan jinxian (pilgrimage to the mountain to present incense)</td>
<td>Chaoshan jinxian (pilgrimage to the mountain to present incense)</td>
<td>Government-sponsored festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guohui (community gathering)</td>
<td>Guohui (Community gathering)</td>
<td>Conferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qiyu (Praying for rain)</td>
<td>Qiyu (Praying for rain)</td>
<td>Cultural exchanges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Funeral ceremony</td>
<td>Tiaomajiao (ritual)</td>
<td>International festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring Festival</td>
<td>Spring Festival</td>
<td>Media presentations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>International festivals</td>
<td>(broadcasts and recordings)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qiyu (praying for rain) is also called qushui (fetching water) – an important ritual among the inhabitants of rugged, dry areas in rural, impoverished Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia in the northwest. It was an important ritual activity for the community in the old days but has suffered badly for a long time, largely due to the eradication of “feudalism and superstition” in the Cultural Revolution, and the tradition is only recently beginning to be revitalised (Guo Yuhua, 2000:1). There is an old peasant proverb in central Shaanxi, which partly explains why rain is so important in local

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peoples’ lives: “money can’t buy a dry May, but rain throughout June would guarantee us full meals”. This means that village people do not like rainy weather during their harvest in lunar May because it will decrease the quality and quantity of their crops. But peasants crave good rain in lunar June, which will bring hopes for the autumn sowing and cultivation of crops and a good harvest the following year. Unfortunately, weather does not always follow people’s wishes. Frequent dry weather and drought particularly in the loess plateau of Shaanxi has been a major problem, especially in agricultural villages. People have therefore turned their hopes to various gods and Buddhas believing that sincere prayer and worship would finally move the deities to send a good rain.

Qiyyu ceremonies are generally held after peasants’ lives have been directly affected by drought. In the villages of Liantian county, people named their Guyue musical societies “water associations” (shuihui) and called their rain ceremonies qushui (fetching water). Thus their music societies have an inescapable duty and role in the qushui ritualistic activities. Village qushui ceremonies often involve physically going to the mountainside to fetch water. The idea is that the water found deep in the mountains is holy, pure and auspicious and can directly enable contact with the gods, who will then bestow mercy and benevolence through rainfall. The qiyyu or qushui ceremony is a spectacular community activity, usually consisting of the following steps: fetching water from the mountains, returning home with “holy water”, worshipping the “holy water” and praying for rain.

Generally, a qiyyu parade departs from its village and is accompanied to the mountain by the Guyue music of its own water association. Often sculptures of the Dragon King (longwang), Bodhisattvas (pusa) and deities (shenxian) are carried and people hold a pennant of their community, colourful Dragon and Phoenix flags and the Umbrella for Ten Thousand People (wanmin san), which reads “calm the wind and smooth the rain” (fengtiao yushun). The size of a parade varies from community to community and some can be very large. For instance, that of Tianjia village had 48 colourful flags and its Guyue ensemble was bigger than those of the city of Xi’an (Li Jianzheng & Yu Zhu 1983: 17). During the parade, specific hymns are sung and processional music is played at each temple they pass. This is called “passing the barrier” (guoguan). The water gathered is called “holy water” (shenshui) and is protected and accompanied by the parade and the Guyue processional music on the
return home. The “holy water” is often worshipped on the altar of the village temple and people often kneel down to recite liturgies, sing hymns and kowtow at the end of each session. Both percussion and instrumental Gu Yue music are played as part of the prayer for rain to finally come. The qi you ceremony often lasts three days and sometimes even longer. In Ji village in north Shaanxi, in order to show the faithfulness of the villagers to the gods, they prayed with their backs and feet bare under the flaming summer sun during the three days of the qi you ceremony (Guo Yuhua 2000: 1). Local people often described to me how efficacious qi you is and they say that “with a sincere heart, it will work” (xin cheng zeling). Thus, it can be seen that Gu Yue music is an inseparable part of qi you ritual activities.

The dates and venues for qi you vary from community to community. The main time for qi you activities remains during each lunar June. Quanjia Ling and Qushu Miao villages in Liantian county go to Huanglong Shan mountain, whereas Tianjia village goes to Taibai Shan mountain in neighbouring Meixian county for qushui ceremonies (ibid: 15 -18). Nanjixian villages of Zhouzhi county, villages in Huxian county, Hejiaying and Huangpu villages of Chang’ an county stay locally for their qi you ceremonies. These villages also go on the famous pilgrimage to Southern Wutai Shan during the 1st to 3rd of lunar June. In recent years, the pilgrimage site has started to charge an entrance fee (15 yuan per person in 1996) due to the government policy that all religious and sacred sectors have to be responsible for their own economic upkeep. It was a blow to some village people but did not stop them from coming to practice the ritual and to pay their respects to the gods. “15 yuan is what I get for selling three whole baskets of eggs (about 100 eggs), but it can’t stop me” one villager said to me. Village Gu Yue ensembles often come as huge groups, sometimes 40 or 50 people or more, and the entrance fee is certainly an issue for them. During the Southern Wutai Shan pilgrimage in summer 1997, some members of the Hejiaying ensemble decided to reach Wutai Shan through a side entrance some 10 km further than the regular entrance in order to avoid the fee. City Gu Yue groups usually do not hold qi you rituals except in combination with the main “pilgrimage to the mountain to present incense” ceremony in Southern Wutai Shan.

Dou Yue (music competition) is a competition between Gu Yue ensembles that usually takes place when two ensembles meet face to face in the middle of the road during
processions such as qiyu, pilgrimages, Spring Festivals and temple fairs. The choice for each group is whether to give way to the other side in a friendly manner or to compete through music in order to win the right to proceed first. When such an incident occurs, it results in one of two completely different outcomes. The friendly solution is “giving way” (ranlu). If the two groups express their mutual friendship and respect, they will play the “giving way piece” (ranqu) to each other while offering to let the opposite group pass. The confrontational result is a music competition (douyue). If one side or both sides intend to compete to establish who is better, or because there is a history of competition, or because there are other grudges between the two groups, “douyue” will inevitably take place. In such a case, one side starts to play an “attack piece” (fanqu) and the group which has been challenged then performs another fanqu piece “following in the footsteps” (tajiao houpeng) of the “rival”. This sequence is repeated many times and sometimes lasts for days until one side runs out of music and concedes defeat.

Rules for douyue are rather strict and were concisely spelt out by Zhang Gui, the 81 year old master of the East village of Nanjixian: “Percussion to percussion, Processional to Processional and Sitting to Sitting music and keys must be consistent. For example, liu key must match up with liu key, and huangzhong mode must be answered with zhenggong mode. Cheating is definitely not allowed”. He told me a story that once during a long douyue between the East and the West village ensembles, the latter exhausted their repertories of Processional music (xingyue) and adopted a prelude from Sitting music instead. Immediately, the East village group pointed out the cheat and said scornfully “the dumpling stall sells noodles?”

When Processional music cannot settle the competition, the ensembles will turn to Sitting music, which is known as “setting up the table” (zhizhuozi) or simply “setting up” (baikai). The occasion of a Sitting music competition is quite formal, exciting and spectacular with the contending groups usually taking the event rather seriously and conscientiously. The two participant ensembles present their fullest and best instruments (nashoude) and repertoires and will have practised in advance for the occasion. For example, a douyue competition between the East and the West village ensembles in Nanjixian usually takes place during the Spring Festival. Preparations like yunqu (i.e, singing the instrumental melodies) and bailian (rehearsal) start from the winter break (dongxian) right till the 14th day of the first moon. On the first day of the competition, they each set up a colourfully decorated shed (caifeng) and tables at the
east and west sides of the village river and the competition lasts three days until the 16th
day of the first moon (Li Shigen 1987c: 108). Sometimes, during critical moments their
masters have to be invited out from behind the scenes to give ideas and advise on
strategies.

A *douyue* competition is not just about music. More importantly, it is about
“face”: the prestige and pride of the community the contestants represent expressed in
terms of their musical culture. Defeat is always difficult to accept, and quarrels and
physical fights – occasionally leading to serious injury – sometimes break out. In such
cases, old masters of other music societies, village leaders and cadres often have to
intervene in order to settle the differences. Nonetheless, if either side holds grudges
obstinately, it is likely that the rivals will continue to compete musically for a long time.
For example, Dongcang and Dajicang are rival groups in Xi’an city who have been
contesting *douyue* since before liberation in 1949. To this day, they remain
unreconciled, with no formal contact but retaining a legacy of *sigeda* (“deadly knots” –
difficult problems) from each other. In the case of the East and the West village
ensembles in Nanjixian, relations, Zhang Gui said they “remain friendly on the surface
but estranged at heart (*mianhe xinbuhe*) due to *douyue* having wounded people in the
past”. Nevertheless, *douyue* is an important element in *Xi’an guyue* as well as an
interesting cultural phenomenon in its own right. It stimulates the spirit and interest of
the musicians on the one hand, and facilitates the development of the music and injects
life into the traditional folk musical genre on the other. Further, it has certainly helped
some sophisticated long suites of *Xi’an guyue* sitting music to survive until today.

**The History of Qiyu and Douyue**

The history of *qiyu* and *douyue* can be traced at least to the Dezong Emperor during the
Zhenyuan years (r. 780-805) in the Tang dynasty. Duan Anjie writing in the Tang
period on “Records of the *Pipa*” (*Pipa Lu*) in “Miscellaneous Records of the Bureau of
Music” (*Yuefu zaji*) recounts the following episode:

During the Zhenyuan [period],...Chang’an encountered a great drought (*dahan*). The
Emperor [Dezong] appealed to both sides of the city to gather at Tianmen street to *qiyu*
(pray for rain). The city people could not settle their wins and losses [during the *qiyu*]
and thus competed via instrumental music *douyue*. The best *pipa* player, Kang Kunlun,
from the street of East City, claimed that there would be no rivals to compete against him. So Kunlun was invited into a colourful tower where he played a piece, called “Liuyao” newly transposed to the yu key. There was also a tower in the street of West City which was impressive to the people in East City. Kunlun also played his piece there, and there appeared a lady on the tower of the west side holding an instrument who said “I also play this music but transposed into the fengxian key”. She thus plucked it with her plectrum and it sounded like thunder. It was subtle and marvellous. Kunlun was deeply surprised and asked her to be his teacher. After changing her clothes, the lady came out as a monk [from the West city]. Nobles of the West City street rewarded the monk, named Shanben of Zhuangyan Temple with rich materials [for his excellent pipa playing], and thus it was decided that the [West city] had won against the East side. ...After many years of study, Kang Kunlun absorbed the skills of master Shanben the monk and reached even greater heights of musicianship.

The above vivid historical material of the Tang period is clear evidence that “praying for rain” (qiyu) and “music competitions” (douyue) were already well established by the time of the “great drought” (dahan) over a thousand years ago. It is interesting that not only was Processional music contested during the “gathering” and “at Tianmen street” by different parades, but sitting music was contested on the pipa between the challenger Kang Kunlun and a “lady” player. Because neither side could decide the winner through Processional music, they finally presented their hidden weapons – douyue – through Sitting music on the pipa. Both pipa players showed their extraordinary techniques and talent by performing the same piece “Liuyao” newly transposed into different keys. One in fact was a Buddhist monk known as Shanben who was invited from Zhuangyan Temple in the West City. The competition resulted in the West City street winning over the East City street. Monk Shanben represented the West City, therefore he became the teacher of Kang Kunlun, the “best pipa player” of the East City. However, after studying with Monk Shanben, Kunlun became an even greater pipa player.

Analysis of this story reveals two further points of relevance. First it shows that Tang officials had a close relationship with society at large and encouraged people to practice rituals and religions. Without Emperor Dezong asking “the city to pray for rain”, the qiyu and douyue events could not have happened. Indeed, many of the Tang emperors were very religious and ritualistic, as is shown by literary records and the numerous remaining Buddhist and Daoist temples of the period. Second, the story
reflects the open-minded attitude of the people towards music, and a considerable level of exchange and contact between the court, certain foreign countries and religious sectors in the cosmopolitan Tang capital Chang'an. If we explore further we discover that both pipa players Kunlun and Sanben featured in the above story were not secular people. In fact the former was a foreign lutenist from “the Western Region” (xiyu) (Han Shuong, 1987:47-48) and a Buddhist monk in Zhuangyuan temple. However, they both played the famous Tang court piece “Liuyao” in different keys. This indicates that there must have been certain social and cultural links and connections enabling music to be learnt, exchanged and appreciated between these different social strands. This is important because often court music dies with the dynasty. It is this complex and integrated pattern of social relations that has enabled the survival of Xi'an guyue. This is not by itself, however, sufficient to explain the continued popularity of the qiyu and douyue traditions over a millennium. This requires showing how the tradition remains relevant to the community itself. Qiyu and douyue remain in keeping with local people’s rituals, beliefs, and the historical and economic bases of their community.

First, the ritual has a special authority and commands enormous respect as it derives from the court of a popular Emperor. While this might be difficult for readers in modern secular societies to appreciate, the power of historical social hierarchies in China remains strong. This may partly explain why city Guyue ensembles today still practice the qiyu and douyue ritual activities. Second, qiyu and douyue activities are directly linked with people’s lives, problems and desires. The natural disaster of drought in lunar June has long been a regular problem in the region and it has often led to lower crop yields and poverty in largely agriculturally centred Shaanxi. Lunar June is the “agricultural break” for peasants after the summer harvest and a holiday for students. It is the best time for them to carry out the rituals like qiyu and douyue to please the gods in the hope that this will bring more luck and rain for the coming year. Thirdly, qiyu and douyue fill the need for festivities and celebration after a hard six months of toil on the land. Even in the face of great adversity, the festivals are still held. According to an elderly musician: “Even in wartime when the warlord Liu Zhenhua surrounded the town (1911), and during the disastrous drought in 1928, qiyu and douyue never stopped. Even during the Japanese invasion and the bombing (1937 – 45), qiyu and douyue were still carried out”.

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Chaoshan jinxiang (pilgrimage to the mountain to present incense) refers to the calendrical pilgrimage to the gods at the temples, monasteries and sacred sites situated in the mountains. It is a popular ritual activity throughout China since most of the temples, monasteries and pilgrimage sites are built on tranquil mountainsides surrounded by beautiful scenery. Examples include the famous Buddhist holy lands Wutaishan in Shanxi (there is one with the same name also in Shaanxi to which I often refer), Emeishan in Sichuan, Shaolin Temple on Songshan in Henan and the renowned sacred place for Daoism, the Wudangshan. Similarly, Chaoshan jinxiang is widely practised in Shaanxi, for example, at the Baiyunshan in Jiaxian county, Yulin (on the 3rd day of the 3rd moon, the 8th day of the 4th month and the 9th day of the 9th month); Qingliangshan in the Yan’an region (on the 8th day of the 4th moon); and at Cuihuashan (28th day of the 5th month) and the famous Southern Wutaishan (1st day of the 6th month) both near Chang’an County. (Zhang Zhongjian 1998).

The pilgrimage to Southern Wutaishan is the main occasion for Xi’an guyue music, and normally all the ensembles from the villages and the city of Xi’an will participate in this grand event. Nanwutai means southern five peaks because it comprises Qingliang, Wenshu, Xianshen, Lingying and Guanyin mountains, each having numerous temples and pagodas. Southern Wutai Mountain is one of the Buddhist sacred places and is situated in the famous Zhongnan Mountain range some 30 km south of Xi’an. Guanzhong Tongzhi (The General Annals of Central Shaanxi) noted that “in the beautiful and marvellous Zhongnan Mountain area today, Southern Wutai in Chang’an is the best” (Wang Chongren 1983: 185). “Southern Wutai claims to possess 72 miaoyu (temples) and tangfang (places for sacred people to live in); there were also more than 40 temples along the route but many of them were destroyed” (ibid: 152). If the history of “praying for rain” (qiyu) and “music competitions” (douyue) are traceable to the Tang period, then the tradition of Chaoshan jinxiang pilgrimages to Southern Wutaishan should not be any later than this. This is because one of the main purposes of Chaoshan jinxiang is itself qiyu, and besides, most of the temples on Wutaishan were built before or during the Tang dynasty, including Guoguang si, Shengshou si and Shengbaoquan temples (Ibid: 151 - 3). Furthermore, there is a common saying in Shaanxi: “where there are temples there will be incense burning” (nali you miaoyu nali you xianghuo). The Chaoshan jinxiang pilgrimage to the Southern Wutaishan usually lasts three days, and all the temples in the area open their gates, welcoming people to
In summer 1996, I personally experienced the grand pilgrimage activity (Chaoshan jinxiang) at Southern Wutaishan and followed the Yinxiang Guan Musical Society of the city centre which was led by master Zhang Cunzhu. Score reading (yunqu) and rehearsal (bailian) started two weeks ahead, and incense and food were prepared by the women of the street community to last for the three-day event (it is too expensive to buy food on the mountain). The ensemble set off at mid-day on the 30th day of the fifth moon wearing the T-shirts and carrying the commanding flag (lingqi) of the society. Both percussion and instrumental music were played during the procession up to the first stop, which was the Guanyin tang (Bodhisattva Hall) at Yongning gate outside the South Gate of Xi’an. The ensemble went into the temple and first played percussion music as an opening, then recited the liturgy called *zan* to the gods:

[Leader] The Bodhisattva Hall is outside the Yongning Gate,
The Buddha is sitting on the lotus throne.
Not yet having reached the top of the Southern Mountain,
Here we present our first incense”.

[Chorus] *a – mi – tuo – fo*...

They then presented their incense and sang a *gezhang* hymn, accompanied by the instrumental ensemble. The hymn is called “Looking south” (*wangnan qiao*) and the following are the lyrics of the first few phrases, which show a strong Buddhist colour:

[Leader] There is a mountain situated in the south of Chang’an,
Chang’an is surrounded by rivers and mountains.
Our Buddha sits high atop the mountains,
He guards Qingzhuan [Shaanxi] well and protects thousands of people.
I lead the people worshipping the Buddha,

[Chorus] *a – mi – tuo – fo*...

After the hymn, they played a sophisticated instrumental piece called “Sixteen beats” (*shiliubai*) and went on to other temples. Thus, I learnt the basic procedure for presenting incense during the pilgrimage to Southern Wutaishan. Mr Zhang called it “da-nian-chang-chui” (percussion-reciting-singing-blowing). It is the basic order for all
folk *Guyue* groups’ pilgrimages to Wutaishan and is repeated many times until the top of the mountain is reached.

We reached the foot of Southern Wutaishan in the early evening after a 90 minute bus journey from the southern suburb of Xi’an. The traditional music society way of undertaking the 30km procession was by foot, but this has given way to modern transport – buses or trucks. Chai Tianbao of the Yingxian Guan groups explains: “Now travel by bus is more convenient and we save both time and energy. Before, it took roughly a day for us to parade to the mountain and we were already exhausted before the main pilgrimage started up the mountain. In addition, there are more elderly people than young ones today”. The group spent the night at a *tangfang* (lodging for sacred people) and had noodles in soup for breakfast – both for free. Normally, *tangfang* and *zhaifan* (vegetarian food) are provided free but only during the pilgrimage period.

In the early morning, the group started their pilgrimage procession, aiming for the Guoguangsi Temple on the highest peak – the Guanyin Tai. It is 1699 metres high with a 15 km winding road to the top. Despite the weather being so hot (28-30°C), several thousand of people: old and young, male and female, individuals and groups – joined the pilgrimage to the mountain. It was the first time I had witnessed such a spectacular occasion where so many people believe and practice traditional rituals in modern China. While the Yinxiang Guan group played their sequence of “*da-nian-chang-chui*” but with different combinations of pieces each time during “presenting incense” at each temple at the Guanyin Tai, we sometimes heard liturgical recitation and hymn singing and music played elsewhere on the mountain. After performing music at the main Guoguangsi temple, everybody in the Yinxiang Guan ensemble was exhausted and returned home the following morning. I too was extremely tired, but decided to stay on for two more days of research.

My four-day field expedition to the Southern Wutaishan pilgrimage was fruitful but provided ample lessons for the future. The trip enabled me to experience the grand *Chaoshan jinxian* pilgrimage in person, collect useful field material through interviews and make audio and video documents. One of the main difficulties was that lack of an assistant made it difficult to record situations optimally, as this would have required using more than one piece of equipment at the same time. In practice, I tried hard to use the most suitable equipment to capture the key moments. I did, on a later trip, take an assistant but on that occasion there were not so many instrumental groups to document.
Second, lack of experience led to insufficient preparation and planning for the field trip. There were occasions that I ran out of film and batteries for my camera and recording machines and so bought fresh stock at the stalls on the mountain. Disappointingly, some of my photos did not develop properly due to the poor quality of the film. In addition, even well-made plans can fail for reasons beyond the control of the researcher. I planned to accompany a newly established instrumental group, the Duanlimen Guyue Society, on the third day of the pilgrimage, but in the event for some reason the wind players did not show up and only the percussion players were there. By the time I heard instrumental music from Lingyintai peak on the other side of the mountain, it was too late to do anything. What a waste of time! An alternative way of conducting this research would have been to stay for a considerable amount of time at the main temples instead of following one particular group marching all the way on the mountains. While this would have enabled me to capture the performances of most of the ensembles as they would generally come to the main temples to jinxiang (present incense), I would have lost the depth of experience that one can develop when sharing the entire experience with one particular group.

Finally, lack of attention to health care and medical precautions led to my contracting a serious illness and to the interruption of my fieldwork. Thinking that I would not need inoculations as I was a native of that region, I went unprepared in this respect. However, while during the day temperatures were very hot, at night temperatures dropped dramatically, especially in the mountains. When I stayed overnight in the tangfang on the mountain, I realised what a mistake I had made by not bringing any thicker clothing as had the other people. I shared a room with nine other women on two tukang (heatable brick beds) and there were only bed-mats made of hay on top of loose hay. Even though a woman kindly offered to share her rough cotton covering sheet with me, it was still a very cold and draughty night. The worst factor, however, were the relentless attacks by various types of mosquitoes, fleas, bedbugs and other insects. Come morning, half of the women were very upset to find that the elaborate, brightly coloured and decorated food offerings they had prepared for the gods had been eaten by rats. The offerings were designed in the shape of various animals, and their preparation and decoration requires much effort and skill. “Damn it,” sobbed one as she showed me the distorted remains, “they didn’t even spare the offerings I spent three days preparing”. 158
Finding toilets and food stalls with acceptable standards of hygiene was also a problem. There were no proper toilets and you had to somehow resolve your “own convenience” (zhijī fāngbiàn). I did not bring any drinks or food but enjoyed the free zhai fān (vegetarian food) with hundreds of people at the temples when I happened to be there at the right time. Many times I had to buy food and drinks from stalls whose hygiene I normally would not trust. Eventually I caught a local infectious disease known as chuxue ‘re (a type of blood infection spread by rats) and was hospitalised for two weeks. I was horrified: it reminded me of two students who had died of this dreadful disease during my time at university in Xi’an. Nonetheless, it had been my intention not to stay at a comfortable hotel but to experience the ritual as a participant. However, speaking from my experience, it is essential to take the necessary medical precautions before embarking on a fieldwork trip, especially when in a different environment and climate.

From my field research and analysis, there are certain features of chaoshan jinxiang that I would emphasise. The ritual activity demonstrates its strong folk roots and sustained support among the people. As one elder nun at Guoguan sì temple told me, “Wutai Mountain’s incense has never really stopped burning. Even during the Cultural Revolution, there were still people coming to worship the gods clandestinely”. Though all the pilgrims come to present their incense and worship the gods, the purpose of their prayers varies from individual to individual. Typically, however, young women pray for good husbands and having baby boys as early as possible, while older women wish to maintain good health and harmonious family relationships, and to avoid bad luck and evil spirits. Young men pray to find good jobs, make more money, and find a good bride who will bear a son. “I wish to find a job in Xi’an or win the lottery or something, so that I can open a business and get rich sooner. If I become successful and have money, there will be no shortage of good women to choose from”. Older men tend to worship and send thanks to the gods and their ancestors for giving them what they have. They pray for the crops and future harvests as well as, of course, for rain. There were people who did not want to be involved in my interviews and some tourists who came from different cities and places. One young university graduate from Sichuan University told me that:
This is my holiday time so I came as a tourist to see the scenery and the excitement (*can renao*). I was surprised by how much country folk believe in the rituals. Meanwhile, I presented my incense as well. I don't think it does me any harm and may bring me good luck. So I prayed for many good things to happen. In particular, I prayed for my visa to study in America to be granted... The music was atmospheric and attention-catching. To me it's a bit backward and old-fashioned and is so different from what I normally listen to. But I suppose it is right for the context, and it wouldn't be appropriate to play pop music here.

The *Guyue* musicians from Xi'an city have different ideas about the objectives of this pilgrimage. Their main mission is to represent their community through playing music and creating an atmosphere rather than praying for their own individual purposes. They are generally not responsible for actually presenting incense. This is usually carried out by non-musician groups such as the people who hold the society's pennants. According to the musicians, one commonly accepted aim of the pilgrimage to the Southern Wutai is *qiyu*. "The purpose of playing music is to attract the attention of the *longwang* (dragon king) in order to connect heaven and earth. When the Dragon King is touched, he will use his power to send good rain for the people’s needs", a musician in the Dajichang group said. They think music has the special power and ability to contact the gods directly. Actually, it was quite *lingyan* (effective) as it rained several times during and after the pilgrimage in the sixth moon of 1996! The musicians called it *xitaiyu* (washing mountain rain), which means that "the wind is adjusted and the rain is smooth" (*fengtiao yushun*) and "the country is safe and people are happy" (*guotai ping'an*) for the coming year. Although the ritual of *qiyu* today has little direct influence on *Guyue* musicians' lives, it is one of the traditions of *Xi'an guyue* that has been practised for generations. Furthermore, it is an important occasion for the gathering of many *Guyue* groups to demonstrate their musicianship.

*Miaohui* (temple fair) is a kind of comprehensive folk activity including rituals and a range of cultural, economic and local customs and practices and is one of the most popular folk traditions throughout China. It is similar to that of "*chaoshan jinxiang*” but differs in three main ways. First, it is not necessarily held in the mountains. Second, it is not necessarily calendrical. I discovered during my fieldwork that both Xingshan (Charity Giving) and Wolong (Crouching Dragon) Temples in Xi’an hold their temple
fairs on different dates each year and publicise the activities by sending invitations out well in advance. Third, it tends to be less holy and sacred, with more entertainment and open-market trading. It often includes worshipping the gods, local operas and storytelling, music and acrobatics, and a range of stalls trading food, incense, items for offerings, arts, crafts, local specialities and even agricultural tools. Still, worshipping the gods (bafo) and performing opera (changxi) and play music (zouyue) should be the main foci, but there are nevertheless plenty of people using the opportunity to make some money. In Xi’an, every major street used to have its own temples which held their temple fairs on certain dates each year. Most of them have been destroyed – mainly during the Cultural Revolution – and temple fairs fell into decline. However, there are still about a dozen major Buddhist temples in Xi’an today and they are very active in holding their fairs.

One of the main temple fairs in Xi’an is at the Tang period Western Wutai temple known as – Xiwutai. It is located some 5 km north-west of the Zhonglou Bell Tower in central Xi’an. It used to have five temples located on five different platforms. Only two survived the Cultural Revolution – the Precious Hall of the Great Hero known as Daxiong Badian (Fig 4.1) and the Houtai Dian. The Western Wutai temple fair is an important Buddhist pilgrimage site in Xi’an city which echoes Southern Wutaishan in Chang’an county. It is held between the 17th and 19th days of the sixth moon and usually all Xi’an guuye groups in the city take part. Some of the folk musicians call the Western Wutai Temple Fair “re-lighting the incense burner” (shao huilu xiang), which implies that they thank the divine gods for the rain given in benevolence earlier in the month of June.
Music playing is one of the important activities of the Western Wutai Temple Fair. In 1996, there were many more percussion and instrumental Guyue ensembles performing there than went on the Southern Wutai pilgrimage. Most of the groups are based in Xi’an. Unlike the Southern Wutai pilgrimage, the Western Wutai temple fair does not charge entrance fees for participants. People often give their generous donations known as bushi and offerings of food to the temple gods while worshipping. Apart from music, other activities during a temple fair often include lighting candles and presenting incense, consecrating food and donations, making wishes (xuyuan) and returning (thanking for) those wishes (huanyuan) previously granted, drawing fortune lots, kowtowing and praying to the gods. When Guyue music is played in front of the gods, all other activities in the temple stop and people watch the performances with respect and admiration. Although the liturgical lyrics and musical pieces differ to a certain extent from ensemble to ensemble, the da (percussion) – nian (recitation) – chang (singing) – chui (wind instrumental) formula is largely the same and even the percussion only ensembles play the first three sequences repeatedly. In addition, all the temples in Xi’an open their doors to the general populace and Guyue ensembles often play music at most of the temples. Thus, the Western Wutai Temple Fair is extraordinarily atmospheric and exciting. During this period, the entire city of Xi’an is filled with music.
Guohui (community gathering) is one of the most common community activities, reaching into the city streets and village lanes and one in which Xi’an guyue plays a central part. Guohui activity derives directly from and remains closely related to the form and custom of the Temple Fair. Since the Temple Fair in most street communities became impossible following the disappearance of their temples, they subsequently transformed, gradually, into a different kind of “temple fair” known as guohui – community gathering.

Guohui is characterised on the one hand by strong Buddhist and other sacred influences, and on the other, by an increasingly laicized and pragmatic strand.

Nanjixian village’s Community Gathering meets on the 15th day of the third moon. Apart from playing Guyue music, the Gathering provides a public space for discussion of recent events, budgets and expenditures of the past year, birth control policy and election of a new ensemble leader if necessary. (Li Shigen 1987c: 108). Most other groups have neither fixed dates nor a proper venue and depend largely on people’s availability. Still, their gathering premises must be “temple-like” in some form. For example, both Dajicang and Lianzhicun communities held their guohui on the Saturday and the Sunday public holidays in September 1996, the former transforming an entrance of a car park and the latter setting up a tent using one end of a street as their temporary “temples”. Various statues of gods and deities were borrowed from private homes and placed on the altar together with offerings of food. The statues were mostly of Buddhist figures such as Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy) and Mile fo (laughing Buddha). The cost of the event is met by donations known as bushi from the people of the community and the donors’ names with the amount donated are gloriously published in red slips on the “list of virtues” known as gongdebang (Fig. 4.2). A guohui community gathering is rather like a small scale miaohui temple fair: plenty of people come to offer food, burn incense and pray to the gods. Unlike miaohui, however, there is no business trading at guohui. Sometimes cassettes of Buddhist music are played during the breaks in Guyue ensemble performances. One difference is that major temples do not usually own their host music groups, whereas the communities often have their traditional ensembles and are proud of them.
At a guohui ceremony, for many in the local community the Confucian (ru), Daoist (dao) and Buddhist (fo) philosophies and religions tend to synthesise and are referred to as “combining three beliefs into one” (sanjiao heyi). At some occasions, I saw statue of Guanyin (the Buddhist goddess) sitting right next to one of the Daoist philosopher Laozi, or yin and yang symbols in a Buddhist environment. It shows the phenomenon of ‘diffused religion’ that many people in the folk sectors are not devoted to a single god or religion but believe in many different gods and deities. Unlike the Western Wutai Temple Fair, the host of a street community “temple fair” only invites their friends and nearby communities, and the participant groups will often then invite their hosts back. However, there were as many as 24 Guyue groups taking part in the Lianzhicun community gathering on the 2nd August in 1996 in Xi’an’s East district. It demonstrates how prevalent the Xi’an guyue tradition is in socio-cultural life. Indeed, those communities who have not yet set up a Guyue group often have a sense of “facelessness” (mei mianzi) at such occasions.

Sangshi (funeral ceremony) is one of the traditional ritual contexts in which Xi’an guyue music is played. The playing is governed by strict rules and is performed only for the funerals of members of the society and their families. The performances for such ceremonies are regarded as “fulfilling a social duty” (jinyiwu), like all other Guyue
events. This is one of the essential distinctions between the Xi’an guyue music genre and the semi-professional “shawm bands” (suonaban) who play for “red and white events” (weddings, birthdays and funerals) as a means of earning a living. Like the highly respected shengguan Music Associations in Hebei which have been described as “a classical tradition of art music” by Stephen Jones¹ (1999: 30, see also 1995: 187-9), the Xi’an guyue groups does not play for weddings. Indeed, the other genres of mercenary “wind-and-percussion” music were considered by the Guyue musicians as inferior.

There are interesting examples from the early Nationalist period which demonstrate how the musicians respected the rules of the genre. Once, the famous and patriotic Kuomintang nationalist General Yang Hucheng sent invitations to the Xicang and the Fojiao Guyue Societies and asked them to play at his mother’s birthday celebration. Also, the well-known Xi’an noble Sun Weiru also invited the two ensembles to perform at the third anniversary of his father’s death. Both requests were tactfully refused by the two groups as they simply did not want to break their rules regardless of how important the invitations were. Instead, they sent birthday couplets and funeral wreaths respectively to the Yang and Sun families. In the end they had to hire the Li and Zhang householders’ “wind-and-percussion” bands of other genres in Xi’an (Yu Zhu, 1987: 14).

