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of Princeton University

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From The Editor

Whether to include pictures or to rely on text alone is a topic long debated in the history of book publication in East Asia. In his article “Pictures of the Sage’s Traces” in volume 10, no. 1 of this journal, Chun Shum, rare book librarian at the Harvard-Yenching Library, reminded us of one stage in this debate when he cited the emphasis that Song-dynasty scholar Zheng Qiao (1104–1162) placed on including both text and pictures in published works. To date, the keen observations and vital arguments about books and images and the exposition of the history of that debate that Zheng Qiao made in chapters seventy-one and seventy-two of his twelfth-century work *Tongzhi* (Comprehensive Treatise) have yet to be thoroughly incorporated into any exposition in English on the history of the book in East Asia. However, thanks to the on-going research of many Sinologists, the literature available on the publication of illustrated books in China from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century continues to be significantly enriched. We are very pleased to present in the current volume of the *East Asian Library Journal* two fine articles on the relationship between text and illustration, one by Asian art historian Julia Murray of the University of Wisconsin and the second by Chinese historian Nicolas Standaert of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Over the past ten or more years, Julia Murray has brought her considerable expertise and keen insights as an historian of Asian art to bear on understanding the interplay between text and image in illustrated woodblock-printed books in pre-modern China and Japan. She considers the power and the utility of the pictorial component of this kind of book and, further, analyzes the ways in which and the degree to which exposition relies upon image. The topic of her present article is a work first prepared in hand-painted, manuscript form in 1573 as an educational text for a very young Chinese emperor. The core of Murray’s presentation is the transformation of the illustrations and the text as publishers,

over the ensuing four hundred plus years, transported this work out of the palace educational domain and into an ever expanding domain of readership.

Nicolas Standaert's contribution to this number explores the texts and illustrations produced in the Ming and Qing dynasties to establish and codify the dance component of state sacrifices and sacrifices to Confucius. He grounds his study in the history of the Ming court's actions to build the institutional framework for the rituals so fundamental to maintenance of imperial authority, and he looks at the several stages of attempts made during the Ming and Qing to reform the practice of ritual dance. The remarkable contribution that Standaert makes with his long, multi-faceted treatise is his comparative exposition of the evolution of illustrations of ritual dance included in the many records on institutions of China's imperial order. Standaert accords considerable place to the system of dance notation and the development of a "grammar of dance" by Zhu Zaiyu (1536–1611), descendant of a collateral line of the founder of the Ming dynasty. As Julia Murray does in her article, Standaert gives a clear visual record of the evolution of figural material over time as it was modified to accommodate the evolving needs of the audience to which publishers directed the texts and images.

Preceding the main scholarly articles in this issue of the journal is the obituary for Professor Frederick W. Mote, founder of and advisor to this journal, written by William Atwell, Emeritus Professor of Asian Languages and Cultures at Hobart and William Smith Colleges. Thereafter follows the eloquent and warm tribute presented by Thomas Bartlett, lecturer in Chinese history at La Trobe University, Melbourne, at the October 2005 conference held at Princeton University in Professor Mote's honor.

Some readers may be interested in Professor Mote's long connection with the *East Asian Library Journal*, its predecessor title the *Gest Library Journal*, and the study of the history of the book in East Asia. What follows expands on these topics and constitutes my own appreciation of Professor Frederick Mote. These remarks were first presented at the October 2005 conference.

Books and bibliography and traditions of studying and collecting rare books have a very long history in the literary cultures of East Asia.

However, when the *Gest Library Journal* first appeared nearly twenty ago, little knowledge of these book traditions in East Asia had entered the discussions in European languages beginning to coalesce into a discipline known as the history of the book. In many ways, the aspirations of those who founded this journal were far ahead of their times. And Professor Frederick Mote was foremost among those founders.

The *Gest Library Journal* published its first number in 1986 toward the end of the year. It was initially launched as a publication for Friends of the Gest Library, and the journal editors stated that “It will try to rouse all who value books, knowledge, and scholarship to take an interest in the life of this great library, and of others like it. (“On Launching a New Journal,” *Gest Library Journal*, p. 4.) The editors also stated their hope “that this slight journal will contain high quality scholarship concerning traditional and modern East Asia, as well as reflect some sense of the daily labors, the discoveries, the problems, and the excitement that the Gest Library generates.” (Ibid., p. 1.) Over its publication history, the *Gest Library Journal* has undergone a name transformation to the *East Asian Library Journal* and has matured into a substantial venue for the publication of articles on all aspects of printing history and the history of books in East Asia.

In the past five years, the study of the book history of East Asia and the materials available in European languages have grown substantially, yet academic programs in the history of the book continue to be largely Eurocentric. A few weeks into the fall 2005 academic year, Professor of History Robert Darnton and Professor of English Nigel Smith held a lunch meeting to introduce the agenda of conferences, programs, and course offerings of Princeton University’s Center for the Study of the Book and Media. Three individuals from the East Asian Library, the East Asian Studies Department, and the East Asian Studies Program attended. It is safe to say that there is a need for, and hopefully there is a willingness to have, topics related to the history of the book in East Asia eventually introduced into course work and programs organized by this center at Princeton University.

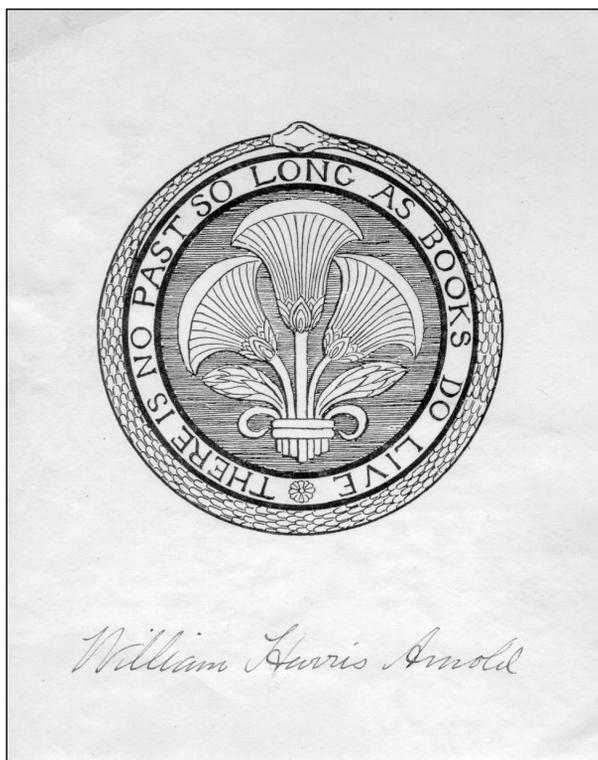
The *Gest Library Journal* was begun through Professor Mote’s efforts in direct response to the enthusiastic interest that several collectors of old and rare Asian books and calligraphy expressed for the

marvelous materials in the Gest Library. He served as advisor to the journal beginning with that premier issue in 1986 and continued to offer his advice and to express his hopes for the journal until a few days before his passing in February of this year.

This editor sought Professor Mote's counsel on many occasions over the past five years. Professor Mote willingly vetted manuscripts with detailed comments and questions and returned those manuscripts promptly. He offered suggestions for correcting factual errors in a diplomatic manner. He frequently reminded this editor to let each author's voice and sensibilities come through in the published article. He translated several manuscripts for publication in the journal and helped this editor unwind troublesome passages in the translations of other manuscripts. Conversation and written communication with him often included interesting bits of information about the history of the East Asian field, particularly with respect to the lives and work of scholars of East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century. And all this was done even when Professor Mote's health was fragile, and even when he had numerous other projects on his desk.

I, for one, very much miss his professional academic counsel. I could count on it as substantial, reasoned, sometimes provocative, and sometimes even a little troublesome for the high scholarly standards it set. I can no longer call on him for suggestions on how to begin resolving challenges that arise with the preparation of manuscripts for publication in the *East Asian Library Journal*.

So, while Professor Mote and his work now belong to the larger history of the study of East Asia, we can be grateful that he was part of that development very close to its beginning here at Princeton. He was passionate about the book and document resources in the collection that Guion Moore Gest purchased in the 1920s and 1930s through his agent Irvin Van Gorder Gillis. This collection came to Princeton in 1936 through purchase by the Institute for Advanced Study to be housed, administered, and developed at Princeton University. Professor Mote used that collection and taught his students the need to explore its treasures and how to go about making that research the basis of their study. He made it clear that research in the texts of East Asia's publishing



1. Bookplate of William Harris Arnold, signed in ink. From the collection of Mark D. Tomasko.

past was an unavoidable component of the study in the present age of East Asia.

Two moments quite unexpectedly moved me along in coming to terms with Professor Mote's passing. The first came this summer, when Chu Hung-lam, professor of Chinese history at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and one of Professor Mote's graduate students, accepted my invitation to serve as chairman of the editorial advisory board of the *East Asian Library Journal*. Chu Hung-lam was the first editor of the journal. In Chu Hung-lam's acceptance I found much needed intellectual continuity and enthusiasm for the work of the journal, intangible things that I had not been quite aware had gone missing.

And the second moment came just prior to the October conference held in honor of Professor Mote, when I was looking through a large box of bookplates in one corner of my book-collector husband's many accumulations of "works on paper." Most of the bookplates were

the work of engraver and designer Edwin Davis French (1851–1906), who, incidentally, both designed and engraved the Princeton University bookplate. Among plates designed by other artists was one done for late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century collector and writer about book collecting William Harris Arnold (1854–1923). The simple floral motif, showing influences of Egyptian design popular in his era, is rendered in clean, thin lines. A motto—something more than the usual pithy bookplate logo rendered in Latin—encircles and encloses the floral motif with these words: “There is no past so long as books do live.” (See figure 1.) Perhaps a Chinese or Japanese or Korean book collector or scholar long ago expressed a similar idea that one day I will happen upon. But for now, I have taken comfort in the expansiveness of that conviction. So long as we make the truly great collections in The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection here at Princeton accessible, there is no “past.” In these volumes, the so-called “past” is within easy reach and, indeed, is very much alive. I can imagine Professor Mote’s heartily concurring with that sentiment. And to this end, I commit the publication work of this journal.

NANCY NORTON TOMASKO
November 2005

News and Notes

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD OF THE *EAST ASIAN LIBRARY JOURNAL*

It is my pleasure to welcome David Helliwell, Senior Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, to the Editorial Advisory Board of the *East Asian Library Journal*. Dr. Helliwell has contributed a review article to the journal (volume 6, no. 2), and his lengthy translation article in volume 8, no. 1, “The Repair and Binding of Old Chinese Books Translated and Adapted for Western Conservators,” has attracted considerable attention from our readers and, in particular, from book conservators. His ongoing projects include a catalogue of the Bodleian’s pre-modern Chinese materials and a catalogue of that library’s very important corpus of nineteenth-century Protestant missionary materials on China.

As mentioned in the editor’s preface, Chu Hung-lam, Professor of History, Chinese University of Hong Kong and the first editor of this journal’s predecessor title the *Gest Library Journal*, has accepted the invitation to be the new chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board of the journal. As most of the journal’s readers may by now know, this position was left vacant with the passing in February 2005 of Professor Frederick W. Mote. Professor Mote was Chu Hung-lam’s academic advisor here at Princeton, and their close collaborative work on scholarly publication projects made Professor Chu the logical successor as board chairman. His enthusiasm for research on the history of the book in Asia provides a much needed continuity for the work of the journal.

FANKAI: DANGDAI ZHONGGUO SHUJI SHEJI [*FLIP: CHINESE CONTEMPORARY BOOK DESIGN*]

From 6 August 2004–24 January 2005, the Hong Kong Heritage Museum, Shatin, Hong Kong (www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk or <http://hk.heritage.museum>) held an exhibit of outstanding examples of contemporary

book design by artists working in Macao, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The innovative dos-a-dos binding of the exhibition catalogue, designed by Tsinghua University professor Lü Jingren at his Jingren Art Design Studio in Beijing, at every point of its structure, with each element of its layout, and in each of its photographs of exhibited items, graphically defines the exhibit's organizing focus—*fankai* (to flip, or to flip open)—that feature of fluidity and ease inherent in a well constructed book. Introductory essays by Jin Daiqiang, Hang Jian, and Lü Jingren, bound into a pamphlet accompanying the catalogue, set the trends in innovative contemporary Chinese book design squarely in China's very long history of book layout and design. The catalogue: Gan Li, ed., *Fankai: Dangdai Zhongguo shuji sheji* [*Flip: Chinese Contemporary Book Design*] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2004), 23, 84, 96, 36 plus 27 pp. in a slip case, ill. ISBN 7-302-09123-4/J.

FROM WOODBLOCKS TO THE INTERNET:
CHINESE PUBLISHING AND PRINT CULTURE IN TRANSITION

The East Asian Studies Center, Institute for Chinese Studies, and Office of International Affairs of The Ohio State University sponsored an interdisciplinary conference on Chinese publishing and print culture from 3 through 7 November 2004. The organizers, Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed, both of The Ohio State University's Department of History, gathered nearly twenty scholars from the United States, Canada, Japan, China, Germany, and England to explore the development of modern Chinese print media. Papers presented focused on many aspects of printing and readership, authorship and intellectual property, book and print trade and culture, and technological innovation in China from the eighteenth century to the present. A select number of the conference papers are being edited for publication. Readers interested in learning more about the conference, its papers, or their presenters may contact Cynthia Brokaw (brokaw.22@osu.edu) or Christopher A. Reed (reed.434@osu.edu).

Editorial note: My thanks goes to Cynthia Brokaw for sending me the organizers' conference report from which the above information is drawn.

BEAUTY OF BOOKS: 2004 BEIJING BOOK DESIGNERS FORUM

The Beijing Book Designers Forum (<http://www.cadob.com>) organized its first international symposium held from 3 to 6 December 2004. The conference was sponsored by the Academy of Arts and Design, Tsinghua University; major government media groups; and professional associations for the book design and publishing world and garnered the financial support of China's major paper manufacturers, commercial printers, book sellers, type design firms, and publishers. Conference attendees—graphic designers working in the publishing and advertising worlds, teachers and students of graphic design, and senior graphic design experts—warmly welcomed a wide-range of presentations given by specially invited book designers, book artists, graphic designers, and writers from Austria, Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Switzerland, Taiwan and the United States. The enthusiastic response of the audience mirrors the vibrancy of the publishing activity going on in China today.

The conference was held in conjunction with a very large exhibition in the autumn of 2004 at the Beijing Art Museum of the works of the winners in the Sixth Chinese Exhibition of Book Design. This competition held every four years selects the best of works submitted by publishers from all over China. The high quality of the winning entries and the inventiveness of entries in the “book arts” and “artist’s book” categories are evidence that China has indeed moved boldly into a new era of publishing. A hefty and handsome catalogue of the winning entries reflects the wide range of artistry in books found on the shelves of China’s book stores in the first years of the twenty-first century. The catalogue: Zhongguo chuban gongzuozhe xiehui zhuangzheng yishu gongzuo weiyuanhui, ed., *Diliujie quanguo shuji zhuangzheng yishu yixiu zuopin xuan* (*A Collection of the Fine Works From the Sixth Chinese Exhibition of Book Design*) (Beijing: Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 2004), 281 pp. ill. ISBN 7-109-09507-X.

THE ART OF THE BOOK IN CHINA

From 13 through 15 June 2005, the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art (<http://www.pdfmuseum.org.uk>), School of Oriental and

African Studies, University of London held a special colloquy devoted to the material culture of the Chinese book. Twenty presentations by scholars from institutions in Canada, China, England, Japan, and the United States attracted an audience of upwards of one hundred persons. Craig Clunas, Percival David Professor of Chinese Art and Archaeology at the University of London, and Ming Wilson, Senior Curator in the Asian Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, organized the conference program around the need to give scholarly attention to the art of the book *per se*. The breadth and specificity of the topics of the papers presented—Chinese books and visual art, calligraphy and the book, woodblock printing and moveable-type printing, books produced for connoisseurship, book-like objects, book design in the early twentieth century, commercial book production, illustrated books produced for specific audiences, early history of collections of Chinese books in England, and authentication and dating of books—indicate clearly that the study of the book in China is attracting much needed creative attention of scholars worldwide. Planned publication of the conference proceedings will add significantly to the literature of the study of the book in China.

Editorial note: My thanks goes to John Cayley of Hanshan Tang Books of London (<http://www.hanshan.com>) for allowing me to draw the above information from his lengthy and enthusiastic account of the conference activities. At the time of the conference, Hanshan Tang published a list of books related to the art of the book in China. That list (151 titles, 20 pages with index) is now available in downloadable PDF form from the company's website.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN PROSPEROUS TIMES: QING-DYNASTY PALACE BOOK AND PRINT CULTURE

Opening on 1 October 2005 and continuing through the end of the year, The Palace Museum in Beijing has mounted an exhibit of Qing-dynasty book treasures from its extensive library holdings. On display in the recently renovated Wuyingdian, the historic site of printing operations in the Palace, located in the southwest corner of the Gugong are books in six categories: books housed in elegant cases, books on governing for

imperial use, books compiled and edited in the Palace, fine bindings, religious classics, and books printed at the Qing Court. Some additional information about this exhibit is available on the Gugong's website (Digital Palace Museum) <http://www.dpm.org.cn/China/phoweb/CoolPage/12/C5956.htm>. The catalogue: Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Shengshi wenzhi: Qinggong dianji wenhua* (Cultural Achievements in Prosperous Times: Qing-Dynasty Palace Book and Print Culture) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005), 260 pp., ill. ISBN 7-80047-522-0/J.239.

FRITZ MOTE MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

Colleagues, friends, and students of Professor Frederick W. Mote, Emeritus Professor of History at Princeton University and founder of this journal, gathered at Princeton from 6 through 8 October 2005 in honor of his scholarly inspiration and influence on the development of the field of East Asian Studies. Panels were organized around topics related to three of Professor Mote's areas of scholarly interest—Chinese language learning, the history of China in the Yuan to Ming transition, and Chinese books and bibliography. In the current number of this journal are two articles related to Professor Mote: one is William Atwell's obituary for Professor Mote, and the second is Thomas Bartlett's remembrance of language learning under Mote's tutelage. Papers from the panel on Chinese books and bibliography will be published in a future number of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

TWO ASIAN-BOOK WEBSITES

Readers may want to know of two websites related to publishing and the book in East Asia. One found at <http://www.honco.net> is the online magazine which since 1998 has supplemented the quarterly Japanese-language print publication *Hon to Konpyuta* (The Book and The Computer), first published in 1997 under the editorial directorship of Tsuno Kaitaro, longtime editor and publisher in Tokyo. The summer 2005 number of the print journal was its final publication. The online journal component has also suspended publication, but the site will remain open to give readers access to archives and special features published over the

seven years of its active life. For example, the virtual gallery of the www.honco.net site has two elegant features on the renowned book Japanese designer Sugiura Kohei and a third on the work of Huang Yung-sung, publisher of Taiwan's *Hansheng* (Echo) magazine, a remarkably beautiful publication dedicated to documenting Chinese folk culture.

The second site is a new project, the East Asian Publishing Network, launched by several participants active in "The Book and The Computer" Project. The website for this new project, <http://www.eapub.net>, is available in a preliminary form and, when fully developed, will be accessible in English, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese.

BOOKS OF NOTE

To date, only a few books about book history have received reviews in this journal. Several readers have pointed out that reviews of books are a useful feature of many scholarly journals. However, for the *East Asian Library Journal*, beginning with this issue, there will be instead a "Books of Note" list as a way to familiarize the journal's readers with recently published material on the history of the book in East Asia. It would be very much appreciated if readers brought to the editor's attention titles inadvertently omitted from this list. Comments on the books are the editor's and in no way are intended to constitute reviews. A paucity or absence of comment is not to be taken as criticism. In these cases, the editor simply has not had the opportunity to read or inspect all of the works mentioned.

Allan, Nigel, ed. *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures from the Wellcome Library*. Chicago: Serinda Publications, 2003. 215 pp. ISBN 0-906-02660-1. Cloth. This beautifully illustrated volume is a collection of essays on the illustrated books and graphic material in the Asian Collections of the Wellcome Library in London. Contributors are scholars from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Russia who for many years have been doing research on the culturally and linguistically diverse Asian materials that are a part of this library devoted largely to medical history.

- Barker, David. *Traditional Techniques in Contemporary Chinese Printmaking*. London: A & C Black, 2005. 128 pp. ISBN 0-713-66409-6. Paper. This is copiously illustrated, practical handbook on the details of tools, materials, and techniques for printmaking in China applicable to many media. David Barker is recently retired as Reader in Printmaking at the School of Art and Design at the University of Ulster, currently living in London where he is pursuing new directions in printmaking.
- Brokaw, Cynthia and Kaiwing Chow, eds. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. xvi, 539 pp. ISBN 0-520-23126-0. Cloth. "This volume is the product of a conference, 'Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China,' held at Timberline Lodge, Oregon, from 1 to 5 June 1998. The aims of the conference and this volume are to contribute to the growing discussion in the China field of the social and cultural history of the book and to suggest a variety of methods for the study of the Chinese book." (From the editors' Introduction, p. xii.) The Timberline Lodge conference drew together Sinologists whose work at that time had begun to give definition to the study of the book in China. And now the conference volume, long in the editing stage, sets this carefully executed scholarship firmly in its place in the discipline of East Asian Studies.
- Cave, Roderick. *Chinese Ceremonial Papers: An Illustrated Bibliography*. Risbury: The Whittington Press, 2002. 72 pp. This limited edition work, issued in at least two different bindings, contains many tipped-in samples of mock money, prayer sheets, and other printed papers that represent value for religious offering purposes. This book is an extension of Roderick Cave's collecting of and research on Chinese specialty printed papers. His articles on this topic have appeared in the periodical *Matrix*, nos. 12, 13, and 18, also published by the Whittington Press.
- Chia, Lucille. *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*. Harvard-Yenching Monograph 56. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. xxi, 442

pp., 78 illustrations, 2 maps. ISBN 0-674-0095-5x. Cloth. In volume 10, no. 2 of the *East Asian Library Journal*, readers of the journal sampled Lucille Chia's fine pioneering work in the social history of the book in China. The publication of her first monograph in this field confirms the breadth and the depth of her careful research on the history of commercial printing in one locale in China.

Chow, Kai-wing. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. xv, 397 pp. ISBN 0-804-73367-8. Cloth. ISBN 0-804-73368-6. Paper.

Du Weisheng. *Zhongguo guji xiufu yu zhuangbiao yishu tujie* (Illustrated Explanation of the Art of Repairing and Binding Old Chinese Books). Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003. 466 pp. ISBN 7-5013-2136-1/G 540. Paper over board. Du Weisheng, long the chief conservator in the book and paper conservation laboratory of the National Library of China, has written a handbook, unlike any previously published, for the repair and binding of Chinese books in their many traditional bindings. Each step of every procedure is accompanied with black and white photographs illustrating the conservator's techniques. Illustrated, introductory essays describe the conservator's tools, equipment, materials (including the process of the production of Chinese hand-made paper), and special challenges presented by damage to Chinese books.

Formanek, Susanne, and Sepp Linhart, eds. *Written Text—Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*. Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005. 368 pp, illustrated. ISBN 9-074-82258-4. Cloth. This collection of essays, some of which were originally published in German, here present in English the relationship between the written and visual component of texts produced on many topics in early-modern Japan.

McHale, Shawn. *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism, and Buddhism in the Making of Modern Vietnam*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004. xii, 256 pp. ISBN 2-003-00798-5. Cloth. Shawn McHale's study is the very first to draw Vietnam

into the discipline of the study of the history of the book and printing in East Asia.