Having said this, however, rules are sometime interpreted more flexibly according to the musicians’ own moral judgements. When General Yang was brutally murdered by Chiang Kai-shek’s force in 1949, all the Guyue societies in Xi’an played music voluntarily at his funeral ceremony. Although General Yang was not a member of any of the Guyue societies, he was considered a local hero in Xi’an and as part of their own family. (Li Jianzheng 1990: 15). In April 1998 when the master musician, Zhang Cunzhu, of the Yinxiang Guan Guyue Society died, both its own ensemble and the Dajicang group played music at the simple ceremony before his cremation. According to Zhang’s cousin, “he had no family, no money left and the only thing he loved was his music.... All the funeral expenses were donated by the members of the societies, and the only thing at his funeral was a full hour of uninterrupted music playing.

I suppose this was the best form of mourning for him”. The music societies are very close, and Zhang had also taught music to the Dajicang ensemble. However, I have not had any opportunity to witness a funeral ceremony in which Xi’an guyue was performed. While there is no shortage of research on various Chinese death and funeral rituals, next to no work deals with the contextual relationships between music and funeral rituals, yet music is heavily involved in almost all the death ceremonies in northwest China.

Apart from the performance contexts discussed above, Xi’an guyue also plays a part at traditional Spring Festivals and at the village rituals to “disperse evil spirits” called tiaomajiao (a kind of dance accompanied by Guyue in which the dancers are dressed and made up as ghosts) on the 19th day of the sixth moon in Honghei’er miao (The Red Boy Temple) according to the musicians of Nanjixian villages. However, this is atypical as far as Xi’an guyue is concerned. Since 1949, one of the major changes concerning the performance contexts of this genre was the occasional participation in modern performance settings such as government-sponsored festivals, concerts and some commercial recordings, in which the musicians were paid only for their expenses. However, as discussed below, the values and meanings of this traditional music in such contemporary settings is controversial.

4.2 Modern performance contexts
In China today, the urban professional music systems remain largely separate from the rural folk music world and the two rarely interact or communicate. To use a Chinese metaphor: “The water in the well does not offend the water in the river” (jingshui bufan heshui). They exhibit major differences in terms of aesthetic appreciation, music vocabulary, socio-contextual environments and cultural meaning. In this section, I focus on the performance contexts of the recently established Xi’an Conservatory of Music’s Guyue ensemble, and give special emphasis to the evaluation and comparison of the conservatory’s contemporary performance contexts and those of the traditional ensembles discussed above.

The conservatory was established in 1943 and its Guyue ensemble was founded in 1985. Its performance contexts represent the urban, officially sponsored strand of
professional music-making environments in contemporary China. The appeal of
tradition as tradition is reflected in the name of the conservatory’s group: Chang’an
Ancient Music Society (see § 2.3). Its performance contexts, however, are modern and
completely different from the folk traditions with which it co-exists: none of the
traditional contexts discussed above are adopted. The conservatory’s Guyue ensemble
appears regularly at concerts halls, government-sponsored festivals, academic
conferences, cultural exchange events, receptions for foreign visitors and international
festivals. In addition, it has exposure via all modern media including television, radio,
film and audio recordings. Indeed, the conservatory’s Guyue ensemble has
disseminated the image of their version of the “traditional music” widely through the
contemporary media not only nationally in Xi’an, Beijing, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but
also internationally in Europe (see §3.2.4). Thus, the traditional music genre has been
thoroughly removed from its original social and cultural contexts to fit a new, modern
and alien environment. Likewise, the long established symbolism and cultural meaning
of the traditional music is, inevitably, not featured in this new context.

In order to understand why the same traditional genre – Xi’an guyue – practised
by two different social agencies resulted in its development in opposite directions in
terms of the music’s socio-contextual environments, one needs to look at the reasons
from the historical, social and political backgrounds of the two separate but co-existing
social strands.

First, the conservatory’s new Guyue ensemble and the old folk Guyue music
societies represent two distinct social strata and music systems: the official and the folk.
The two systems had been formally separated since the conservatory and the
professional ensembles were established under PRC policy after the revolution in 1949.
The conservatory system inherited primarily the dominant and prestigious musical
culture of the imperial dynasties and the Confucian elite, and transmits this legacy
through the intellectuals (zhishi fenzi) of the new Communist China. Apart from
holding the elite culture of the past in esteem, the official music system upholds the
values of standardisation and professionalism, urbanisation and modernisation, and
incorporates a substantial proportion of Western music. The difference between this
and the heterogeneous, loosely organised rural ensembles with their bases in religion
and the social economy of the peasant could not be more stark. Folk music is
continually neglected, and folk genres are rarely assimilated by the standardised
conservatory and urban professional groups. Nevertheless, traditional folk music has persisted largely in its own conventional ways, either regardless of or, at times, because of direct state encroachment, adapting to the great social and political changes instigated by the new government. This is a testimony to the deep historical and social roots of the music which underpin its resilient nature. Thus while the music has suffered because of politics, it is revitalised as soon as the “political movements” (zhengzhi yundong) are over. Xi’an guyue, Naxi guyue in Yunnan and Nanyin Music in Fujian are cases in point.

The two music systems have different functions which reflect different ideologies, beliefs and cultural meanings. The official music system is supported by the government and is designed to serve the Party’s policies and ideology mainly for the benefit of privileged and educated urbanites. The conservatory’s Guyue ensemble as the official representation of the “tradition” appears at major occasions on the regional, national and international stages. Folk music, by contrast, is basically practised and enjoyed by amateur musicians. This economically, educationally and politically underprivileged group does, however, make up 90% of the population and 90% of musical practise. They play music for self-entertainment, social duty and spiritual reasons at various ritual activities. For them, dislocation of their music from the specific social contexts is absurd and meaningless. What could be the point, for example, of performing a rain prayer in a city concert hall supplied with running water, or a funeral suite when no one has died, or carrying out an incense pilgrimage, temple fair or community gathering in a television studio? It is equally unimaginable, however, that the conservatory’s ensemble would play in the traditional social contexts such as praying for rain, incense pilgrimages, so forth.

The removal of the traditional genre from its original social contexts to fit its modern performance environments is problematic. The relationship between the urban conservatory and folk strands is clearly unequal. The privileged representations of the conservatory strand have removed the music from its traditional contexts, values and aesthetics. The spiritual has become secular, the traditional modern, and the local remote. This shifts has resulted in a degree of uneasy feeling between the official and folk sectors. For example, the conservatory’s ensemble plays the highly sacred and spiritual traditional music in concert halls and for TV programmes. This has to a certain extent upset some believers. In addition, official researchers have taken many valuable original manuscript scores away from folk musicians for “research” and some even did
not leave them a copy. The wide dissemination of the privileged and state/officially sanctioned new “traditional genre” through the power of modern media downplays the folk bases of the tradition and disempowers the folk musicians. The folk musicians received little credit for or acknowledgement of their efforts to teach the music to the official ensemble. Folk musicians feel that their music has not been respected or properly represented. Further, it misleads those outside the tradition. The official version of the conservatory’s *Guyue* has become the “legitimised” image of the traditional music genre both nationally and internationally. Thus, it gives people outside the tradition no chance to understand and appreciate the original versions and context of the music.

However, the conservatory argues that its representation of traditional *Xi’an Guyue* is not an exploitation of the tradition but rather shows official recognition, support and respect for the music. First, it helped the music to gain wider exposure, appreciation and prestige. The modern performance contexts and media channels enable the genre to be appreciated and recognised outside the region at national and international levels. Second, it reflects an official concern to conserve and revitalise the traditional genre. Since the 1950s the governmental research institutions in both Beijing and Xi’an have paid much attention to *Guyue* as one of the most prominent traditional music genres. Sometimes, as mentioned above, traditional ensembles have been invited to perform and record their music in Beijing and Xi’an and to take part in government-organised concerts and festivals as mentioned above such as the *Huaxia zhishe*, Red May and Ancient Arts Festivals. Furthermore, a large corpus of manuscript scores and music has been documented and thereby preserved. Numerous research articles have been published. Thirdly, it embodies a new style based on the old tradition that is in tune with modern society rather than artificially holding on to a “living fossil”. This is in keeping with Mao’s ideology which he stressed at the “Talks at the Yan’an Literature and Art” in 1942:

We certainly do not refuse to inherit and borrow from the ancients and foreigners, even from the feudal and bourgeois classes. But to inherit and borrow cannot replace an individual’s creation.... In literature and art, to copy and imitate without criticism is the most useless and harmful literary and artistic dogmatism. (Translated from Zhou Zhenming ed. 1992:31)
Obviously, the conservatory’s policy is to “inherit and develop” but not to “copy” (zhaoban); a policy justified by Mao’s advocacy of letting “a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred styles contend” (baihua qifang, baijia zhengming) (ibid: 51). However, there is clearly a great imbalance between the supposed competitors.

The above discussion make it clear that the performance contexts of the music between the two separate social strands are, in general, unlikely to be shared, exchanged or mixed, due largely to the respective power and cultural relationships, the different audiences, social environments, music systems, ideology and beliefs of the parties.

One could argue, however, that despite the problematic nature of the conservatory’s adoption of the tradition, the sharp division between the two strands is not wholly negative. Ironically perhaps, the official policy of neglect enables the music of the community to stay in the community. In terms of the autonomy of the folk sector with regard to both the tradition itself and its key personnel, this may be no bad thing.

Unfortunately, this encounter between tradition and modernity is not so simple. For while official state policies may be problematic for the tradition, no-one is suggesting that, currently, the modern state is directly suppressing the tradition in its heartland. However, as discussed above in chapter two, it is through the more pervasive social forces associated with modernity such as urbanisation, secularisation, unrestrained capitalism and global popular culture that the tradition has become critically imperilled.
Chapter 5
Notation, instruments and transmission

The notation of *Xi’an guyue* is one of the major features of the music which has attracted the attention of both national and foreign scholars. The genre’s notation is regarded as exceptional among traditional musical ensemble genres in China in the quantity and richness of its repertory. Even though one of the essential criteria for “traditional music”, according to Yang Yinliu, is to possess “a unique repertory which has been handed down for generations” (§1.5), and even though he did not specify whether it should be transmitted through written notation or orally, or both, scholars in China tend to place high prestige on traditional genres that possess a substantial corpus of old notation, such as *guqin*, *pipa*, *Nanguan* and *Zhihuasi* Buddhist music. Hence these genres have attracted more research interest and energy than those of music traditions which have little surviving notation. *Xi’an guyue* notation has both melodic and percussion (*guzhazi*) notation, consisting of over 100 surviving manuscripts containing a total of some 3,000 individually notated pieces representing about 20 different composition/repertory types (§ 6.5) (Li Shigen 1983: 3). One other significant point about the notation of the genre is the possession of many ancient elements linking it to certain Tang and Song scores in terms of style, names and labels of pieces, signs and terms. Further, the notation also has close relationships with Ming and Qing *gongchepu* notation systems, but remains different in certain aspects. In the following sections, I introduce the melodic notation, keys and *gong* (tonic) note/key system and percussion notation, and explore the relationships between *Xi’an guyue* notation and both the early Tang and Song scores and the later *gongchepu* systems.

5.1 Melodic notation

Melodic notation functions as a unified system for all melodic instruments and is set in a fixed pitch system. The notation consists of 16 pitch signs, with additional symbols for beats, keys and musical expression (Table 5.1).

a) Pitch signs

The 16 pitch signs vary slightly from musical society to musical society, but the principles remain the same as shown in Table 5.1.
The ten lowest pitches, \( c^1 \) through \( d^2 \), are represented by one simple character each, though many of these have variant forms from different notation collections (Fig. 5.1, 5.3 and 5.4). Each of the six highest pitches, \( e^2 - b^2 \), is indicated by adding the character \( wu \) as a radical\(^1\) to the left of its lower-octave equivalent. This is reasonable because \( wu \) itself is the pitch just below these six. The pronunciation of two of the upper pitches

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\(^1\) Radical refers to a semantic indicator usually forming the left half of a complex character.
varies slightly from their lower-octaves, but the other four names remain the same. Note
that the siniges and names for c² and d² are note related to those for c¹ and d¹ respectively.
This may suggest that their origins lie in tablature notation: perhaps they originally
represented a finger position rather than a pitch name per se.

b) Metrical indications and forms of rhythm
The symbols for the metrical indications (pai, normally one beat is one pai) of Xi’an
guyue are marked on the right alongside the score characters, some times in red as in fig.
5.1. According to folk musicians, the circle (o) indicates a strong beat known as shipai
(solid beat), and the dot (•) or cross (x) represents a weak beat called xupai (empty beat).
They are marked beside the score signs, but weak beats (•) or (x) are sometimes not
shown in certain scores. The following terms are often used to describe the rhythms
and metres:

Sanban – free rhythm, often no indication, e.g. qingcui section and yinzi prelude.
Liushuiban – “flowing water beat” equivalent to fast 4/1.
Guopai – a strong beat (o) is located between two pitch signs and the note prior
to o is prolonged to the next bar, often forming a syncopated rhythm (Fig 6.1-2).
Xingpai – fairly fast 2/4 or 4/4.
Shuangpai – “double beat”, meaning one shuangpai equals two bars of 4/4. For
example, a piece marked Double Eight Beats (shuangbapai) should consist of 16
bars of 4/4 timing.

In guyue music 4/4 and 2/4 are most common. Xingpai and yunpai rhythms are usually
only indicated by a strong beat sign (o) for each bar. Pingpai and shuangpai pieces,
however, are often marked as • • | o • • | o • • | o, folk musicians call this type of
rhythm sandianshui (three drops of water), which means that the second beat is an
unmarked empty beat. Apart from the above, there are unmarked rhythms such as 1/4,
3/4 and 5/4. They can only be realised through yunqu (see §5.6) score reading and in actual performances.

c) Other symbols

- **hengha**: sign of ornamentation or decoration, normally written beneath a pitch character and is smaller in size than the pitch signs (several in Fig. 5.4). Its detailed usage will be discussed in Chapter 5.6.

- **dotted note, rest, breath or prolongation**: written beneath a pitch sign (Fig. 5.4).

- **hengha and connected**: a prolonged and ornamented note. It often appears at the start or end of a phrase.

- Often called che'er, meaning unlimited prolongation according to the performers’ needs. Usually, ornamentation will be added during the prolonged note or notes (Fig. 5.1, 5.3 and 5.4).

- **ci**: repeat from “here”; equivalent to the Western “||:”.

- **chong**: repeat until here as the Western :||. Also used in the compounds chongtou (“repeat from the beginning”), chongqian (“repeat previous phrase or sections”), and chongwei (“repeat ending or coda”).

- **wei**: the sign for ending; often used at the end of each section or at the end of a suite. hong (終) and wan (完) also indicate the end of a suite.

- **ting**: simplified form of 暫 meaning stop. The word sha 煞 also means stop. (Fig. 5.1, 5.3 and 5.4).

Despite the emphasis placed by scholars on Xi’an guyue’s written notation, folk musicians themselves regard it merely as a “walking stick” in relation to their performance. The actual practice, realisation and elaboration of the notation go far beyond its written skeletal frame-work, as discussed further in §5.6.
5.2 The keys and the gong note/key system

Generally, Xi'an guyue has four keys (diao): liu (C), wu (D), shang (F) and che (G). They are consistent with the four fundamental keys of the traditional Chinese “Four gong key” (sigong) system (Huang Xiangpeng 1989:220). “Four gong” refers to the four main notes within a heptatonic scale, starting on the gong note, which constitute fifth intervals from one to the other. Each of these is used as the first degree note – the gong note – and is also the sign for the key. This means a key is often named after its tonic gong note. Therefore, if the gong note is liu (C), then the key will also be liu and so forth. The tonal relationship between the four keys (F) – (C) – (G) – (D) form perfect upward and (see table 6.6) fifth intervals, which is in keeping with traditional “ways of producing notes based on fifth intervals” (wudu xiangshengfa). The gong key A (a fifth degree upward from D) is also seen in some manuscript scores, including Complete Collection for the Meiguan Pipe of the Xicang Guyue Society, but is not typical of the genre. Reviewing the norm of China’s traditional gong note (tonic) system, the four keys in Xi'an guyue are basically the same as the four keys in Jiang Kui’s (1055–1221) Baishi daoren’s Songs, Fujianese nanyin, the inscription of the four keys of the Western Zhou period on the bells from Fufeng county in Shaanxi and from Sui county in Hubei; even Tang yanyue suite music also had the four keys (Li Shigen 1986:3, Cheng Tianjian, 1997:16–17). This demonstrates that these four keys are amongst the most commonly used traditional keys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of li temperament</th>
<th>Huang zhong</th>
<th>Da lü</th>
<th>Tai zu</th>
<th>Jia zhong</th>
<th>Gu xi</th>
<th>Zhang li</th>
<th>Rui bin</th>
<th>Liu zhong</th>
<th>Yi ze</th>
<th>Hui li</th>
<th>Wu di</th>
<th>Wu she</th>
<th>Ying hong</th>
<th>Qing huan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c♯</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d♯</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f♯</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g♯</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a♯</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>Score signs</td>
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<td>si</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>liu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
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Table 5.2 che, gong, liu and wu keys and their corresponding li pitch positions.
Although all Xi’an guyue pieces are notated in a fixed pitch system with 8 basic pitch signs (ignoring the signs for the higher octave of the same pitches), the above commonly used four keys in the basic heptatonic (qingyue) scale would need 10 different pitches to constitute the four keys. Liu is the natural key just as the key of C in is the West: its basic heptatonic scale does not need ge (f♯) unless for the yayue scale which is comparatively rare within the genre. This may to a certain extent explain the claim “ge is replaced by shang” in liu key music. On the contrary, the che (G) key needs the note ge (f♯) but not shang (f). Nevertheless, there is no problem in reading the scores for liu (C) and che (G) key pieces since all the necessary pitches have their designated signs in the notation. However, there are problems for shang (F) and wu (D) key pieces, since the former lacks a b-flat and the latter needs a c# sign to form the basic heptatonic scales, and neither of these pitches have written signs in the notation. How do musicians resolve these problems when reading the notation for pieces in the shang and wu keys? According to master musicians Zhao Genzheng and Zhang Cunzhu, the fan (\textgreater ') sign reads as the pitch xiafan (a semitone below fan = b flat) in shang (F) key pieces, and the he (\textless) sign reads as the pitch xiasi (a semitone below the si sign = c#). This is similar to Western notation, where sharps and flats are not normally indicated on every line of the stave, only at the beginning of the piece. Musicians are supposed to realise the unmarked flat and sharp notes themselves. Similarly, the key is sometimes specified at the beginning of pieces in Xi’an guyue notation and the few experienced musicians can realise and sing the correct pitches. But it is extremely difficult for most folk musicians to interpret this notation correctly for the keys shang (F), and wu (D) and even in the che (G) in Xi’an guyue today.

Thus, mistakes can occur through misreading the score and playing incorrect pitches. This results in playing the music in a key different to that indicated in the notation. For example, the original keys specified for two of the sections in liu key Complete Sitting Music are: Yingling (Command prelude) in the key of liu (C) and Daochunlai (Arrival of spring) in the key of che (G); but an actual performance of these two pieces by the Nanjixian village group resulted in music in the key of liu only. Several reasons can be offered here. First, is the contradiction between the fixed-pitch concept required for score reading and the relative pitch (gong key) system commonly practiced by most folk musicians today. Most musicians still do not read the elusive scores of the genre and learn the music from masters’ yunqu interpretation (§ 5.7) by
heart through their ears. It is certain that most of them are used to the relative gong key (moveable do) system, as are most traditional Chinese musicians.

Therefore, it is conceptually difficult for them to employ ge (f#) instead of shang (f) required by the che (G) key immediately after having played a liu (C) key piece. Second, for less skilful players it is physically difficult to produce accidentals. In Nanjixian’s case, for example, some wind players play shang (f) instead of ge (f#) in the key of che (G) key because there is no f# hole on any of the wind instruments. It is particularly hard for them to produce semitone changes such as shang (f) to ge (f#), he (c) to xiasi (c#) and gong (b) to xiafan (b flat) during key changes in complicated Sitting Music suites by embouchure on the dizi and guan. Therefore, there is a common problem in Xi’an guyue today that there is often inconsistency between the key specified in the notation and that of actual performances played by folk ensembles. Third, some skilful musicians can produce f# on the guan and di by an embouchure technique, in order to maintain consistency with the sheng (which does not have this note) they still play shang (f) instead of ge (f#).

Note that despite the occurrence in scores of the eight basic notes in all four keys in Xi’an guyue, this does not mean that all keys necessarily use all eight notes in actual pieces. In fact, most pieces in Xi’an guyue do not employ all eight notes as degree notes within one modality and scale or one key except as occasional incidental or decorative notes. The core musical theory of traditional Chinese music is based on a pentatonic scale and its development into hexatonic and heptatonic music (Li Shigen 1987e:40, Feng Yalan 1991b:6). Zheng Yi’s “eight-note music” (§6.1.4) does not necessarily equate to an “octatonic” scale. The analysis of intra-tonal relationships and musicological question of Xi’an guyue, especially the contradictions between existing notation and practice, require scholars to have a deep and clear understanding of traditional Chinese music theory, including key system, tonality and modality, musical temperaments, modes and flexible use of decorative methods. As Feng Yalan pointed out with reference to Xi’an guyue:

The four keys liu, che, gong and wu consist of pentatonic, hexatonic and heptatonic scales. Within the heptatonic form there exist three kinds of scales: ya [yue], qing[yue] and yan [yue]. In general, [all 4 keys] should possess gong, shang, jiao, zhi and yu modes. However,
there are two problems with this: each key does not necessarily possess all three heptatonic scales, and each key does not have all five modes. (1991b:6-7).

Let us remember that the above four keys of Xi'an guyue are relative keys, even though scholars widely accept that Xi'an guyue notation is a fixed pitch system. In practice, pitch standards for the melodic instruments sheng, di and guan vary from group to group (Fig. 5.6, p. 193), amongst different Guyue societies. If one applies the Western fixed pitch concept, this can give the appearance of many more different keys in present day performances. If scholars simply base their analysis on living performances and recordings of Xi'an guyue, without a thorough understanding of the differences and contradictions between theory and practice, they may produce misleading or mistaken analyses.

5.3 Xi'an guyue relationship to Tang and Song notations and sources
Chinese scholars consistently maintain that Xi'an guyue notation is closely related to Tang yanyue (banquet music) "half-character notation" (banzipu) and Song "common character notations"(suzipu) (Li Shigen 1983: 7-9, Yang Yinliu 1981: 989, Yu Zhu 1988: 54, Feng Yalan 1991: 1-4).

Let us consider banbzipu first. The earliest literary record of banzipu is found in volume 119 of the Book of Music (Yueshu) by Chen Yang (b.1094), which noted that "the banzipu of yanyue music comes from the Tang". According to the Chinese Music Dictionary (1985: 448), banzipu refers to the "Tang People's Great Musical Score" (Tangren daqupu) dated 933 AD, from the Thousand Buddha Caves in Dunhuang, Gansu province, which includes the famous Dunhuang pipa score (Dunhuang pipapu; see Fig. 5.2). However, no clear historical records found so far explain what exactly those full characters in the Tang "half-character notation" were based on. Many internal scholars have assumed that the 'half- character notation' was formed by adopting parts of the full gongche type of characters as pitch signs (Chen Yingshi 1985: 4, Li Jiangzhen 1985: 6-9). Li Jianzhen offers us an illustration of this hypothesis in Table 5.2.

In the system, there is an inconsistency in defining the pronunciations of the "half-character" symbols. Most are pronounced according to their equivalent full
characters, but the pronunciation of the fourth symbol (shang) is based on its “temperament position” (lüwei). Shang (上) means “up” and here refers to moving to a pitch position higher than the jiao (角). It therefore uses part of the jiao character but is pronounced in the same way as the shang character.

Table 5.3 Illustration of Li Jianzheng’s hypothesis of how gongche characters are simplified half-characters based on the full characters of the banzipu notation; adapted from Li 1985: 8).

Whether Xi’an guyue actually derives from the Tang banzipu and/or Song suzipu or gongchepu, and what role Xi’an’s notation played in the developmental history of traditional notation in China are rather complex matters that will be discussed in the next section.

Fig 5.2 Dunhuang pipa score 933.
Now, let us compare the defined half-character notation of the Dunhuang *pipa* score (Fig. 5.2) with *Xi'an guyue* notation in the table below. We find considerable similarities between the pitch signs of the two notations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dunhuang pipa score</th>
<th>Xi'an guyue score</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阜·</td>
<td>ム、</td>
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<tr>
<td>レス</td>
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<td>1ハ</td>
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<td>ひ</td>
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</table>

Table 5.4 Comparison between Dunhuang *pipa* and *Xi'an Guyue* score characters. (In this table, symbols of the Dunhuang score are not ordered according to their pitches but according to their relationships to *Xi'an guyue* symbols).

However, it should be pointed out that despite the persistent claim by many Chinese scholars that *Xi'an guyue* notation originated from the Tang half-character system, this claim is based only on very close similarities between 9 of the 11 notation signs of the two music genres. While the Dunhuang score is a tablature for the *pipa* (whereas *Xi'an guyue* notation is pitch-based) and has 20 different signs, only 9 of which are similar to those of *Xi'an guyue*. In addition, it is still difficult to prove the actual tonal relationships, usage and pitch degrees represented by the symbols in the Dunhuang score despite various controversial transcriptions based on the originals by both contemporary Chinese (Ye Dong, Chen Yingshi, He Changlin, Xi Qingguan) and overseas (Hayashi Kenzo and Laurence Picken, Rembrands Wolpert) musicologists.

Apart from the notation signs, other symbols and terms are also very similar. For example:

The Dunhuang *pipa* score uses a square-like sign □ to indicate a strong beat (ban) and ● for a weak beat (yan) (see figure 5-2), while *Xi'an guyue* employs ○ for ban and ●/x as yan. According to Li Shigen (1983:13), x is a later variation of yan; older *Xi'an guyue* scores usually notate it as ●. Further, identical musical terms and usages found in both notations are: *chong* (重, repeat), *chongtou* (重頭, repeat from beginning), *chongwei* (重尾, repeat ending), *sha* (煞 or 沙下, stop suddenly), *ting* (丁 or 丁, stop). *Yanshou* (延, 延, which in *Guyue* means prolongation), is found at the end of almost all pieces in the Dunhuang score, perhaps also indicating a kind of *rallentando* to slow down freely. Further similarities are found in Sino-Japanese sources of the Tang period, which we find, for example, the term *yousheng* (遊聲, Fig. 5.3) referring to a free
rhythm section, and pieces using numbers of beats as titles, such as “Thirty beats” and “Twenty beats” as in the suite: ‘The Emperor destroys the Formations’ (Huangdi pozhen yue). These musical terms and symbols apparently originating from the Tang period are hardly found in other surviving folk ensemble genres aside from Xi’an guyue. Furthermore, certain characters in Xi’an guyue notation such as xiantou (弦頭, top of the string) and gaipin ruwei (改品入尾, change pin [fret] and begin the ending), demonstrate that the pipa was once used in the genre. (Fig. 5.4) This gives credence to the claim that the ensemble used in Xi’an guyue was once similar to that of Tang yanyue court music, i.e., plucked – winds and percussion. In addition, a considerable resemblance has been found between the compositional structure of Tang Large Pieces (Tang daqu) and the Complete Sitting Suites in Xi’an guyue (§6.6).

Suzipu refers to some Song variations of the Tang banzipu system. The term “suzipu” first appeared in Zhu Xi’s (1130 –1200) essay “Discussion on qin temperament”. The Song suzipu-style notations include the Hu Music Score recorded in the Liao (907 – 1125) Music History Gazette by Chen Shang (b. 1094), Jiang Kui’s (1155-1221) songs (see Yang Yinliu1979), Zhang Yan’s (b. 1248) Guan Fingering Notation in The Origins of Words (Ciyuan) and Cheng Yuanqing’s Moon and Star Picture Score (Yuexingtu) in the Broad Records of Shilin (Shilin guangji). Table 5.4 demonstrates that all of these Song suzipu are very similar to the surviving Xi’an guyue notation in terms of signs, tonal relationships, gong note positions (the tonic notes are all at the he position) and are in a fixed-pitch system. In particular, Jiang Kui’s notation is very close to the Xi’an system, which suggests that the Xi’an guyue notation system existed in the Song period. As a result, Yang Yinliu’s interpretation and transnotation of Jiang Kui’s Song music was partly based on the current usage of Xi’an guyue notation (Li Shigen 1980b: 26).

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Table 5.5 Comparison between Liao, Song and Ming/Qing scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of pitches</th>
<th>Xi'an guyue Pronunciation</th>
<th>Xi'an guyue</th>
<th>Hu Score (Liao)</th>
<th>Jiang Kui (Song)</th>
<th>Zhang Yan (Song)</th>
<th>Chen Yuanqing (Song)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of scores</td>
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<td>Xi'an guyue</td>
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Table 5.5 Comparison between Liao, Song and Ming/Qing scores.
One other aspect demonstrating the considerable closeness of Tang and Song notations to *Xi’ an guyue* notation is the titles of pieces and repertory types. The huge collection of pieces in *Xi’ an guyue* notation demonstrates a fair number of titles that are exactly the same as in Tang *ji’ anfang* (training studio) music and in some forms of poetry (*shì*, regulated verse and *ci*, free in number of words and rhyme) of the Tang and Song periods. These include 8 titles that are the same as in the Tang *yanyue* large pieces (*daqu*), 36 in the Tang *yanyue* miscellaneous pieces (*zaqu*) and more than a dozen that are the same as names of poems and poetry verses of the Tang and Song periods (Jiao Jie 1990: 3-6). In *Xi’ an guyue*, titles of many repertory and/or movement types are also found to be the same as or similar to Tang and Song musical sub-genres, such as *daiyue* (大樂, large music), *qupo* (曲破, Fig 5.1), *zan* (讚 local pronunciation similar to *chuan* 賛 singing, §6.6) and *xia* (屧 similar to *sa* 靴 in Tang *daqu* long pieces) (Li Shigen 1980b: 6, Li Jianzheng 1983/3:3). Apart from the above stated similarities in titles, the *Xi’ an guyue* *shuaqu* (short pieces) repertory bears considerable resemblance to folk *shuaqu* of the Song period: more than a dozen *shuaqu* showing strong folk flavours, have been found with exactly the same titles, such as *Zhulaohu* (Catching the tiger) *Yaomenzhuan* (Rattling the door bolt) and so on. In addition, a Hejiaying village score recorded the title *Xiadi qimu* (Starting a piece on the *xia* flute) and *Xiadi zhonglù* (*Xia flute in zhonglù* key). The flute *xiadi* can also be traced in Song sources, despite the instrument being lost in both *Xi’ an guyue* today and in the Song period (Li Shigen 1980a: 27, Cheng Tianjian 1997: 12-14).

The above investigation clearly shows the various links and similarities between *Xi’ an guyue* and certain genres of the Tang and Song periods. These close relationships should not be regarded as coincidental, but are exceptional amongst surviving instrumental traditions in China, and embody both *Xi’ an guyue*’s deep roots and the evolution of the traditional genre in the developmental history of Chinese music.

5.4 *Xi’an guyue* relationship to the *gongchepu* system and post-Song sources

The origin of *gongchepu* is unclear. Internal scholars have different views about it. Yang Yinliu (1979:1) claims “*gongchepu... has a history of at least a thousand years*”, while Li Jianzheng (1985: 10) disagrees and states that:
“This kind of notation [gongchepu] first appeared in Zhu Zaiyu’s (b. 1536) Music Score for “Short dance of Lingxing” (Lingxing xiaowupu qipu)…. During the late Ming and early Qing [periods], gongchepu was gradually shaped into a heptatonic relative-pitch notation with shang as gong [tonic].”

In any case, the name gongchepu itself is a relatively resent usage by scholars and the term seems untraceable to pre-20th century. The gongchepu system is generally thought to have been formed and standardised during the 16th to 17th and 18th centuries⁴, even though gong and che might have existed as pronunciations for score signs since the Tang period as demonstrated above. As such, gongchepu is usually referred to as “today’s common gongchepu” (ZYC 1985:119) and “recent gongchepu” (Li Jianzheng 1985:10) in order to distinguish it from ancient notation types which adopted the pronunciations of gong and che for certain characters, such as Tang yanyue banzipu, Song suzipu and Xi’an guyue notation. The term gongchepu today refers to a heptatonic tonal structure with relative pitches and a moveable tonic (gong = do) which is usually read as shang irrespective of any change of keys (see Yang Yinliu 1979, Li Jianzheng (1985: 10-13).