- Mittler, Barbara. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912*. Harvard East Asian Monographs. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. 226. xvi, 504 pp. ISBN 0-674-01217-8. Cloth. Barbara Mittler has devoted years of research to the news media in Shanghai and in this monograph gives an intelligent exposition of the role played by the *Shenbao*, the independent newspaper founded by English merchant Ernest Major (1841-1908).
- Reed, Christopher A. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*. Contemporary Chinese Studies, and Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004. xvii, 391 pp. ISBN 0-774-81040-8. Cloth. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004. xvii, 391 pp. ISBN 0-824-82833-x. Paper. Christopher Reed's work is a major monograph on the development of the printing industry in Shanghai with special consideration given to the impact of technology and commerce on the industry and to the major players in the publication world.
- Tsien Tsuen-hsuei. *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions*. 1962; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004. xxiv, 323 pp. ISBN 0-226-81418-1. Cloth. This second edition of Tsien Tsuen-hsuei's classic work on the book in China before print significantly updates and expands our understanding of the history of Chinese books and other manuscript materials prior to the invention of printing and its use to reproduce books. Edward Shaughnessy's major essay "Paleographic Discoveries in China Since 1960," included as an afterword, sets Tsien's work in the context of scholarship on recent archaeological discoveries in China.
- Tsien Tsuen-hsuei. *Zhongguo zhi he yinshua wenhua shi [Chinese Paper and Printing, A Cultural History]*, ed. Zheng Rusi. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004. ii, 10, ii, 441 pp. ISBN

7-5633-4471-1. Paper. Tsien Tsuen-hsuei's work *Paper and Printing in China*, volume 5, part 1 of Joseph Needham's series *Science and Civilisation in China*, first published in English in 1985, was translated into Chinese and published in China in 1990 and given a second translation into Chinese that was published in Taiwan in 1995. This 2004 revised translation edited by Zheng Rusi of Peking University Library, a scholar of the history of the book in China, is a cooperative effort with Tsien Tsuen-hsuei. The Chinese text of the 1990 Chinese translation has been thoroughly updated and corrected, the prose has been made more felicitous, and the figural materials reorganized and modified. A bibliography of sources on the history of printing in China, expanded by Zhang Shudong and Zheng Rusi, appears as an appendix to the book.

Frederick W. Mote 1922–2005

WILLIAM S. ATWELL

Frederick W. Mote, professor emeritus of East Asian Studies at Princeton University, has died on 10 February 2005 after a long illness in Denver, Colorado, at the age of 82. Regarded even among leading scholars in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and China as one of the twentieth century's preeminent students of traditional Chinese civilization, Professor Mote wrote, edited, and translated numerous books, scholarly articles, and essays on subjects that ranged from classical Chinese philosophy to military history, and from the study of great cities such as Suzhou and Nanjing to the ways in which poetry, painting, and other of the arts could be used to gain a fuller understanding of Chinese economic, social, and cultural history. Mote was one of a very small number of academic pioneers who were instrumental in transforming the study of China and East Asia in the United States from a neglected backwater at most colleges and universities to a mature field with high standards and a distinguished record of scholarly achievement. He effected this important change through his publications, his teaching at Princeton and the University of Washington, and his years of service to organizations such as the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, of which he was a founding member, the Chinese Advisory Committee of the Modern Languages Association, the Inter-University Board for Chinese Language Studies in Taiwan, which he chaired from 1961 to 1964, the Committee on Studies of Chinese

Civilization of the American Council of Learned Societies, which he chaired from 1974 to 1978, the editorial board of the journal *Asia Major*, the Smithsonian Council, and the Visiting Committee of the Freer Gallery of Art.

The fourth in a family of ten children, Frederick Wade Mote was born on 2 June 1922 in Plainview, Nebraska. During the Great Depression, the family moved to Denver, where Wade, as he was known to his family and classmates, received most of his early education and where he graduated from the city's South High School in 1940. It also was in Denver as a member of the celebrated choir at St. John's Episcopal Cathedral that Mote developed a deep love for classical and religious music, one that he maintained for the rest of his life.

Following his graduation from high school, Mote found employment first in Denver and then in Washington, D.C. before enlisting in the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) early in 1943. Although he did not qualify for flight training for medical reasons, a Chinese language course that he had taken during the summer of 1942 at George Washington University caused his superiors to transfer him to a military unit at Harvard University where he participated in a special language program that was directed by the eminent Sinologists Y. R. Chao and Lien-sheng Yang. Thus began Mote's intensive involvement with a language and a civilization that he came to love, admire, and, for all intents and purposes, make his own. After completing his work at Harvard, Mote's first assignment was as an interpreter for Chinese nationals who were undergoing military training in the United States. He then was selected to join the newly-established Office of Strategic Services (OSS) as a noncommissioned officer. After completing parachute, demolition, and other training, Mote was sent with other OSS personnel to the China-Burma-India Theater in 1944. Working closely with Chinese commandos in southwest China, he was scheduled to parachute into Guangdong province's Leizhou Peninsula on 16 August 1945 to begin a guerilla campaign that was designed to prevent Japanese forces from transferring troops or other resources to disrupt the allied invasion of Japan that was planned for later that year. The surrender announcement by Japan's Showa emperor on 15 August 1945 caused the parachute drop and the mission to be cancelled.

Mote continued to serve in China until early in 1946 when he was transferred back to the United States. Discharged from the military in April of that year, he was admitted to Harvard where, having been given credit for his earlier intensive work in Chinese there, he originally intended to complete his undergraduate studies. However, the call of China proved to be too strong and Mote soon decided to leave the United States and sail for Shanghai. Arriving there at the end of 1946, he was introduced by Chinese friends to the dean of admissions at Nanjing University. After a series of interviews and a Chinese language test, he was admitted with junior standing and thus became one of the first Westerners ever to enroll as an undergraduate there. At the university, he specialized in the history of pre-modern China under the direction of the eminent historian and member of Academia Sinica, Wang Chongwu, who, as Mote later remembered with gratitude, was one of the few scholars in Nanjing who was willing to work with a foreign student. Mote received his B.A. degree from the university in 1948, probably the first Westerner ever to do so. It was during his time in Nanjing that he also met his future wife Ch'en Hsiao-lan and his lifelong friend and fellow 1948 Nanjing graduate Ch'en Ta-tuan, who later became a treasured colleague at Princeton in the university's Oriental Studies and East Asian Studies departments. As a fellow of the Fulbright Program, Mote did graduate work in Peking and Nanjing in 1948–1949 before accepting a position as a language officer in the Political Section of the American Embassy in the weeks immediately following the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949. Just before leaving China for the United States in 1950, he and Ch'en Hsiao-lan were married in Nanjing.

Shortly after the Motes arrived in the United States, he entered the graduate program of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the University of Washington in Seattle. Among the distinguished East Asian specialists with whom he studied and worked early in the 1950s were George E. Taylor, Franz Michael, Vincent Y. C. Shih, Hellmut Wilhelm, Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, and Li Fang-kuei, the last of whom served as Mote's dissertation director. In 1953, a Ford Foundation Fellowship enabled Mote to spend a semester at Stanford University's Hoover Institution where he compiled and edited a volume entitled *Japanese-Sponsored*

Governments in China, 1937–1945: An Annotated Bibliography. Published in 1954 by Stanford University Press, that work is still being used by students of modern East Asian history today. In the spring of 1954, Mote's Ford Fellowship allowed him to travel to Japan where he did research at Kyoto University and published his first scholarly article on Chinese history ("Notes on the Life of T'ao Tsung-i") in a publication celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of that university's famed Institute for Humanistic Studies. It also was in 1954 that he completed his doctoral work in Sinology at the University of Washington with a dissertation on the political and cultural history of mid-fourteenth-century China entitled "T'ao Tsung-i and his *Cho keng lu*." The period encompassed by this study—the momentous transition from the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1367) to the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644)—was one to which Mote would return frequently in his later work.

After spending the 1954–1955 academic year doing post-doctoral research at National Taiwan University and 1955 to 1956 serving as a Fulbright Exchange Lecturer in Chinese at the University of Leiden, Mote was appointed assistant professor of Chinese studies in Princeton's Oriental Studies Department in 1956. Except for two leaves of absence from the university during which he served first as an advisor on Chinese education to the Ministry of Education for the government of Thailand (1964–1965) and later as a visiting professor at the University of Washington (1971–1972), Princeton remained his academic home until his retirement from teaching in 1987. His first few years at Princeton were spent establishing a rigorous Chinese-language program and working with the noted librarian James Shih-kang Tung to improve the facilities and expand the holdings of the university's Gest Oriental Library. These time-consuming tasks were aided greatly by the encouragement and support he received from faculty colleagues such as sociologist Marion J. Levy, Chinese art historian Wen Fong, and political scientist William W. Lockwood.

The arrival on the Princeton campus in 1959 of his old friend from Nanjing Ch'en Ta-tuan and of Marius B. Jansen, with whom Mote had become friends in Seattle early in the 1950s, provided further support for his efforts. In addition to teaching graduate courses in Qing-dynasty

history, Professor Ch'en took over much of the Chinese language teaching work at Princeton, thus gradually freeing Mote to offer more of his own courses in Chinese history and culture. Although Professor Jansen was a specialist in Japanese history, he too had a deep interest in China, in improving the teaching of Chinese and Japanese at the university, in the further development of Gest Library, and in establishing an interdepartmental undergraduate program in East Asian Studies, the last of which was formally accomplished in 1961. Jansen thus proved to be a key ally in the great expansion in East Asian Studies that occurred at Princeton during the 1960s and 1970s. With their offices side-by-side, first in Firestone Library and then in Jones Hall, Mote and Jansen were successful in securing financial support from the John D. Rockefeller and Ford Foundations in 1961, the Carnegie Corporation in 1963, and the United States Department of Education in 1965. During the decade of the 1960s, that support enabled the university to acquire a wealth of new materials for Gest Library, to establish a highly-regarded Chinese Linguistics Program which Mote directed from its inception in 1966 until 1974, and to add a number of new East Asian specialists to the faculty. In the mid-1960s, Mote, Ch'en, and Princeton also were instrumental in the establishment of a summer Chinese Language School at Middlebury College which, under Ch'en's direction, quickly became recognized as one of the finest summer language programs in the country.

Mote was a recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1961, and early in the 1960s, he published four highly-acclaimed works on the history and culture of fourteenth-century China. Perhaps the most famous of these was his 1961 article "The Growth of Chinese Despotism—A Critique of [Karl] Wittfogel's Theory of Oriental Despotism as Applied to China," but probably the closest to his heart was *The Poet Kao Ch'i, 1336–1374*, which was published by Princeton University Press in 1962. In that elegant and path-breaking biography, which he dedicated to the memory of his teacher, friend, and academic advisor in Nanjing during the late 1940s, Professor Wang Chongwu, Mote demonstrated just how important a careful study of poets and their poetry could be to an understanding of the intellectual, cultural, and political worlds of late-imperial China. As he wrote of Kao Ch'i, "Through him we are enabled

to see much of his time and his place, his society, and his civilization. In his poetry we find a marvelously sensitive record, of what the great and small affairs of his daily life, as well as some of the larger issues of his time, meant to a man like him.”

After eight busy years at Princeton, in 1964 Mote took a leave of absence from the university to serve as an advisor on Chinese education for the Thai government. Mote was long interested in the ethnic, cultural, and other connections between southwestern China and northern Southeast Asia, and his time in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and other places in Thailand enabled him to research and write three articles that proved to be very important to the study of early Thai history. Using a variety of Chinese sources, Mote demonstrated that the origins of the Thai people and many of their political institutions were not, as was widely believed by Thai historians at the time, to be found in the Nanzhao Kingdom that had dominated parts of southwestern China and northern Southeast Asia during the eighth and ninth centuries. During his time in Thailand, Mote also worked on a scholarly project that he had begun in 1958 and that would occupy him off and on for the rest of his life: an English translation of Hsiao Kung-ch'üan's monumental history of Chinese political thought *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang shi*. Mote regarded this work by his former teacher at the University of Washington as “one of the masterpieces of modern literary Chinese” and wrote, with typical modesty, that he had undertaken its translation because he wanted to immerse himself in “a rigorous continuing course in classical Chinese, in philosophy, in history, and in Western political concepts and methods from . . . a master.” The first volume of the translation was published by Princeton University Press in 1979, and Mote was working on the second at the time of his death.

Following his return to Princeton in 1966, Mote, Jansen, and other colleagues were successful in persuading the university to convert the East Asian wing of the Department of Oriental Studies into an independent Department of East Asian Studies. Once that department was formally established in 1969 with Jansen as its first chairman, Mote oversaw the continued development of an academic program that both allowed and encouraged undergraduate and graduate students interested in China to explore the linkages between history, literature, art history,

religion, sociology, international relations, and contemporary politics. Along with Jansen, Levy, Fong, Lockwood, Ch'en, Kao Yu-kung, James T.C. Liu, T'ang Hai-t'ao, T'ang Nai-ying, and others, Mote helped to build an academic community at Princeton that not only approached the study of Chinese civilization from a rich interdisciplinary perspective but also saw China in a broad regional context. Many of Mote's graduate students did minor fields in Japanese history, and most graduate students in Japanese history also did work on China. Those graduates have gone on to pursue careers involving East Asia not only in the academic world but in government, law, and business, as well.