I think the real intention behind such a gongchepu system, with the concept of a relative pitch (shoudiao) and moveable gong system, is to seek a solution to a long-term historical problem in musicology: i.e. the inconsistency between theory and practice after changing/shifting keys. In pre-Song periods, there were many complicated theories in temperamentology and musicology, such as the 28 keys of Sui and Tang yanyue (ZYCD 1985: 448) and Wan Baochang (556-95) and Zheng Yi’s (540-91) 84 keys; but much remained problematic in actual practice. Not until the 16th century, when “12-tone equal temperament” was established theoretically by the influential musicologist Zhu Zaiyu (b. 1536), was it possible to achieve complete consistency through a moveable gong system after transposition of keys. That is to say, the concept of gongchepu and its function and implication could only be realized after the 12-tone equal temperament theory had been postulated. Hence gongchepu could only have developed since the 16th century. It is true to say that even today in China, the only

⁴ See Li Shigen 1985b and 1987e. In his opinion Song “suzipu is neither gongchepu nor [Tang] banzipu”. Xi’an guyue belongs to Song suzipu with links to Tang banzipu and thus it is a mistake to classify Xi’an guyue notation under the umbrella of gongchepu as in the ZYC, 1985: 119-121. See also Li Jianzheng 1985:1-13.
instruments which can naturally transpose and change keys within a heptatonic system are those that have adopted the 12 tone equal temperamental construction such as the modern *pipa*.

Now, let us return to the question regarding whether *Xi'an guyue* belongs to *gongchepu* or Tang *banzipu* and/or Song *suzipu*. The following investigation into the differences between *Guyue* and the *gongchepu* notations will assist us in finding the answer. Conceptually, there are several ways in which *Xi'an guyue* differs from *gongchepu*, despite the pronunciations of notation signs being mostly the same. First, the actual signs themselves and their basic corresponding pitches and tonal structures are very different (Table 5.4). Secondly, *Xi'an guyue* has eight basic pitches per octave, including the distinctive *ge* pitch, which belongs to the “eight-note heptatonic” tonal structure (§6.1). This *ge* only exists in the notations of a few surviving old instrumental genres in China today, such as the Beijing Zhihuasi Temple and Shanxi Wutaishan genres. *Gongchepu*, however, consists of only seven basic pitches, from which the *ge* note is absent. Thirdly, *Xi'an guyue* notation is theoretically a fixed-pitch tonal system, whereas *gongchepu* is a relative-pitch system. Therefore, both conceptually and in practice, the two notations belong to two very different systems. Fourthly, the signs for the two different *gong* notes (the tonic) and the pitches they represent in the two notation systems determine their intra-tonal relationships and can never be the same. Like the Wutaishan and Zhihuasi scores, *Xi'an guyue*'s first degree is in theory fixed at the *hou* sign, and *shang* symbolises the fourth degree, whereas in *gongchepu*, *shang* is the tonic regardless of where it is moved to or at what pitch, and *he* represents the fifth degree. (Table 5.6).
Finally, it is possible that Tang banzipu and Song suzipu notations had the pronunciations of the gong and che set of characters applied to them by later scholars in order to read out the pitch degrees represented by the score signs. This could be true only if the Tang and Song notations were originally never read out loud, or the original pronunciations had been lost. In gongchepu, the notation signs are given their normal everyday pronunciations as pitch names. Almost all folk instrumental traditions apply the same pronunciations of this set of gongche characters to vocalize the pitch signs, but the notation signs and their representations of pitch degrees and tonal relationships for each individual genre are not always the same. We should therefore not automatically regard any notation using gongche pronunciations, including Xi'an guyue, as belonging genetically to the gongchepu system. Failing to recognise this point would lead one to think mistakenly that all notations of traditional folk music are variations under the gongchepu umbrella, or have evolved from it. Thus, the developmental history of Chinese notation has been reversed from B to A:

**A:** banzipu (Sui & Tang) – suzipu (Song) – gongchepu (Ming & later)

**B:** gongchepu (? Period) – banzipu (Sui & Tang) – suzipu (Song) – gongchepu (Ming & later)

The discussion and analysis above show that Xi'an guyue notation is different from the gongchepu of today both conceptually and in practice. One, perhaps the only,
similarity between them is that most of the pronunciations of score signs appear to be
the same in both systems, but even this point is arguable. Given the lack of historical
records and sources directly from the Tang, much of the literature about Tang music
was written by scholars in the Song period or later in order to explain past musical
phenomena using commonly recognised musical terms of the later period. For example,
Chen Yang (b. 1094) stated in his Book of Music volume 130, regarding the musical
construction and score signs of the Tang bili pipe, that:

[The bili] used today by the jiaofang (training studio) has seven holes in the front and
two holes at the back, to which are applied the wu, fan, gong, che, shang, yi, si, liu, gou,
and he: ten characters to pronounce their sound.

This statement may mean that the original names of the ten basic notes from the bili
were unknown or might have been lost, or were not proven by the then Chinese scholars.
Therefore, the Song scholars applied/borrowed the ten pronunciations of the
contemporary suzipu\textsuperscript{5} notation, which consisted of the above-mentioned wu, fan, gong,
che etc characters to explain the tonal and temperamental relationships of the bili. The
original score signs of the Tang pipa and bili seem to have been arbitrary; that is even if
the full characters in Table 5.3 really were the sources of the Tang bazipu notation,
those characters carry no meaning that can be related in any obvious way to the pitches
or scale degrees they represented. The origin of these Tang symbols is an on-going
mystery since the pipa and bili were of non-chinese origin, perhaps they came with an
oral system of pitch names which Tang musicians then attempted to represent
phonetically using Chinese characters. For example, Chinese scholars used wu, fan, gong
and che notation characters to explain the unknown symbols of Tang pipa and bili
notation. This, however, does not mean that Song scholars claimed that gongchepu
existed before the Tang.

In China today, there is a widely accepted view that all traditional music genres
using the pronunciations shang, che, gong and so on as names of the notes, are
generally classified under the gongchepu system regardless of other differences
including those discussed above. This perception comes from authoritative sources
which have strongly influenced the views of today’s musicologists in both China and

\textsuperscript{5} The term suzipu used for the Song notation may have been coined by post-Song scholars.
abroad. Qing scholar Ling Renkan (d. 1809) in the first volume of *Examining the Origin of Yanyue* wrote:

> the names of the *zipu* symbols [i.e. *gong, che* characters...] should be pronounced in the same way as for Sujiva’s [a famous Tang *pipa* player] Kucha pipa. People used it in this way during the Tang period, and it was recorded in historical records of the Liao (916-1125) period by the people of the Song period.

His proposition is misleading and was criticised by later scholars such as Chen Feng, who stated in *General Toughts on Musical Temperaments* (*Shenglü tongkao*, dated 1859) that “*zipu* notation was originally seen in the Song [period] books, ...and [I] question why it should be defined as [Tang] Kucha music”. One reason for criticism of Ling is that he could not have seen Tang *pipa* notation as it was only re-discovered in 1905. Yang Yinliu (1981:258) classified “the Tang [*pipa*] score written in [933], discovered in Dunhuang [as] belong[ing] to the *gongchepu* system”. There are plenty of contemporary scholars who regard the Dunhuang *pipa* score as *gongchepu*. Li Jianzheng’s theory (Table 5.2) was that the Dunhuang *pipa* score symbols were abbreviated from the *gongche* characters; hence it is also known as half-character notation (*banzipu*). Despite the amazing similarities of certain selected symbols and characters between the two, absolute proof of the exact historical developments is lacking. As a result, the *Chinese Music Dictionary* (1985:119-20) felt free to list all variations of Song *suzipu* notations and those surviving regional genres’ notations consisting of pronunciations of the *gongche* character set under the title of *gongchepu*, including *Xi’an guyue*. In addition, the *Dictionary* also defines Tang *banzipu* and the Dunguang *pipa* notations as “ancient *gongchepu*” (ibid: 448).

Despite the classification as *gongchepu* notation being widely accepted, I argue that this generalisation is questionable and misleading. It covers notations of traditional music genres of almost all periods which appear to have *gongche* symbols under the single umbrella of *gongchepu* regardless of their historical circumstances, individual characteristics, evolution, different usage and functions. The reality of Chinese notation developmental history is much more complex, so such a broad term is inappropriate. Given the existence of various individual and specific Tang - and Song - period

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6 Sujiva, a famous foreign *pipa* player came to China in 586 AD from Kucha, now Tolufan region in Xingjiang province, northwest China. See 6.1.
notations such as the Dunhuang *pipa* tablature, *guqin* tablature and Sino-Japanese sources of *pipa*, *zheng* and *sheng* notations, it does not make sense to suggest that *gongchepu* also existed in the same periods or even earlier. If a universal notation system for all instruments – *gongchepu* – had existed in the Tang and/or Song periods, there would seemingly have been little need to have separate scores for each instrument, especially as the instruments often performed in ensembles. In addition, we should remain open-minded concerning instruments of foreign origin such as the *pipa* and *bili* pipe and the possibility that their early notations may have come from non-Chinese sources. The scholar Pan Huaisu claimed that Song *suzipu* notation may have originated from Tang Kucha notation, and the linguist Lu Kun found resemblances between *Xi’an guyue* score signs and the language of the Kingdom of West Tujie during the Tang period (today’s Turkic Central Asia). (Li Shigen 1987d: 7). Furthermore, He Changlin (1986) pointed out that there are certain similarities between Song *suzipu* and the ancient musical notation of Byzantium.

To sum up, I find that use of the term *gongchepu* for a general notation system obscures the different stages and processes of the developmental history of Chinese music notation. It confuses and misleads one into thinking that apart from *qin* zither notation, *gongchepu* is the only major notation system in traditional Chinese music.

Although most of the score signs in the notations of *Xi’an guyue* and standard *gongchepu* have the same pronunciations, in other respects, such as tonal relationships, concepts and systems, there remain substantial differences between the two as discussed above. However, other elements of post-Song musical genres bear certain resemblances to Xi’an music. In *Xi’an guyue*, the titles of the “Eight northern lyric suites” (*Beizibatao*), which constitute the movements of Sitting Music suites, come from the “Nine Gong Key Dacheng Score for Northern and Southern Lyrics” (*Jiugong dacheng nanbei cigong pu*) for the dramatic genres of the Yuan and Ming periods. Both possess clear programmatic titles, multiple sections and multiple modalities. Similarly, *Guyue* also assimilated some ingredients from vocal-dramatic, ballad and folk music genres of the Yuan, Ming and Qing periods. For example, the majority of the titles of *huaguduan* and *beizi* movements in *Guyue* Sitting Music were sourced from the genres of the Yuan and Ming *zaju* vocal-dramatic genre, *chuanqi* balladry of the Ming and Qing, and *kunqu* and *qinqu* music genres. Such titles include “Farewell My Concubine”,

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“Stabbing the Tiger” and “The Lu Forest”. In addition, the village dazhazi (§ 6.3.2, p. 258) urban ensembles call it guzhazi (§6.2 g p. 258) percussion sections in Sitting Music were based on the structures and rhythmic patterns of the local opera Qingqiang formed during the 17th century. (Zhu Li 1997:20).

Based on the above discussion, I conclude that Xi’an guyue notation belongs to neither Tang banzpipu notation nor the gongchepu system. It is a variant of the Song suzipu notation system and predates the standard gongchepu by at least several centuries. The notation of Xi’an guyue basically resembles all surviving Song suzi notations listed above in terms of signs, tonic positions, eight-note tonal relationships and fixed-pitch construction. I have found that the claim of Xi’an guyue notation to have originated from or belong to Tang banzpipu is untenable and lacks evidence. Many aspects of Xi’an notation have a close relationship to and might have absorbed certain elements from the Tang notations, such as some of the signs, metrical symbols, terminology, names of repertories and pieces. However, this evidence is not sufficient to allow me to conclude that they have the same origin or belong to the same system. Furthermore, most Tang banzpipu are for specific and individual instruments such as 4- or 5-stringed pipa scores (Table 5.3), and we still do not have a clear understanding of exactly how the notation was read and performed. Although Xi’an guyue absorbed ingredients such as titles, forms, melodies and rhythmic patterns from various post-Song genres, its notation is essentially different from the gongchepu system despite both having adopted mostly the same pronunciations for their score signs. My investigation above demonstrates that the classification of Xi’an guyue notation within the gongchepu system by Yang Yinliu and the Chinese Music Dictionary is both questionable and misleading.

5.5 The Percussion Score – guzhazi

The folk term for the percussion score is guzhazi7 or zhazi; (Fig. 5.5) Gu means drum and zhazi refers to slips of bamboo8. Guzhazi is unique in that it is centred on notating the sound of drums rather than bronze instruments (cymbals and gongs). This is in

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8 Zhazi means bamboo slips, implying books, records and notations of ancient times, when most literature was documented on bamboo slips.
contrast to most other instrumental and vocal-dramatic genres such as shifan luogu, chaozhou luogu and the Beijing and Qinqiang opera scores known as luogu pu (gong and drum score) or luogu jing (gong and drum mnemonics). Guzhazi is notated separately from the melodic score (yuepu), even when both share the same melodic parts. Since there are six drums of different shapes and timbres in Xi’an guyue and they play important roles in the music, to a certain extent guzhazi plays a substantial part in its own right rather than being subsidiary to the melodic notation. Often the drum master is the leader of an ensemble and other percussionists will follow him. Although guzhazi has a certain degree of consistency in terms of rules and patterns amongst different ensembles, pupils rely largely on the traditional way of “oral transmission and learning by heart” (kouzhuan xinshou).

5.5.1 Guzhazi – Score signs and usages
The score signs represent three functions: 1) combination of drums and other percussion instruments, for example, the large gongs and cymbals are played at the same time as the drum is struck in the centre; 2) playing method; and 3) position and dynamics of an instrument.

*Deng* 燈/等, *tun* 吞 or *dong* 多 – a single strike in the centre of the drum (*zuogu*, *zhangu* or *yuegu*), often with large gongs and cymbals playing simultaneously.

*Tun* 衅 – an accented strike at the centre of the drum (*zuogu*, *zhangu* or *yuegu*) using both sticks. This is used only by Buddhist and Daoist ensembles.

*Zha* /乍 or *zha* 結 – strike the rim of the drum with a single drumstick. Local musicians pronounce *zha* as *za* and I therefore used *za* instead of *zha* in below examples.

*O* - phrasing or breathing indication (Fig. 5.5), I below use *v* instead of *o*. 

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Fig. 5.5 Guzhazi score: the first zhengu section of suite music, Putiangle, in manuscript Untitled (wuti), Hejiaying village.

**Leng** 冷 – strike the side of the drum with two drumsticks one after the other. It is often used before *deng* and after *er*, for example:

\[
\text{er} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{er} \quad \text{v} \\
\text{leng} \quad \text{deng} \quad \text{deng} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{deng} \quad \text{deng} \quad \text{leng} \quad \text{deng}
\]

**La** 拉 – strike the edge of the drum with short and quick rolling movements, usually used after *er* and before *za*, For example:

\[
\text{er} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{er} \quad \text{v} \\
\text{la} \text{za} \quad \text{za} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{zaza} \quad \text{za} \quad \text{la} \text{za} \quad \text{za}
\]

**Er** (耳 or 兒) – used as a decorative note before or after the main beats. Also known as *wan'geda* (tying knots). It is often employed with *leng*, *la lang* and *lou* as well as with *deng*, *za*, *la*, *lang*, *bang*, *guang* and *kua* etc. For example:
Ke'er 克兒 – known also as falei 發雷, fabian 發邊 or shabian 煞邊; refers to two drumsticks rolling fast from the centre to the edge and vice-versa with no time limit until the deng comes in from the zhangu or zuogu drums.

Guang 光, dang 當 or lang 郎 – the sound is used for bangzi wood block with haikouzi 和 maluo gongs by Buddhist and Daoist groups. For example:

Bang 邦 or kua 聂 – is for mubangzi wood block. Bang and kua are often used with er 和 lang decorations together. e.g.

Dou 豆 or lou 婷 – dugu drum (is placed on the table) and often features after er. For example:

Ai 哭 – both drumsticks strike the centre of the drum simultaneously to produce a very weak sound; often used after dong and za (Daoist only).

Yi 一, ya 呀 or ye 也 – a rest one or half a beat; often used before deng, za, tun and bang at the end of a phrase. For example:
A few signs describing bronze instruments are rarely notated and are only seen in Hejiaying and Nanjixian scores due to they adopted elements of Qianqiang opera percussion styles:

**Qi** – _dabo_ large cymbals (simultaneously with the sound on the _zhangu_ drum).

**Qia** – _dabo_ large cymbals (simultaneously with the sound on the _zuogu_ drum).

**Cang** or _kuang_ – _daluo_ and _nao_ large gong (simultaneously with the _deng_ sound).

In addition, there are a few syllables which can be substituted to avoid awkward repetition of a syllable, in order to make the mnemonics easier and smoother to recite orally, such as: _jiu_ (九), _de’er_ (得兒) and _dege_ (的個). For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{jinyu jiuza za} & = \text{zaya zaza za} \\
    \text{zade’er guang} & = \text{zazaza guang} \\
    \text{zadegge laza tundege lengtun} & = \text{zazaza zaza tuntuntun tuntun}
\end{align*}
\]

### 5.5.2 Regular patterns, rules and combinations and applications

Although _guzhazi_ percussion scores are written out, in practice they are rather complex, flexible and difficult to comprehend without the guidance and training of a master. Like the _yunqu_ melodic notation, _guzhazi_ scores also contain limited information and serve as a guide and framework for percussion playing. _Guzhazi_ has no metrical marks such as _ban_ (strong beat) and _yan_ (weak beat) and no named rhythmic patterns but only phrasing signs (e.g. the circles in Fig 5.5, p. 184). The score notates mainly the sounds
of various drums with a few descriptive sounds for other percussion instruments, others only existing in the oral tradition. In addition, there is no indication of elaborate expressions such as gun (rolling) and sha (sudden stop), huan (slow) and ji (fast), yin (quiet) and yang (loud), dun (with accent) and cuo (pause), cu (rough) and si (refined), fan (dense) and jian (sparse). Drum master Zhao Gecheng pointed out (8/1998):

In learning guzhazi, one must first of all memorise the mnemonics of basic rhythm patterns [jiben jiezou] for the drums. Non-drum players also need to understand the regular and irregular rules for their own instruments. Furthermore, good percussionists must not only differentiate and adapt to variable rhythmic patterns in different guzhazi sections, but also they must play it well, with a good feel for the dynamics and expression of the music.

According to Master Zhang Cuizhu, there are many different rhythmic patterns in guzhazi, and some are more regular than others. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{v } \text{v} \\
deng deng deng zaza za zaza zadeng leng deng
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{er} \\
deng deng deng deng v \text{er}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{er} \\
|: za laza viza za lengdeng yiza zaza deng :|
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{er} \\
lengdengdeng za lengdengdeng za lengdeng yitong yizaza za lengdeng yiteng yizaza
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{er} \\
|: za laza yi laza za laza yiza za laza yiza za laza deng deng deng deng deng deng deng yideng deng za
\end{array}
\]

Apart from notated gu drums, there are also rules for other, non-notated percussion instruments such as bronze instruments. For example, luqi boluo (敲起钹落) means gongs and cymbals are paired up and played alternately: when the gongs play, the cymbals rest and vice versa, as in the daluo large gong and dabo large cymbal, and the maluo and danao in the example shown just below. Jiaozhi small cymbals are meipai yiji (struck every beat) in most Sitting Music but are only played on
the strong beat in sections such as qinchui and in Processional Music such as gaobazi and lianbaxian. They may even be improvised according to individual interpretation. In addition, the deng and za drum sounds may be played simultaneously with the daluo and maluo gongs as mentioned above. For example:

**Fadian**

| Guzhazi | deng za dengza za dengza ya deng deng deng | deng deng deng |

| Drums | x x x x x x o x x x x x x x x |
| (basic pattern) |
| Daluo gong | x o x o o x o o x x x x |
| Dabo cymbals | o x o x x x x x x x x |
| Maluo gong | o x o x x x o x x x x |
| Danao cymbals | x o x o o x o x x x x x x |
| Jiaozi cymbals | x x x x x x x x x x |

| Guzhazi | vizadengdeng | dengdeng viza dengdeng viza dengdeng viza dengdeng dengza |

| Drums | o x x x x x x x x x x |
| Daluo gong | o x x x x x x x x x x x |
| Dabo cymbals | o x x x x x x x x x x x |
| Maluo gong | o x x x x x x x x x x x |
| Danao cymbals | o x x x x x x x x x x x |
| Jiaozi cymbals | x x x x x x x x x x x |

Ex. 5.1 Percussion section, Fadian, (Opening Drum), Dongcang ensemble)

Besides the regular guzhazi patterns, a good drummer must also master the more flexible and improvisatory techniques such as er and ke 'er called “breaking thunder” (falei). The former is an ornamented note appearing before or after regular notes. A good drummer can produce 5-7 quick bounces on one strike; an average player can
manage 3-4. The latter is a rolling note starting with an accent; an experienced player can play 8 bounces within a beat rather than only 4. Drum playing is important in bringing out the atmosphere and character of Xi'an guyue music. For example, Master Zhang demonstrate the various applications of the note deng (strike the middle of the drum) which can produce from 1 to 9 strokes depending on the needs of the music:

\[
deng: \quad x \mid xx \mid xxx \mid x\times x\times \mid xxxxx \mid xxxxxxx \mid xxxxxxx | xxxxxxxxxx \mid xxxxxxxxxx | xxxxxxxxx |
\]

He stressed that not only must drummers master the various rhythms technically, more importantly they must also play well in the right places and with the right timing. This can only be achieved through long training and an understanding of the aesthetic principles of the genre.

Guzhazi has various combinations of instruments and applications in different forms of Guyue music (Table 5.6). Generally speaking guzhazi in Processional Music is simpler and more flexible than in Sitting Music. The two forms of Processional Music, luanbaxian (eight unruly celestials) and gaobazi (tall stick drum) organise their instruments differently and use guzhazi in different ways. Luanbaxian (eight unruly celestials) is based on the single-sided dianmiangu drum and is limited to eight instruments, as suggested by its name (§5.4.3); Gaobazi is centred on the gaobazi stick drum (fig. 5.13) and usually has no limit on the number of other percussion instruments. Furthermore, luanbaxian has no written guzhazi notation, and percussionists often improvise their playing and rhythms flexibly according to the melodic patterns. By contrast, gaobazi has fixed guzhazi scores and normally applies regular 2/2, 4/4 or an even number of beats according to the length of the melodic parts, repeating the rhythmic patterns as necessary.

Guzhazi possesses three significant roles throughout complex Sitting Music suites: starting -- middle interjection -- ending. Its various repertoires from small to large serve as interjected phrases. They alternate with the melodic sections as well as being substantial independent movements with a “to-she-wet” (head–body–tail) structure (§6.4 – 6.5), as in the opening and ending sections. In Sitting Music suites, guzhazi and melodic sections alternate throughout, but independent percussion movements always start and end a sitting music suite, as well as connecting and transitioning from one part to the other (§6.3 and 6.5). Thus guzhazi sets the pulse, and
enriches the colour, contrast and atmosphere that enables a lengthy Sitting Music suite to maintain its vitality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guzhazi Sections/movements</th>
<th>Rhythmic instruments</th>
<th>Melodic instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Luanbaxian</strong> (Processional music)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dan mian drum</td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guozi cymbals</td>
<td>hai-kouzi small gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gaobazi</strong> (Processional music)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gaobazi drum</td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dan mian &amp; gong dao gongs</td>
<td>hai-kouzi small gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guozi cymbals</td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections/movements</th>
<th>Rhythmic instruments</th>
<th>Melodic instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opening drum Percussion coda</strong> (first part)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zuogu drum</td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shanggu drum</td>
<td>hai-kouzi small gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guozi cymbals</td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
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<tr>
<th>Sections/movements</th>
<th>Rhythmic instruments</th>
<th>Melodic instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st, 2nd &amp; 3rd Xia, Huaguduan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zuogu drum</td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shanggu drum</td>
<td>hai-kouzi small gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yuegu drum</td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guozi cymbals</td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections/movements</th>
<th>Rhythmic instruments</th>
<th>Melodic instruments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beizi, Zan Gandongshan Maotouzi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yuegu drum</td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guozi cymbals</td>
<td>hai-kouzi small gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Melodic instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qingchui</strong></td>
<td>gong-luo gong</td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiaozi cymbals</td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fang xiazi frame gongs</td>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yinling Taoci</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bangzi wood block</td>
<td>dizi, sheng &amp;/or guanzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7 Guzhazi combinations of instruments in different forms of guyue music.

5.6 Instruments and instrumentation

Alongside the notation, the instruments themselves are one of the most important aspects of research into the Xi'an guyue musical tradition. At present, most folk groups are still using an old and unique system of instruments that are mainly self-made and passed from one generation to the next. Some instruments are two or three centuries old, such as the double-gong-chime and di flutes of the Dongcang ensemble in Xi’an, and sheng mouth-organs, guan reed-pipes and drums of Hejiaying village ensemble in Chang’an county. These surviving instruments are important not only in terms of the
musicological and developmental history of Chinese instruments, but also because they are rich in symbolic meanings compared with today’s factory-made instruments and because of their considerable aesthetic value. In the folk sectors, instruments used in Xi’an guyue are generally consistent throughout the genre, though there are variations in pitch standards and percussion instruments between ensembles. The main differences are between the folk and conservatory sectors.

5.6.1 Instruments in contemporary use by traditional ensembles
The instruments of Xi’an guyue today can be classified as either melodic or rhythmic.

a) Melodic instruments
Di – (笛 also called dizi 笛子, a transverse bamboo flute). Dizi is the lead melodic instrument in Xi’an guyue. Three types of traditional flutes, known as yunkongdi 与空笛), are used by folk groups and differ in key and size (Fig. 5.18). All have 6 equidistant finger-holes, and 9 holes in total counting from left to right: blow hole, membrane hole, 6 finger-holes, and lastly the diaosui kong (吊穗空, hole for hanging a tassel), located at the far end for decorative purposes. The first degree note in a scale is often called the gong note (宫音) and is often formed by opening the three finger holes at the farthest end of a flute. Dizi players are often fairly free to decorate and improvise melodies by employing various techniques known as shua shoufa 耍手法). As in most wind instruments, “slow” (緩吹, huanchui) and “fast” blowing (急吹, jichui) at the same fingering position constitute an octave difference in pitch (low and high respectively).

The three types of dizi are:

a) Guan key di (官調笛) - gong note = he = e, is used by Buddhist and village ensembles. It has larger finger holes than the other types, which generates a bright and spacious sound. This type of dizi is best suited to playing in the key of liu and secondarily in that of che.

b) Ping key di (平調笛), gong note = he = c, is typical of Daoist groups. It is gentle and mellow and is used primarily in the key of shang and secondarily in the key of liu.
Meiguan key di (梅管调笛) - gong note = che = d, is most common among urban Daoist and Buddhist groups. It has a clear, soft and resonant timbre and is used in the key of che, mainly co-operating with double-gong-chime music. This dizi is also called a kun key flute (濬调笛), and is equivalent to the now commonly used qudi (曲笛).

Although the key system for dizi in Xi'an guyue is basically unified, actual pitch standards within the same key often differ from ensemble to ensemble. Pitch standards for ping key (平调) and meiguan key (梅管调) flutes are less variable than those for guan key flutes among Xi'an guyue groups. For example, the gong pitch of guan key flutes in the East village of Nanjixian is g⁰, while in the West Village it is gᵇ²; for the Hejiaying and Dongcang ensembles it is e² (Fig. 5.6). Because of these inconsistencies between the instruments they use, players tend not to switch between ensembles.

"Players are sometimes borrowed from other groups, but we usually agree to use instruments with the same pitch standards" (Zhang Gui, north village of Nanjixian, 18/8/96). The inconsistency of pitch between dizi flutes of the same key is caused mainly by different pitch standards between different instrument makers.

During the course of my fieldwork between 1996 and 1998, I investigated the folk method of making equidistant yunkongdi from masters Zhao Gengcheng (82 in 1999, Dongcang, Xi'an), and Lian Fengyue (died in 1997 at age 81, west village of Nanjixian). The basic criterion is called sanyangqi (三眼齐, three pairs of holes the same distance apart). This means that there should be three equal distances of five cun⁹ (wucun 五寸) amongst the 9 holes: between the 1ˢᵗ and 4ᵗʰ holes, between the 2ⁿᵈ and 7ᵗʰ holes, and between the 4ᵗʰ and 9ᵗʰ (tassel) hole (Fig 5.7). Folk dizi players, such as master players Zhao and Lian, often make their instruments themselves based on the availability of material, their individual standard of key pitch, and their own aesthetic appreciation. This may partly explain why pitches and keys vary from ensemble to ensemble in Xi'an guyue.

---

⁹ 1 cun = 1/30m.
Fig. 5.6 Three different pitch standards of guan key di of Xi'an Guyue.

Fig. 5.7 Traditional method of sanyangqì (three pairs of holes with same distance) for making di flutes. The second and third di belong to Dongcang and Hejiaying Guyue societies.
Apart from the inconsistency of pitch standards among Xi’an guyue societies, some confusion is also caused by the practice of using instruments in one key to play pieces in another key. It has been pointed out above that the gong key di is used to play liu and che key pieces, the ping key di for shang and liu key pieces and the meiguan key di for che key pieces. This shows that the key system for instruments is named differently from that of the keys used for musical pieces. The reasons for this are unclear and further research is needed. However, the availability of the three kinds of dizi flutes varies between Xi’an guyue groups, so they may only be able to play a limited range of pieces within certain keys. In short, three out of four keys for music in Xi’an guyue are covered by existing flutes as follows: liu key pieces use guan key flutes, che key music employs meiguan key flutes and shang key pieces co-ordinate best with ping key flutes. However, there is no specific flute today for playing wu key pieces, and sometimes use of the meiguan flute for wu key music seems a little far-fetched.

Furthermore, the Hejiaying and Nanjixian village groups have no ping key flute, and they use the meiguan key flute for both shang and wu pieces. Although skilful flute players sometimes play pieces on a flute whose key does not match that of the music by using bianzhifa (變指法, changing fingerings) and gujingchui (鼓勁吹, blowing hard), certain pitches and intervals cannot be produced (Li Shigen 1981: 95). The use of instruments whose key is not matched to that of the music for performance may result in strange scales and unusual intervals. Consequently, such performances are often inconsistent and contradictory with the notation. One problem the researcher faces, then, is to recognize the differences between notation and performance due to the different standards of pitches and instruments of the individual ensembles.

**Sheng** (笙, mouth organ, Fig.5.19). There are two kinds of sheng: shaosheng (smaller in size) and wengsheng (larger in size), both having 17 pipes. Both have the same physical structures and produce the same notes except that the latter is an octave lower than the former, to give octave doubling. Sheng are made according to the same pitch standards as di, therefore there are sheng of three different registers which are consistent with and named after the equivalent di: guan key, ping key and meiguan key sheng (Fig.5.19). Of the 17 pipes, only 10 are fitted with reeds. Eight of these produce the 8 notes; the other two give lower or upper octave doubling (Fig. 5.8 and Table 5.6). The remaining 7 pipes, numbers 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16 and 17, do not produce any sound (Fig. 202).
5.8-8.1). In Xi’an guyue, the first degree note is fixed on the 14th pipe for all sheng and this is still the same for modern standardised 17-pipe sheng all fitted with reeds as shown just below. They both have similar tonal relationships. Table 5.7 shows that apart from pipe 6, all other pipes and their tonal relationships between the two sheng match exactly with a 5th degree interval. In the genre, the sheng plays a secondary role, serving as a foil to the leading di. Normally, sheng playing is fairly restricted in that it does not play all the notes, and often only plays certain heguan (合管, pipes together) meaning harmonies and chords (Fig. 5.9). As with di, pitch standards are not fixed, and they tend to vary from ensemble to ensemble.

![Fig. 5.8 Comparison of 17 pipe sheng between the traditional Ping key sheng (left, Chenghuan Monastery ensemble) and one of the standardised sheng used by professionals today.](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pipe order</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ping Key sheng Xi’an guyue</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard pitch</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b'</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4#</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pipe order</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern standard sheng</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>4#</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5#</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 Comparison of tonal relationships between the above Xi’an guyue ping key sheng and one modern standardised sheng.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of pipes</th>
<th>Interval/harmonies</th>
<th>Relative scale</th>
<th>Melody note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12  4  3  2  4  3  5</td>
<td>4  7  5  4  12  7  6</td>
<td>g  a  b  c  d  e  f#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Diagram showing standard harmonies and melodic notes.](attachment:image.png)

Fig. 5.9 *Heguan* (pipes together) standard harmonies used for Ping key *sheng* as demonstrated by Zhang Cuizhu, former *di/sheng* player of Chenghuang Monastery ensemble

*Sheng* are often played as a group in an ensemble, but different parts often use different types of *sheng*. At present, only two parts are still played: the higher register *shaosheng* and the *wengsheng* an octave lower. In the past, 4 *sheng* parts were played at the Chenghuang Daoist Music Society, according to its *sheng* master Zhao Wenji (age 78 in 1998). They were *gaosheng* (高笙, high-pitch *sheng*), *pingsheng* (平笙, small, a type of *shaosheng*), *erdiaosheng* (二调笙, two-key *sheng*, also called *sandiaosheng* - transpositional *sheng*) and *wengsheng* (翁笙, low-pitch *sheng*). The first part was *gaosheng*. It had a high-register flute timbre with hard reeds which produced a bright and high pitched sound said to be difficult to play. *Pingsheng* played the second part which was an octave lower than the *gaosheng*. The third part was the *erdiaosheng*. It was a little different from the others in that eleven of the 17 pipes had reeds, but the *gong* note *shang* = f was still on the 14th pipe. *Erdiaosheng* formed a perfect fifth with *pingsheng* and gave spacious and harmonic effects to the ensemble. The bass part was *wengsheng*, an octave lower than the *pingsheng*, which strengthened the *sheng* part. *Gaosheng* and *erdiaosheng* are no longer in use today in *Xi'an guyue*, but they have a profound historical and musicological value.