Although Mote had been deeply involved with library matters since his arrival at Princeton in 1956, he used his chairmanship of the American Council of Learned Society's (ACLS) Committee on Studies of Chinese Civilization to argue forcefully for the need to strengthen existing Chinese library holdings on a national level. In 1968, he became a member of the Executive Group of the Committee on East Asian Libraries. An Association of Research Libraries (ARL) Center for Chinese Research Materials was established, and at several points over the ensuing years, Mote and colleagues at Princeton and other universities were able to secure foundation grants to support the center. This early effort was followed in 1973 by the establishment, under the auspices of the ACLS and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), of the Task Force on Chinese Libraries and Research Materials, which Mote chaired until 1975. Back at Princeton, Mote obtained funding from the ACLS and from the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton to support the preparation of a revised catalogue of the Chinese rare books held in the Gest Library collection. Prepared by Ch'ü Wan-li, who then was a professor in the Department of Chinese Literature at National Taiwan University and who, following his stay at Princeton, later referred to Mote in lectures and in print as the leading Sinologist in the western world, that catalogue was published in 1974. It was followed by additional catalogues and by the acquisition of microfilms of rare Ming- and Qing-dynasty materials held in Taiwan and Japanese collections.

Despite his busy committee and administrative work at the university and national levels, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw Mote continue to work on a wide range of scholarly projects. In addition to writing

thirteen meticulously researched entries for the *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (Columbia University Press, 1976), in 1968 he published a widely-acclaimed article on Chinese political thought in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. That was followed in 1971 by his second book *The Intellectual Foundations of China*, which grew out of lectures he had prepared for his undergraduate course on Chinese thought, a course that was so highly regarded on the Princeton campus that it drew graduate-student and faculty auditors from a wide range of academic fields. These years also saw Mote return to an area of research in which he long had been interested: Chinese urban history. In 1973, he gave a series of lectures on that subject at Rice University, which were published later that year in *Rice University Studies* as “A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow.” That was followed in 1977 by a seminal article on what was perhaps Mote’s favorite Chinese city, Nanjing. Somewhat misleadingly titled “The Transformation of Nanking, 1350–1400,” that article published in the volume *The City in Late Imperial China* made creative use of a dazzling array of primary and secondary materials to introduce readers to key aspects of the city’s social and cultural history, not just late in the fourteenth century but throughout the Ming period. The mid- and late 1970s also saw Mote produce articles on military history; on the ways in which Chinese poets, artists, reformers, and others had used “the past” in their art and political programs; and on the important role played by food in the social, religious, and cultural life of China during the Yuan and Ming periods.

Although he had been involved in the planning for the Cambridge History of China since the mid-1960s, Mote’s contributions to that project increased significantly when he agreed, at the request of Professor Denis Twitchett, who joined him on the Princeton faculty in 1981, to co-edit the two volumes of that series that were dedicated to the history of the Ming dynasty. With financial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Mellon Foundation, Mote and Twitchett organized and directed two Ming History Workshops that were held at Princeton in the summers of 1979 and 1980. Bringing together Ming specialists from around the world, those workshops enabled participants

to discuss common problems and, of great importance to the successful completion of the project, to use the unparalleled resources on Ming history in Gest Library in their research and writing. In addition to editing both Ming volumes, Mote himself wrote two chapters, one on the rise of the dynasty in the mid-fourteenth century and a second on the period from 1465 to 1505. He also contributed a chapter entitled “Chinese Society under Mongol Rule, 1215–1368” to Volume 6 in the Cambridge series *Alien Regimes and Border States*, 907–1368.

In 1981, Mote’s former student and then Princeton colleague Gilbert Rozman published a volume on the *Modernization of China* for which Mote wrote two chapters, one, co-authored with Princeton colleague Lynn T. White III, dealing with changes in the political structure of China over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That was followed by twenty-three entries on Ming history in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of China* (1982), a spirited debate with Professor William Theodore de Bary on Chinese intellectual history which appeared in two issues of the journal *Ming Studies* (1984 and 1986), and a two-volume *Research Manual for Ming History*, which he co-authored with Howard L. Goodman (1985). In the mid-1980s, Mote was instrumental in the launch of the *Gest Library Journal* (later renamed the *East Asian Library Journal*), a publication of which he was especially proud and for which he wrote no fewer than five articles between 1986 and 1990. The first of those articles, “The Oldest Chinese Book at Princeton” (1986), dealt with the So Dan *Daode jing* scroll (ca. 270 CE), which is part of the John B. Elliott Collection in the Princeton University Art Museum. Widely commented upon and for some time regarded as a likely forgery, the scroll now is considered by a number of experts to be authentic and thus, much to Mote’s delight, Princeton may well house one of the oldest Chinese books in existence. Mote’s interest in the So Dan scroll grew out of his longstanding interest in “the history of the book” in China, a subject to which he returned in several later articles including “Chinese Rare Books in the Modern Research Library,” which appeared in the *Gest Library Journal* in 1989. In May of that same year, Mote collaborated with Professor Wen Fong to organize an exhibition entitled “Calligraphy and the East Asian Book” for the university’s art museum. The exhibition

catalogue, which Mote co-authored with his former student Chu Hung-lam, was published first in a special edition of the *Gest Library Journal* (1988) and a year later by Shambhala Press.

Following his retirement from Princeton in 1987, Professor and Mrs. Mote moved permanently to their mountain home in Colorado where they had spent most summers and sabbaticals since the mid-1960s. There, surrounded by scenery he loved and by his own formidable library, Mote continued to work on the Cambridge History of China and to write on a wide range of topics. In 1988, he briefly left the world of the Ming to publish an article on “The Intellectual Climate of Eighteenth-Century China,” a subject to which he returned a decade later in an article for a conference volume on *Imperial Authority at the Qing Court* published by the Denver Museum of Natural History (1998). In connection with the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ first voyage to the New World, Mote contributed an article on “China in the Age of Columbus” to the catalogue for an exhibition at the National Gallery of Art entitled *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (1991).

Although he continued to publish on a variety of subjects, much of Mote’s time during the 1990s was spent working on his last book *Imperial China, 900–1800*, which was published by Harvard University Press in 1999. Like his earlier *Intellectual Foundations of China*, this book grew out of one of his undergraduate courses at Princeton, in this case his legendary “Later Chinese Empire.” Unlike the earlier book, which was a tightly condensed version of his lectures on Chinese thought, *Imperial China* grew from a 125-page, double-spaced manuscript eagerly read by Mote’s students in the 1960s and 1970s to more than one thousand one hundred pages in its published form. Based on a lifetime of study and reflection, the book’s thirty-six chapters contain the most comprehensive and sophisticated survey of this period of Chinese history in any language. It was written, at least in part, because of Mote’s deeply-held belief “that ignorance of China’s cultural tradition and historical experience is an absolute barrier to comprehending China today. The ‘Sinological’ approach to the study of China, the approach by way of serious language study and humanistic investigation of the cultural tradition in historical depth does not conflict with but strengthens the

modern ‘disciplines’ by which our field organizes research on China today.” (Mote, “Preface,” *Imperial China*, p. xv.) *Imperial China* is a stunning achievement that is unlikely to be superseded for decades to come. It is fitting that shortly after the work appeared in print, Mote was elected to the American Philosophical Society.

Mote had battled serious health problems since early in the 1980s, but even after the publication of *Imperial China* he continued to pursue both old and new projects. In 2002, for example, he published yet another article on Ming poets and their poetry, and at the time of his death he was working on the second volume of his translation of Hsiao Kung-ch’üan’s *magnum opus* and on a personal memoir about the momentous changes he had witnessed in the study of China’s history during the twentieth century.

Although most of his friends and academic colleagues knew him as Fritz, that was a name most of Mote’s students had great difficulty bringing themselves to use. That was not because they feared they would offend him by doing so—to the contrary, he often urged them to call him Fritz—but rather because they held him in such high esteem that anything less than “Professor Mote” somehow seemed inappropriate. Whether it was in his undergraduate lecture courses, his graduate seminars, his extraordinarily thoughtful and detailed comments on papers and dissertation chapters, or his warm and witty notes and letters from Princeton or the mountains of Colorado, his students found him to be the model Confucian scholar and teacher that he himself had found so appealing in the Chinese classics. Like the poet Kao Ch’i, Professor Mote “found delight in the company of his students.” They, in turn, were keenly aware of how very privileged they had been to be included in that company.

For more than fifty years, Mote was ably supported in everything he did by his wife Ch’en Hsiao-lan. A gifted painter, ceramicist, and according to her husband, a truly inspired tier of trout flies, Mrs. Mote also is known by friends, students, and colleagues as a fabulous cook and an extraordinarily warm and gracious hostess. As one of Mote’s closest friends on the Princeton faculty, Professor Norman Itkowitz, has put it, “Dinners at their home prepared by her were the equivalent for those

who shared in them of partaking in the highest levels of Chinese salon society.” When China was in turmoil during the “Cultural Revolution” of the late 1960s and early 1970s, another friend and Princeton colleague, the late Marion J. Levy, was overheard to remark that he was not overly concerned about the possibility that Chinese civilization might soon collapse. If that were to happen, he went on to say, he would just “call Fritz and Hsiao-lan and ask them to put it back together again.”

Memorial services for Professor Mote were held in Beijing on 26 February 2005 and in Taipei on 5 March 2005. A conference in honor of Professor Mote was held at Princeton University from 6 to 8 October 2005.

EDITOR’S NOTE: This obituary was first published in *Ming Studies* 50 (Fall 2005), pp. 1–11, and a complete bibliography of Professor Mote’s publications will appear in volume 51 of that same journal.

Vale, Magister
Reflections on the Integrity of
Pre-modern Chinese Humanism

THOMAS BARTLETT

G*ehwey laoshy, gehwey shyuejaang* (Respected teachers and senior colleagues). Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, and friends. If I seem slightly nervous at this moment, it is probably because the last time I addressed a group that included my teachers at Princeton, it was at the oral defense of my doctoral thesis. When Perry Link invited me to join today's panel on "Language Learning and Cultural Learning," he asked me what I thought Professor Mote's principal contribution to language teaching had been. I was very gratified when Perry approved my response, that our teacher opened our awareness to the concept and the living reality of *wen shyy bu fenjia*, meaning "literature and history do not divide their patrimony," as Professor Mote has translated it.

This phrase is widely recognized among educated Chinese as expressing the integrity and coherence of China's humanistic culture. In Princeton's Chinese curriculum, as eloquently described by Mr. T'ang Hai-t'ao last evening, the phrase might even be expanded to *yan wen shyy bu fenjia*, that is "language, literature, and history do not divide their patrimony," making more explicit the critical early phase of oral language learning, provided here for students who have not grown up

speaking Chinese as their primary language. Professor Mote's own personal example of this vision gave us a living model to emulate—as the Chinese phrase puts it, *yii shen tzuoh tzer*. In a most fundamental sense, his greatest contribution was himself.

Only many years later, when I taught Chinese at other universities, did I encounter the notion that, as one instructor relentlessly insisted, “Language is merely a tool.” I regretfully came to understand that she was not just being modest; although a bright person, she was genuinely committed to a stunted, functionalist view of language pedagogy. For this reason, I have for many years often thanked whatever guardian spirit guided my way to Princeton Graduate School in 1965, where I began to learn Chinese.

At that time, the latest fashionable controversy raging in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, under the name “Sinology and the Disciplines,” tended to reduce “Sinology” to a kind of pedantic and antiquarian philological exercise. Professor Mote wrote a strong rebuttal, affirming the “Integrity of Sinology” and insisting that Chinese civilization must be viewed within a broad and inclusive perspective, and through the deepest possible comprehension of the spoken and written Chinese language.

In my first year at Princeton, I attended Professor Mote's lectures in early Chinese history and also his lectures in first year modern Chinese language. Our language text was *Mandarin Primer*, the book from which Professor Mote himself learned Chinese in Y. R. Chao's classes. The volume which I am now displaying before you is the very copy of *Mandarin Primer* that I used then; it is now rebound in a replacement cover, and I still keep it within arm's reach of my writing desk. (See Figure 1.)