Polyphonic *sheng* playing in 4 parts is an unusual phenomenon among folk ensembles today, and it is significant for research into historical Chinese instrumental music and instrumentation. On the one hand, the *sheng* is one of the oldest Chinese instruments and has often been described historically as having been played in groups.
Thus the *Liyi Xiangsheli* (Ceremony and the Xiangshe Ceremony) of the Spring and Autumn period (770 – 221 BC) states: “Three sheng together form a sound…”, “large ones are louder, small ones are gentle” (quoted from Zhang Zhentao 2002: 28).

Unfortunately, we have very little understanding of the instrumentation and organisation of group sheng performance in ancient times. However, the sheng is an important instrument for researching historical changes and developments in musical temperament. It is a relatively stable instrument in terms of preciseness of pitch and is less influenced by playing techniques (control of lip position, dynamics and fingering) than the di and guan pipe. The Song period *Shengfu* (Essay on the Sheng) stated that “only the sheng could reveal a sound precisely among many wind instruments” (Zhang Zhentao 2002: 82). However, the 17-pipes with 10 reeds structure of the *Xi’an guyue sheng* is unique among sheng in China, and a comparative study between this system and the surviving Tang 17 pipe sheng in the Shōsōin Treasure House in Japan would be significant.

**Guanzi** (管子, also called guan 管) – a double-reed bamboo pipe usually with 8 holes (7 on the front and a thumb hole at the back, Fig. 5.10). But two old guanzi10 found in Hejiaying village have 9 holes with 8 on the front (Fig. 5.20 - 5.21). Of the two kinds – gaoguan (高管, high-pitched) and wengguan (翁管, lower-register) – only the former is still used today, sometimes alternating with di and sheng during a performance. Guan plays a less important role than di and sheng and is used infrequently nowadays. The pitch range of the gaoguan is limited to a little more than an octave (Fig. 5.10). Guan was formerly more important than today, according to Zhang Cunzhu (age 73, 1996) of the Chenghuang Monastery Daoist society. He describes how the “gaoguan often plays with ping key di and sheng, and wengguan is used for gong key di and sheng. Often, both gaoguan and wengguan are used together, and wengguan can fandiao (change key by transposing fingerings) by using che as the gong note, the sixth hole as the shang note, and the fifth as the che note”. (I worked out later that this forms a perfect fifth harmonic part with gaoosheng.) “In those days, Guyue playing was more sophisticated and colourful and not like today”, he said ruefully. This shows that the concept of transposition and the technique of shifting fingerning for another key are known to folk musicians.

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10 The two guanzi date back to the late 19th century according to the musicians. Since no one in Hejiaying could play them when I was there during 1996-9, I was unable to document the tonal relationship of the instruments.
### Fig. 5.10 Diagram of relative pitches and fingerings of the guan pipe.

**Yunluo** (雲鍾, “cloud gongs”) – framed gong-chimes often with fixed pitches. This type of percussion instrument gradually replaced the Tang fangxiang (方響) after the end of Yuan (1276 –1368) Dynasty (Li Shigen 1981: 108). There are several kinds of yunluo in Xi’an guyue: *shuangyunluo* (雙雲鍾, double gong-chime, each consisting of ten small pitched gongs in a 4-3-2-1 symmetric pyramid, Fig. 5.17.), *danyunluo* (單雲鍾, single gong-chime, Fig. 5.16.), *fangxiazi* (方匣子, a small gong-chime with a 3-2-1 pyramid shape, Fig. 5.15), and *sanyunluo* (三雲鍾, 3-pitched gong-chime arranged in a triangle, Fig. 5.14). *Shuangyunluo* is a unique melodic instrument giving 2 identical sets of 10 pitches and is usually used in large che key Sitting Music suites such as the famous Che Key Double-Gong-Chime Suite of the Chenghuang Daoist ensemble. In the summer of 1998, Zhang Gui, a *di* flute player of Nanjixian, told me that the surviving old single gong-chime of Hejiaying and the 3-pitched gong-chime of Nanjixian village have lost their original pitches due to their age and poor state of preservation. Now they are used more as percussion than as melodic instruments. *Fangxiazi* is a portable gong-chime with different pitches and is used only for the Processional Music form *luanbaxian.*
b) Rhythmic instruments
Rhythmic instruments are as important as melodic ones, bearing the tasks of setting the tempo, bolstering the atmosphere, alternating with melodic instruments, giving cues between movements and leading the beginning and the ending of the music. The percussion instruments can be sub-divided according to the materials from which they are made: membranophones (drums), and bronze and wooden idiophones.

There are six kinds of drums of different sizes and shapes:

**Zuogu** (坐鼓, sitting drum, Fig. 5.1) – a long barrel stick drum placed horizontally on a colorfully decorated stand on the table and played on one side with two drum sticks. It is the lead drum in Sitting Music. Length 41cm, diameter 20.7cm (Nanjixiang village).

**Zhan’gu** (戰鼓, battle drum, Fig. 5.1) – a round drum placed vertically on a stand on the floor and played on one side with two drum sticks. It is the second most important drum in Sitting Music. Height 33cm, diameter 30cm (Nanjixian village).

**Yuegu** (藥鼓, music drum, also known as *sigu*, 四鼓, Fig. 5.1) – a very shallow barrel-drum with a bright and short sound and played on its upper head only. It coordinates with *zuogu* in Sitting Music. Depth 9.6cm, diameter 22cm (Nanjixian village).

**Dugu** (獨鼓, individual drum, also known as *dougu*, 豆鼓, Fig. 5.1) – a tiny barrel-drum, resemble a very narrow *yuegu*. It coordinates with *zuogu* in Sitting Music. Depth 11.2cm and diameter 11.5cm (Nanjixian village).

**Danmiangu** (單面鼓, single-faced drum, also known as *tonggu*, 銅鼓, Fig. 5.12) – a wide-faced drum often painted with *yin* and *yang* symbols. It is either placed on a stand or carried for Processional Music. Height 16.8cm, diameter 47.5cm (Hejiaying village).

**Gaobagu** (高把鼓, high-stick drum, Fig. 5.13) – a round-faced flat drum which is fitted on a stick and sometimes has a gong attached. It is played by a drummer holding it in
one hand and striking it with the other hand using a drumstick. It is only played in Processional Music. Drum diameter 27.6cm, and depth 15cm, stick length 45.6cm (Dongcang ensemble).

The drum master is often the co-leader of an ensemble. The drum section is outstanding for its size and for the different shapes of the individual drums. It is important in all forms of Xi’an guyue performances including nianci (ritual reciting), Sitting Music and Processional Music in Bronze (tongqi) rhythm instruments include various gongs and cymbals (Fig. 5.11). Gongs for Processional Music are kaishanluo (開山鑼), gongluo (宮鑼), yinluo (引鑼), diaoluo (吊鑼), and for Sitting Music daluo (大鑼), maluo (馬鑼), gouluo (鈷鑼), haikouzi (海口子) and yinluo (引鑼 also for Processional Music). Cymbals for Sitting Music are large dabo (大鈸), danao (大鑼), jingbo (京鈸), susanzi (蘇 gpointer), sujiao (蘇銃), chuanjiao (川銃), jiaozi (銃子 also for Processional Music). In addition, there are small bells called shuaizi (摔子) and pengzhong (碰鏀) that are used in the qingchui (wind instrument section) and in xiaoqu (individual short pieces).

Woodblocks include the large dabangzi (大梆子 for Sitting Music), shoubangzi (手梆子) with a handle (for both Sitting and Processional Music) and muyu (木魚) for the lighter sub-genre qingchui and xiaoqu.

Generally, the drums used in Guyue are more or less the same in shape and size despite differences in pitch between rural and village ensembles. However, bronze instruments vary noticeably in type, size, pitch and timbre from group to group. Adding, omitting and changing bronze instruments by individual groups often occurred during different activities and periods. Village groups tend to have significantly more types of percussion instruments, mainly adopted from Qinjiang opera, such as the su (large) and chuan (small) families of bronze instruments (Fig. 5.11). Their percussion sections are therefore larger, louder and more exciting. City groups never use Qinjiang opera instruments, and the effect of their percussion section is moderate, neat and measured.
Fig. 5.11 Instruments in Hejiaying village ensemble. From left around the table: haikouzi, muyu, pengzhong (bells), shengs, cymbals, danyunluo (behind the cymbals) zuogu, yuegu, dugu, shoubangzi, dabangzi, sheng, zidi and guanzi; by the table on the right are zhan'gu and daluo.

Fig. 5.12 danmian'gu drum.

Fig. 5.13 Gaobagu drum and diaoluo gong.
Fig. 5.14  *San yunluo* gong chime.

Fig. 5.15  *Fangxiazi* gong chime.

Fig. 5.16  *Dan yunluo* gong chime

Fig. 5.17  *Shuang yunluo* gong chime
Fig. 5.18 Traditional *dizi* with equal-distanced holes.  

Fig. 5.19 Traditional *sheng*

Fig. 5.20 Hejiaying 9-hole *guanzi* with 8 on the front.

Fig. 5.21 Hejiaying 9-hole *guanzi* 1 on the back.
5.6.2 Instruments no longer used

In order to understand more clearly the historical development of Xi’an guyue, it is important to investigate the instruments that were once used but have been lost. In fact, Xi’an guyue was not only a wind and percussion instrumental music, but plucked string instruments and some others also played a part as recently as a century ago, according to today’s elderly musicians. These include the plucked lute pipa and the daqin zither, the meiguan reed-pipe, the xiadi flute and the gong-chime kezi. For various reasons they have gradually been lost, but we can still trace them from the memories of older musicians and the surviving notation records.

Daqin (大琴): a kind of rectangular zither similar to the present-day zheng (21-stringed zither) with moveable tuning bridges. It is also called zhuzheng (plucked zither) and baizheng (display zither). Chenghuang Temple Daoist musician Zhang Longxin (76 years old in 1996) said:

When I was a teenager, my teacher Wang Yusheng told me that his grandfather used to play the daqin and had one of these instruments. It was mainly used for Sitting Music daiyue suites, and since its techniques were gradually being lost the instrument was often displayed on a table during performance, and so was called baizheng [display zither]. (interview, 2/8/1996).

Further evidence has been found in the notation: there is, for example, a piece called Daqinmen guduan (Drum section on the daqin) in the repertoire of the Dongcang Music Society, Xi’an city (Qu Yun 1987: 36).

Pipa (琵琶): 4-string lute. The physical form and usage of the instrument is not clear, and there is no evidence to suggest when the instrument was lost. Judging from surviving notation, especially in beici (Lyrics of the north) pieces such as Zhonggong, Zhongli and Xianli, there are some technical terms such as xiantou (upper string), shuang xiantou (double upper strings), xiantouhe (repeat upper string) and xiantou gaipin (change frets at upper string). The word pin refers specifically to all of the pipa’s frets whilst before the Yuan period xiantou referred to the top part of the strings on the neck. These factors give credence to the suggestion that the pipa lute was formerly played in Xi’an guyue.
Kezi (殲子) : a set of small, bowl-like percussion instruments - made of bronze and struck by two wooden hammers (Li Shigen, 1991: 93). There are only two surviving pieces of music for kezi entitled Kezi hou shangshu (Monkey climbing a tree on the kezi) and Qiao kezi de yinling (Prelude for kezi).

Meiguan (梅管) : a kind of double-reed pipe often used together with xiadi flute according to present-day elderly musicians. Its physical structure and usage are lost. In the Dongcang and Xicang music societies, there are surviving manuscripts relating to the instrument; one is called Meiguan juquanji (Complete collection for the meiguan). Some pieces are clearly titled for the meiguan pipe, such as Meiguan qimu (Prelude for meiguan), Zhenggong duanzheng hao meiguan (Zhenggong mode on the meiguan) and Zhonglu fendie meiguan (Zhonglu butterfly on the meiguan).

Xiadi (夏笛): the name xiadi flute first appeared in the Southern Song period during the 12th century (Li Shigen 1991: 93). It is difficult to determine exactly when and how the xiadi was lost, and present-day musicians cannot give a clear description of the instrument. There are two pieces of music titled for the instrument: Xiadi qimu (Prelude for xiadi) and Xiadi zhonglu (Zhonglu mode on the xiadi). They have been found in the surviving manuscripts “Che Gong Wu Liu” (Ancient Music in Four Keys) in Hejiaying village.

In addition, seventeen different flutes with hand drawings and measurements were recorded in a mid 18th-century manuscript Beici Batao (Eight Northern Lyrical Suites), in the possession of the Xicang Music Society (Fig. 5.22). Triple, double and single pipes and horizontal and vertical styles of dizi flutes are distinguished in the manuscripts. They are named youdi, tianpingdi, daochi, xundi, jieshoudi, shoudi, kongdi, chidi, erxiandi, raodi, liedi, sanjiaodi, shengdi, fengguangdi, kudi, yandi and wangfandi. The usage and techniques of the seventeen flutes are unknown.
5.6.3 Instruments used by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music

Since the Xi’an Conservatory’s version of Xi’an guyue, called Chang’an Ancient Music was established in 1985, it has, like most other government-supported conservatories in China today, used the national standardized instrumental system which has been modernised since 1949.

Whilst most of the percussion instruments are modelled closely on folk equivalents, melodic instruments such as the di, sheng, guan and shuangyunluo are rather different from those of “traditional” groups.

The Conservatory’s di flutes have six non-equidistant finger holes based on an equal temperament system of tones and semitones, while the traditional di has six equidistant finger holes with an unequal temperament system. Consequently, fingering and tonal relationships are also different. The conservatory’s sheng have 17 pipes, all of which are fitted with reeds and use a key system different to that of the folk ensembles. Sheng with 24 and 36 reeds are sometimes also used. The double gong-chime is in a 4-
4-2-1 shape (Fig. 5.23), which is changed from the gener’s traditional two-sided, 4-3-2-1 pyramid (Fig. 5.17). In order to understand why the conservatory’s double gong-chime added one more pitch, I visited Yu Zhu\textsuperscript{11}, the former teacher of the group, in the summer of 1996. Yu stated that:

The Conservatory Ensemble did not listen to my opinion and added one more gong in order to play the \textit{ge} pitch. In fact, the \textit{ge} pitch does not exist on the traditional \textit{shuang yunluo}.Traditionally we play the edge of the 10\textsuperscript{th} gong [bottom row on the outside] for this particular pitch. ...There are also mistakes in the names of some percussion instruments in their published book Chang’an Ancient Music Scores. They did not consult me or other folk musicians beforehand, and now it is too late.

Obviously, Yu does not agree with the behavior of the Conservatory. He stopped teaching its group in 1991.

Apart from the use of modernised wind instruments and “reformed” double-gong-chimes, three plucked string instruments, \textit{pipa}, \textit{ruan} (4-string lutes) and \textit{zheng} (21-string zither), have been added. Thus the music is no longer a wind-and-percussion ensemble, rather a small-scale orchestra with strings, wind and percussion. When I visited the former Chairman of the conservatory, Liu Hengzhi, in 1998, he explained the attitude of the Xi’an Conservatory towards how to carry on the music tradition:

Our aim is to inherit the Chang’an Ancient Music tradition and not merely to preserve the present existence of the tradition, but also to respect its history and develop the tradition for the needs of society. ...As the provincial conservatory, we are in a position, and have the responsibility, to preserve the present, reconstruct the lost elements of the past and explore the future of the music. Thus, we think it is sensible to use \textit{pipa} and \textit{zheng} together with the \textit{ruan}, since they have been so used in the past.

The Xi’an Conservatory has been recommended by the government as the representative of this music tradition, and performed using the revived and reproduced instruments at a folk festival held in Germany in 1991. Some folk musicians have

\textsuperscript{11}He was originally a member of the Xi’an Huata si group before being asked to teach at the Conservatory. His father Yu Dongying was a well-known Guyue master who had taught the Buddhist, Xicang, Fenghuodong and Dajichang folk groups. See Ning Yong 1990: 9-10.
criticised the style of the conservatory’s Xi’an guyue as “budidao” (不地道，not authentic).

Fig. 5. 23 Shuang yunluo used by the Xi’an Conservatory of Music.

5.6.4 Instrumentation and grouping of ensembles
Having discussed the notation and the instruments of Xi’an guyue earlier, I shall now explore the instrumentation and grouping of musicians. If instruments are fundamental in the formation of instrumental music, then instrumentation is one of the main media for constructing the musical character of a genre. Although instrumentation and grouping of musicians in Xi’an guyue is by no means monophonic in the complex multi-structured society, the following tends to offer a general understanding of the two aspects in order to give a fuller perception of this instrumental tradition.

5.6.5 Instrumentation

a) Melodic instruments
The organisation of leading and supporting roles is subtly divided among the five melodic instruments di, sheng, guan, shuan yunluo and fangxiazi, according to the individual characteristics of each instrument. Di is the main leading instrument, and is privileged with the freedom to “add flowers” (加花, jiahua) and improvise based on the skeletal melodies. Di flute players often call the method sidi huochui – inflexible tone
with flexible playing. The sheng supports the di with spacious and solid bass and chords consciously leaves space for the di to play the lead role. The relationship between the two instruments is described by musicians as that of a “red flower with green leaves”. The Chenghuang Monastery used to have four different ranges of sheng, so we can imagine the polyphonic effect of Xi’an guyue in the past. The guan pipe is the second lead instrument, alternating and dialoguing with the di, but is used far less frequently. The guan was also used in two parts, high- and low-pitched; differing by a fifth. The special timbre of the guan means that it is often used as “colour” to create a special mood or perform sentimental sections.

The shuangyunluo is also a special lead instrument for large Sitting Music suites. When it leads a particular section, it often “adds flowers” freely and improvises its melodies. Other instruments have to give priority to the shuangyunluo and play as accompaniment. Shuangyunluo also plays melodies together with di, sheng and guan, but uses a simpler method called dishui (dripping water) meaning one strike for one note. The fangxiazi gong-chime serves as a complementary melodic percussion instrument, employing a similar dishui technique with only six pitches.

The above five melodic instruments constitute a natural orchestration and polyphonic effect according to the individuality and nature of each kind of instrument in the performance of Xi’an guyue. The actual performance of the melodic instruments is formed spontaneously based on one unified skeletal score, yet it is not a prescribed unchangeable pattern as in a Western classical symphony, but is more like jazz musicians elaborating from a “lead sheet” sharing the basic tune of a piece. Like many Chinese instrumental ensembles such as Silk and Bamboo music in Shanghai and Qujiaying music in Hebei, Xi’an guyue allows a dimension of flexibility for musicians to bring their personality, technical variations and aesthetic considerations into the music.

b). Percussion instruments
The non-melodic percussion section in Xi’an guyue is large, rich and by no means secondary to the melodic instruments. Not only are there individual percussion sections during performances, but the percussion section also plays lead, shift, interlude, prelude and dialogue with melodic instruments. There are two folk terms among the folk methods of instrumentation for percussion playing in Xi’an guyue: heyue (ensemble)
and *suiyue* (accompaniment). The former means that percussion has the same importance as the melodic part and both has its individuality and contributes to the whole, whereas the latter indicates that the percussion has an accompanying role in relation to the melodic instruments. Folk musicians often describe the percussion-centred sections as *gusuigu* (melody follows drum), as in the first three sections in Sitting Music (Ex. 5.2). However, *gusuigu* (drum follows melody) is a common rule in *qingchui* (pure wind) melody dominated sections. (Ex. 5.3). The relationships of primary and secondary and the contrast of rhythmic pattern between the two are quite apparent.

Instrumentation of the percussion differs from ensemble to ensemble in terms of combinations and usage of instruments, but certain common characteristics are shared by most *Xi’an guyue* groups. Central to Chenghuang Daoist percussion playing is the co-ordination of the two large *zuogu* and *zhangu* drums and the bronze instruments. Often gongs play first and cymbals come second on off-beats, following the rhythmic patterns, tempo and dynamics of the two drums. Others join in at different intervals, and often percussion instruments with double beaters play at a faster pace than those with single beater. Buddhist ensembles adopt a set of rather different combinations of drums and bronze percussion, in that different bronze instruments match the different sounds produced by playing different parts of the large *zuo* drum. For example, after the *deng* sound is played from the central part of the *zuo* drum, the *daluo* gong and *danao* cymbal join in unison. When the the *za* sound is played from the edge of the drum, the *maluo* gong and *dabo* cymbal strike in unison; after *gunji* (faster rolling) is played, the *daluo* gong and *danao* cymbals play separately on the strong beat and the off-beat. Village groups often adopt the percussion instrumentation of the local *Qinqiang* opera for their *kaichanggu* openings and *guzhazi* percussion, which gives more density and brightness than the Daoist and Buddhist ensembles in the city of Xi’an. But the first four percussion sections in the Sitting Music suites of village groups are basically the same as for the city ensembles.
Ex. 5.2 Except of Raoxiantang, 1st Xia movement showing *gusuiqu* (melody follows the drum), in which the dynamics of the drum are carefully controlled.

Ex. 5.3 Section of *qingchui* (wind instruments), Shangwang, demonstrating *gusuiqu* (drum follows melody) instrumentation in which the melody is dominant part.
One of the main reasons for the diversity of percussion instrumentation is the use of different instruments among Xi'an gyoue ensembles. The following is a comparative analysis of percussion combinations in Sitting Music (structure see Table 6.10, p270-1); between the Chenghuang Monastery Daoist ensemble in the city of Xi'an, and the Nanjixian West Village Music Society (Fig. 5.24). Percussion group “a” is used for the first half-movement and the last section of the second half of houtuigu sections; group “b” is employed for the biezi and zan sections of the second half; group “c” undertakes the tasks of the zhenggu, beizi and zan sections; and group “d” plays in the kaichanggu, the first three xia and the huaguduan percussion sections. This analysis shows that the village group not only has a larger percussion section and greater variety of instruments, but also differs greatly from the Daoist ensemble in the city of Xi’an in the combinations of the c and d groups of instruments. These c and d percussion groups are adopted from the local Qinxiang opera, which is very different from the city ensembles in its instrumentation and rhythmic patterns.

Fig. 5.24 Comparison of percussion instruments and combinations between the rural (upper, Chenghuang Daoist group) and the urban (bottom, Nanjixian village) ensembles.
5.6.6 Ensemble grouping
The grouping of musicians and instruments in Xi’an guyue varies from ensemble to ensemble (Table 5.8). In general, Daoist and Buddhist ensembles in the city of Xi’an have fewer musicians and instruments than do village groups. Daoist ensembles often have a small number of relatively capable musicians and instruments in both Sitting and Processional Music. There is a famous saying regarding the grouping of Daoist and Buddhist ensembles in the city that “seven is tight, eight is better and nine is more relaxed”. One of the main reasons for having small groupings in the city ensembles is that they used to be semi-professional music ensembles and were often hired for religious or ceremonial services. Therefore, smaller, higher quality groups were easier to employ, whereas village groups are often larger and are less restricted in their use of instruments and musicians.

The presence of village groups at various rituals and festivals is, to a certain extent, a demonstration of the unity and strength of the communities they represent. Another purpose is to attract more attention and create a festival atmosphere. For example, the Nanjixian village ensemble has more than 40 musicians and sometimes adds suona (a small, loud, shawm-like instrument), which has never before been used in rural Guyue ensembles. At present, an average Buddhist or Daoist group in the city often comprises 7 to 20 musicians including percussionists, depending on the availability of musicians. A village ensemble may include as many as 20 percussionists to form a large group of up to 40 musicians. Sometimes one percussionist can play several instruments concurrently to compensate for a lack of performers. Melodic instruments used in city ensembles usually consist of only one di and three sheng, whereas a village ensemble may have ten di and sixteen sheng performing at once. In general, city ensembles address the quality rather than the quantity of their musicians, whereas villages groups often emphasise demonstration of their community strength to build up an exciting occasion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Instruments</th>
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<th>Number of Musicians (processional music)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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<td>Nanjixian (village)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>at most</td>
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</table>

Table 5.9 Comparison of instruments and musicians between urban and village ensembles.
5.7 Learning and transmission

There are at present two strands through which Xi'an guyue is learnt and transmitted: the traditional folk groups in the city of Xi'an and nearby villages and the contemporary ensembles of the Conservatory. Although scholars still distinguish folk ensembles of the village groups according to their historical transmission lines as Buddhist, Daoist and more recently secular (su), the traditional methods of learning and transmission remain largely unchanged for all the folk groups. This discussion focuses on these two socially distinct strands and compares and contrasts their respective learning and transmission processes.

5.7.1 Folk groups

Like many Chinese instrumental music traditions, such as qin, pipa and sizhu, the learning of Xi'an guyue relies mainly on the conventional method of “oral transmission and learning by heart” (kouchuan xinshou). In fact, most folk musicians cannot read or understand the notation, with only a few master musicians able to fully understand and interpret the scores. These masters are themselves responsible for transmitting the music to younger generations. Unlike Western staff notation, the information contained in Xi'an guyue scores is relatively simple and limited. Guyue performance, however, is often sophisticated and complex, especially the various large-scale and suite forms. The gap, then, between score and performance of a particular Guyue piece is often relatively large (Ex. 5.4). The sparseness of Xi'an guyue notation is apparent when one realises that there is no indication of tempo, phrasing, sequence of movements, details of melody and rhythm, ornamentation, expression, playing method or technique. This raises the question of how musicians achieve the levels of skill needed to perform. Given that most musicians cannot read the notation, how do they become proficient in the music’s language, the subtleties that are not indicated in the notation – all the dimensions of musical understanding required for authoritative performance and representation of the tradition?

It is recognised that the process of learning and training in Xi'an guyue is difficult. Traditional learning of score reading involves two essential and unique methods, or skills, known as yunqu (vocalising a piece) and hengha (humming and ha-ing). Master Zhang Gui put it like this:
The score is fixed, but the reading of the score is flexible (*siqu huodu*). Only by adopting *yunqu* and *hengha* can you bring a dead score to life. In other words, *yunqu* and *hengha* are the processes of transforming a dry-as-dust skeleton into a fully grown person with flesh, blood and their own special character. (Interview 21 August 1998, Xi'an)

Fig 5.25 Manuscript notation “rattle the door bolt”, Chenghuang monastery ensemble.

Gong (tonic) = che = 人

Ex. 5.4 “Rattle the door bolt”, showing learning process from original score: a. transnotation (Fig. 5.25); b. *yunqu* song notation (Track 1); c. flute performance (Track 2).

*Yunqu* – it refers to the vocalisation of a score with certain improvisatory melodic developments and distinctive characteristics. It is a traditional learning method for *Guyue* that gives the skeletal notation clear and detailed melodic movements and rhythmic
divisions through singing. *Yunqu* bears some resemblance to Western solfeggio, but differs considerably in that *yunqu* requires experienced musicians to bring out the unwritten notes flexibly and appreciatively through their voice. For most pupils, learning *Guyue* has little to do with the notation directly, and most folk musicians today still do not read it. However, every pupil has to learn *yunqu* before they can start to practice any music on their instruments. One important point is that *yunqu* must be tasteful (*youwei'er*) and authentic (*didao*), reflecting the character of the genre. To a certain extent *yunqu* resembles *dapu* (realisation of tablature notation) in *qin* music, *akou* vocalisation of instrumental notation (similar to *yunqu*) in Zhihua Temple music, and *jiahua* (adding flowers) in *sizhu* music. Since all surviving instrumental notations in China provide only the basic framework for performance, individual genres usually form their own methods through which to realise, elaborate and enhance the music. Often these methods are unwritten, flexible, complex and based on long-term experience and understanding of a musical tradition.

*Xian guyue* music is often described as *pujian yinfan* (simple notation but complex music) because the score omits so many crucial details of performance. Thus *yunqu* is the crucial link for learning, leading in turn to performance. *Yunqu* is normally conducted by experienced and respected masters to their own group of pupils. Traditionally, only a selected few of the best and most trusted pupils are allowed to keep the scores and to learn how to interpret the melodies through *yunqu* vocalisation directly from the scores. Most musicians today possess neither scores nor the method of *yunqu* directly from their surviving scores. They learn *yunqu* indirectly from the masters rather than from the scores. This is how a group protects its “assets” from being copied or “stolen” by another group (Yu Zhu, 1991:8). Thus, pupils must first learn the vocalised melodies of *yunqu* from their masters by heart. Not until they can memorise and sing the *yunqu* well can instruments be used in the practice of a piece.

Another important skill within *yunqu* vocalisation is known as *hengha*. It is represented by the symbol ‘‘’ which has a number of variants, and is written beside the score signs. (Fig. 5.25, Ex. 5.4). *Hengha* is a specific term and skill for the vocalisation of unwritten pitches and ornamentation by using the symbols to elaborate and

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12 The same is true in some Japanese instrumental genres such as *Noh* flute and *gagaku*; see David Hughes 2000.
develop the pivotal notes in order to realise the melodies. The *hengha* pronunciation is often the prolonged sound of the vowel of the initial syllable of a written note. Therefore, *hengha* has many different pronunciations that depend, to a certain extent, on the pronunciation of the pitch sign immediately before the *hengha*. The following table shows the basic relationships between the pronunciations of the score signs and those of the *hengha*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronunciation of score sign</th>
<th>huo</th>
<th>si</th>
<th>yi</th>
<th>shang</th>
<th>che</th>
<th>gong</th>
<th>fan</th>
<th>liu</th>
<th>wu</th>
<th><em>hengha</em> sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corresponding hengha Pronunciation</td>
<td>-uo/ o</td>
<td>-a/ ai</td>
<td>-yu/ yai</td>
<td>-ang</td>
<td>-uy/ er</td>
<td>-ong</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-ai/ou/ au</td>
<td>-ai/a ei</td>
<td>-wei/ ai hai/ ye hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 *hengha* pronunciations.

This table does not necessarily reflect all the pronunciations of *hengha* as it is based on a limited number of historical recordings and interviews conducted during 1996 – 9 with a few surviving masters who can still do *yunqu*. The table shows that the close phonetic links between the pronunciations of some score signs and the corresponding *hengha* vocalisation. Although many of the *hengha* pronunciations have a close association with their score sign pronunciations; others, however, are not so closely linked such as *liu*, *wu*, *si* and *yi*. Musicians themselves are usually unaware of the linguistic logic of the *hengha* pronunciations, but they realise intuitively that certain pronunciations are easy to sing out and remember the tunes. For example: *si-ai*------ is easier to sing out than *si-i--*, and *yi –ya--* than *yi-i--*. Other common pronunciations of *hengha* are *wei*, *ai* and *hai*, and *ye* and *hai*. One other point that should be noted is that *hengha* is not necessarily indicated in the notation of *Xi’an guyue*. According to the musicians, there are two kinds of *hengha*: non-notated (*wuzi*) and notated (*youzi*) *hengha*. The first refers to singing out improvised notes that are not indicated in the notation, while the latter refers to vocalising improvised notes at places clearly indicated by the *hengha* signs.

*Hengha* effectively avoids the dullness and rigidity that would result from merely reading the score. It turns instrumental music into melodious singing and is equivalent to
singing a song. Therefore, *hengha* increases the interest of the learner and is more direct than learning from the elusive scores, thereby helping pupils to memorise the piece.

Despite the flexibility and elusiveness of *hengha*, certain regularities within it can still be found. The table below demonstrates some basic melodic and rhythmic patterns of *youzi hengha* vocalisations based on my investigation and fieldwork.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score &amp; <em>hengha</em> singing</th>
<th>Notes without <em>hengha</em></th>
<th>Notes with <em>hengha</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 3</td>
<td>52 3, 552 3, or 5652 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>35 2, 335 2, or 353 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>232 1, or 253 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>252 3 or 2556 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 5</td>
<td>232 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 6</td>
<td>775 6, 772 6, or 732 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 1</td>
<td>665 i, or 656 i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 6</td>
<td>112 6, 123 6, or 1327 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 2</td>
<td>565 2, 565 2, or 5165 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11 Some basic *hengha* patterns.

The styles and degree of *hengha* and *yunqu* differ from musician to musician, school to school and transmission line to transmission line. Some are very detailed and filled with much embellishment, others are relatively simple and straightforward. Some are tuneful (*weiwan*), like a lyrical song, others have clear *yin* and *yang* dynamics (*kangkai, ji’ang*). In general, *di* flute players, such as Zhang Cunzhu and Zhang Gengchen, tend to add more notes, decoration and slurs in their *hengha* and *yunqu*. Thus the vocalisations reflect the nature and characteristics of *di* playing as the lead melodic instrument in *Xi’an guyue* performances. By contrast, *sheng* and *yunluo* players’ *hengha* and *yunqu* are relatively simple and concise because these instruments do not usually produce melodies with much
ornamentation. In addition, scholars often do yunqu differently from that of the musicians; for example, Li Shigen’s yunqu of the same piece Yaomen shuan (Track 6) which is more straightforward with less hengha when compared to the di player Zhang Cunzhu’s version (Ex. 5.4 and Track 2).

However, some experienced masters have pointed out that adding too many notes and embellishments in the hengha and yunqu is not necessarily good for learning. The purpose of such vocalisation is to make learning easier and to help pupils memorise the music, not to confuse them. Daoist master musician An Laixu, for example, commented that “It is better not to overfill yunqu with ornamentation: room should be left [for the musicians]” (Li Shigen: 1989:17). Cheng Quanlin, of the former Xicang Buddhist group, also stated: “although some peoples’ yunqu is very good to listen to... it is different, when sitting by the table [referring to performance]” (ibid). The quality of a hengha vocalisation is judged mainly on how aptly and subtly the melody is elaborated rather than on the number of notes and decorative elements added. According to the old masters, henghe is one of the main techniques on which an ensemble’s style and reputation are based. Mastery of hengha and yunqu can only be achieved through a long period of strict and hard training. Recently, there has been a tendency to add more notes directly onto newly copied manuscript scores instead of using the hengha signs. This is an attempt to reduce the difficulties and ambiguities brought about during the learning process of yunqu and henghe (see Ex. 5.5). (tonggu, Bronze Drum, Li Shigen, 1980b:71).

Ex. 5.5 Excerpt of Tonggu (Bronze Drum), Chenghuang monastery score: a) old notation; b) present notation (a and b from Li Shigen 1980b:71), and c) yunqu song notation based on b part by Zhang Longxing, April 1999.
It is clear, then, that mastering the traditional skills of *hengha* and *yunqu* is by no means an easy task. In comparison with Western solfeggio (*shichang*) in which the rhythm and notes are explicitly detailed, the *yunqu* vocalisation of *Xi'an guyue* is more complicated and requires a deep knowledge and understanding of the genre. In order to master *yunqu*, one needs first to have a thorough understanding of the notation signs, pitches, tonal relationships and all the other symbols such as *hengha* and their usage. Second, one needs to have a good sense of pitch concepts within the relatively fixed pitch system, and be able to sing the correct pitches even when encountering sharp, flat and microtonal notes. Third, one must be able to determine the appropriate rhythmic patterns and beat out the main beats (*ban*) and weak beats (*yan*) by hand while singing. More importantly, the performer subtly reveals details of the melodic movements through his *hengha* skill. Thus, *yunqu* has to be carried out by experienced master musicians. Apart from these technical points, the quality of *yunqu* is also judged by certain aesthetic considerations. As the musicians themselves say, it must be “good to listen to” (*haoting*), “easy to remember” (*haoji*), “in good taste” (*youwei'er*) and “authentic” (*didao*). All these skills and measurements make *yunqu* very difficult to master. During my fieldwork in 1996–9, there were only 5 or 6 master musicians, aged from their mid-60s to mid-80s, who could skilfully demonstrate *yunqu*. These included Cui Zhirong, Zhang Cunzhu, Zhao Gengchen, Zhang Gui and Yu Zhu. Sadly, the first two have already passed away. Having talked to many young musicians in both Hejiaying and Nanjixian villages, they share the view that it is very hard to master the skills of *hengha* and *yunqu*. A small number of younger musicians can perform *yunqu* only for certain pieces they have learned, but they have little idea of how to perform it when given a new piece from a score. The combination of conservatism in the older musicians and lack of interest and persistence of the young people have contributed to the fading away of the traditional methods of learning and transmission of *Xi'an guyue* in the folk sector.

5.7.2 The conservatory ensemble

The training and learning of *Xi'an guyue* in the conservatory, like the performance contexts, styles and instruments, differs considerably from that in folk music groups. The methods of studying *Xi'an guyue* music in the conservatory are characterised to a considerable
extent by modern, standardised processes of learning, but they have also assimilated certain traditional elements into their learning practices.

The learning process of *Xi’an guyue* in the conservatory differs from the traditional folk groups in the following ways:

1) Most students do not learn from the traditional scores. Rather, they use contemporary cipher (*jianpu*) or Western notations which have been transcribed in detail by scholars or teachers.

2) Students normally do not study the essential folk methods of *hengha* and *yunqu* to realise and elaborate the melodies.

3) Unlike folk musicians, students usually do not memorise the music during training, as use of notation during performance is allowed.

4) Students normally do not learn the techniques and musical characteristics directly from folk musicians, and their playing is essentially based on the standard training for modernised instruments of a different system, which they receive from the teachers within the conservatory.

5) They do not train as hard and are not as focused as the folk musicians. For most students, *Guyue* is just one minor part of their busy curriculum, whereas for the folk musicians and their ensembles it is the major musical activity.

On the whole, training in *Xi’an guyue* for the conservatory group has departed substantially from that of the folk ensembles in terms of methods, procedures, focus, discipline and technique.

On the other hand, scholars and teachers have made considerable efforts to learn the important local musical tradition from folk musicians. The outcomes, however, have not always found approval by the folk musicians. Since the establishment of the conservatory’s *Guyue* society in 1987, scholars have recognised that the genre is completely new to them and that expertise and experience can only be gained from folk musicians. First of all, a research team was established that collected many old manuscript scores, conducted interviews, made audio recordings and visited folk musicians and groups. In addition, several well-known folk musicians from different groups were invited on a short-term basis to the Conservatory. These included Yu Zhu and Zhang Gui to teach *Guyue* notation,
yunqu and hengha skills and performance. However, the teaching of Guyue by folk musicians at the conservatory was short-lived, and was discontinued around 1996. There has since been little attempt to re-invite folk musicians to teach unlearnt pieces.

Some folk musicians have expressed dissatisfaction with the conservatory’s practices of learning and training of Guyue. The view of one folk musician was that:

The Conservatory is not very committed to learning the real things (zhen dongxi) of Guyue such as hengha, yunqu and guzhazi (percussion score). Of course, learning these skills requires hard work and a feel for the music. They are very interested in collecting our scores and making recordings of our performances so that they can translate our music into their kinds of scores and learn it very quickly.

Conservatory members have done little to master the traditional ways of elaborating the melody through hengha and yunqu skills, and fewer still understand how the old melodic and guzhazi percussion scores should work. The repertory of the Conservatory group today is largely limited to pieces learnt before 1996. Their performances have been criticised by folk musicians as “modern Guyue” (xiandai guyue), “lacking in substance and taste” (buzhashi, meiwei’er), and not authentic (budidao). Although the title of the ensemble – Chang’an Ancient Music Society –suggests the deep roots of the traditional genre, the reality of the new “traditional” music is rather distant from the existing folk tradition. Currently, controversy still remains over how Guyue music should be learnt and played by the Conservatory.

One other point worth discussing here is the huge effort by scholars to make transcriptions of Xi’an guyue, and its impact on contemporary learning of and research into the tradition. During the last half century, more than a dozen volumes of modern transcriptions of old Guyue scores have been made by Li Shigen and others from the regional music institutions, including the conservatory. Most of these original half-character scores were transcribed into cipher notation and some into Western staff notation. The process of transcription is complicated and time-consuming, and involves three procedures: yipu – direct transnotation from the original score; yiji – transcription of the semi-improvised and elaborated melodic vocalisation through henghe and yunqu; and jipu – transcription from live or recorded performances (Li Shigen 1989: 15 – 21). All three are
important and complement each other in revealing a comprehensive picture of a piece of Guyue music. The original character score of a Guyue piece defines its basic structure, key, skeletal notes, beats, signs and terms. The yunqu vocalisation of melodic development and the actual performance both depend fundamentally on the original notation. Moreover, it is a common practice among traditional music genres to add or omit sections. In addition, human memory is not one hundred per cent reliable and mistakes can occur. For example, after comparing and checking the original scores against the recorded performance in 1961 in Beijing, Li Shigen discovered that not only had the group missed out several sections, they had also made mistakes in a number of places (Li Shigen, 1989a:16). It is therefore important that transcriptions of modern Guyue performances make reference to the original scores in order to discover differences and rectify mistakes. Transcription may be regarded as a significant contribution to the study of and research into of Xi’an guyue.

The transcriptions of Xi’an guyue into modern notations have many positive outcomes but have also led to certain problems. The positive outcomes are:

1) The transcriptions were completed in time to record and preserve a large number of old pieces before they were lost to posterity.
2) They enabled more people outside the traditional genre to access the music through its representation in a commonly recognised musical language.
3) They provided systematic documentation and records for researchers and musicians.

However, I argue that the transcriptions also have a negative impact on the Xi’an guyue music tradition. They misrepresent the music in a number of ways:

1) They lead people to simply and easily use ready-made modern materials and thereby ignore traditional and historical sources.
2) They disguise to a certain extent the nature and artistic depth of Xi’an guyue music in terms of its colourful, flexible and variable characteristics. They thus give the impression that the music has one unified, standardised and fixed style.
3) They lead people to omit the essential traditional learning methods and processes: the elaboration of the original character notation – hengha and yunqu and
memorising the music through practice and performance. In using a modern transcription the learning processes jump straight to the stage of sight-reading. Consequently, the tradition of “oral transmission and learning by heart” will be lost.
Chapter 6
Musical aspects: scale, repertories and structure

6.1 Scales and the problems and controversy over the ge note
This section discusses dilemmas surrounding the use of the ge note, the 5th among the 8 notes of the Xi'an guyue basic scale. Among other things, we examine the problems of modulation with reference to ge.

If we take C as our tonic, then ge is treated as F#. But in actual use it is in alternation with the note shang (F). The result is a heptatonic scale with two alternatives for its fourth degree, which thus could also be considered an octatonic scale. Chinese musicologists and musicians over the centuries have struggled with this matter. The dilemma seems to relate to the fact that neither F nor F# appears within the natural harmonic series of C. The 11th harmonic, lying some 3 octaves and 551 cents above the fundamental (see the entry "Harmonics" in the New Grove dictionary of music, 2nd ed.), falls almost exactly halfway between F (500 cents) and F# (600 cents). Most Westernised ears would probably interpret this harmonic as either an out-of-tune pitch halfway between F and F#, or else hear it as sometimes F, sometimes F# depending on melodic context. It seems that many other music cultures confront the same ambiguity of interpretation. Many of the world’s musical scales can be viewed as having developed out of the harmonic series (by merging the various harmonics into a single octave range). In such systems, this pitch is a problem when one attempts to rationalise the scale into tones and semitones: is it F, F#, or some other pitch? This is problematic mainly in systems with a body of explicit theory and with specific names for scale degrees - such as Xi'an guyue.

Judging by historical sources, however, Chinese modes were generated, not directly from the harmonic series, but via a circle of fifths derived from successive overblowing of bamboo tubes, the so-called lü tubes. This led to a full 12-pitch chromatic octave scale. (See the entry "China, II. History and theory, 2. Antiquity to the Warring States period" in the New Grove dictionary of music, 2nd ed.) A tube of, say, pitch C would be overblown, yielding a pitch a fifth above. Another tube would be cut to produce this new pitch G, then overblown to produce a fifth above (d); and so forth. Then these pitches were collapsed into an octave. This could generate pitches closer to both F and F#, rather than the intermediate F of the harmonic series. This is the theory as captured in early sources, though again the question is how this relates to practice and the thoughts of
musicians.

Let us therefore see how musicians and theorists in China have wrestled with this situation in the case of Xi’an guyue.

The basic scale of Xi’an guyue belongs to a rare and important ancient “eight-note music” system (Table 6.1) that has all but disappeared in China today. Indeed, “eight-note music” with its distinctive ge note has been largely replaced by the popular folk gongche heptatonic system in present-day China. Whereas the former is widely thought to belong to the ancient Tang and Song suzii/banzi system, the latter belongs to the standardized gongche notation system formed several centuries later during the Ming and Qing periods. Now, traces of eight-note scale music can be found only in surviving old genres in nanyin, Zhihuasi Temple and Chaozhou music, and in the notation and arguably the performance of Xi’an guyue. Undoubtedly, this living traditional genre is an invaluable resource through which to explore the two most important notation systems – suzipu and gongchepu – their relationships, the reasons for their decline and the phenomenon of the increasing disappearance of the ancient suzipu and the popularity of the today’s commonly used gongchepu.

As such, this study of the scales and related questions of Xi’an guyue needs to inquire beyond the genre itself and to search for historical records, contexts, relevance and the development of scales, tonal relationships and notation systems. I have identified four different terms and claims concerning music with eight basic notes: 1) “hang up eight bells...use seven” (xuanba yongqi) before the 6th to 7th centuries BC, recorded in the Sui History – Music Monography (Suishu yinyue zhi) vol. 9, which quoted the words of the Sui period musician Wan Baochang (c. 556-96) and he goes on to say that this was in line with the prescriptions of the Zhouli; 2) “eight-note music” (bayin zhiyue) by Zheng Yi (540 –91) in the same Sui History – Music Monography vol. 9; 3) “the octatonic scale” (basheng yinjie) by Yang Yinliu; (1980:259) and 4) “the eight-note heptatonic” (bayin qisheng yinjie) scale by Li Shigen (1986:1). These will be discussed in terms of their importance, as indicated by their prominence in the scale of Xi’an guyue, rather than sequentially. Meanwhile, given that the controversial ge note in the scale of Xi’an guyue is crucial to providing explanations and answers to the puzzle of one of the most important ancient musical terms – “eight-note music”- and the differences between ““eight-note music” and the commonly used gongche heptatonic system today, this section also examines the significance and contemporary debate over the problems of the ge note.
6.1.1: The “eight-note heptatonic” and “eight-note music”

According to the score signs, the basic scale of Xi’an guyue has eight notes per octave (Table 6.1). At present, only traces of eight-note scale music can be found in the other three musical genres mentioned above, but it still has a substantial role in Xi’an guyue. Indeed, it plays a major part in forming the characteristics and modes of traditional Xi’an guyue pieces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of li temperament</th>
<th>huang zhang</th>
<th>da li</th>
<th>tai zu</th>
<th>jia zhong</th>
<th>gu xi</th>
<th>zhong li</th>
<th>ru ti</th>
<th>lin zhong</th>
<th>yi ze</th>
<th>nian li</th>
<th>wu she</th>
<th>ying sheng</th>
<th>qing huan zhong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Score sign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>huo</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>liu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of scale degree</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td>qing jiao</td>
<td>bian zhi</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>bian</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>c¹</td>
<td>d¹</td>
<td>c¹</td>
<td>f¹</td>
<td>#f¹</td>
<td>g¹</td>
<td>a¹</td>
<td>b¹</td>
<td>c²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Xi’an guyue scale and its corresponding li temperament

The eight-note scale is called an octatonic scale because Yang Yinliu defined the Sui period “eight-note music” as having an octatonic scale (1980:259). Interestingly, however, scholar Li Shigen coined a new term for the basic eight-note scale – “eight-note heptatonic scale” and it has since been used by some scholars including Cheng Tianjian (1997:16). Li (1986:1) stated that:

[Although] ge and shang notes both exist in the genre’s notation, they cannot simply be regarded as the fourth and fifth degree notes. Therefore, the scale cannot be called octatonic. I therefore name it “eight-note heptatonic”.

The specific reasons for the term “eight-note heptatonic” and the significance and debate over the critical note ge will be discussed later in this chapter.

Now, let us focus on the search for the relevant historical evidence of “eight-note music” and its relevance to the basic scale of Xi’an guyue. Although “eight-note heptatonic” is a newly invented term, “eight-note music” itself has a long history. It should first be noted that “musical scale” (yinjie) is a relatively modern or perhaps a Western term in Chinese musicology. In traditional Chinese musical theory, the most frequently used musicological terms have been key (diao), mode (diaoxing), “names of notes” (yinming), temperament (liu) and gongdiao (a kind of “moveable do” tonal system

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in which gong is the first degree of a scale\(^1\). The term 了 is normally translated as temperament by internal scholars, but it has several meanings in different musicological contexts (see ZYC 1985:255–6). One of the meanings of the 了 represents the 12 traditional chromatic pitch names which first appeared in 552 BC in *Discourses of the States*, Vol. 2 (*Guoyu zhouyu xia*) (ZYC:354), as listed above and in table 6.2 below.

Three significant findings demonstrate the historical existence of “eight-note music”. First, the term “eight-note music” was established by the influential musicologist Zheng Yi (540–591) according to the “Sui History – Music Monograph” vol. 9 that quoted Zheng Yi’s words:

> ...now the chimes are arranged in a set of eight, therefore [we] make eight-note music; beyond the seven notes [we] set up an extra sound – named the ying sound.

Generally, “seven notes” in ancient Chinese music means a heptatonic scale. We know from the discussion above that the “ying sound” is one beyond the existing “seven notes”, but we still cannot be sure where it was positioned in relation to the others, and which chromatic pitch matched the “ying sound”. In order to find out this, we must first understand the “seven notes” to which Zheng Yi referred, their temperaments and their intra-tonal relationships. Let us look at Zheng Yi’s analysis recorded in the *Sui Book Music Gazette*, in which he discussed the question in the context of the famous foreign pipa player, Sujiva. Sujiva came to China in the third year of Tianhe (568 AD) and reportedly brought with him his seven-note music. Zheng Yi stated that:

> Searching and examining the musical temperaments of bells and chimes used in Court Music (yuefu), it all consists of the names of gong, shang, jiao, zhi, yu, biangong, bianzhi, seven sounds... During the reign of the Wudi Emperor of the Northern Zhou dynasty, there was a fine foreign pipa player from Guizi (Kucha), called Sujiva. I heard him playing and there were seven sounds within one mode. I asked him about his music, and he replied: “my father lives in the Xiyu (Western Region) and is known for his understanding of music. Our music is passed on from generation to generation and has seven modes (qidiao)”. ...I applied his seven modes to examine the seven notes and they seemed to match.

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\(^1\) Confusingly, gong is also the name of a specific pitch in *Xi’an guyue*, which I am representing consistently as a despite some local variation in absolute pitch, shang too is used both as the second scale degree in the “moveable do” system and as the specific pitch f in *Xi’an guyue.*

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The first, *shatola*, is equivalent to the Chinese *ping* sound and is also called *gong*.
The second, *jizhi*, is equivalent to the Chinese *chang* sound and is also called *shang*.
The third, *shaishi*, is equivalent to the Chinese *zhizhi* sound and is also called *jiao*.
The fourth, *shahou jialan*, is equivalent to the Chinese *ying* sound and is also called *bianzhi*.
The fifth, *shala*, is equivalent to the Chinese *yinghe* sound and is also called *zhi*.
The sixth, *banzhan*, is equivalent to the Chinese *wu* sound and is also called *yu*.
The seventh, *ailijie*, is equivalent to the Chinese *downia* sound and is also called *biangong*.

(in Chang Renxia 1956:19-20, translated by the author)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of <em>la</em> (temperament)</th>
<th>Huangzhong</th>
<th>Da li</th>
<th>Tai zu</th>
<th>Jia zhong</th>
<th>Gu xi</th>
<th>Zhong lu</th>
<th>Rui bin</th>
<th>Lin zhong</th>
<th>Yi ze</th>
<th>Nan lu</th>
<th>Wu yi</th>
<th>Ying zhong</th>
<th>Qing Huangzhong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sujiva's seven notes</td>
<td>shatola</td>
<td>jizhi</td>
<td>shaishi</td>
<td>sha hou jialan</td>
<td>shala</td>
<td>ban zhan</td>
<td>ailijie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangzhong gong yayue seven notes</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td>bian zhi44</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bian gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangzhong gong qingyue seven notes</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td>qing jiao</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bian gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linzhong gong qingyue seven notes</td>
<td>qing jiao</td>
<td>zheng</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bian gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Yi's &quot;eight notes&quot;</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td>qing jiao4</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bian gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xi'an guyue eight notes</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>jiao</td>
<td>qing jiao4</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bian gong</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>e¹</td>
<td>d¹</td>
<td>e¹</td>
<td>f¹</td>
<td>g¹</td>
<td>a¹</td>
<td>b¹</td>
<td>c²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Comparison between ancient seven-notes scales, Zheng Yi's "eight-notes" and Xi'an guyue eight line-up notes.

From the above we can see that the "ying sound" existed already by 586 at the latest.
However, Zheng Yi's "eight-note music" as a term is unprecedented in Chinese musical history. Furthermore, Sujiva's seven notes matched the Chinese *yayue*² scale but not the *qingyue*³ scale, which lacked the note 4 at the *zhonglu* temperament position (Table 6.2).
Therefore, Zheng Yi wanted to create an "eight-note music" that could accommodate both the existing *yayue* and *qingyue* notes, and remain consistent with Sujiva's seven modes. He thought that "Qingyue music using huangzhong (tonic) as gong... should also employ bianzhi [note] at the ruibin position". As a result, Zheng Yi's "eight-note music"

---
was based on the qingyue scale with the addition of an eighth note, the “ying sound”, at the fifth degree in the ruibin position. As Huang Xiangpeng pointed out, “Zheng Yi’s ‘eight-note music’ does not use wuyi but yingzhong, keeps the zhonglu and adds ruibin” (1993:205). This means that Zheng Yi’s conclusion was: ying sound = bianzhi = ruibin. Thus it is evident that Zheng Yi’s “eight-note music” exactly matches the eight notes of Xi’an guyue in terms of their intervallic relationships. This is an important finding: not only have we found the theoretical basis for the line-up of the basic eight notes in Xi’an guyue, we have also shown that the “eight-note music” established by Zheng Yi some 1,300 years ago has survived, at least in terms of the basic scale, in Xi’an guyue today.

Secondly, let us evaluate this passage in Brush Talks of Mengxi (Mengxi bitan) by the Song dynasty musical theorist Shen Kuo (1030-94). He describes the relationship between the liu temperaments and the banzipu signs (Table 6.1):

Today’s yanyue only uses he sign to match huangzhong; the lower si sign matches dalü; the higher si sign matches taizu; the lower yi matches the jiazhong; the higher yi matches guxi; the shang sign matches zhonglu; the ge sign matches ruibin; the che sign matches linzhong; the lower gong sign matches yize; the higher gong sign matches nanli; the lower fan sign matches wuyi; the higher fan sign matches yingzhong; the liu sign matches the qing [higher octave] huangzhong; the lower wu sign matches qing dalü; the higher wu sign matches qing jiazhong.

This description shows that the eight names of the score signs/pitches and their corresponding musical temperaments in Xi’an guyue match what Shen Kuo described as the yanyue scale at the beginning of the 11th century. Actually, there is only one si sign (Table 6.1), even though this quotation refers to a “lower” and “higher” si sign. There is no distinction in the written notation, but this passage clearly indicates that si, a single sign, represents two different pitches: dalü and taizu (equivalent to Western d-flat and d-sharp). In the upper (qing) octave, the sign wu represents three different neighbouring pitches like the Western d-flat, d♯ and d-sharp.

Thirdly, the existing line-up of eight notes from low to high pitch in Xi’an guyue, their structure and the names of the notation signs and temperaments also fit the theory of what Southern Song musicologist Cai Yuanding (1135–98) stated in A New Book on the Lülü in Two Volumes (Lülü xinshu erjuan), dated 1187:

....Huangzhong is represented by the huo sign, dalü and taizu are represented by the si
Jiazhong and guxi are represented by the yi sign, yize and nanli are represented by the gong sign, wayi and yingzhong are represented by the fan sign. [The notes] below and above them are divided into qing [high octave] and zhu [low octave]. [But] zhongli, ruibin and linzhong cannot be sub-divided. Qing huangzhong is used for the liu sign.

The above descriptions are precisely the line-up of pronunciations for the eight notation signs and their intra-temperament arrangements that appear in the notation of Xi'an guyue. Combining the second and third historical writing, we can say that: bianzhi = ruibin = ge. Summing up all three pieces of evidence, we can conclude that ying sound = bianzhi = ruibin = ge. Thus, historical evidence since the Sui period clearly supports the tonal structure of Xi'an guyue in terms of ancient Chinese musicology (yuexue) and temperamentology (luxue). These credentials strongly affirm claims regarding the antiquity of the music genre.

### 6.1.2 The three ancient Chinese heptatonic scales

In order to comprehend the complexity of the “eight-note heptatonic” scale of Xi'an guyue, it is essential to understand the three related heptatonic scales in the history of Chinese music (Table 6.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yayue scale (also known as the old (Gu) or Zhongsheng scale)</td>
<td>gong shang jiao bianzhi zhi yu biangong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 #4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Qingyue scale (also known as new (Xin) or Xiazhi scales)</td>
<td>gong shang jiao qingjiao zhi yu biangong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yanyue scale (also known as the Qingshang or Suyite scale)</td>
<td>gong shang jiao qingjiao zhi yu run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 b7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Xi'an guyue scale</td>
<td>gong shang jiao qingjiao bianzhi zhi yu biangong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 #4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Three ancient heptatonic scales and Xi'an guyue basic scale.

Heptatonic scales in China can be traced back to the Zhou period (770 – 476BC), when

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the twelve names of the established musical lü temperaments (Table 6.1) first appeared in 552 BC in National Language, Zhou Language, Second Part (Guoyu zhounyu xia) (ZYC:354). The heptatonic scales of the Table 6.3 were derived from the ancient Chinese “gong shang jiao zhì yù” (signifying the five cosmological elements of metal, wood, water, fire and earth) pentatonic scale, by adding the semi-tones at different intervals. Unlike the Xi’an guyue scale, the other three ancient heptatonic scales all possess two semitones. The two semitones of the yayue scale were between the fourth and fifth, and the seventh and eighth degrees; in the qingyue scale they were between the notes of the third and fourth and the seventh and eighth degrees; and in the yanyue scale they were positioned between the third and fourth and the sixth and seventh degrees. As such, each scale has its own distinctive characteristics just as do Western church modes. The yayue and qingyue scales co-existed in the Zhou period (Yang Yinliu 1982:88) and played important roles in the ceremonial and sacrificial music of the time. According to the 1985 Chinese Music Dictionary, the yanyue scale was used for the Xianghe Song and Qingshang music genres during the Han, Wei and Jin Dynasties, and continued to be used in the Sui and Tang court music.

Unlike these three heptatonic scales, Xi’an guyue, rather interestingly, has eight notes and three semi-tones which were located between the third and fourth, fourth and fifth and seventh and eighth degrees of its scale. The “eight-note music”, its tonal relationships in Xi’an guyue, and the arguments centered on the ge note will be further discussed below.

Because of the confusion mentioned in footnote 1 (p. 228) in this chapter, from here on, I will try to avoid using the Chinese names for the scale degrees except when absolutely necessary, replacing them with cipher notation (jianpu) as follows:

\[
gong \quad shang \quad jiao \quad qingjiao \quad bianzhi \quad zhi \quad yu \quad run \quad biangong
\]

\[
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad #4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad b7 \quad 7
\]

I will also consistently represent the notes of Xi’an guyue as if they were the following fixed pitches:

\[
huo \quad si \quad yi \quad shang \quad ge \quad che \quad gong \quad fan \quad liu \quad wu \quad yi
\]

\[
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad #4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad i \quad 2 \quad 3
\]
When the term *shang* appears, it will therefore refer to *Xi’an guyue* f, not to scale degree 2; likewise, *gong* will refer to *Xi’an guyue* pitch a, not to scale degree 1 (the “tonic”).

### 6.1.3 *Xi’an guyue* and its scales

As one of the oldest surviving music genres, does *Xi’an guyue* only consist of one single scale as shown in Table 6.1? No. In fact, *Xi’an guyue* possesses various different forms of pentatonic scale, and more significantly and amazingly all three forms of ancient hepatonic scales. As Huang Xiangpeng pointed out: “for a mature musical genre, although it has its basic scale, it often combines the use of multi-scales” (1990:60).

Analysing the surviving scores of *Xi’an guyue*, the existing lineup of basic notes shows clearly that it has the capacity to form three ancient Chinese scales (Table 6.4):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score sign</th>
<th>shang</th>
<th>ge</th>
<th>che</th>
<th>gong</th>
<th>fan</th>
<th>liu</th>
<th>wu</th>
<th>yi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td><em>shang</em></td>
<td><em>ge</em></td>
<td><em>che</em></td>
<td><em>gong</em></td>
<td><em>fan</em></td>
<td><em>liu</em></td>
<td><em>wu</em></td>
<td><em>yi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td><em>f</em>¹</td>
<td>*g♯*¹</td>
<td><em>a</em>¹</td>
<td><em>b</em>¹</td>
<td><em>c</em>²</td>
<td><em>d</em>²</td>
<td><em>e</em>²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang key</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu = key</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu = key</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che = gong</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che key</td>
<td>7 <em>b</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Key</td>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7 <em>b</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 Constitution of three ancient scales in different keys based on the pitch relationships of the score characters (some are omitted due to table size and its relevance).

Since pieces in the *qingyue* scale (normal hepatonic scale without accidental notes #4 and *b*7) can be easily found in *Anthology of Folk Instrumental Music, Shaanxi vol. 1* (1992), below I give a few examples focusing on the *yayue* and *yanyue* scales.
Ex. 6.1 Transcription of *Half Section of Mantingfang*: a) Original score signs; b) *yunqu* in staff notation (*sung* by Cui Shirong, Aug. 1996); c) Transnotation in relative-pitch *jianpu* notation: Key of *shang* \( (J^3) = F = 1 \).
Ex. 6.2 Transcription of Main Body of Weeping Willow: a) Transnotation in staff notation based on original score Fig 6.2 (yunqu by Cui Shirong, Aug. 1996); b) Transnotation in relative jianpu notation: key of liu ($\chi$) = C = 1.

Ex. 6.3 Transcription of Clear Blow, che gong che, Chenghuang monastery ensemble performance in 1961, Shaanxi vol. 1, Anthology, Folk Instrumental Music, p. 489. Key of che ($\chi$) = G = 1

Exx. 6.1-6.3 show us that both yayue with 4# and yanyue with 7b did indeed exist in Xi'an guyue music. The three pieces are in different keys: shang (F), liu (C) and che (G). This explains why I transcribed 1=F in Ex. 6.1 but 1=C in Ex. 6.2. Furthermore, the three pieces also embody the three Chinese modes of (diaoshi, diaoxing) yu, jiao and zhi. The five basic modes in traditional Chinese music, named after the five main scale degrees of
the heptatonic “moveable do” system are: gong (宮, tonic), shang (商, second scale degree), jiao (角, third degree), zhi (徵, fifth degree) and yū (羽, sixth degree). Each core note plays the dominant role in its mode and is important in determining the flow and stability of its melody, music characteristics and flavour in its respective modes. These core notes are often the ending notes (shayin) in their modes (as in these three examples) and they tend to appear more frequently at strong beats and sustain longer than other notes in their modes. Western scholars of Chinese music sometimes refer to these modes respectively as the do, re, mi, sol and la modes, to avoid excessive Chinese terminology. Thus, based on modal analysis of Exx. 6.1-3, we can reach the result in Ex. 6.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key:</th>
<th>Ex. 6.1</th>
<th>Ex. 6.2</th>
<th>Ex. 6.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>shang = F = 1</td>
<td>liu = C = 1</td>
<td>che = g = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed-pitch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale: (relative pitch)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4# 5 6 7 i</td>
<td>1 2 3 4# (5) 6 7 i</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7b i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode: (relative pitch)</td>
<td>6 7 1 2 3 4# 5 6</td>
<td>3 4# (5) 6 7 1 2 3</td>
<td>5 6 7b 1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result:</td>
<td>shang key yayue scale in yū mode</td>
<td>liu key yayue scale in jiao mode (lacking 5)</td>
<td>che key yanyue scale in zhi mode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex. 6.4 Modal analysis result of Ex. 6.1-3.

The above analysis demonstrates not only that Xi’an guyue consists of ancient yayue and yanyue scales; it also possesses the characteristics of distinct modes. However, it should be noted that pieces with yayue and yanyue scales occupy only a small part in the genre’s music: the majority of pieces are still centred on the qingyue heptatonic scale. But, pieces using the yayue scale such as Exx. 6.1-2 sound very strange to Chinese ears in the present day. It is worth noting here that some scholars have found certain similarities between this kind of music and some Japanese music genres including gagaku and folk songs (Li Shigen 1988c, Li Jianzheng 1997 and Jiao Jie 1987).

The above analysis is based on only a few individual short pieces. For large suite pieces the issues of multi-keys and modes, transposing, shifting and changing keys remain rather complex, and further in-depth study is needed.
6.1.4 The ge note and its significance in “eight-note heptatonic”

Let us now turn the discussion back to the question of why Li Shigen gave the “eight-note music” of Xi’an guyue the new name “eight-note heptatonic”. Indeed, Zheng Yi’s term “eight-note music” already covers all eight basic notes in Xi’an guyue, as discussed earlier (see Table 6.5). Why did Li feel the need for a new name?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of temperament</th>
<th>Huang zhong</th>
<th>Da ti</th>
<th>Tai zu</th>
<th>Jin zhong</th>
<th>Gu xi</th>
<th>Zhang ti</th>
<th>Rui lin</th>
<th>Lin zhong</th>
<th>Yi ze</th>
<th>Nan ti</th>
<th>Wu she</th>
<th>Ying zhong</th>
<th>Qing huang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X‘an guyue score sign</td>
<td>apeutics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>luo</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>luo</td>
<td>hou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative pitch</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>#f</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X‘an guyue scale</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Yi’s “eight notes”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yueyue scale</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingyue scale</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yueyue scale</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5 Comparison of scales and their corresponding ti pitch positions between Xi‘an guyue, Zheng Yi’s “eight-notes” and the three ancient scales.