Those of us who began Chinese through *Mandarin Primer* will surely agree that it presents a distinctively natural yet elegant style of the modern spoken language. One of *Mandarin Primer*'s few thoughtful detractors has, with tendentious exaggeration, described it as “a text written by a genius for use by geniuses.” Be that as it may, we were no doubt extraordinarily fortunate to be led by Professor Mote through lesson texts like the delightful fantasies of “Ig ianchiual” (A Smoke Ring), “Tarn Butyng Shg.” (Mr. Can't Stop Talking), and “Wuwoei

ex libris

J. C. Bartlett

Princeton

Autumn 1965.

Mandarin Primer

An Intensive Course in SPOKEN CHINESE

Yuen Ren Chao

Yuen Ren Chao

Published By

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS · CAMBRIDGE

LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1964

1. Owner's inscription and title page of Thomas Bartlett's copy of Yuen Ren Chao, *Mandarin Primer, An Intensive Course in Spoken Chinese* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

shuu” (A Tailless Rat). The playful and humorous intelligence of those texts, amplified by Professor Mote’s nuanced learning and whimsical wit, gave us beginners a very palpable and attractive sense of some typical stylistic traits of the language as spoken by well educated modern Chinese.

Some years later, when once speaking Chinese at Princeton among a group that included several of our language teachers, I happened to refer casually to one of the famous four classic Chinese novels, using a common colloquial abbreviation, *SanGwo YeanYih* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). Hearing this, Professor Mote’s face darkened perceptibly, it seemed, and he addressed me with a quietly emphatic comment, which I hope passed unnoticed by others present but which, I realized upon reflection, was a gentle rebuke. Evidently I had not learned well enough *Mandarin Primer’s* Lesson 23, in which that novel’s proper name is introduced as *SanGwo Jyh YeanYih*.

In response to the anxiety which I am still prone to sense at recalling this episode, I can only say that it was not in Professor Mote’s class that I read that particular lesson. Rather, it was in much more hurried circumstances late in a ten-week intensive summer course at Middlebury College. But further reflection also leads me to the thought that, as usual, Professor Mote’s point was not a trivial or pedantic one at all. In fact, I had done nothing less than to obscure the pivotally ambiguous *jyh* in the novel’s proper title. This is a considerable omission, since *jyh* not only signifies the name of the standard history from which the novel is drawn, but also implies the virtuous aspirations that motivate the protagonists in the fictional version of those historical events. Professor Mote was calling to my attention the indispensable role of such aspirations, which bind together and mutually invigorate the popular and elite streams of Chinese historical awareness.

Speaking of Middlebury’s Chinese Summer School recalls to mind Professor Mote’s initiative, together with Professor Ch’en Ta-tuan, to propose that Middlebury College add Chinese to the roster of its well-established intensive summer language programs. Professor Mote gave Middlebury College its Chinese name, *MingDer*, a felicitously inspired epithet whose Confucian inflection, meaning “illustrious virtue,” confers on that institution a unique distinction among American colleges and universities (comparing not unfavorably even to a name such as “Laugh-

ing Buddha”). The director of the opening session in 1966 was Professor Liu Chün-jo, while Professor Lao Yen-hsüan lectured on Chinese history, and Professor Kao Yu-kung taught advanced Chinese literature. James and Anne Pusey, who are with us today, were then instructors in our conversation classes, and Perry Link studied in the third year course, which introduced the classical literary language.

At the close of the ten-week session, the director, Professor Liu, congratulated us on our good progress. But, like a good teacher, she immediately cautioned us against sophomoric conceit, and she then pronounced the weighty and memorable admonition, “*Baa Jongwen shyuehao sh ibeytz de shyh.chyng*” (Mastering Chinese is a lifetime’s work). The seriousness of this standard was unmistakably impressive, and it has continued both to inspire and console me over the years, although my own experience suggests that the time frame should be expanded to *jyhshao ibeytz* (at least one lifetime). *Ars longa, vita brevis*.

In the later phase of my study at Princeton, I undertook, with Professor Mote’s encouragement and guidance, a research project on the thought of Gu Yanwu (1613–1682), a scholar who traveled widely in north and south China. As I learned, Gu’s scholarly persona and legacy exemplify in high degree the essential spirit of the principle that “language, literature and history do not divide their patrimony.” Living in a time of inter-dynastic disorder, Gu stressed the importance of normative personal relations being cultivated among educated people. And Gu evidently hoped that his own efforts to reconstruct lost ancient pronunciations might lead contemporary readers of the classics to a more vivid and harmonious appreciation of Confucian ideals.

In particular, Gu Yanwu rejected enforced imposition of an artificial standard of language by fiat. He wrote,

Although the speech of the central region and the four quarters are each different from the other, nevertheless to make people speak with a [standard] pronunciation based on a single locality, in their associations throughout the world, is not what a true scholar would prefer.

Rather, Gu’s standard for linguistic community was based on shared authentic values, and he cites references to this awareness in the thought

of Confucius and Mencius. Gu also emphatically notes that the scholar and official Yan Zhitui (531–ca. 590) refused to allow his sons to study with a teacher who spoke with non-standard accents. Gu concludes that “to communicate with people of virtuous aspirations throughout the world, one must begin from their spoken words” (*Tong tianshiah jy jyh, bih tzyh chyi fayan shyy*).

Gu Yanwu’s writings contain repeated reference to the word *torngjyh*, a genuine classical expression adopted for rhetorical effect by modern revolutionaries. At the oral defense of my research thesis, Professor Ch’en Ta-tuan made trenchant criticisms of some of my translations, but he encouragingly approved my rendering “like-minded persons,” in preference to “comrades.”

We are gathered here today to remember and honor the life and work of a man whose character and mind have, whether as teacher or colleague, but always as friend, exerted a strong and abiding influence in our lives. Faced now with the sharp regret of his passing, we are reassured by our awareness that the gift of his presence remains, recognizable even in some of our familiar habits and tastes.

The breadth of Professor Mote’s interests was extraordinary, but without being diffuse or disjointed. Rather, the well rounded scope and completeness of his personality has shown a living example of true humaneness, primarily expressed through his vision of Chinese civilization, but by no means parochially limited to that alone. For all that, his personal humility remains, I think, the most persuasive and challenging lesson he offered us. Even the few who dissented from his vision of China nevertheless respectfully acknowledged the virtue of his commitment to it.

Surely, few people who ever knew Professor Mote would fail to cherish his inspired sense of humor. I came to Chinese studies after an undergraduate major in Greek and Latin literature, sometimes grandiloquently known as “The Classics.” So, coming to know Professor Mote, I began to think of Granby as a place situated somewhere on the farther slope of Mount Olympus, a region not revealed by Homer’s Muse and untraversed by Herodotus. Our teacher’s jovial nature embodied a balanced model of “Roman laughter”—jocose and occasionally earthy, without saturnalian intemperance. When one day he invited me to

accompany him to a lecture on late Roman furniture, my vestigial New England instincts were strained. But gradually I became aware of a liberating Chinese cultural type, which Professor Mote introduced to us by the name “the old rogue,” a veteran survivor whose canny mastery of the Tao evidently fulfilled Aristotle’s dictum, “a young man who cannot weep is a barbarian; an old man who cannot laugh is a fool.”

When I saw Professor and Mrs. Mote in Colorado one bright August morning three years ago, they were as warmly welcoming as ever. His grip was firm, his gaze bright and searching, and his voice as richly resonant as I remember it being four decades ago, when he taught our elementary Mandarin classes and we first learned to pronounce the word *laoshy* (teacher).

GLOSSARY

Baa Jongwen shyuehao sh ibeytz de shyh. chyng (Ba Zhongwen xuehao shi yibeizi de shiqing) 把中文學好是一輩子的 事情	<i>SanGwo YeanYih</i> (<i>Sanguo yanyi</i>) 三國演義
Gehwey laoshy, gehwey shyuejaang (gewei laoshi, gewei xuezhang) 各位老師各 位學長	Tarn Butyng Shg. (Tanbuting xiansheng) 談不停先生
Ig ianchiual (Yige yanquanr) 一個煙圈兒	tong tianshiah jy jyh, bih tzyh chyi fayan shyy (tong tianxia zhi zhi, bi zi qi fayan shi) 通天下之志, 必自其發言始
jyh (zhi) 志	torngjyh (tongzhi) 同志
jyhshao ibeytz (zhishao yibeizi) 至少一 輩子	wenshyy bu fenjia (wenshi bu fenjia) 文史不分家
laoshy (laoshi) 老師	Wuwoei shuu (Wu wei shu) 無尾鼠
MingDer (Mingde) 明德	yanwenshyy bu fenjia (yanwenshi bu fenjia) 言文史不分家
<i>SanGwo Jyh YeanYih</i> (<i>Sanguo zhi yanyi</i>) 三國志演義	yii shen tzuoh tzer (yi shen zuo ze) 以身 作則

Changing the Frame

Prefaces and Colophons in the Chinese Illustrated Book *Dijian tushuo* (The Emperor's Mirror, Illustrated and Discussed)

JULIA MURRAY

Issues of how authority is produced, asserted, co-opted, or resisted are deeply embedded in the history of woodblock-printed illustrated books in China. As a medium, woodblock printing (sometimes called xylography) initially developed in response to the need for replicas and multiple copies of Buddhist and Daoist icons and sacred texts.¹ The government adopted the technology as a means of circulating authorized versions of important writings and images. Besides proclaiming jurisdiction over crucial works, official printing insured a more accurate transmission, without the errors that manuscript copyists might introduce. Private individuals were forbidden to print materials whose content the state wished to control, such as the legal code, the calendar, and until 1064, the Confucian classics.² Members of the educated elite acting in a private capacity printed various kinds of literature, and commercial firms published books for public sale. As printing technology spread from the religious and official spheres into the private and mercantile realms, it provided socially disparate audiences with access to certain kinds of

shared culture, which might be appropriated and re-contextualized in various ways.

The technical characteristics of woodblock printing made the medium particularly adaptable to different contexts and purposes.³ In order to reproduce either written texts or pictorial images, a block carver created them in reverse on a wooden slab by cutting away the surrounding surfaces, leaving in relief the elements to be printed. Because the large number of Chinese characters made it simpler to carve an entire page of writing on a single block, rather than to set the text in reusable individual characters, moveable type never displaced block-printing.⁴ It was easy to juxtapose writing and pictures on the same page because the shapes were cut in the same manner. If the carved blocks were stored carefully, they could be used to print additional copies of the work at any time, until the surfaces became too worn to transmit a clear impression to paper. Moreover, a set of blocks could be loaned, rented, or sold; accordingly, persons unconnected to the original publisher could issue reprints long after the initial date of publication.^a If the blocks were not available, the prospective publisher could use a printed copy of the book as the model for carving new blocks, creating a re-cut edition (*fankeben* or *chongkeben*). Nonetheless, even the most faithfully reproduced editions invariably differ from the original in some way, whether subtle or obvious. The modular nature of woodblock printing also made it easy for a later publisher to insert new pages or delete old ones, simply by adding or removing blocks. Nor was it particularly difficult to modify an existing page by gouging out unwanted portions or inserting wooden plugs into which new material was then carved.

Such features created open-ended possibilities for circulating and perpetuating a book, both in its original edition as well as later reprints. Later editions of a book might well be produced for reasons different

^aBibliographical criteria developed to describe European publishing do not fit Chinese publication practices very well, and the terminology is insufficiently nuanced to distinguish some of the permutations observed. Here I will use the term "edition" to refer not only to a book printed from a new set of blocks, but more broadly to include reprints made by publishers who used the same blocks but made alterations in the paratext.

from the initial offering and for different kinds of readers (or potential readers). Unless otherwise specified, I include potential readers in referring to “readers,” or for variety’s sake, “audience.” Because pictures are important to the illustrated historical anecdotes discussed below, I also use the term “viewers” more or less interchangeably with “readers.” Social and historical developments in the intervening period might lead later readers to interpret the work in new ways and perceive it as relevant or significant in new contexts. The prefaces (*xu*) and colophons (*ba*) were instrumental in repositioning a book over the course of its lifetime, particularly as later editions preserved, deleted, or made substitutions in the texts that “framed” the core work. In some genres of writing, illustrations might also be part of these changing frames. Even the typography might be altered, a technical detail that could make a book enticing or accessible to a broader audience or, alternatively, enhance its appeal according to criteria valued in more exclusive circles.

The period from the last quarter of the sixteenth century through the mid-seventeenth century, corresponding to the late-Ming dynasty (1368–1644), is universally regarded as the “golden age” of Chinese woodblock-printed illustrated books.⁵ During these decades, there was an extraordinary increase in the number and variety of works printed, covering a broad spectrum of quality and expense. Through multiple channels of distribution and marketing, books were made available to diverse types of readers. Recent scholarship has focused particularly on the proliferation of plays and novels, some of which appeared in multiple editions during the late-Ming period, including both illustrated and unillustrated versions.⁶ Scholars have also examined the upsurge of didactic literature ostensibly addressed to women, such as *Lienü zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Women) and works inspired by or modeled on it, which similarly flourished in numerous versions that might or might not include pictures.⁷ A third area of recent interest covers the wide variety of useful publications that were marketed to people who wished to better themselves in some way, whether by acquiring prestigious kinds of cultural capital or more mundane practical information and skills.⁸ Social and cultural historians have studied the organization of book production and distribution and the distinctive forms of “book culture” that they fostered.⁹

Building on insights drawn from this considerable body of scholarship, I focus here on the successive appropriations and repositionings of one particular book, *Dijian tushuo* (The Emperor's Mirror, Illustrated and Discussed), a compendium of annotated pictures/illustrated stories about earlier rulers that was first published in 1573.¹⁰ The basic principle of this work, and others of similar ilk, is that the exposition relies equally on pictures and words, as signaled in the title.¹¹ In other words, the illustrations are neither optional nor merely supplemental, but integral parts of a "picturebook."¹² By contrast, in the genres of drama and fiction, pictures are only sometimes used to embellish texts that are complete and self-sufficient without them.¹³

The compilation and production of *The Emperor's Mirror* were orchestrated by senior grand secretary Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582, *jinshi* 1547).¹⁴ Although created in Beijing for the Wanli emperor (r. 1572–1620), the work was subsequently published several times in the late-Ming and Qing (1644–1911) periods by government officials, private individuals, and commercial firms in various parts of China. Unlike most novels or plays, the stories are drawn from official historiography and presented as factually true, rather than as products of the imagination.¹⁵ Moreover, the compendium shares certain generic expectations with official histories, particularly the assumption that moral lessons should be drawn from the events recounted.¹⁶ With Confucius's (551–479 BCE) *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals) as their ultimate paradigm, Chinese historians evaluated past events and judged their participants, in order to create a "mirror" to guide future generations. Many of the anecdotes chosen for *The Emperor's Mirror* come from *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) by Sima Guang (1019–1086), who chronicled the long sweep of history in a more explicitly judgmental vein than had the individual dynastic histories.¹⁷ Zhang Juzheng intended his compilation to mold the moral character of the young emperor with Confucian values peculiarly relevant to a ruler's situation. To render the historical human exemplars as vivid and efficacious as possible, Zhang had pictures made to illustrate the text. The publishers of subsequent editions of *The Emperor's Mirror*, addressing readers who were not potential rulers, used the power of the visual medium to different ends.

My approach to *The Emperor's Mirror* fits neatly into what Stanley Abe has characterized as “Sinology overlaid with critical theory,” combining a close reading of Chinese texts with an analytical framework drawn from European literary criticism.¹⁸ Although some might view such an inquiry as just an exercise in cultural hegemonism, revealing more of Western desire than of Chinese literary history, my intention is to explore a potentially illuminating framework for interpreting certain kinds of observable physical differences among books with the same title. In any event, I have found many useful practical insights in Gérard Genette’s concept of the “paratext,” a term he uses to encompass various kinds of devices that mediate between a book and its public and serve to introduce the text to readers.¹⁹

As analyzed by Genette, many forms of paratext are physically part of the book, such as its prefaces and postfaces, which may be by the book’s author or by other writers.²⁰ An important function of an authorial (or “autographic”) preface is to ensure that the text is read “properly,” so it is likely to contain the author’s own interpretation of its content or a statement of his intent. Since it would be awkward for the author to acclaim his own achievements, he may well attribute “high value” to the subject of the text and explain why it deserves the reader’s attention. Prefaces by others, which Genette terms “allographic,” may recommend the work to readers more directly and explain the book in relation to some larger context, such as its precedents and genre, or provide more concrete details concerning its creation and production. Frequently more eminent than the author, a person who writes an allographic preface for the original edition usually has been asked to do so (by the author or by the publisher), in order to advertise the merits of the new work.²¹ By their mere presence, these contributions flatter the author and endorse his or her efforts with often lavish praise. In contrast to a preface, a postface is addressed to people who have already finished reading the text, as are colophons.²² Paratext that follows the body of the book represents one final attempt, by the author or someone else, to impose the desired interpretation on readers before they escape.

In their various ways, prefaces and colophons play an important role in creating conditions for the viewer’s reception of the pictures and texts. The work of these “framing” texts seems particularly important in

original editions; the time when a book first appears is when it most needs to be introduced, explained, legitimized, contextualized, or promoted. Nonetheless, the audience or readership for subsequent editions inevitably differs from that of the original edition. Depending on the circumstances of the later publication, its publisher may reproduce some or all of the original prefaces and colophons, perhaps in different sequence, and/or include new ones written to introduce and promote his own effort. It is also possible, however, that the prefaces and colophons that did meaningful work in the original edition have come to seem irrelevant or inappropriate, and the later publisher may not perpetuate them if the anticipated readership is significantly unlike the original readership in time, place (whether in terms of region or social status), or personal characteristics (such as degree of literacy or career aspirations). Although statements about a book's intended purposes or target audience cannot necessarily be accepted at face value, comparisons between the paratexts of various editions may help to illuminate differences in the values attributed to various readerships, as well as shared norms or ideals.

Perhaps it seems implausible to attribute so much importance or power to prefaces and colophons and naive to pay close attention to them. Certainly poststructuralist and cultural studies theory has made us acutely aware that readers could ignore or resist the author's or publisher's attempts to influence them.²³ The highly allusive literary language typical of prefaces also makes them difficult, if not virtually unintelligible, to most readers, even relatively literate ones. Moreover, as the study of pictures has become an entirely separate discipline from the study of texts, the art historian writing about Chinese illustrated books may be tempted to skip past their prefaces and colophons to indulge the fantasy of engaging the core work without preconceptions. More defensibly, it can be argued that prefaces and colophons are unreliable as evidence of a book's "actual" reception. Nonetheless, I am not concerned with actual reception (which is difficult to document, in any case) but rather with the uses that various kinds of publishers made of prefaces and colophons to address potential readers. Prefatorial discourse appeals to values that the imagined audience is presumed to share and creates an interpretive framework for the reader to accept or reject in experiencing the work. In some genres, particularly novels, a preface or "general

guidelines” (*fanli*) may prescribe a regimen for reading that will supposedly lead to moral insight, which allows the reader to rationalize his or her enjoyment of a work of entertainment.²⁴

FRAMING AND REFRAMING: PREMODERN EDITIONS OF
THE EMPEROR’S MIRROR

Genette’s approach is particularly helpful for analyzing the paratexts that framed successive editions of *The Emperor’s Mirror* and repositioned the compendium several times over the past four centuries. The earliest version of *The Emperor’s Mirror* seems not to have been a printed work at all, but rather a large-format album containing paintings and handwritten texts, which Zhang Juzheng presented to the newly enthroned Wanli emperor in 1573.²⁵ Instead of writing a preface, Zhang introduced the work to his young ruler in an epitext, a physically separate memorial, which was dated 21 January 1573 and co-signed by grand secretary Lü Tiaoyang (1516–1580, *jinshi* 1550).²⁶ In it, Zhang describes how the work came into being and expounds its instructional purpose. He explains the title, cites famous precedents of earlier ministers who taught important principles of governance to their sovereigns, rationalizes the inclusion of pictures to stimulate an emotional response and make the stories’ lessons more memorable, and urges the boy-emperor to study them very diligently in order to become a great ruler.

Although the original album is no longer extant, a woodblock-printed reproduction made by surveillance commissioner Pan Yunduan (1526–1601, *jinshi* 1562) later in 1573 preserves the general appearance of the manuscript original.²⁷ (See figure 1.) The 117 stories are divided into two sections, each arranged in chronological order, covering emperors from antiquity through the early-twelfth century. The section titled “Honorable Patterns of the Sagely and Wise” (*Shengzhe fanggui*) includes eighty-one positive models, and “Destructive Tracks of the Uninhibited and Stupid” (*Kuangyu fuche*) has thirty-six cautionary examples.²⁸ Each story begins with an illustration labeled with an evocative title and the names of key figures. At left is the historical account, transcribed with punctuation added to the original text, and followed by extensive explanatory discussions in simplified classical language. To both sections



1. Pan Yunduan's edition of *Dijian tushuo* (The Emperor's Mirror), 1573, story no. 2. "Jiangu bangmu" (Admonition Drum and Criticism Board), complete illustration, p. 2a, folio frame height ca. 40 cm. Photocopy of exemplar in the collection of the Japanese Imperial Household Agency.

of the compilation, Zhang Juzheng appended a moralizing general statement that serves as an epilogue. The court diary shows that he and the nine-year-old emperor discussed stories from the work several times over the next several months.²⁹

Shortly after submitting the album to the throne, Zhang also published a woodblock-printed version of *The Emperor's Mirror*.³⁰ (See figure 2.) Intended for officials at the capital, many copies must have been printed, and several are still extant.³¹ The edition probably was prepared in the inner-court workshops under the direction of the eunuch Feng Bao (fl. 1530–1582), the head of the Directorate of Ceremonial (Silijian).³² It reproduces a set of preliminary drawings, rather than the final painted versions of the illustrations.³³ As a result, the pictures are considerably more perfunctory and sketchy than those in the album given to the emperor, as represented by Pan Yunduan's printed reproduction. (Compare figures 1 and 2A.)

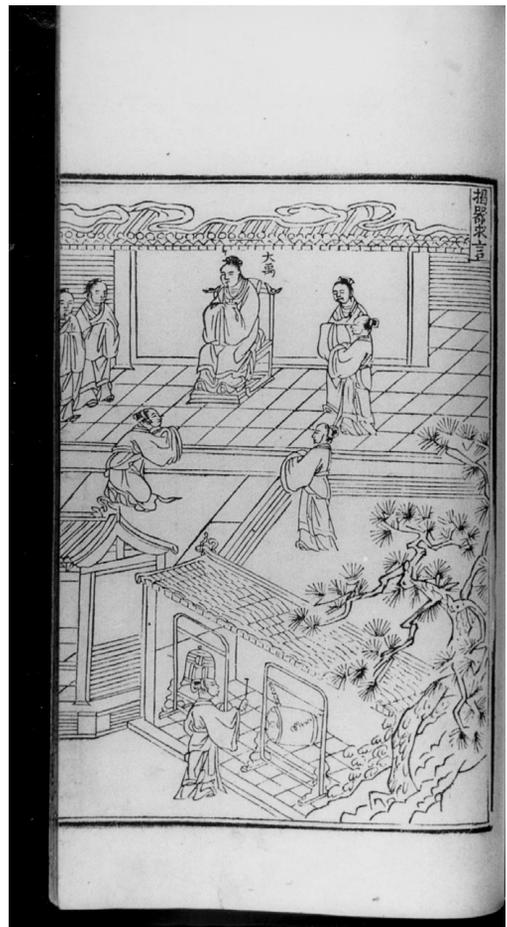
Much smaller in size than the painted album (again, judging from Pan Yunduan's reproduction), Zhang's printed edition is a book whose dimensions make it convenient to hold and read.³⁴ Moreover, it contains a separate table of contents for the positive models and for the cautionary models, which lists the stories by title and identifies the emperor-protagonist. This kind of tabular information about the order and contents of the book enables readers to get an overview and locate sections of interest more quickly, without leafing through the entire work.³⁵ A common feature of books but not paintings, the tables of contents help to mediate *The Emperor's Mirror's* transition from painted album to printed book.