Zheng Yi’s term “eight-note music” does not necessarily mean that traditional music genres with eight basic notes have to use all eight notes in any one piece. In fact, from ancient times to the present day, traditional seven-note (yueyue, qingyue and yanyue) scales have been core characteristics of Chinese music. This is largely true even for those genres that possess eight basic notes, such as Xi’an guyue. Again, let us look for historical evidence:

The Sui History Music Monograph recorded the words of the famous hereditary musician and musicologist of the Northern Qi period (550–77), Wan Baocchang, that “Zhou’s (770–221 BC) precious jade and Yin’s (16th –11th centuries BC) ivory [were used as decorations for bells/chimes], of which eight were hung [but only] seven were used”. Volume 14 of the Music Monograph explains further: “The method of hanging the bells and chimes, as a rule in a set, hanging eight but only using seven, does not adopt the later Zhou method of hanging seven”. This indicates the following points:
1) “Eight-note music” was seemingly already in use before the Sui, in the Yin and Zhou periods, even though the term was first introduced by Zheng Yi in the Sui period.

2) Influential musicologists during and prior to the Sui period including Wan Baochang believed that the arrangement of eight notes for bells or chimes had been the rule since the Yin and Eastern Zhou periods. Only in the later Zhou did the arrangement for the bells and chimes change to a set of seven rather than eight.

3) Prior to the Zhou period, although eight-note music existed as shown by the way in which the line-up of eight bells or chimes were hung, only seven notes were used in practice.

Now, it is important to reveal the historical and political background relating to the concepts of “eight-note music” and “hanging up eight [chimes] but using seven”. In this regard, the Sui History Music Monograph vol.10 records the interesting story of the controversy between two schools led by Zheng Yi and He Tuo during the reign of the Sui Emperor Gaozu (581 – 640). Zheng was a reformist who advocated “seven modes” (qидiao), “eight-note music”, “twelve lü [pitches]”, yayue and qingyue scales, and “transposition of the “tonic” [gong] (xungong) to the twelve lü pitch positions to achieve his hypothesis of “84 keys” (12 lü pitches each as tonic multiplied by 7 modes). He Tuo, by contrast, was a conservative minister close to the Emperor. He was strongly against Zheng Yi’s idea of “transposing the tonic ” to different pitch positions (i.e. changing keys in Western terminology) and the old Zhou-period practice of using linzhong (the third degree of the Chinese lü pitch system) as tonic. He explained to the Emperor that the music of the Zhou dynasty and use of linzhong as gong had resulted in the loss of the country. The relationship between huangzhong and linzhong were like that between Emperor and Minister; therefore their positions could not be inverted. He Tuo said that “huangzhong symbolizes the virtue of a people’s Emperor”. He Tuo thus persuaded the Emperor to command that “only one gong [key] be allowed, at the huangzhong pitch” and to “forbid music which transposed the tonic[changed key]” and that whilst “eight-note would be allowed [in the Huangzhong pitch], others [keys] would now be strictly forbidden”. A couple of years later, Zheng Yi’s supporter Niu Hong proposed Zheng’s transposition method to the Emperor, but again it was rejected (Huang Xiangpeng 1993:196–200).
However, Zheng’s response was to apply the clever device of the “extra note”, the “ying sound”, at the ruibin pitch position within his “eight-note music” structure, which helped him realise many of his propositions without offending the Emperor. This enabled him to tactfully succeed in achieving not only the huangzhong gong yayue and qingyue scales but also the seven Sujiva modes (qidiao) and the lingzhong gong qingyue scale (see figure 6.2). A review of all the literary records regarding Zheng Yi’s musical innovation shows that his ideas were grounded mainly in the theory of the “seven sounds” and “twelve lu”, including his frequently mentioned yayue and qingyue heptatonic scales, “Sujiva’s seven modes” “transposing the tonic” and “84 keys”. Therefore, the innovation of Zheng Yi’s “eight-note music” should not be regarded simply as a random wish to make eight-note music or because 8 was regarded as a lucky number and 7 was not, but an indication of Zheng Yi’s ingenuity in fulfilling his musical ideas under the Emperor’s constraints.

In fact the Sui Emperor Gaozu’s “huangzhong” “one gong” rule was only obeyed at an official and superficial level. During the 6th century, the reformists were stronger than ever before. Leading reformers besides Zheng Yi included Wan Baochang, Niu Hong and others who continued to experiment with new musicological ideas despite the Emperor’s prohibitions. Given that the Emperor and his officials had little musical knowledge, Zheng Yi and his folk could often get away with practicing their “illegal” music ventures. The Sui History – Music Monograph vol. 9, for example, tells of how at an official ritual ceremony, a group of court musicians deliberately changed their music by transposing the tonic to the pitch ruibin (equivalent to an augmented fourth interval from the pitch huangzhong). None of the officials even noticed! It was, however, these very musical theories of Zheng Yi and Wan Baochang, including “eight-note music”, “transposing the tonic and changing keys” (xungong zuandiao) and “84 keys”, that were the foundation for the flourishing multi-key and multi-mode musical phenomena of the following Tang period (Yang Yinliu 1981:258-67).

The above evidence gives a significant historical basis to Li Shigen’s new term for the basic scale in Xi’an guyue – “eight-note heptatonic”. Li’s new term also took into account the fact that most Xi’an guyue pieces use ancient Chinese heptatonic scales. Although sometimes eight notes are used in the same piece, the 8th note seems to occur when shifting keys or applying different scales within a piece/suite: in practice it is like the replacement of F by F# in Western music when a piece changes key from C to G. As such, it is obvious that “eight-note music” or octatonicism would not be an efficient
concept for analyzing the complex intra-musical elements of Xi'an guyue. Indeed, Li’s term seems to make sense and to be more appropriate for comparison and analysis of Xi'an guyue music: not only does the term include the basic eight notes of the genre, but it also indicates the nature of the genre as more heptatonic-orientated.

Now, although we find historical relevance and reasons to explain the phenomenon, we still have not answered the question of why one should “hang eight bells/chimes, but only use seven”. What is the real meaning behind Li’s term “eight-note heptatonic”? And what is the function and significance of the “extra note” – the “ying sound” – the ge note established by Zheng Yi? The main reason lies in the importance of the ge note.

1) It allows the formation of traditional yayue, qingyue and yanyue scales, which are essential to Xi'an guyue music. The ge note made possible the three semi-tone intervals that are crucial to traditional Chinese heptatonic scales: 4# and 5 (in yayue) = 7 and 1 (in qingyue) = 3 and 4 (in yanyue). In other words, ge is the 4th degree (bianzhi) in the yayue scale, the 7th degree (biangong) in the qingyue scale and the 3rd degree (jiao) in the yanyue scale. (Table 6.5). As Li explains: “It [ge] cannot be regarded only as bianzhi (♯4) [in liu key], because it can also be used as biangong (7) [in che key], and jiao (3) [in wu key]” (1987:41-42) (Table 6.5).

2) The establishment of the ge note solved the problems of maintaining consistency between the yayue and yanyue scales after shifting the tonic note and transposing melodies to new keys. Without the ge note, the above three semi-tone intervals cannot possibly be formed, and as such, the subsequent scales and music would be in an unexplainable chaos after changing keys.

3) Most importantly, the ge note was theoretically designed as a preparation note for transposition. Its main function is for adjusting the necessary semi-tone intervals for particular heptatonic scales (Li Shigen, 1988a:45-8). In Western terms, we can see that ge is only used in keys employing sharps, for example, in G (che) and D (wu); it is not used in keys that have flats, such as F (shang). C (liu) uses neither sharps nor flats, so the ge note is not used. This comparison shows that there are certain similarities between the West and China in the use of “sharp” and “flat” notes (bianhuayin) for the purpose of changing keys. Perhaps we could suggest that such a concept of “sharp” and “flat” notes
for changing keys was beginning to be realized and intended in China some one and half millennia ago in the Sui period. The credit should go to Zheng Yi. Thus, the function and significance of “ge” = “ying sound” and forming the necessary semi-tone intervals in certain heptatonic scales is the real purpose behind both the establishment of Zheng Yi’s “eight-note music” and Li Shigen’s “eight-note heptatonic”.

Apparently, Huang Xiangpeng’s consideration regarding the phenomenon of “hang up eight using seven” is more cautious. He points out that:

The question of the true nature of “eight-note music” is whether it is an “octatonic” scale or the kind of “eight-note music” that has “eight notes but uses seven” including the changing note (ying sound), and possesses the flexible function of transposing the gong key. According to the latter, it is not a fixed scale: the nature of its scale degree can be changed and may form transposed positions among many different scales. Today, when we do not yet have a theoretical basis on which to make a scientific generality about the term “scale”, I am inclined to call the eight-note structure temporarily “eight-note music” but not “scale”. (Huang Xiangpeng 1982:45)

To sum up, the four claims by Chinese scholars relating to eight-note music reflect different thinking and concepts from different periods. Yang Yinliu’s “octatonic” is simply a modern Western translation of the Chinese “eight-note” according to the number of notes that are available in the genre. The function and meaning of Zheng Yi’s “eight-note music” (adding “an extra note”, the “ying sound”, to the “seven notes”) is rather intricate. The establishment of the extra “ying sound” and its specific function is a significant development and has profound significance in Chinese musicology. His term “eight-note music” was perhaps created under a contradictory circumstances. On the one hand he had to obey Emperor Gaozu’s conservative idea of “forbidding music with transposed tonic”; on the other hand, as an erudite and progressive musicologist, he attempted to facilitate the development of music at the time. As such, his term “eight-note music” was created to appear as a one-gong system in order to disguise the reality of transposing many gong keys. Huang’s penetrating analysis and view of the phenomenon of “hanging eight but using seven” and “eight-note music” may have laid the foundation for Li Shigen’s “eight-note heptatonic”. On the whole, the term “eight-note heptatonic” absorbs and develops the insight of other scholars and is perhaps the most suitable one for the musical characteristics of Xi’an guyue.
6.1.5 The debates and problems about the ge note

The on-going debates and puzzles over the ge note centre on the question of whether the ge note is still in use in today’s performance practice in Xi’an guyue and related problems. There are two contrasting views on the question: one claims that the ge note has effectively disappeared in current performances and the other strongly disagrees, arguing that it does indeed exist. Li Shigen is the first to theorise that the “ge has been replaced by the shang note in current Xi’an guyue practice” (yishang daigou) (1983:20). Conversely, Cheng Tianjian and others object to this view; Cheng stated that “the phenomenon of ‘shang replacing ge’ does not exist and this view is untenable both theoretically and in practice” (1997:50).

Li’s hypothesis that “shang replaces ge” in Xi’an guyue is grounded in the following claims:

1) Historical evidence of the abolition of the ge note. According to the Book of Music (Yueshu) by Chen Shang (d. 1094), the guanzi (then called bili) had nine blowholes. It stated “today’s bili has seven holes in the front and two holes at the back. They are used for wu, fan, gong, che, shang, yi, si, liu, ge and he – ten signs to notate the sound”. However, the ge note was abolished as recorded in Musicology Regulations (Yuexue Guifan) by this same Chen Shang: “because the two sounds shang and ge come out from the same hole, the hole for ge is abolished. Only eight sound holes are now made, with the second hole at the back”. Despite the variations in pitch standards of guanzi throughout China, the eight-hole physical structure of the instrument has persisted until today (Fig. 5.10, p. 189).

2) Modern versions of manuscript scores show the phenomenon of shang replacing ge. Although ge notes can be clearly seen in many older Xi’an guyue scores, in some modern versions ge has been replaced by shang (Fig. 6.3). It could be hypothesised that due to the similarity between these two notation signs ( ), shang was accidentally written as ge when copying manuscripts over generations. However, the problem with this reasoning is that no cases have been found that show the opposite (ge written as shang) when comparing old and new versions of notations. There must be other reasons to explain this phenomenon.
3) Li stated that existing melodic instruments in Xi’an guyue are either incapable of producing the ge sound physically or can do so only with great difficulty. In practice, therefore, the sound of ge has disappeared, despite the ge sign clearly still existing in the scores. The sheng and double-gong-chime, with their absolute fixed pitches, cannot produce the ge note. The di (with equidistant holes) and guanzi could produce it by embouchure and half-holing, but this is unnatural and often difficult, depending on the musician. This may, to a certain extent, explain why contemporary Xi’an guyue folk musicians have been adopting the shang note to replace ge in recent versions of manuscripts and in performance. One other important factor is that in recent years old-style instruments have become increasingly difficult to make and to purchase due to a serious decline in demand. Instead, factory-made and standardised modern instruments are available on a nationwide scale. Therefore some folk musicians have to use modern standardized di, sheng and guanzi for the old music genres. These modern instruments are based on the 12-semitone equal temperament system and also physically cannot easily produce the ge sound. This has contributed to the contradiction and inconsistency between original notation and current performance in Xi’an guyue today.
4) The confusion caused between fixed pitch (half-character, banzi) notation in the Song period and the relative pitch systems in the Ming and Qing periods a few centuries later. Given that Xi’an guyue scores belong to the ancient fixed pitch system of “eight-note music” with the distinctive ge pitch, whilst during the Ming and Qing periods the most popular notation system has gradually shifted to the standardized gongchepu relative pitch system, the ge note has been abolished, Li claims (§Table 5.5, p. 190).

Despite the two kinds of notation having adopted similar gongche score signs and pronunciations, their concepts, techniques and usages are fundamentally different. Guyue notation represents fixed-pitch eight-note music with ge representing a specific absolute pitch, while standard gongche represents a relative-pitch system with seven degrees representing a heptatonic scale whose first degree is shang. Given that standardized gongchepu notation has for several centuries been widely used in various folk genres including most instrumental music, it is not surprising that most Shaanxi folk genres apart from Xi’an guyue use it today. Taking Nanjixian village as an example, all eight genres of folk music apart from Guyue use standard gongchepu. These factors contribute to the problems and confusion over the use of two apparently similar but actually fundamentally different notation types, namely suzipu and gongchepu. It has subsequently led folk musicians to adopt shang in place of the ge note (§6.1.5, p. 242).

The other view opposed to Li’s perception, stated most forcefully by Cheng Tianjian, argues that the phenomenon of shang replacing ge does not exist and that this theory does not stand up. Because both shang and ge exist in the scores of Xi’an guyue and musicians can clearly play the two different notes, there is no need to replace the ge with shang (Cheng Tianjian 1997:40). Cheng’s reasons are as follows:

1) Ge was one of the five main notes of the heptatonic scale in the wu key (the third degree of the scale). If the shang (a semi-tone below ge) note appears in the score of a wu key piece, it might be a copying error rather than an intentional replacement for ge.

2) Although melodic instruments such as di, guanzi and shuang yunluo do not have the ge sound built into their physical structure, Cheng notes that this does not mean that the ge sound cannot be produced through playing techniques. First, as I can confirm, experienced di players can clearly produce the two different notes by adjusting the
strength of breath and by fingering techniques such as half-holing (Zhang Cunzhu, interview, Aug. 1996). Secondly, although the ge hole on the guanzi had apparently been abolished in the 11th century, this did not mean that the ge note had disappeared altogether. On the contrary, “shang and ge notes are both produced from the same hole”, as noted above by the 11th century musicologist Chen Yang. Therefore, the guanzi had been reformed from its old physical structure of 9 finger-holes to the 8 holes still in existence today. This change may have resulted from the development of playing techniques and the reform of instruments during the Tang period and subsequently. The guanzi player of the Dajichang group, Zhou Zhili, clearly demonstrated the ge note from the shang hole by adopting tuzou (exhaling playing), a kind of embouchure technique. He explained to me: “Now the playing technique of guanzi is much advanced, and the depth of the reed in the player’s mouth and the dynamics of breath have direct control over the pitch. The notes produced from the same finger-hole by such a method ranges from less than a semitone to a fourth” (Sept. 1998). Thirdly, although the existing double-gong-chime does not have a gong tuned to the ge pitch, Yu Zhu stated that the ge note is produced by hitting the edge of the shang gong (Aug. 1996). This action shows certain awareness among folk musicians of the need to solve the problem, but the effect is symbolic rather than fundamental. This is why the Conservatory’s Guyue ensemble had to sacrifice the well-balanced, two-sided, traditional 1-2-3 pyramid shaped double-gong chime, adding an extra gong for the ge note in order to solve the problem of inconsistency between notation and performance (Fig. 5.23, p 216).

During my fieldwork and investigation, I found evidence that supports both Li’s observation of the “shang replacing ge” phenomenon (Fig. 6.3), and Cheng’s counter-position (see below Fig 6.4-5 and Ex. 6.4 –5.).
Fig. 6.4 Gong yi gong score. Chenghuang Monastery score, Zhang Cunzhu’s copy.

Fig. 6.5 Liu Yao, source same as Fig. 6.4

Ex. 6.5 Gong yi gong (the column furthest to the right) in key of wu (D). a) Transnotation from original score. b) yunqu in cipher notation (jianpu) sung by Zhang Cunzhu, CD Track 11, Ge’legao = 4# is clearly present in both the written and in Zhang’s sung version.
Ex. 6.6  Liu Yao in key of shang (F). a) Transnotation from original score. b) yunqu in cipher notation sung by Zhang Cunzhu, CD Track 9. Here the ge/gao = 4# was replaced by shang = 4 in the sung version.

From Fig 6.4 and 6.5 above we see that both pieces have ge/gao signs (丅) representing different octaves). However, the notations for the ge/gao pitches in the two pieces are sung differently by the same musician. In Ex. 6.5, we see ge/gao and hear (track 11) the consistency between the ge/gao (丅) signs in version (a) and the yunqu vocalization in version (b). This proves that ge/gao = F# is still realised and practiced, at least at the level of the yunqu vocalization of the notation, as pointed out by Cheng Tianjian. On the other hand, Ex. 6.6 demonstrates an inconsistency between lines (a) and (b), which indeed shows that “ge/gao was replaced by the shang” throughout, as claimed by Li Shigen. But when we look closely, we see that ge/gao with a radical (丅), indicating a higher octave of (丅) is read as “shang” as in Ex. 6.6. So there is a conflict between the readings of the signs ge/gao (丅) and shang 丄. Zhang Cunzhu explained to me:

Gao [ge] is a special and flexible note. It sometime reads as shang and sometimes as gao, depending on specific circumstances such as key and flavour [mode]. If you mix the two different readings, the flavour of the piece is totally wrong, and experienced [Guyue] musicians can... Interview, September, 1998.

If we take into account the key indications for the two pieces, it may shed some light on the confusion over ge/gao and shang signs and their readings. The piece Gong yi

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gong (Fig 6.4 and Ex 6.4) is in the key of Wu (D=1), and the genre is notated in a fixed pitch system, which needs to have ge/gao (♯) constitute the third scale degree as in Western staff notation (Table 6.6 p. 249). One of the reasons is that a third degree -jiao - is essential in constituting a scale in any traditional Chinese music. However, the piece Liu Yao is in the key of shang (shang = F=1), which is very unlikely to use ge/gao (♯) - a non-degree note, a semi-tone higher than the first scale degree in the genre’s music. This supports the idea that the appearance of the ge/gao signs in shang key pieces may well be a copying error owing to the fact that the signs for the two notes are almost identical. In Ex. 6.5, we witness how musician Zhang Cunzhu adjusted the error according to his own judgment. Nevertheless, both Li and Cheng’s controversial views and arguments provide invaluable scholarship for further studies on related topics.

As of today, the ways in which folk musicians actually deal with the ge note in both the notation and performance of Xi’an guyue is still very confusing and is under-investigated. The problems of inconsistency and contradiction between notation and performance, theory and practice exist to a certain extent in current Xi’an guyue music as demonstrated above. Sadly, after Master Zhang’s sudden death in April 1999, followed by the departure of a few more old master musicians, revealing the secrets of the puzzle of the character and essence over the ge note remains difficult.

6.2 A typology of repertories

The repertory of Xi’an guyue is rich and extensive with over 1,200 pieces\(^5\) classifiable into about twenty specific types of repertory (Table 6.7) collected from the scores of many different old associations. However, less than 10% of these pieces are still performed and are shared by all Guyue groups. With the exception of Gezhang (Song section), which is for processional music only, all other repertory types are performed either individually in processional music or combined into different movements in Sitting music suites. These include short pieces such as paiqu, shuaqu, gezhang, qimu, leigu, beici, Gandongshan (gupo) and guzhazi and suite repertories such as dazhazi, huaguduan, daiyue, taoci, beici, nanci, wainanci, jingtao, zan, and zuyue. Given that traditionally most pieces are compiled according to type of repertory or movement, the scores do not usually contain complete suites in sequence (see Li Shigen 1991: 53; Jones 1995: 241).

\(^5\) This figure excludes another 2,000 pieces that have either the same melody but a different name or a
Rather, ensembles generally select appropriate pieces according to the traditional sequential arrangements chosen from their own scores. This point is essential in the analysis of Xi’an guyue’s large-scale suite music repertories, because reliance on written scores alone will not provide an accurate indication of the actual music performed.

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<td>Beici (a lengthy form) (Melody + percussion)</td>
<td>Daiyue (Large pieces)</td>
<td>Nanci/Nanqu (Southern pieces)</td>
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<td>Zuoyue Quantao (Complete sitting music suite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 Table of Xi’an guyue repertory types

The repertory of Xi’an guyue is unusual among China’s surviving instrumental traditions in that a large number of pieces have ancient titles and forms with historical links to Tang, Song and later dynasties. For example, daiyue and qupo are two important early music types in Tang and Song period genres of the same name. Beici and Nanci pieces and types have direct links to the Jiugong dacheng nanbeici gongpu of 1746. Furthermore, there are many components in the repertory of the genre that seem to have been absorbed from regional operatic genres such as huaguduan, biezi and zan and the village ensembles’ dazhazi.

Not only does the discussion below identify and classify a greater range of repertory types than that offered by Li Shigen (1991), but also it summarises and analyses the function of the repertories and the relationships between repertories in performance contexts. The two main divisions in repertory types are between Short and Suite forms, which are in turn classified into a number of further subdivisions. The discussion also

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different name but the same melody.

aims to provide a fuller appreciation of the genre's repertories through identification of their own historical roots, interrelationships and usages both as individual pieces and as components in a particular combined large form. This discussion of the component parts of the music is important for the intra-musical and structural analysis of Section 6.5.

6.2.1 Short types of Xi'an guyue repertory

These short, melodic pieces can be further divided into individual short and combined short pieces.

6.2.1.1 Individual short pieces

Individual short pieces can be played independently or combined into suite forms.

a). Guduanqu (鼓段曲, drum section pieces)

Guduanqu also known as paiqu (pieces with fixed beats), are short pieces combining both melodic and percussion instruments. Guduanqu is often fast and rhythmic in style and has a strict structure with a fixed numbers of beats which is often reflected in the title of a piece. It features in individual and processional performances in the first and second xia movements of large sitting music suites. There are over a hundred paiqu pieces existing in the scores amongst all Guyue societies and the numbers of beats appearing in the titles ranges from 3 to 19, with 8 the most common number. The concept of pai (beat) in Xi'an guyue is very different in that the time value of one beat is much longer than today's conception. For example, the paiqu piece shipai (Ten beats) lasted more than 8 minutes according to my field recording in 1996. This does, however, suggest a resemblance to the metrical measurements of some Tang period music such as the surviving qin music fue-fu (8th century, transverse Tang flute score preserved in Japan), tōgaku and gagaku preserved in Japan. For example, Sino-Japanese Tang sources such as the gagaku piece Shunmōden (Chinese: Chunyingzhuang). Its six sections have clear metric indications: Yousheng (no beats), Xu prelude (sixteen beats), Fengta (sixteen beats), Rupo (sixteen beats), Niaoshen (sixteen beats) and Jisheng (sixteen beats) (Li Shigen, 1995:117). Such examples can be be seen in the Japanese Jinchi yōroku (12th century koto notation) and Gogen-fu (8th century five-stringed pipa notation).

One important factor is that Paiqu pieces are often named after the numbers of beats in a particular piece: hence Bapai (eight beats), Shipai (ten beats) and Shiliupai
(sixteen beats). Daiyue suite pieces are also titled according to the number of beats, for example “Ping Key Eight Beat Suite” (Jicheng, 1997:360) and “Double Nine Beats Suite” (Xicang Music Society 1628). The use of metrical measurement to name a particular piece of music and to define its rhythmic pattern can be traced to the Tang and Song periods. For example, pieces in Shilingyin’s Records of an Training School (Jiaofangji) of the 8th century were named Bapaizi (Eight beats), Shipaizi (Ten beats) and Bapaiman (Eight beats on the man). In surviving qin pieces from the Tang, we find Hujia shibapai (Eighteen beats on the hujia), Lisao jiupai (Nine beats on the lisao) and Guangling zhixipu sanshiliupai (Thirty-six beats on the Guangling zhixi notation). A further special feature of Xi’an guyue traceable to Tang is that the ending part of each paiqu has the sign huantou (change the head). In Xi’an guyue this means to repeat the beginning of the paiqu piece, and it often serves as a link between the second and third xia movements in Complete Suite Sitting Music (§6.6 and Table 6.9). The method of huantou can also be seen in Jinchi yōroku (12th century) and Gogen-fu, where it is read Kandō. (Lu Hongjing, 1996:4).

Generally, most paiqu pieces are preserved by the Chenghuang miao Daoist and Dongcang and Xicang Buddhist ensembles in the city, and are less influenced by folk secular music.

b). Shuaqu (耍曲, playing pieces)

Shuaqu is a kind of short, lively and often witty piece also known as xiaoqu (small piece). The title first appeared as a vocal genre in Nai Dewong’s book Chengdu jisheng (Records of the capital city) in the Southern Song period (1127–1279). Unlike paiqu, shuaqu pieces come mainly from the folk sector and include such popular titles as Xiaofangniu (The little cowherd), Yaomenshuan (Rattling the door bolt) and Mengjiangnü (The daughter of Mengjiang). Yet there are shuaqu pieces that originate from local folk songs and Qinqaing opera like Wugeng (The time of Wugeng), Du Linying (Linying across the river) and Jingqian (Gold and money). The performance of shuaqu is centred on wind instruments, with percussion featuring in a minor role. Thus, Daoist groups refer to shuaqu as qingchui (purely winds). Aside from processional music, shuaqu also functions as part of a xia movement in Complex Suite Sitting Music where it alternates with paiqu to create a kind of rondo structure. Two main techniques for shuaqu performance are to repeat and vary phrases to compensate for the short length of the
pieces. For example, Desheng ling (Victory command) only has two phrases (Jicheng 1997:71), but these are repeated six times, each with a distinctive variation on the original melody.

c) Gezhang (歌章, song sections)

Gezhang, also called nianci (recitation of words/lyrics), is a kind of hymn with lyrics eulogising Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. It is the only vocal genre in Xi'an gu Yue. Gezhang is usually performed after three sections of percussion music known as tongqi shanlian and is then followed by the recitation of a couple of verses of lyrics with an exaggerated intonation called zan (praise). This is performed in front of various deities at temple fairs and on pilgrimages. Each piece is especially chosen to suit different religions and the relevant deities, and local people call this process jianshashen nianshaci (see which deity, sing appropriate lyrics). Gezhang can be accompanied by percussion alone or by both melodic and percussion instruments, depending upon the availability of musicians in each ensemble. At present there are only 11 fixed tunes that are applied to over a hundred lyrics. Therefore, hearing different lyrics sung to the same melody is quite common in gezhang performances. Unlike all other forms of Xi'an gu Yue repertory, gezhang is very special in that it is not performed in conjunction with Processional or Suite Sitting Music: musicians perform in standing form only.

6.2.2 Combined short pieces

Combined short pieces refer to those short types of repertory that cannot be played alone, but only within Sitting Music suites. These include qimu, leigu, biezi, Gandongshan and luoguduan.

a) Qimu (起目, starting pieces)

Qimu is also known as qi, qisha, qi'er, huaqi and yousheng. Qimu refers to various melodies in free rhythm and is often played as a prelude, a transition between sections and movements, or as a coda. The length of a qimu varies with some being as short as 2 or 3 notes or a single phrase and some as long as several sections, often with luoguduan (percussion sections) between and/or at the beginning or end of the qimu. The performance of qimu is quite free and players often add a certain degree of ornamentation according to individual aesthetic understanding. The origin of qimu is not clear, but the
word *yousheng* is often seen in Sino-Japanese Tang sources, meaning “free sound” (S. Jones in Picken 1981: 19-31). In the annotation for *Nishang yuyi wuge* (Dance and song of the rainbow feather cloth) the famous Tang poet Bai Juyi wrote “*sanxu* (free prelude) [is played] six times, without a beat, so there is no dance”. According to various historical records, we know that the structure of *Tang daqu* (Tang suite music) has three basic parts: *sanxu* (free prelude) – *zhongxu* (middle prelude) – *qupo* (*qupo* part). This suggests that the function of *sanxu* used at the beginning of a Tang suite is very similar to the *qimu* form in the Sitting Music suites of *Xi’an guyue*.

b). *Leigu* (*擂鼓, drum beating*)

*Leigu* (also called *zhegu* in Hejiaying village) functions as the end section of the first part in Sitting Music suites and is played with a fairly fast melody, often in 2/4 time. *Leigu* sections vary from ensemble to ensemble and are used after the *xia* movement as the first Tail in the first part of all three forms of Complete Sitting Music (Table 6.9). In a Complete Sitting Music Suite, the *leigu* section of Buddhist and Daoist groups comes after the *huaguduan*, but there is only one melodic piece (*yuequ*) and its key has to be changed in accordance with the different keys of the suite. However, village groups do not employ *huaguduan* in their Complete Suites, and their *leigu* has four different melodic pieces for the four different keys of the same suite. The *leigu* of village groups has a fixed formula which is to insert a *luogu* percussion section known as *geche* (*格尺, frame and measure) after the third phrase of the melodic piece. The sequence is repeated three times with the same melody but different percussion patterns, called *geche* 1, *geche* 2 and *geche* 3. *Geche* 3 uses its first phrase to end the whole *leigu* section and is known as *huantou* (changed head).

c). *Biezi* (*別子*)

*Biezi* repertories are used as the beginning of the last part of *huaguduan* Sitting Music suites by Buddhist and Daoist ensembles only. The word *biezi* is a trans-pronunciation of the local word *qiezi* (鎌子, Li Shigen 1991:55, Li Jianzheng,) meaning section. It can be found in Yuan dynasty *Zaju* opera where it serves as the opening section, illustrating stories which are not necessarily linked with the actual opera. *Biezi* pieces like “Farewell my concubine”, “Ambush”, “*Songjiang*” (a general) and “Betrayal of the ghost” originate from operatic titles which reflect a narrative feature of opera. *Biezi* has a variety of
rhythmic patterns which include a slow beat of 4/4, a faster tempo of 2/4 and odd metres of 1/4, 3/4 and 5/4.

d) **Gandongshan (趕東山, Yubaotou, 雨包頭, Qupo, 曲破, Zhuomu 棋目)**

*Gandongshan* (Rushing to the eastern mountain) is a piece played with small percussion instruments and has a significant position in connecting the last section of the *zhengqu* (middle part) with the ending of the *houtuigu* percussion section. Other functionally similar pieces are named *Yubaotou* (in village groups), *Qupo* and *Zhuomu*. These are actually all variations on the melody of *Gandongshan*. The names *Qupo* and *Zhuomure* (*Zhuomu* is a variation of *Zhuomure*) are found in various Tang and Song literary and music sources. *Zhuomure* is the title of a labelled *Song ci* (an irregular lyrical form in the Song dynasty). The early source of *Qupo*, found in the Tang poem “Song of the *Pipa*** (*Pipa ge*) by Yuan Zhen (779-831), seems to be a literary word rather than a musical title or term (Chu Li 1998:19). However, the *Song History Music Monograph* (*Songshiyuezhi*) clearly states that “in the year of the Jiayou (1057 AD), …taking … *Daiqu* and *Qupo* fast and slow pieces [which are the] same as *Jiaofang* (teaching studio) [music of the Tang Dynasty]”. During the reign of the Song period Emperor Taizong (r. 977 -983), “created...29 *Qupo* [piece], …and 15 *pipa* solo *Qupo* [pieces]” (ZYC 1985:321). This shows that *Qupo* has been performed as individual pieces since the Northern Song (960–1127) period. (ZYC 1985:321). However, *Gandongshan* may have been a variation of *Handongshan* in labelled *Song ci*, and *Yubaotou* is the local pronunciation for *Yubaodu*, which is the title of a labelled *beici* of the Ming period. However, the names used here have rather ancient roots.

e). **Guzhazi (鼓紫子)**

*Guzhazi* means percussion scores in *Xi’an guyue* and here refers to drumming centred on bronze supplemented by wood percussion sections also known as *guduan*. *Guzhazi* has many complex fixed and non-fixed patterns of rhythm and instrumental organisation. It is one of the most important components in *Xi’an guyue* and features as prelude, interlude, lead, and transitional sections in various different forms of suite music. Apart from its rhythmic function, *guzhazi* is often played jointly with several types of melodic repertories such as *guduanqu, huaguduan* and *dazhazi* to constitute various sophisticated instrumental arrangements. The length of *guzhazi* varies from circumstance to
circumstance and can be as short as a few phrases or as long as an entire movement with a complete *tou – shen – wei* (head – body – tail) form.