To impress his target audience of highly literate officials, Zhang solicited a preface (*xu*) and postface (*houxu*) from two eminent court officials, Lu Shusheng (1509–1605, *jinshi* 1541) and Wang Xilie (*jinshi* 1553), respectively.³⁶ They obliged with praise for Zhang and details concerning the book's creation and production, just the kind of information that Genette describes as characteristic of an original allographic preface.³⁷ Besides comparing Zhang favorably with famous advisers of antiquity, such as Yi Yin (fl. eighteenth century BCE) and the Duke of Zhou (fl. eleventh century BCE), Lu and Wang also hailed the young Wanli emperor's intelligence and potential for sagehood. The learned

allusions and florid diction with which they addressed their bureaucratic colleagues are generic conventions in preface-writing and contrast sharply with the didactic plainness of the stories intended for a juvenile reader.

To enhance his publication further, Zhang inserted the text of his submission memorial immediately after Lu Shusheng's preface and appended the emperor's favorable response. (See figures 3 and 4.)³⁸ The reproduced memorial functions in the same way as what Genette calls a "dedication," a text addressed simultaneously to the dedicatee (in this case, the Wanli emperor) as recipient and to the reader (the capital official) as witness.³⁹ Associating the book with a prestigious recipient, the dedication—here a memorial—elevates the author by advertising his relationship with the eminent figure. Zhang's text also visually re-enacts the intricate rituals of respectful allusion or direct address to the emperor, because it is printed with three levels of carefully calibrated indenting and superscripting. The annotation at the end of the memorial indicates that the Wanli emperor ordered the "picture album" (*tuice*), as he called it, to be sent to the History Office (Shiguan) and shown to officials after he finished looking at it. (See figure 4.) All of these paratextual additions are meant to stimulate the reader's admiration by representing Zhang Juzheng himself as a worthy minister, comparable to those in *The Emperor's Mirror*. Capital officials who were impressed by Zhang may have been more cooperative with his ambitious political agenda.

Once launched into the public realm, *The Emperor's Mirror* was soon appropriated for other purposes, as commercial publishers, government officials, and private individuals issued new editions. The combination of pictures and annotated stories, which made *The Emperor's Mirror* accessible to a boy-emperor, also held potential appeal for other readers of modest literacy. Such readers might find the book useful as a compendium of cultural knowledge because it presented a great sweep of Chinese history in manageable portions and explained it clearly. Not only was cultural literacy in itself potentially useful for improving people's social status, it also made them participants in the great tradition of Chinese civilization. In addition, the book gave its readers a ringside view of the political intrigues and machinations that went on at the center of power. Stories about what happened behind the walls of the palace may well have been entertaining to people who did not serve there.



2A. Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1573, story no. 4, "Jieqi qiuyan" (Setting up Instruments and Seeking Opinions), illustration pp. 9a-9b, folio frame height ca. 20 cm. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University, Rare book no. TB367/609.

夏史紀大禹懸鐘鼓磬鐸。以待四方之士。曰。教寡人以道者擊鼓。諭以義者擊鐘。告以事者振鐸。語以憂者擊磬。有獄訟者搖鞀。

解夏史上記大禹既居帝位。恐自家於道有未明。義有未熟。或事務有不停當處。或有可憂而不知。或獄訟之未斷。四方遠近的人。無由得盡其言。於是將鐘鼓磬鐸。五樣樂器掛在外面。告諭臣民說道。有未告寡人以道者。則擊鼓。諭以義者。則撞鐘。告以事者。則振鐸。語以憂者。則

敲磬。有獄訟者。則搖鞀。禹在裏面。聽見有那一件聲響。便知是那一項人到。就令他進見。盡言。夫禹是大聖。聰明固已過人。而又能如此訪問。則天下事務。豈有一件不知。四方民情。豈有一毫壅蔽。此禹之智。所以為大。而有夏之業。所以興也。

進圖疏

少師兼太子太師吏部尚書建極殿大學士

臣張居正等謹

題為恭進

帝鑑圖說以仰禕

聖治事。臣等聞商之賢臣伊尹告其君曰。德惟治。

否惟亂。與治同道罔不興。與亂同事罔不亡。

唐太宗曰。以銅為鑑。可正衣冠。以古為鑑。可

見興替。臣等嘗因是考前史所載治亂興亡

3. Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1573, beginning of Zhang's memorial, *shu* p. 1a, folio frame height *ca.* 20 cm. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University, Rare book no. TB367/609.

In the winter of 1573, only a few months after Zhang published *The Emperor's Mirror* in Beijing, the book-dealer Hu Xian (dates unknown) issued a re-cut edition of the work for sale in Nanjing, the Ming secondary capital and a center of book production and urban culture late in the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ The first of several commercial reprints, Hu's edition reproduced all the components of Zhang's work and added only a publisher's colophon.⁴¹ (See figure 5.) However, Hu renumbered the pages according to a more straightforward system than Zhang's and placed the numbers where viewers could see them easily, and he moved Wang Xilie's postface from the head of the "cautionary models" section to a more logical position at the end of the book.⁴² (Compare figure 6 with figure 2.) To keep costs down, fewer details were carved in the pictures, and page-folding guides were left at center top and bottom of the block. All these little changes made the book more accessible to Hu's potential customers while preserving its identification with the court milieu, the source of its authority and appeal.

In 1575, Guo Tingwu (*jinshi* 1565), a censor assigned to Yunnan, sponsored a re-cut version based on his copy of Zhang's edition, which he had brought to his distant post.⁴³ In his preface, inserted after Zhang's memorial, Guo claimed that local officials had begged him to republish the book for the benefit of the backward region's inhabitants. Reciting the familiar litany of worthy ministers who had used stories of former rulers to educate young emperors, Guo suggested that Zhang's compilation of illustrated models rivaled the accomplishment of the great Duke of Zhou himself. Under the pretext of extending the ancient cultural heritage to a peripheral population, Guo's edition provided a means of currying favor with Zhang Juzheng, who was at the pinnacle of power. Significantly, Guo left out Wang Xilie's rather fawning postface, presumably lest it dilute his own flattery.⁴⁴

Private editions of *The Emperor's Mirror* that were neither for sale nor intended for general dissemination differ from the editions addressed to broader audiences, in physical features as well as stated purposes. Instead of being produced to meet the envisioned readers' presumed need for edification of some kind, private editions indulge the personal tastes and desires of their sponsors. Moreover, where versions available to the public are closely based on Zhang Juzheng's printed edition,

潢成冊。隨本上

進以

聞伏候

勅旨

隆慶二年三月六日。少師兼太子太師。吏部尚書。建極殿大學士。臣張居正

太子少保。禮部尚書。兼武英殿大學士。臣呂調陽

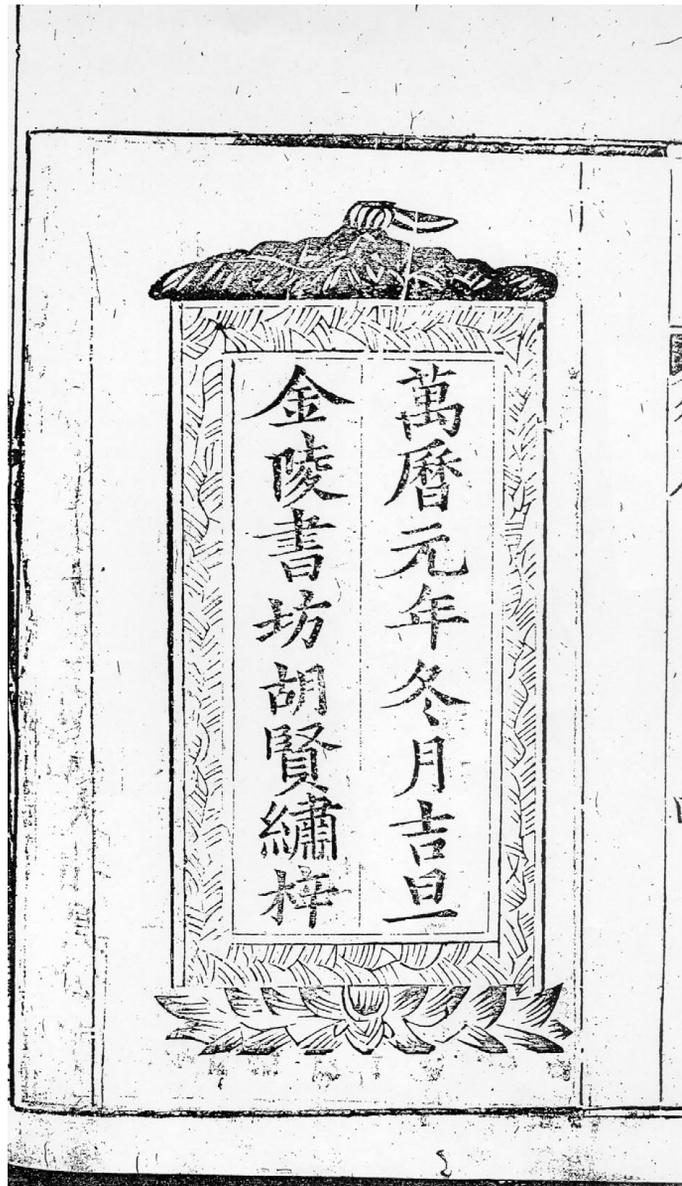
本日奉

聖旨覽卿等奏具見忠愛懇至朕方法古圖治深
用嘉納圖冊留覽還宣付史館以昭我君臣交

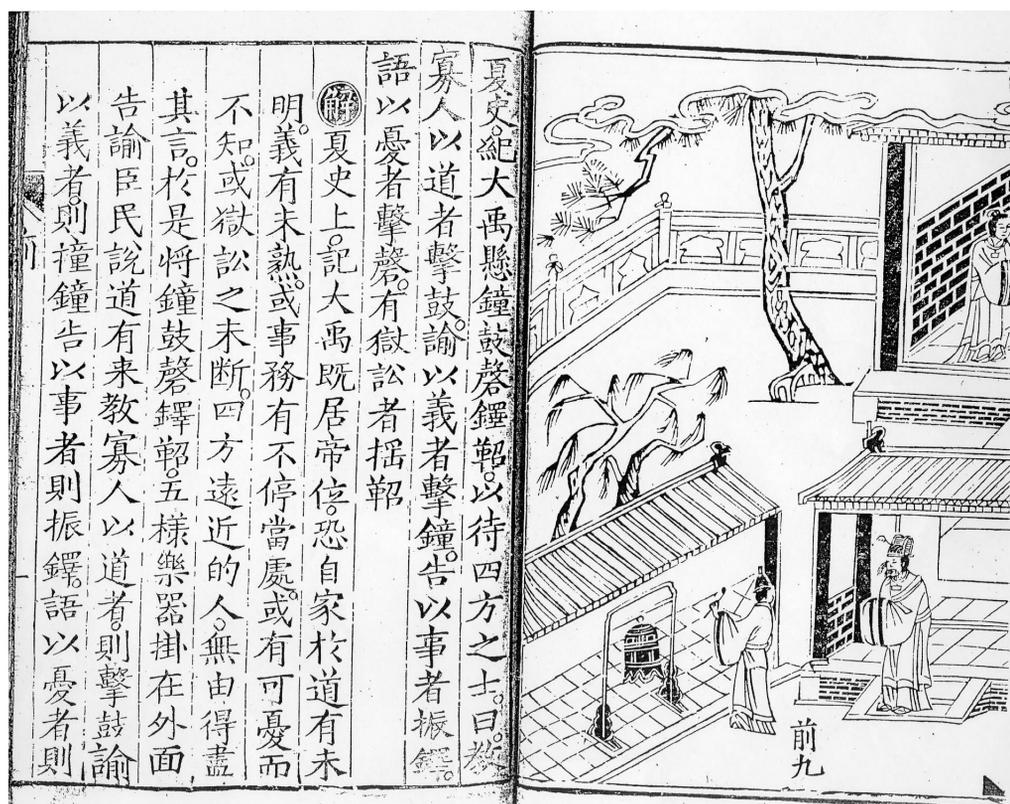
4. Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1573, end of Zhang's memorial and the beginning of the Wanli emperor's response, *shu* pp. 3b-4a, folio frame height ca. 20 cm. Photocopy of

特垂省覽。視其善者。取以為師。從之。如不及。視其
惡者。用以為戒。畏之。如探湯。每興一念。行一
事。即稽古以驗今。因人而自考。高山可仰。母
忘終筭之功。覆轍在前。永作後車之戒。則自
然念念皆純。事事合理。德可媲於堯舜。治將
埒於唐虞。而千萬世之下。又必有願治之主。
效忠之臣。取

皇上今日致治之迹。而繪之丹青。守為模範者矣。
目等無任惓惓懇切之至。謹以所輯圖說。裝



5. Hu Xian's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1573, publisher's colophon on last folio, folio frame height ca. 20.4 cm. The colophon reads, "An auspicious winter morning in the first year of the Wanli reign; Hu Xian of the Jinling [Nanjing] book quarter had the blocks carved" (*Wanli yuannian dongyue jidan Jinling shufang Hu Xian xiuzi*). Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the National Central Library, Taiwan, Rare book no. 05240.