6.2.3 Suite forms

Suite (套曲) forms refers to more than 3 different labelled pieces or short pieces joined together to constitute a lengthy suite form. Two sub-divisions are discussed below.

6.2.3.1 Loose suite forms of repertories

I refer to Loose suite forms as more than 3 different forms of labelled pieces or short pieces joined together to constitute a lengthy suite form without a fixed formulation. The following different types are classified:

a) *Dazhazi* (打紫子)

*Dazhazi* is a relatively long suite form comprising 8 to 14 short pieces linked by *luoguduan* (percussion sections) between pieces. It is performed by village ensembles and often varies from group to group. There are four *dazhazi* in the first part of a Sitting Music suite (Table 6.9) Short pieces in *Dazhazi* are mainly adopted from folk instrumental music, while *luoguduan* percussion patterns are largely assimilated from regional *Qinqiang* opera and are also known as *guzhazi* (§5.4). *Dazhazi* is said to have formed only during the 18th century (Li Shigen, 1981:267-276, and Anthology, Chinese Folk Instrumental Music, Shaanxi 1st vol.: 76-111). *Dazhazi* is often in faster 2/4, 4/4 and sometimes adds improvised rhythmic patterns by the leading drummer, which makes it exciting, colourful and rhythmic with a strong village style flavour of *Guyue*. It embodies the contribution and musical creativity of village folk musicians to the traditional genre of *Xi’an guyue*.

b) *Huaguduan* (花鼓段)

*Huaguduan*, also known as *faguduan* (法鼓段), is a suite type of 4 to 7 sections linked together by *jiazigu* (a kind of percussion pattern) and with *luoguyue* (gong-and-drum percussion) played throughout. It is only performed by Buddhist and Daoist ensembles in the city of Xi’an. *Huaguduan* means variations based on percussion, hence percussion is more prominent than the melodic part. The titles of pieces in *huaguduan* are mostly adopted from Ming and Qing period *Cipai* (labelled lyrics) such as *Wang Jiangnan*.
(Looking at Jiangnan), Mantianxing (Sky full of stars) and Chaoyang (Facing the sun); operas such as Cihu (Stabbing the tiger), Kunlun (Mount Kunlun) and Lulin (The jungle of Lu); and folk music including Bawangbian (Whip of the tyrant) Na’e (Capturing the swan), and Yanluoshatan (Wild geese descending on the sandy beach). Huaguduan repertories may have formed gradually throughout the 17th and 18th centuries in the urban area of Xi’an. (Chu Li 1997:22). Huaguduan features after the xia sections in the first part of a sitting music suite. Stylistically, it is distinct from the dazhazi suite of the village groups in that it comprises both lively and enthusiastic and gentle and calm characteristics with a steady moderato tempo. The percussion playing of huaguduan is executed in a highly subtle and skilful fashion. Huaguduan represents the development and innovative energy of urban amateur musicians to the traditional genre of Xi’an guyue.

c) Daiyue (大樂, large pieces)

Daiyue is a lengthy suite form often played individually and according to old notations also features after the zhengqu (main piece) in the last part of Sitting Music pieces. Daiyue is a term regularly used for court music since the Han dynasty. Though Xi’an guyue may have borrowed the term Daiyue from ancient times, its elegant and solemn style is distinct from other types of repertory in the genre. Of the more than ten daiyue suites, many illustrate court banqueting and the paying of tribute to the imperial dynasty such as “Double eight beat daiyue of worshipping the emperor” (Shuangbapai daiyue chaotianzi) and “Double nine beat daiyue of the coronation command” (Shuangjiupai zhegualing). Titles in daiyue often contain numbers of beats as in paiqu, but usually the word shuang (double) is added in the front of daiyue names as shown in the two titles given in this paragraph. One other difference is that whereas the relationship between the number of beats appearing in the titles and in the actual pieces is basically consistent in paiqu they are inconsistent and rather irrelevant in daiyue. The reason for this discrepancy is unclear. Some ancient court instruments for daiyue are absent in today’s music, including pipa, xiadi, meiguan and daqin (§ 5.5.2 p. 204). In fact, daiyue performance is in serious decline due to changes in the present social, political and cultural contexts. I have so far not heard or seen any daiyue performances or recroding by traditional groups but one recording by the Consertory groups (see R4 XL- 1074).

6.2.3.2 Complete suites
Complete suites (整套) is a scholarly term (Chu Li 1997:23), refers to the joining of more than 3 different types of labelled pieces or short pieces, constituting a complete suite form (head + body + tail) or multi-suite forms with a fixed formulation. Seven different types of regular suite forms are further classified.

a) Taoci (套詞)

Taoci literally means a set of lyrics, but according to the notation of Xi’an guyue it is an instrumental suite. Some scholars think that the original lyrics in taoci may have been lost and gradually developed into an instrumental music form (Li Shigen 1991:54). There are more than 120 taoci pieces, divided into sanci (散詞) and fenci (分詞), also called neitao (内套) and waitao (外套) kinds. Each taoci consists of eight labelled pieces, and each traditional ensemble tends to have eight sets of sanci and fenci. They are arranged with different pieces according to the individual rules of each music society, but the structures and forms are essentially the same. Taoci also has the four keys shang, che, liu and wu, which are employed selectively in the last part of Sitting Music suites of the same key, using Yinling as prelude and one faster short piece (xiaoqu) as a tail (xingbai). A shorter taoci is also featured in the form of luanbaxian processional music.

b). Beici (北詞)

Beici, also known as beiqu, means Northern pieces and is also a suite type with eight labelled pieces. There are eight sub-repertories of beici forms and more than fifty labelled pieces. According to the titles and structure of the pieces, beici clearly originates from Jiugong dacheng nanbeici gongpu (JGDC, Complete notation of nine gong southern and northern ci) of 1746). Gong is the tonic of each key and there is only one key (the dashi key) less in the beici of Xi’an guyue than in the beiqu in the JGDC. It should be noted that the appearance of 8 keys in Beici and Nanci are inconsistent with the genre’s che, gong, liu and wu keys; they were inherited directly from different genre’s key system from JGDC. Thus, each ensemble normally chose the key for Beici and Nanci piece based on the availability of their instruments when playing sitting music suite. Though titles and structure of the pieces are basically the same in the two sources, the melodies and style are different. Beici has been much more localized, with a rich and

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7 A anthology of 82 volumes of songs published in 1746 under the patronage of Prince He Shuozhuang in Qing dynasty. It consists of 4,466 northern and southern labeled pieces collected from various
distinctive local flavour known as *qinfeng*, meaning Shaanxi characteristics. *Beici* is featured in the *zhengshen* (main body) movement in Sitting Music suites. At present, although surviving in notation, *Beici* has almost died out among Buddhist and Daoist ensembles in the city. It has been preserved quite completely in performance in both the North and the West Nanjixian village ensembles in Zhouzhi county.

c). *Nanci* (南詞)

*Nanci*, also known as *nanqu*, means Southern pieces and is also a suite form with eight labelled pieces linked together. Like the *taoci* and *beici* discussed above, *nanci* also possesses eight sub-repertories but melodies vary among local groups. The labels of pieces in *beici* are basically the same as in *nanqu* of the JGDC of 1746, but the melodies and structure are rather different. *Nanci* are shorter, brighter and more lively than *beici*. Unlike *beici*, the titles of *nanci* pieces do not contain the name of the key, but are rather poetic and elegant, such as the four pieces in *Nandengci* (Lyrics of the southern lantern): *Shi qianxin* (A poem inspires spirits), *Jiu xiaochou* (Wine relieves worries), *Bishangqin* (A *qin* on the wall) and *Xiazhongjian* (A sword in its sheath). When *nanci* is featured as Main Piece (*zhengqu*) in large Sitting Music suites, it always performs *Deshengling* as prelude, with a *guopaigu* percussion pattern applied between each of the eight labelled pieces, and faster *daxingban* and *xiaoxingban* percussion played as coda. It forms a free – slow – faster beat structure.

d) *Wainanci* (外南詞)

*Wainanci* means “extra *nanci*”. It is a shorter form of *nanci*, also constituted from 8 labelled pieces, and is only preserved in the Xicang Music Society in Xi’an. The labelled pieces used in *wainanci* differ from those of *nanci* in having few similarities to the *nanqu* in JGDC. Apart from 8 sets of regular *wainanci* suites, there are 6 other suites with somewhat different labelled pieces and structure known as *wainanci waitao* (extra sets of *wainanci*). One unique feature of *wainanci waitao* is that two pieces in the middle part of the suite have strict three-word antitheses as matching labels in all six suites:

- Moon in the water; sky in the well
- Ambition high as clouds; heart warm as sunshine

singing-dramatic genres since the Tang period.
Most titles of wainanci pieces do not seem to come from popular folk labels, but have a strong scholarly and even imperial court flavour. In addition, the Xicang Music Society, the only group having wainanci suites, has a long transmission line which can be traced to the Ming Court of the Emperor Xizong during the first half of the 17th century, according to its master Cui Shirong. The pieces in surviving notations of the Xicang ensemble are often unique, sophisticated and older than the others.

e) Jingtao (京套)

Jingtao (Jing suite) is another eight-piece suite form, but some are without titles. Jingtao is often combined into the zhengqu (main part) of large Sitting Music suites. According to surviving notations there are supposed to be 8 Jingtao suites, but only 11 individual pieces exist among all the Xi'an guyue ensembles. Others have been lost though their titles are recorded in many manuscripts. Most titles in jingtao are adopted from the nanbeiqu (Southern and northern pieces) of the JGDC, but the actual pieces are longer and different from the JGDC. Regarding the titles of jingtao repertories, Daoist groups are rather different from the Buddhist whilst village groups are similar to the Buddhist ensembles.

f) Zhuan (鑾)

Zhuan is pronounced zan in the local accent. It is a suite form with 5 to 7 pieces featured as a movement after the zhengqu (main piece) and leading to the last percussion section known as houtuigu in large Sitting Music suites. There are several historical records of the musical term zhuan that in terms of form, instruments, melody, and structure seem to have little to do with the zhuan form in Xi'an guyue. These include Nai Deweng’s Chengdu jisheng (“Records of the Capital City”), Wuzimu’s Menglianglu (Records of Mengliang), Chen Yuanqing’s Shiling Guangji (Broad records of Shiling) of the Northern Song period, Dong Xieyuan’s Xixiangji zhugongdiao (The Xixiang records of various gong keys) of the Jin dynasty and again the JGDC. Since the Song dynasty, these literary writings about the musical term zhuan have referred to it mainly as chang zhuan (singing
zhuan), and it was a singing genre that later developed gradually into a ballad form (Li Shigen 1980b:19-21, Li Jianzheng 1986:3, Yang Yinliu 1980/1:305). Titles of pieces in zhuan form include both Song dynasty lyrics labels such as Yidian hong (A dot of red), Kunjiang xiu (The beauty of the Kun river) and Qi xiongdi (Seven brothers), and from folk operas like Nao tiangong (Disturbing the sky palace), Panteo hui (The Banquet in the peach garden) and Shi jiu zhen (The ten battle arrays).

**g) Zuoyue quantao (坐樂全套, complete sitting music suite)**

A complex, larger suite form in which any of the above repertories may be selectively combined in a formulaic structure.

Zuoyue quantao has been regarded as the jinghua (quintessence) of Xi’an guyue, representing its great sophistication and musicological importance in Chinese music history. It is a unique and exceptional phenomenon among all traditional folk instrumental music in terms of its length (some last for an hour or more), systematic organisation and complex structure. Many have suggested similarities between the structure of zuoyue quantao in Xi’an guyue and Tang Daqu suite music (Table 6.11). Due to different transmission lines and the varied social and cultural environment of each school, three distinctive forms of zuoyue quantao have developed among Daoist, Buddhist and village ensembles. Daoist and Buddhist groups share both bapai zuoyue quantao (eight beat complete Sitting Music Suite) and huaguduan zuoyue quantao (complete Sitting Music Suite of variations on the drum section), whereas village ensembles own the dazhazi zuoyue quantao (complete dazhazi Sitting Music Suite) form. A detailed musical analysis of the structures of zuoyue quantao is given in the following section.

**6.3 Musical Structure and analysis**

Having discussed the various types and the internal components of Xi’an guyue repertories, this section concentrates on the intra-musical structure and analysis. There are four types of basic structural relationships and organisations: individual/single pieces, multi-joined pieces, simple suite and complex-suite structures. In the discussion below I adopt certain typical native terms to assist my analysis and discussions of structural aspects of Xi’an guyue such as tou (head), shen (body), wei (tail), and chuanxue daimao (with hat and boots on). They have special significance in the context of structural
analysis. Due to the limits on the length of this thesis, at the end of this section I provide a musical example of 17 minutes and 48 seconds – “Che key eight-beat huaguadan on double gong-chimes” for the major structural form – Complete Sitting Music Suite. As this contains most of the shorter structures of the genre’s music, other musical examples are selectively chosen for those music forms not covered by this example.

6.3.1 Structure of individual pieces
The structure of individual pieces (Table 6.7) builds on one single labelled piece and is a basic component in all forms of Xi’an guyue including gezhang song sections, Processional and Sitting Music. Four sub-divisions are shown in the table below. The “individual body” without head or tail is the shortest unit of construction of all the different musical structures, such as guduanqu and shuaqu pieces, in Xi’an guyue. Structurally, the pieces are often regular in formula and complete in their phrasing relationships, especially the guduanqu pieces, while longer pieces are less strict and less formulated (Table 6.8). The “head + body” without tail and “body + tail” without head are usually performed as Processional Music, including Processional Music Gaobazi (for funerals) and Luanbaxian (for pilgrimages), in order to enhance the atmosphere of the ritual or ceremonial occasion. The selections of luogu percussion music (as head or tail to the body) and the “body” pieces are relatively flexible, and thus the length of music in processional music varies from occasion to occasion. The “head + body + tail” structure is only featured in gezhang song sections where musicians perform a sequence of percussion + zan recitation and gezhang singing + percussion music in front of various deities and gods. It is played standing in a semi-circle; zan (讃) recitation is carried out solo and is followed by a Buddhist song ending with the recital of “amitabha” in unison.
Table 6.7 Musical structure of individual pieces

6.3.2 Multi-joined pieces/movement structure

Multi-joined pieces/movement structure is a structure of three or more individual pieces joined together without specific or fixed sequences. Four musical forms can be identified as multi-joined pieces structure in Xi’an guyue: dazhazi, huaguduan, beici and daiyue.

1) Dazhazi is played by village ensembles and comprises a medley of several folk pieces based on local vocal-dramatic genres and often has a luogu gong-and-drum music prelude, interlude and postlude. (eg. Li Shigen 1982, vol.7, p97).

2) Huaguduan music often has 4-7 sections. Its melodic pieces are usually accompanied by the luogu sections which are separated by luogu percussion-only sections called jiazigu or guopaigu. Huaguduan generally starts with steady 4/4 beat musical statements, and then turns into more lively 2/4 statements with obvious phrasing, pause and repeat, expansion and supplement/addition based on common motives of the 4/4 part. The whole huaguduan structure is based on these 4/4 and 2/4 musical statements in the first two or three sections and uses the elements of melody, rhythm and tonic in varying ways, to embellish, reappear, transpose keys and further develop the music.

3) Beici is usually a lengthy form of music with qilsanqi (free start) and either regular
beat (shangban) or free beat (sanban) melodic pieces and luogu percussion interludes. The melodic sections have three forms:

a **Free rhythm** – *sanqi* start, in which the percussion section does not accompany the melodic sections. It is only played between melodic phrases as an echo effect.

b **2/4 medium fast beat** – in which percussion and melodic instruments are played in cooperation and with a certain degree of consistency in terms of phrasing, tempo and rhythmic patterns. This kind of melodic piece is often irregular in its phrasing and ends with a bar of 3 or 5 beats such as ‘3 5 –’ or ‘3 6 5 3 –’. Often, particular percussion instruments are added at particular moments to give change, contrast and echo to the music. For example, the *haikouzi* gong in the first half of the phrase and the *yuegu* drum and *jiaozi* cymbal at the second half of the phrase form a dialogue of high and low and an echo of the first and second phrases.

c **4/4 moderate slow beat** – in which percussion instruments are lightly and sparsely played to accompany the melody as in *qingchui* (clear blowing) styles.

Of the above three kinds of melodic section in *biezi* music, ‘b’ is the central part and ‘c’ appears either before or after the ‘b’, but not at the beginning of a piece in *Beici* form. The ‘a’, type – free beat, is used not only for the beginning of *biezi* pieces, but is also commonly played at the beginning of a melodic piece with a regular beat other then *biezi* form. These features are what distinguish the unique character of the *biezi* form.

Luogu percussion music serves as the interlude in *biezi* music and is very complicated. It is thus difficult to generalise about. There may or may not be a *luogu* percussion interlude between different melodic sections, but it may appear within every melodic piece such as in between phrases, within a phrase, and after each phrase in a *sanban* free beat piece. Different *biezi* pieces often have different *luogu* percussion playing, and even the same *biezi* piece has been transmitted by different masters to different groups, which may themselves differ mainly in their interlude percussion parts.

4) **Daiyue**

The basic structure of *daiyue* often has a *qisangqi* start, followed by joining many different labelled pieces to form a complete entity. However, there are certain variations
in the form, for example, *daiyue* “Double eight-beat of hegui command” (Jicheng Shanxi Instrumental Vol. 367-74) has no *qi* start, but inserts free beat *yousheng* (which should normally be at the beginning or end) in between the pieces. Some *daiyue* have *luogu* gong-and-drum sections inserted between the melodic pieces. One point of significance regarding *daiyue* music is that it possesses a prominent ancient dynastic court music character, which is reflected in the titles of its pieces. For example, “Ping key double eight-beat *daiyue*” (*Pingdiao shuang bapai daiyue*):


Although the *daiyue* musical form uses *hewei* (repeating the ending of a particular section) and *zaixian* (reappearing) variations and has a certain degree of consistency and unity, it does not constitute a complete formulation of “head (*tao*) – body (*shen*) – tail (*wei*)”. Strictly speaking, it still does not belong to the traditional suite (*taoqu*) form despite its length.

### 6.3.3 Simple-suite structure (Table 6.9)

Simple suite structure consists of linking more than 3 labelled/named pieces with a clear formulation of “head (*tou*) – body (*shen*) – tail (*wei*)”. Although the characteristics of the various “*tou* – *shen* – *wei*” models differ to a certain extent among the variations of suite structures in *Xi’an guyue*, they do all belong to the main body of the suite. This means that “under the general three-part “*tou* – *shen* – *wei*” structure, the main part – *shen* (body) – has a relatively strict formulation and technical regulation, and the linkages of *tou* and *wei* also have specific rules” (Yuan Jingfang 1986:17). There are two different models in terms of the size of the body as shown in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th><strong>Tou</strong> (head)</th>
<th><strong>Shen</strong> (body)</th>
<th><strong>Wei</strong> (Tail)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name of form</strong></td>
<td>Single-piece body model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leigu</td>
<td>leiguqi–chuanzazi–huantou</td>
<td>Leiguenshen</td>
<td>Leiguwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taozi</td>
<td>Yinling</td>
<td>Taozi</td>
<td>Xingpai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zan</td>
<td>Gandongshan</td>
<td>Zan</td>
<td>Xiahuichuan-pudeng'er–Gandongshan wei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guduan suite</td>
<td>Qimu</td>
<td>Zhengshen (shegu)</td>
<td>Leigu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Multi-joined piece body model</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biezi</td>
<td>Xiaoyinling</td>
<td>4-13 labelled pieces</td>
<td>Xingpai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancl</td>
<td>Qi-shaxiagu/sao</td>
<td>3-6 labeled pieces – shaxiagu/sao</td>
<td>qi–shaxiagu–xingpai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wainancl</td>
<td>Qi</td>
<td>2-5 labelled pieces 4/4</td>
<td>qi–gungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingtao</td>
<td>no (lost in notation)</td>
<td>2-5 labelled pieces 4/4</td>
<td>xingpai 2/4 or 4/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.8 Simple-suite structure.

6.3.4 Complex-suite structure (Table 6.9)

Complete-suite structure is a large and complex structure with two main parts which combine various repertories. It is organised according to a specific formulation, consisting of more components than simple suite forms. Complex-suite music is the most sophisticated form in Xi’an guyue in terms of its complex structure and instrumentation, rich components and lengthy music. All Complete Sitting Music suites (zuooyue quantao) in Xi’an guyue belong to the Complex-suite structure.

Three different kinds of zuooyue quantao musical structures/frames are shown in detail in the table below for purposes of comparison and analysis (Table 6.10): Eight-beat, huaguduan and dazhazi Sitting Music Suite8. The former two are played by the Daoist and Buddhist groups in the city of Xi’an while the latter is performed exclusively by the su style ensembles in the villages. Generally speaking, Daoist and Buddhist schools’ suite music is stricter over which parts are flexible and which are inflexible. The basic rule is that percussion sections are unchangeable and melodic pieces are substitutable (Li Jianzheng and Yu Zhu 1984a:6). Village ensembles seem less clear about such restrictions in their dazhazi suites, are freer in term of adding or omitting sections within each movement than their city counterparts. For example, in the xia (known as zhezigu in villages) movements after the kaichanggu opening, four zhezigu sections are performed.

8 Transcriptions in jianpu notation of the three different forms of Sitting Music suites can be found in Quji, 1982, vol. 8 (part 1 & 2) and in Folk Instrumental Music, Shaanxi Vol. 1, Jicheng: 1991, p. 484–602.
by Nanjixian but only three by Hejiaying village groups (Chu Li 1998:69-70).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Eight beats sitting music suite</th>
<th>Huaguduan sitting music suite</th>
<th>Dazhazi sitting music suite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Title | Eight beat Sitting Music suite on the double-gong-chimes<sup>9</sup> | Sitting Music suite in the key of 
(Huaguduan, Biezi & Zan) | Sitting music suite in the key of che |
| Structure | Kaichanggu: 
(Opening drum) Sangubian | Kaichanggu: 
Fadian, Xiaodian | Kaichanggu |
| | | Dazhazi: 
12 folk pieces linked by Luogu percussion playing | |
| | Shuangyuntuo qi: 
(double-gong-chime start) | Tongzhougu percussion Qimu (starting piece) Tongzhougu percussion | Luogu percussion interlude |
| S T | First Xia: Guduan qi 
Eight beat drumming section on che–gong–che 
First xia wei | First Xia: Guduan drum piece 
First Xia wei | First Zhezi guduan: 
First Zhezi gumao head 
Guduan piece: Luhua dang 
(Marshes of reed catkins) |
| B I O A D P Y A R | Shuaqu: Fengjinbei 
(Presenting the golden cup) | Shuaqu: Chaotianzi 
(Homage to the Emperor) | Shuaqu: Qiaobian 
(Rolling board) |
| | Second Xia: 
Second Xia head 
Huantou (change head) 
che–gong–che 
Second Xia wei coda | Second Xia: 
Second Xia head 
Huantou (change head) 
Guduan drum piece (as above) 
Second Xia wei coda | Second Zhezi guduan: 
Second Zhezi gumao head 
Guduan piece: Luhua dang 
(Marshes of reed catkins) |
| | Shuaqu: Yaomenshuan 
(Rattling the door belt) | Shuaqu: Nazhaling 
(The command of Nuozha) | Shuaqu: Yaoyizi 
(Rocking the chair) |
| | Third Xia: 
Third Xia tou head 
Huantou (changed head) 
che–gong–che 
Huantou (changed head) 
Third Xia wei | Third Xia: 
Third Xia tou head 
Huantou (changed head) 
Guduan drum piece 
(as above) | Third Zhezi guduan: 
Third Zhezi gumao head 
Huantou (changed head) 
Guduan piece: Luhua dang 
(Marshes of reed catkins) |
| | | | Chaqu (interlude) |

<sup>9</sup> For an audio recording for this suite played by the Chenghuang Monastery Ensemble in 1961 see attached CD track 13-16 and its jianpu transcription in Folk Instrumental Music, Shaanxi Vol. 1, Jicheng: 1991, p. 485–533.
| T | B O D Y 2 | Huaguduan suite:  
Yanluo Shatan (Geese descending on the sandy isle) |
|---|---|---|
| T A I L | Guduan piece: Luhua dang  
(Marshes of reed catkins)  
Guwei (drumming coda) |
| L e i g u | Huanzhuai (percussion)  
Huantou (change head)  
Leigu (drum beating)  
Huada (percussion)  
Leigu (drum beating)  
Guo Qinling (Crossing the Qin ranges) |
| T A I L 1 | Qimu (starting piece):  
I: Liechui, Paoma: II |
| T A I L 2 | Tuigu (fading out drumming):  
Tuigu head  
Tuigu zhengshen body  
Jiuhuan 'gu (nine circles of drumming)  
Gangu (percussion) |
| H U A N T O U | (change head) |
| M a o t o u z i | Lengdengzha (percussion)  
Biezi section: Song Jiang  
Maotouzi |
| Y I N L I N G | Yinling |
| T A O C I 1 | Taoci suite: Qingtiange  
Xingpai (faster beat) |
| T A O C I 2 | Taoci suite: Wangwuxiang  
Xingpai (faster beat) |
| B O D Y | Beici suite:  
(6 labelled pieces) |
| 1 | Gandongshan  
Zhuan: Longfengqi  
(The dragon & phoenix flag)  
Xiaoshuichuan  
(Boating on the water)  
Pudeng'e  
(Moths flapping at the candle)  
Gandongshan wei |
| 2 | Houtuigu: (second Tuigu)  
Tuigu (fading out drum) head  
Huatuigu (Tuigu variations)  
Aotaitou (Shark raising its head)  
Guochui (hooking hammer)  
Jiuhuang (nine circles of drumming)  
Gandongshan wei |

Table 6.9 A comparison of three different Complex Sitting Music suites.
Although the three forms of *zuoyue quantao* vary to a certain extent in title, content and length, the structural frames, sequences of movements and functional characteristics are basically the same (Table 6.10). The basic musical structure of Complete Sitting Music Suites consists of two contrasting main parts as shown in the table below, each of which constitutes a basic frame of head – body – tail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Part</th>
<th>Head 1</th>
<th>Head 2</th>
<th>Body 1</th>
<th>Body 2</th>
<th>Tail 1</th>
<th>Tail 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Part</td>
<td>Head 1</td>
<td>Head 2</td>
<td>Body 1</td>
<td>Body 2</td>
<td>Tail 1</td>
<td>Tail 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.10 Structure of the two parts in Complex Sitting Music Suite.

From the table we see a logical, systematic and symmetrical musical structure which enables such huge and complex suites to become highly organised and interesting. The heads of both parts consist of a percussion section followed by a melodic movement, but there occurs a switch to a melodic first and percussion second part in the tails. Although both parts already constitute a complete head – body – tail structure in their own right, they have been carefully linked and unified into an integrated whole. However, the second part is more important because the main piece (*zhenggu*) featured in the body of the second part is often the core of the entire suite and the tempo becomes progressively faster and faster, leading to a climax, followed by a slow note to end the suite.

The main structural characteristic of Sitting Music Suites is what folk musicians have depicted as “with hat and boots on” (*chuanxue daimao*). In fact, it is a multi-suite form consisting of many small “head – body – tail” section linked into a large “head – body – tail” suite structure. All complete Sitting Music suite forms begin with “opening drum” sections, followed by more than two small suites such as *xia* and *zhuan* as the body, and end with “fading out drumming”. This formula of head – body – tail occurs throughout many different sections and parts in Complete Sitting Music Suites as shown above. Thus, all sections, movements and parts are subtly linked by various percussion centred *guduan* pieces complete in themselves, yet uniting to form the entire suite. For example, each of the three sections in the *xia* movement in the Eight-beat Sitting Music Suite has its own head, body and tail. These three percussion centred *xia* sections are linked by two distinctive melodic *shuaqu* pieces which contrast and alternate between percussion and melodic elements. The *xia* has the structure A+B+A1+C+A2 and is led

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by a stronger leigu percussion leading into the second part of the suite (Table 6.9). One other unique aspect of these suites is its entire tempo construction: moderato – slow – fast, which is unlike the usual speed structure of most of China’s traditional suite music.

6.4 Structural comparison: Tang daqu and Xi’an guyue Complete Sitting Music Suite

The majority of Chinese scholars claim that the musical structure of the Complete Sitting Music Suites of Xi’an guyue originated from, and has many similarities with, Tang daqu suites, despite differences regarding specific corresponding parts between the two suites. However, there are also significant different structural elements between the two suites, concerning which little has been revealed or discussed. In order to give a fuller and more objective structural comparison, I investigate and discuss below both the similarities and differences in terms of structural elements and components between the two different suites. Although it is difficult to know how exactly the music of Tang daqu was a millenium ago without any surviving sound, we can still trace its historical records in order to find out its basic structure. In the following, I draw on sources from surviving Sino-Japanese and Chinese records relating to Tang daqu and both urban and village Sitting Music suites of the genre for the purpose of comparative analysis.

First, let us have a general understanding of what Tang daqu was and its basic structure. Daqu literally means a large piece. Tang daqu is a kind of large suite of Tang yanyue (banquet music), consisting of dance, song and instrumental music (ZYZD:1985:67). The Tang poet Bai Jüyi (772–846) gave a clear depiction of the structure and performances of daqu in his annotation to “Colourful rainbow feather dance and song”:

saixu (free prelude) [is played] six times, without a beat, so there is no dance...The beat [i.e. rhythm] begins at the zhengxu (interlude)... The po (breaching) consists of twelve times and then ends. When the piece is nearly finished, the music gradually slows down, and ends on a prolonged note.

Furthermore, Sino-Japanese sources (Picken 1981:19-31 and 1985), Yang Yinliu’s

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12 Picken, 1981:65 translates po as “broaching”.

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(1981:221-223) summary of historical records and Ye Dong’s (1983: 79-83) structural analysis of the Dunhuang Large Suite Score (933) revealed the basic structures of Tang *daqu*. All these sources concerning the structure of Tang *daqu* suites are basically the same. That is, although the components and sequences differ to certain extent, the Tang large suite has three basic parts: *sunxu/yousheng* prelude (free beats), *zhongxu* interlude (slow to gradual fast) and *po* breaching (fast to slow ending) (Table 6.11). When comparing Tang *daqu* and Xi’an *guyue’s* Complete Sitting Music Suites, internal scholars have differing views on the divisions and corresponding parts of the Tang and Xi’an suites. Li Shigen (1980b:13) and Ye Dong (1983: 79-83) regard the *xia* and *zhegu/sa* sections as corresponding to the Tang prelude parts; while Li Mingzhong (1987:30-31) and Li Jianzheng (1986:215) insisted that these sections are equivalent to the interlude in Tang *daqu* (Table 6.12). The latter view seems to make more sense to me for two reasons. First, the *xia* and *zhegu/sa* sections have steady beats/rhythms and a regular melody, which do not fit the essentially free and scattered rhythmic musical context in Tang *daqu*. As the Tang poet Bai Juyi said “*sanxu* (prelude)... no beat. The beat begins at the *zhengxu* (interlude)”. Secondly, the interlude was the main presentational part in Tang *daqu*, and consisted of dances of substantial length as shown in the table below. If the *xia* and *zhegu/sa* sections were divided into *sanxu* (prelude) movements as in Tang *daqu*, the remaining sections would become rather short and could not sustain the importance of the interlude in Tang *daqu*.

Let us now compare the three main sources of Tang *daqu* structure with two Xi’an *guyue* Suites: the Urban Eight Beat *huagudan* Sitting Music Suite and the village *dazhazi* Sitting Music Suite (see Table 11).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 6.11 Structural Comparative table of Tang Daqu suite and Xi'an Gyuue Complex Suites</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tang Daqu suite</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bai Juyi's Records</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sanxu</strong> (free prelude) 6 sections instrumental only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yousheng</strong> (free sound) 1 section instrumental only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zhongxu</strong> (Interlude) 18 sections Steady rhythm lyrical, with slow dance, may have song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xu</strong> Interlude has dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dianzheng dian</strong> Transition may have dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Po</strong> (Broaching) 12 sections, has dance fast rhythm to slow ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Po</strong> (Broaching) 6 sessions of 20 beats each, has dance, fast at the end.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 In Tang poet Bai Juyi's (772-846) Colourful Rainbow Feather Dance and Song (NiShang Yuji Wuge).
3 Yang Yinliu's (1981: 221) records based on historical sources of Chen Yang's (c.1060 -1120) Music Book yueshu and Wang Shao's (c.1121 - 1162) Informal Gazette of Biji (Biji Manshi).
From Table 6.12, we first see the obvious differences between the suites of the two periods. Firstly, their overall structures appear to be very different. The Tang suites have three clear parts while Xi’an Sitting Music only has two. Secondly, the overall speed/tempo of the two types of suites are also dissimilar: free – slow – fast (Tang suites) versus faster/moderate – slow – fast (Xi’an suites). Thirdly, their forms are very different in that Tang daqu combines dance, song and music but the Xi’an suite is now instrumental music. Fourthly, the instruments used in the Tang and Xi’an suites differ somewhat. Although both have large wind and percussion sections, the Tang ensembles also had a large part consisting of plucked instruments led by the pipa. Xi’an ensembles, on the other hand, have no plucked instruments but is a typical Northern wind-and-percussion instrumental ensemble led by the dizi flute.

Despite the differences between the Tang and the Xi’an suites, almost all internal scholars accept the view that “the form and structure of Tang daqu and [Xi’an guyue] Sitting Music are basically the same” (Li Shigen 1980b:10). The main points are: 1) the two parts of Guyue Sitting Music consist of the structural elements of all three parts as in the Tang suites. The division of the two parts in Xi’an suites should not be regarded as a distinct musical structure, rather a mark of the place where musicians should have a rest after playing half of a long suite (ibid: 4); 2) Some sections are very close between the two genres in terms of tempi and sequential arrangements, for example the xia/sa compared to early sections of the interlude in the Tang suites (Li Jianzheng 1986:203-4 and 215); the second part of a Guyue suite resembles the po movement of a Tang daqu. (Lu Hongjing 1994: 1-8). Furthermore, the ending of Tang daqu by “gradually slowing down... and ending on a prolonged note” stated by the Tang poet Bai Juyi coincides with the way of the Xi’an Sitting Music suites finish (Li Mingzheng 1987:31). However, this motion is commonly found in many of China’s instrumental music genres. 3) Although the Tang daqu existed mostly as a combined dance, song and instrumental form, it also had an instrumental-only type when dance and song were absent. Xi’an guyue used to have words in major pieces (zhengqu) in sitting music as in the taoci, nanci and beici repertories (§ 6.3.2.2, p. 260-2). In addition, Guyue music also had plucked instruments such as pipa and daqin (zheng zither), as recorded in the surviving scores (§ 5.5.2, p.204). 4) The more significant point to me may be the many musical terms, concepts, medium and sequential arrangements that are commonly shared by the two musical genres. These include huantao (changing beginning), chongtou (repeat beginning) and chongwei (repeat ending), xu (prelude/interlude) in Tang daqu, which are similar to the qilyin (start
and introduction) in *Guyue* and are often free in rhythm and slow, and *chongci* (repeat here) *...zhi* (ends here). The structural characteristics of repeating, circulating, and alternating certain sections and musical elements are more obvious in the suites of both periods. For example, I found that the structure of *Guyue xia/sa* movements is relatively similar to some piece sequences in the Dunhuang *daqu* suite:

Xia in *Guyue* suite: 1st Xia – shuaqu piece – 2nd Xia – shuaqu piece – 3rd Xia – shuaqu piece

A + B + A + C + A + D

Pieces in Dunhuang Daqu\(^\text{13}\): slow the piece - the piece - fast piece - the piece - slow the piece - fast piece - slow the piece

In Chinese language: *(you man quzi) - (you quzi) - (ji quzi) - (you quzi) - (you man quzi) - (ji quzi) - (you man quzi)*

A + B + C + B + A + C + A

Although the sequences of repetitions and alternations between the two parts do not correspond exactly, it does show that both genres have similarities in their structural arrangement. Finally, Xi’an is the site of the Tang city of Chang’an – the place where Tang *daqu* suites were practiced and thrived. This adds a point of credence to the similarity of the two genres.

To sum up, the above comparison and analysis demonstrates both the similarities and differences between the suites of Tang *daqu* and Xi’an *guyue* Sitting Music. However, the structural differences between the two genres appear to be more direct and obvious, while the similarities are relatively circumstantial and less prominent. Although some musical elements and structures in the two different suites are similar, there is still a lack of solid evidence for the claim that Xi’an *guyue* Sitting Music suites are transmitted directly from the Tang *daqu* genre.

\(^{13}\) See Ye Dong, 1983:79-81.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

7.1 Findings, contributions, and significance
This study has analysed individually and comparatively the three distinct but overlapping social and musicological strands of Xi’an Guyue: the urban (both Buddhist and Daoist), rural and most recently the government-supported institutional representation of the tradition found at the Xi’an Conservatory of Music. This thesis is more wide-ranging than most studies of this topic in part through the balance of intra-musical aspects of Xi’an Guyue and extra-musical factors such as the historical, political, social, cultural and gender contexts and dimensions. The main findings in these regards are outlined below. It is distinctive also in being the first study of the genre as a whole, that is to say that includes the Conservatory as well as the folk strand and to have considered the relationship between these different strands. Whereas previous studies have tended to focus on the folk tradition to the neglect of the Conservatory strand, it has been a working assumption of this thesis that one must appreciate developments in the genre as a whole if one is to understand developments in the respective parts. Also, that the Conservatory has taken and reinterpreted the tradition itself creates a new tradition that merit analysis in its own right.

The thesis has also engaged with the contemporary Chinese debate over whether cultural tradition should be regarded as fixed and unchanged (the “living fossil” position), or as adaptive and changing in response to changes in wider social conditions and contexts (the “flowing river” position). The two contrasting views were subsequently examined through various historical, social, political and musical aspects of the traditional genre of Xi’an Guyue. It was clearly shown that the old music has undergone various degrees of change and modification in new China, and that these changes are inseparable and largely understandable in terms of China’s dramatic social, cultural, political and ideological development. I therefore endorse the theoretical metaphor “tradition is a flowing river”, as it reflects the general development law of China’s traditional music past and present.

Whereas the Cultural Revolution period almost destroyed the tradition, the legacy of the Deng period is more nuanced. It was in this period that the two principal forces to have influenced the contemporary fate of the tradition were initiated: the forces of economic liberalization and the institution of Guyue at the Conservatory. As
noted below, economic liberalization has led to a decline in local participation due to
the incentive and opportunity for economic advancement; promoted the migration of
males leading to the greater participation of females in the tradition, and the inability of
local people to attend traditional festivals due to the initiation of admissions charges.

The most dramatic institutional change in today’s Xi’an Guyue, however, has
been the establishment of the Conservatory strand and the resultant contrast between its
modern professional representation and the folk amateurs’ practices. The
conservatory’s ensemble is a case of “reinventing tradition to fit the current political
situation” (Hobsbawm, 1983) following the near destruction of the tradition during the
Cultural Revolution. Whilst this emerged as a well-meaning aspect of Deng’s arts
policy it raises many complex and challenging issues. The conservatory’s adoption of
the tradition is a manifestation of the official ideology of “protecting the national
heritage” and “inheriting, developing and promoting” the tradition as a way of
counterbalancing the rapid westernisation of Chinese culture (§2.3). The price of this,
however, has been the dislocation of the tradition from its folk roots, the music’s
secularisation as its ritualistic significance is lost, the challenge to accepted patterns of
authority with regard to which groups are the legitimate representatives and custodians
of the tradition, as well as modifying the musical aspects.

Further, the differences in resources and networks of connections and influence
between the three strands strongly favours the Conservatory. Not only is the
Conservatory in a position to raise the profile of the music – and in so doing changes the
musical representation of the genre – but it also wields considerable powers of
patronage in terms of inviting local folk musicians to work with it, facilitating
introductions between local music groups and outside parties and otherwise conferring
prestige and status on certain local musicians or groups. At the same time, however, it
would be naïve not to recognise that there has been an explosion of interest nationally
and globally in ‘local’ cultural forms in recent years, for a variety of motives and with a
mix of positive and negative consequences. The intentions of the Conservatory towards
the folk tradition are largely benign, and without it it is possible that the folk tradition
would be withering even more than it already is.

Other significant differences between the folk and conservatory sectors are apparent in
performance contexts (§4) and presentation (§ 2.3.3). The conservatory’s presentations
of the music at concerts, television and radio stations, recording studios and music

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festivals are typically modern, but the folk groups continue to play at their traditional events such as qiyu (praying for rain), chaoshan xinxiang (pilgrimages) and sangshi (funeral rituals). Indeed, the folk and conservatory strands exist largely separate from each other, due mainly to the respective social environments, different audiences, values and appreciation, music systems, ideology and beliefs of the parties.

Besides the development of the Conservatory strand there are also other changes that lend support to the “flowing river” interpretation of tradition. Sadly, this is visible in the decline in the tradition in terms of its dynamics, force, repertory and levels of expertise. For example, the xiyue she instrumental societies – the proudest part of the tradition – has shrunk from “54 groups” before 1949 to only 3 – 4 now, due largely to the Cultural Revolution. Modern di, sheng and some percussion instruments have been adopted by many ensembles to compensate for the loss of their old ones, despite incompatibilities with the old systems. Interestingly, the usually more conservative village groups have pushed the traditional boundaries more than have the Buddhist and Daoist ensembles in the city. Both Hejiaying and Nanjixian villages have adopted the newly coined term “Xi’an Drum Music” for the genre, while the urban ensembles still use their old name “Ancient Music”. Both villages claim proudly on their village steles that their guyue is transmitted from Tang period (Fig. 3.10 and 3.15). Surprisingly, Nanjixian has adopted the scholars’ term “living fossil” on its banners (Fig. 3.25). Hejiaying even built the first-ever Guyue Exhibition Hall in their village and made Tang-style costumes for the village musicians. It shows not only the growing economic power of the village but also the desire to promote their “ancient” musical heritage. For the first time, the Nanjixian group represented the music genre to perform internationally at the Festival of Urban and Aboriginal Music XV: in Berlin, Germany in 2002.

One of the most drastic developments among the folk strands is the sudden change of gender relations in Nanjixian village at the beginning of the 21st century. The unprecedented assimilation of more than a dozen women musicians contradicted my early conclusions regarding the gender patterns of the three social stands: minor participation of women for the urban groups, “half-sky” (Chapter 3.4.4, p. 138-142) in the conservatory and forbidden territory for females in the villages. Rural China is the most obstinate stronghold for a Confucian, male-dominated, chauvinistic society. But the traditional gender norm of village instrumental music as a “male monopoly” (S. Jones, 1995:85) has been broken in this particular case. This new and unusual
phenomenon has rapidly overtaken the more liberated and open-minded urban and conservatory strands, but it remains to be seen whether this will become the norm more widely. However, despite the increasing challenge and rebalancing of women’s involvement in the music tradition, this study exposed the fact that at a deep level, society at large is still male-dominated, and this genre proved no exception.

At the musical level, the three social branches of the musical genre again reveal their differences, similarities and distinct characteristics. This study has shown that traditional urban and rural groups share many fundamental similarities, such as the possession of surviving notation, old instruments with non-equal temperaments and master musicians, learning, transmission, practice and performance form and contexts. Yet both strands developed distinctive musical elements, styles and characteristics. Urban ensembles are often more regulated and strict than their rural counterparts in terms of selection of pupils, training in technique, instruments and instrumentation and of the structure of the ensembles. For example, urban ensembles often consist of no more than 9 musicians for Sitting music whiles village ensembles can sometimes have from 20 – 40 people (Table 5.8, p. 214). City guyue societies have clearer Buddhist or Daoist transmission lines than those of villages (which are thus classified as “su” (secular) in style by scholars). Village groups went some way beyond their “original” rules and have absorbed musical elements from other genres including percussion instruments and rhythms from Qinqiang opera, folk-song melodies and even occasionally add the loud suona (shawm) in performances to create excitement and demonstrate their extended musical troupes.

However, the conservatory’s guyue music embodies a very different system – a national system employing a standardised 12 equal tone temperament, unified new instruments, contemporary learning and transmission and added a new section consisting of plucked instruments. The conservatory’s Guyue is a typical modern production and representation of an old tradition in China today.

The study also investigated a number of musicological and tonal questions in Chapter 5 and 6. The thesis challenges the view held by Yang Yinliu and others which regards Guyue notation as a form of gongchepu. Rather, it inclines to the view that the genre’s scores belong neither to the Tang yanyue half-character system nor the Ming and Qing period gongchepu notation system, but are close to Song period suzipu notation. Guyue notation may well have played a role as a bridge between the Tang fixed-pitch and the Ming and Qing relative-pitch notation systems. This research has
demonstrated that Xi’an Guyue has inherited and assimilated a large corpus of elements from the Tang, Song, Ming and Qing periods, including notation signs and pronunciations, musical symbols and their usage, titles of pieces and sub-genres, musical terms and so on. Furthermore, the 6th century “eight-note music” with the “extra note” “ge” amazingly still survives in Xi’an Guyue (§6.1). The three ancient heptatonic scales of yayue, qingyue and yanyue, which existed before the Tang period, also found a home in Guyue music (§6.1.2). However, by comparing the three sources of Tang daqu suites with Xi’an guyue’s Sitting music suites, this thesis has shown that the structural elements from the two periods suites remain very different (§6.6). This point differs from the view of many native scholars.

7.2 Some problems in Xi’an Guyue today
Although today Guyue appears superficially to be thriving with the revival of urban and rural ensembles and the reinforcement of the conservatory strand, the situation of the music does not permit much optimism. Many crucial “traditional elements” are fast disappearing: reading and understanding the complex old notations of both yuepu melodic and guzhazi percussion scores, the yunqu method of realising and elaborating melodies and old instruments and repertories. Lack of interest in and commitment to the folk tradition on the part of young followers is a major obstacle for Xi’an Guyue today. Following the passing away of the last few surviving master musicians within a few years time, one may fear that a substantial part of the essence of Guyue will be lost unless something radical is done very soon.

Social change and economic incentive have also played their part in discouraging folk musicians, especially young people, from the tradition. It has seen many young male musicians from Nanjixian village migrate to the cities to earn money, resulting in the involvement of large numbers of women in “male monopoly” music. Traditional performance contexts such as “praying for rain” and “musical competitions” have hardly been seen for many years due to peasants today carrying out “sideline jobs” and no longer seeing “rain” as an important factor for survival. The charging of fees at many sacred places has discouraged the economically worse-off folk musicians from attending the rituals.

Musically, much confusion and inconsistency has been caused between the old notation and present-day performances, which remain the genre’s most difficult problems to solve. Xi’an Guyue is notated in an “eight-note” fixed-pitch system with
the distinctive "ge" note, but most of the surviving instruments do not physically have this note. In reality some performances today by folk groups have mixed old and modern instruments with incompatible keys, to make up for the lack of sets of traditional instruments. This has led to changes of key, mode and scale and contributed to the phenomenon and controversy of "shang [note] replacing ge". Most folk musicians today are more familiar with the relative-pitch and moveable gong (tonic) system of gongche pu. This makes it more difficult for them to understand and learn the elusive old system of music. In fact, most folk musicians do not read the notation, let alone master the highly skilful yunqu and henhe vocalisation from the old scores. Despite the large amount of jianpu transcriptions, some scholars have skipped the traditional learning process of yunqu and henhe ornamentation. Thus the result of the performances may not fully reveal the flavours and the characteristics of the music.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

Certainly there is much scope for further research on Xi'an Guyue. Due to the different emphasis, the sub-genres of hymn (nianci) and percussion (tongqi) traditions of the music have not been dealt with sufficiently either in this study or by other scholars. Both are very common and popular parts of the tradition and an in-depth investigation on the different strands and styles of the two areas should yield fruitful results. Further audio, video and literary documentation of the genre's unique elements from the last few surviving master musicians are urgently needed. The reading and usage of guzhazi percussion music scores require more detailed study, since this thesis has focused more on the melodic notation of the music. A large number of pieces have not yet been learnt and documented through yuequ and henhe methods. It is crucial to look into the unstudied and less commonly performed repertories if one intends to do future comparative research between the old and new, traditional and modern elements of the genre.

Another area is the need for expertise and knowledge on musical temperament and organology, that is the genre's old style of instruments and their traditional system. A systematic study and comparison between the genre's old and new instruments will definitely produce useful and valuable materials and results. Due to the length of this thesis, it has not touched upon the "non-Chinese" musical elements in the genre as I had initially intended. Similarities have been found between certain melodies in Guyue and Japanese folk songs (Li Shigen 1987c, 1988c and Jiao Jie 1987). Ye Dong (1983:106-8)
pointed out the links between the genre and the traditional Uyghur Chebiyat Mukam music. This point may be worth investigating further. The stability and endurance of many seemingly less steady elements of the music, both old and new, need to be observed and followed up. These include the drastic shift in the pattern of gender relationships, the emergence of the conservatory’s representation, the non-commercial pursuit of the folk strands and the consistency of their traditional performance contexts. They will be tested in the course of time and under the pressure of social, political, ideological and economic changes and the rapid modernisation in China.
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Audiography

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R7 9 cassettes of fieldwork music recording by Cheng Yu (the author), 1995 – 1999, Xi’an, China, unpublished.
Glossary

Ai – 哀
Akou – 阿口
An – 安
Anhui 安徽省
Ankang 安康
An Laixu 安來緒
Aotaitou 尾頭
Bada lianjun 八大聯軍
Baidaoyu 白道峪
Baifo 拜佛
Bai Juyi 白居易
Baihua qifang 白化坊
Baikai 打開
Baimiangu 百面鼓
Baishi 白事
Baiyunshan 白雲山
Baizheng 打震
Bangu 板鼓
Banzhu 扁鼓
Banhu 板胡
Ban Po 布坡
Banzipu 半字謬
Baocun pai 保存派
Baojixiang 保吉祥
Baoqing si 宝慶寺
Bapai 八拍
Bawangbian 霸王鞭
Baxian’an 八仙庵
Bayin qisheng yinjie 八音七聲階
Bayin zhiyue 八音之樂
Beici 北詞
Beijing 北京
Beilin 碑林
Beiyang 北洋
Beicibatao 北詞八套
Bianzhifa 變指法
Biezi 別子
Biji Manzhi 碧雞漫志
Bili 簧箏
Bishangqin 簧上琴
Bubujiao 步步嬌
Budidao 不地道
Bushi 佈施
Buzhashi 不紂實
Cang 倉
Caifang 倉房
Cao Anhe 曹安和
Chai Tianbao 柴天寶
Chang’an 長安
Chang’an Guyue she 長安古樂社
Chang’an xian 長安縣
Changhen’ge 懷恨歌
Chang Youde 常有德
Changsha 長沙
Changxi 唱戲
Chao du 超度
Chaoqian 朝天子
Chaoyang 朝陽
Chaoku 插曲
Che 尺
Chenghuang miao Guyue she 城隍廟古樂社
Chongqiang 重慶
Chaoshan Jinxiang 朝山進香
Che Gong Wu Liu 尺工五六
Che’er 撒兒
Chen Yang 陳陽
Chen Yingshi 陳應時
Cheng 城
Cheng Tianjian 程天健
Chenghuang miao 城隍廟
Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石
Chong 重
Chongqian 重前
Chongtou 重頭
Chongwei 重尾
Chongyang 紅洋
Chuangjiao 川跤
Chuanju 川劇
Chuanqi 傳奇
Chuantong 傳統
Chuanxie daimao 穿靴戴帽
Chunjie 春節
Chuanxue daimao 穿靴戴帽
Chuanzhazi 串簽子
Chuduizi 出隊子
Chuigehui 吹歌會
Chuigushou 吹鼓手
Chuiyue 吹樂
Chunjie 春節
Chuxue’re 出血熱
Ci 詞
Cihai 辭海
Cihu 刺虎
Cipai 詞牌
Ciyuan 詞源
Cu 粗
Cui Jian 崔健
Cui Jinting 崔錦庭
Cui Shirong 崔世榮
Cutongqi 素銅器
Dabangzi 大梆子
Dabei si 大悲寺
Dabo 大鈴
Daguashe 打呱社
Dahan 大旱
Daiyue 大樂
Dajichang 大吉昌
Dajichang Guyue she 大吉昌古樂社
Dali 大呂
Daluo 大鑼
Danao 大鐮
Danyunluo 單雲鑼
Daqin 大琴
Dang 當
Da-nian-chang-chui 打念唱吹
Danmiangu 單面鼓
Danyunluo – 單雲鑾
Dao – 道
Daochamen nüxu – 倒插門女婿
Daochunlai – 到春來
Daode jing – 道德經
Daoqing – 道情
Daoqing yugu – 道情氣鼓
Daqinmen guduan – 大琴門鼓段
Daqu – 大麪
Datiao – 大跳
Daxingban – 大行拍
Daxiong baodian – 大雄寶殿
Dazhazi – 打齋子
Dazhong yinyue – 大眾音樂
De’er – 得兒
Dege – 得各
Deng – 燈/燈
Deng Xiaoping – 鄧小平
Deshengling – 得勝令
Dezong – 德宗
Di – 笛
Diao – 調
Diaoluo – 單鑾
Diaosuikong – 磚磚空
Diaoxing – 調性
Didao – 地道
Dishui – 滴水
Dizi – 笛子
Dongxian – 冬仙
Dongcang Guyue she – 東倉古樂社
Dou – 豆
Dougu – 豆鼓
Duan Anjie – 段安節
Duanlimen – 端立門
Dun – 勤
Dunhuang – 敦煌
Dunhuang pipapu – 敦煌琵琶譜
Douyue – 鼓樂
Dugu – 獨鼓
Emeishan – 峨眉山
Er – 耳 or 兒
Erdiaosheng – 二調笙
Erhu – 二胡
Erhuang – 二簧
Errentai – 二人臺
Errentaixi – 二人臺戲
Erxian – 二弦
Erxiandi – 二仙笛
Fabian – 發邊
Fadian – 發點
Faguduan – 法鼓段
Falei – 發雷
Fan – 凡
Fan – 繁
Fandiao – 犯調
Fangangyuewu – 仿唐樂舞
Fangxiang – 方響
Fangxiazhi – 方匣子
Fanqu – 犯曲
Faq – 法曲
Fenci – 粉詞
Feng Yalan – 馮亞蘭
Fengguang – 鳳管笛
Fengjinbei – 奉金杯
Fentiao yushun – 鳳調雨順
Fojiao – 佛教
Fue-fu – 笛譜
Fugu – 復古
Fujian – 福建
Fusan Xuefang – 福三學坊
Fushou Tang – 福壽堂
Fuye – 副業
Gaipin ruwei – 改品入尾
Gandongshan – 達東山
Gansu – 甘肅
Gaobagu – 高把鼓
Gaobazi – 高把子
Gaoguan – 高管
Gaohuo jingji – 高活經濟
Gaosheng – 高笙
Gaosheng – 高笙
Gaozu – 高祖
Ge – 勾
Geche – 格尺
Gezhang – 歌章
Gogen-fu – 五弦譜
Gong – 宮
Gong yi gong – 工一工
Gongche – 工尺
Gongchepu – 工尺譜
Gongren – 工人
Gouluo – 銅鑼
Gu – 古
Gu – 鼓
Guan – 管
Guan – 観
Guo zhi – 官方
Guanzhong Pingyuan – 關中平原
Guanzhong quanshan – 關中曲山
Guanzhong yangge – 關中秋歌
Guandiao di – 官調笛
Guanzhi – 管子
Guantan – 鼓板
Guchuiyue – 鼓吹樂
Gufang – 鼓房
Gulang – 古浪
Gun – 滾
Gong – 宮
Gongdiao – 宮調
Gongluo – 貢錄
Gongyun – 宮音
Gu Jingzhao – 顧景昭
Guanzhi – 管子
Guduanqu – 鼓段曲
Guojue – 鼓決吹
Gunji – 滾急
Guo Qinling – 過秦嶺
Guohui – 過會
Guocui zhuyi – 國粹主義
Guoguan – 過關
Guoguang si – 國光寺

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Li Shutong – 李淑桐
Li Tingsong – 李廷松
Li Xiangting – 李祥霆
Li Yuanning – 李元慶
Li Yuzhen – 李玉珍
Liao – 骆
Liedi – 烈笛
Lin Biao – 林彪
Lin Shicheng – 林石城
Lingqi – 靈旗
Lingyan – 靈驗
Lintong – 臨潼
Lisa o jiupai 離騷九拍
Liu Qingzhi – 劉青之
Liu Shaoqi – 劉少奇
Liu Tianhua – 劉天華
Liu yao – 緣腰
Liul miao – 琉璃廟
Liushiban – 流水板
liuxing yinyue – 流行音樂
Liuyang – 梨園
Longdeng – 龍燈
Longfengqi – 龍鳳旗
Longwang – 龍王
Lou – 龍
Lou Yifeng – 羅藝峰
Louguan Tai – 樓觀台
Lulin – 綠林
Lun an – 洛南
Lü – 律
Lü Hongjing – 呂洪靜
Lü Ji – 呂翼
Lu Xun – 魯迅
Luanbaxian – 亂八仙
Luhua dang – 蘆華鳴
Lülu xinshu erjuan – 律呂新書二卷
Luoguijing – 龍鼓經
Luogu pu – 龍鼓譜
Luoma si – 龍馬寺
Luqi boluo – 龍起銅落
Lüwei – 律位
Lùxue – 律學
Lantian xian – 樂田縣
Leigu – 鬼鼓
Li Shigen – 李石根
Linzhong – 林鍾
Liu – 六
Luanbaxian – 亂八仙
Luo xianyue – 龍鼓樂
Maluo – 駱羅
Mantianxing – 滿天星
Manyuan chun – 滿園春
Mao Zedong – 毛澤東
Maotouzi – 驅頭子
Mei mianzi – 没面子
Meiguan – 梅管
Meiguan juquanj – 梅管集全集
Meiguan qimu – 梅管起目
Meihu – 眉戶
Meiwei’er – 没味兒
Meixian – 眉縣
Mengjiangnu – 孟薌女
Menglianglu – 孟良錄
Mengxibitan – 夢溪筆談
Mianhe xinbuhe – 面和心不和
Miao – 廟
Miao tangu yinyue – 廟堂音樂
Miao Tianrui – 裴天瑞
Miaoyu – 廟宇
Meihu x – 眉戶戲
Mifei – 禃佛
Minzu yinyue – 民族音樂
Miaohu – 廟會
Muyu – 木魚
Nailuo – 奶羅
Nanci – 南詞
Nanjixian Guyue she – 南集賢鼓樂社
Na’e – 奈鵰
Nandengci – 南燈詞
Nanguan – 南管
Nanjing – 南京
Nanmen – 南門
Nanqu – 南曲
Nanwutai – 南五台
Nanyin – 南音
Nanyuanmen – 南圓門
Nanzun nübei – 男尊女卑
Nao tiangong – 靈天宮
Naobo – 騎鈴
Nashoude – 拿手的
Naxi – 納西
Neiren – 涼人
Neitiao – 能套
Ningxia – 寧夏
Nishang yuyi wuge – 頂裳羽衣舞
Yi舞歌
Niupeng – 牛棚
Nongcun – 農村
Nongcun baowei chengshi – 農村包圍城市
Nongxian – 農閑
Nezhaling – 哪吒令
Nianci – 念詞
Nianlù – 南呂
Paiqu – 拍曲
Pan Huaisu – 潘懷素
Pantao hui – 瞳桃會
Pengling – 磯鈴
Pengzhong – 磯鐘
Pin – 品
Pinghu – 平湖
Pingpai – 平拍
Pingsheng – 平笙
Pipa – 琵琶
Pipa ge – 琵琶歌
Pipa Lu – 琵琶錄
Po – 破
Pochu mixin – 破除迷信
Posijiu – 破四舊
Pudeng’er – 撲燈鵲
Pujian yinfan – 譜簡音繁
Pusa – 菩薩
Pusa si – 菩薩寺
Qi – 起 (start)
Qi – 七 (seven)
Qi – 氣 (breath)
Qi xiongdi – 七兄弟
Qia – 卡
Xiantou - 弦頭
Xiantou gaipin - 弦頭改品
Xiantouhe - 弦頭合
Xiao - 蕭
Xiao Youmei - 肖有梅
Xiaofangniu - 小放牛
Xiaolu - 小路
Xiaosheng - 小笙
Xiaoxingban - 小行板
Xiaoshou - 夏收
Xiaoshuichuan - 下水船
Xia - 下四
Xiazi - 下徵
Xiazhi - 下徵
Xiazhong jian - 匣中劍
Xibeifeng - 西北風
Xie Qinglian - 謝青蓮
Xifu quzi - 西府曲子
Xin - 新
Xin nüxing - 新女性
Xin yinyue - 新音樂
Xincheng zeling - 心誠則靈
Xingpai - 行拍
Xingshan - 興善
Xinhai - 辛亥
Xinjiang - 新疆
Xinmin'ge - 新民歌
Xintianyou - 信天遊
Xipi - 西皮
Xitaiyu - 洗台雨
Xitongqi - 細銅器
Xiutai - 西五台
Xiyu - 西域
Xiang Guuye she - 西藏古樂社
Xingpai - 行拍
Xingyue - 行樂
Xiutai - 西五台
Xiyue - 細樂
Xiyueshe - 細樂社
Xu - 序
Xuanqi yongba - 懸八用七
Xuanzhe Huang Di - 軒轅皇帝
Xuanzhuang - 玄奘
Xu - 玄
Xuantang yuege - 學堂樂歌
Xueyuan - 學院
Xundu - 薰笛
Xupai - 虛拍
Xuyuan - 許願
Yanyue Yinjie - 燕樂音階
Yanyue yinjie - 雅樂音階
Ye Dong - 葉 棟
Ya - 呀
Yazi - 雅集
Yamen - 衛門
Yan'an - 延安
Yanyue - 燕樂
Yang - 陽
Yang Dajun - 楊大均
Yang Hucheng - 楊虎成
Yang Jiachen - 楊家楨
Yang Yinliu - 楊陰柳
Yangge ju - 歌歌劇
Yanggexi - 歌歌戲
Yanghua - 洋化
Yangqin - 洋琴
Yanluoshatan - 燕落沙灘
Yaogu - 腰鼓
Yaomenshuang - 搖門栓
Yaozhi - 搖椅子
Ye - 也
Yi - 一
Yi Jing - 易經
Yin - 陰
Ying - 應
Yinling - 引令
Yinming - 音名
Yingxiang guan - 迎祥觀
Yin Yuejuansuo - 音樂研究所
Yinzi - 引子
Yipu - 譯譜
Yishu gequ - 藝術歌曲
Yongning men - 永寧門
Yousheng - 遊聲
Youweier - 有味兒
Youxian si - 遊仙寺
Youzi - 有字
Yu - 羽
Yu Dongying - 餘東瀛
Yu Zhu - 餘鈞
Yuan Jingfang - 袁靜芳
Yuan Shikai - 袁世凱
Yuan Zhen - 元稹
Yuebaotou - 雨包頭
Yuefu - 樂府
Yuefu zaji - 樂府雜記
Yuehu - 樂戶
Yuepu - 樂譜
Yueqin - 月琴
Yuequ - 樂曲
Yueqiu - 樂曲
Yuexingtu - 月星圖
Yuexue - 樂學
Yuexue guifan - 樂學規範
Yugu - 漁鼓
Yujiaozhi - 玉嬌枝
Yulin - 楊林
Yulin xiaoqu - 楊林小曲
Yumen san - 玉門散
Yunluo - 雲羅
Yunpai - 勺拍
Yingzhong - 应鐘
Yinluo - 引鑼
Yishang daigou - 以上代勾
Yitiaohe - 一條河
Yize - 夷則
Yu Zhu - 餘鈞
Yuegu - 樂鼓
Yuepu - 樂譜
Yueqishe - 樂器社
Yueshe - 樂器
Yunqu - 雲曲
Zan - 贊
Zhang Cunzhu - 張存柱
Zhang Gui - 張貴
Zhang Xueliang - 張學良
Zhan gu - 戰鼓
Zhao Gengchen - 趙庚辰
Zhongnan shan - 紅山
Zhouzhi xian - 周至縣
zhuo - 滗
Zaijiaoyu — 再敎育
Zaju — 雜劇
Zangshi — 葬事
Zha — 乍
Zha Fuxi — 查阜西
Zhaifan — 齊飯
Zhang Gui — 張貴
Zhang Longxin — 張隆興
Zhang Yimou — 張義謀
Zhang Youming — 張有明
Zhang Zhentao — 張振濤
Zhao Feng — 趙飆
Zhao Jimin — 趙繼民
Zhao Meibo — 趙梅伯
Zhao Qing — 趙靑
Zhao Yuanren — 趙元任
Zhaoban — 照搬
Zhazi — 紮子
Zhegu — 折鼓
Zhen dongxi — 真東西
Zheng Yi — 鄭譯
Zhengfeng — 整風
Zhenggong — 正宮
Zhengqu — 正曲
Zhenyuan — 貞元
Zhezi gumao — 摺子鼓毛
Zhi — 徽
Zhihuasi — 智化寺
Zhiishfenzi — 知識份子
Zhiizhuozi — 支柱子
Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan — 中國藝術研究院
Zhonglou — 鐘樓
Zhonglū — 鐘呂
Zhonglū fendie meiguan — 鐘呂粉蝶梅管
Zhongxu — 中序
Zhou — 周
Zhou Dingshan — 周鼎山
Zhou Enlai — 周恩來
Zhou Shenming — 周伸明
Zhou Shuanwa — 周拴娃
Zhou Zhili — 周志禮
Zhouzhi — 周至
Zhu Zaiyu — 朱載育
Zhuangyan — 莊嚴
Zhuazheng — 抓箇
Zhuomure — 啄木兒
Zuolao — 啄老虎
Zoujiu — 租借區
Zuo Dang’er — 左東兒
Zuogu — 坐鼓
Zuoyue — 坐樂
Zuoyue quantao — 坐樂全套

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