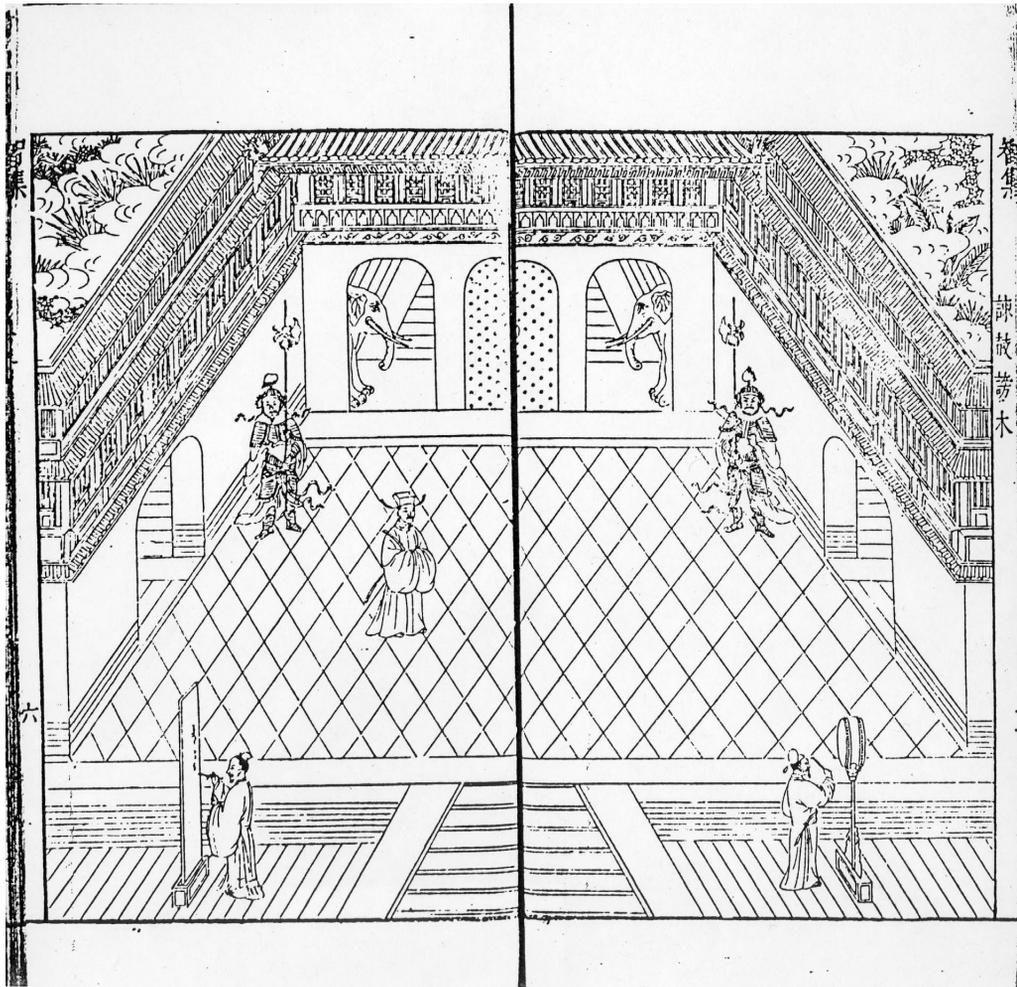
6. Hu Xian's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1573, story no. 4, "Setting up Instruments and Seeking Opinions" (Jieqi qiuyan), left half of illustration and beginning of text, pp. 9b-10a, folio frame height ca. 20.4 cm. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the National Central Library, Taiwan, Rare book no. 05240.

private publications depart significantly from it. For example, at the same time that Hu Xian was publishing his commercial edition in Nanjing, Pan Yunduan was making a reproduction of the original painted album in Huaian, Jiangsu.⁴⁵ The paratext to Pan's printed version includes "Dijian tushuo song bing xu" (An Ode and Preface to *The Emperor's Mirror*), a panegyric written by his father, Pan En (1496-1582; *jinshi* 1523), who had obtained the original album from the History Office and brought it south when he retired from office.⁴⁶ Compared with other contemporary editions, Pan's reproduction exhibits a much higher standard of workmanship and materials, being carved in fine detail on enormous blocks and carefully printed on high-quality paper. (See figure

1.) The obvious expense of the large-format reproduction and the survival of only one example (in contrast to multiple examples of other editions) suggest that Pan Yunduan intended it for private enjoyment, rather than for wider distribution. Nonetheless, the preface that he solicited from a prominent local official, Wang Zongmu (1523–1591, *jinshi* 1544), commends Pan for having the work carved “for dissemination” (*chuan*).⁴⁷ Wang’s comment reflects the traditional association between woodblock printing and the meritorious act of propagating efficacious images and texts.

After Zhang Juzheng’s death in 1582, his many enemies denounced him and succeeded in turning the Wanli emperor against his late mentor, leading him to rescind Zhang’s posthumous honors and to punish his family. A generation passed before another edition of *The Emperor’s Mirror* appeared in 1604, which was privately produced for limited circulation by Jin Lian (dates unknown), a minor official in Nanjing.⁴⁸ With Zhang still officially in disgrace, the edition did not include his memorial or any of the prefaces to earlier editions, probably because they refer too directly and favorably to the censured minister and his failed project of nurturing a latter-day sage-ruler. Moreover, Jin had Zhang’s edition significantly redesigned to be more satisfying as an object of aesthetic contemplation. Two members of the celebrated Huang-family workshop created new illustrations (Figure 7) to replace the earlier formulaic and repetitive illustrations produced by anonymous artisans.⁴⁹ (See, for example, figures 2 and 6.) Varied and imaginative, the new compositions are also less overtly didactic because the figures are not labeled and the scene titles are moved outside the picture frames. Moreover, both halves of the compositions in Jin Lian’s edition can be seen at once, unlike Zhang’s edition and others based on it, in which each illustration is divided by the page fold.⁵⁰

Despite these elements of heightened artistry, the illustrations still have moralistic content because Jin Lian retained their explanatory texts, as well as Zhang’s unsigned epilogues about good and bad role models. Furthermore, the *The Emperor’s Mirror’s* value as a guide to cultivating virtue, for emperor and common people alike, is practically the only topic that Jin Lian addresses in his preface. In the allographic preface by the renowned Li Weizhen (1547–1616, *jinshi* 1568), this theme is turned



7. Jin Lian's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1604, story no. 2, "Admonition Drum and Criticism Board" (Jiangu bangmu), complete illustration, pp. 5b-6a, folio frame height ca. 21.3 cm. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing, Rare book no. 14125.

into a protest against the factional politics and immorality of the day.⁵¹ An eminent cultural figure who was much admired for his prose, Li had worked with Zhang Juzheng as a Hanlin official, but some thirty years of subsequent promotion and demotion in provincial posts had demoralized him into early retirement by the time he wrote his preface in 1604.⁵² Powerless to do more than rail against the times, he begins by affirming the value of seeing exemplary and cautionary models, and then commends Jin Lian for rescuing *The Emperor's Mirror* from obscurity and transmitting it more broadly. Noting that Jin based his new edition on a version from the palace, Li bitterly observes that since Zhang Juzheng's death, the Wanli emperor often imitated *The Emperor's Mirror's* bad examples and avoided its good ones. Even though the emperor had repudiated Zhang, and officials still bore grudges against the late grand secretary, Jin Lian did not follow the crowd but recognized and promoted high moral standards, i.e., those embodied in *The Emperor's Mirror*. The dissident tone of Li's remarks and the exquisite quality of Jin's edition suggest that, despite the rhetoric of meritorious propagation of worthy images, the book may have been intended for a select group of cultivated individuals who were frustrated or repelled by contemporary politics. In the late-Ming period, such men were increasingly inclined to divert their energies into artistic pursuits, particularly those related to book culture.⁵³

In 1622, a few months after the Tianqi emperor (r. 1620–1627) pardoned Zhang Juzheng and restored him posthumously to full honors, the palace published a new edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, minus all the paratext that had given the 1573 edition its moralistic frame.⁵⁴ Despite Zhang's rehabilitation, his name is nowhere mentioned in the new edition. Instead, the book's contents and instructional purpose are briefly summarized in a single preface signed by eight eunuchs in the Directorate of Ceremonial, one of them the notorious Wei Zhongxian (1568–1627).⁵⁵ There is considerable irony in this eunuch appropriation of *The Emperor's Mirror*, because standard histories often blamed dynastic decline on the ascendancy of eunuchs, and they are the villains in many of the thirty-six cautionary stories. Although Zhang Juzheng himself had cooperated with eunuchs in order to govern, and they were probably involved in the original production of *The Emperor's Mirror*, his printed edition of

1573 bears no names of eunuchs. Wei Zhongxian's prominent involvement with the 1622 edition doomed it to oblivion after he was repudiated and shorn of power by the Chongzhen emperor (r. 1627–1644), who reinstated many of the officials whom Wei had persecuted.

The tumultuous last decades of the Ming dynasty and the wrenching dislocations caused by the Manchu conquest made the early years of the Wanli reign seem orderly and stable in retrospect. As the dominant figure of the early-Wanli court, Zhang Juzheng got the credit for maintaining a relatively efficient government, and his posthumous reputation as a statesman gained luster. In the early- to middle-Qing period, reprints of his 1573 edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* appeared, some of whose publishers indicate connections with Zhang Juzheng's hometown of Jiangling, Hubei.⁵⁶ Moreover, the compendium was translated into Manchu, suggesting that the conquerors sought Zhang's insights on the art of ruling China.⁵⁷ In 1770s, however, the imperial compilers responsible for selecting books to reprint in the Four Treasuries (Siku quanshu) of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–1796) declined to include *The Emperor's Mirror*, because they felt that the work's simplicity made it “vulgar” (*lisu*).⁵⁸ Qing literati did not share their Ming predecessors' appreciation of illustrated literature and rarely involved themselves in its production, a withdrawal reflected in the declining social prestige of the genre. Moreover, woodblock-printed pictures were tainted by their association with what Qing literati regarded as the hedonistic culture of the late Ming.⁵⁹

These developments help to explain why an unillustrated edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* was privately published in 1819, despite the obvious conflict with its title, not to mention the principle behind its original compilation.⁶⁰ Based on an incomplete manuscript copy owned by an obscure descendant of Zhang Juzheng, one Zhang Yijin (dates unknown) of Jiangling, the 1819 edition affirms the Ming statesman's eminence. The first page bears the imprint Chunzhongtang (Hall of Extreme Loyalsm), the name conferred by the Wanli emperor on a building in Zhang Juzheng's estate, which had become a “famous place” in Jiangling.⁶¹ The eminent Hanlin scholar Cheng Dekai (*jinshi* 1805) wrote an introductory preface, which is followed by a list of twenty-two collators and proofreaders.⁶² Framed by new paratext, the publication

includes a slightly modified version of Zhang's memorial, which is subtly historicized by adding the word "Ming" (for the defunct Ming dynasty) at the beginning and by omitting the elaborate signatures and official titles of Zhang and his co-signatory Lü Tiaoyang at the end.⁶³ (See figure 4, left.) After the section title "Honorable Patterns of the Sagely and Wise" and its table of contents is a fancily-worded page crediting Zhang Yijin with preparing the draft for carving. At the end of the book is a colophon by Zheng Ruohuang (dates unknown), a member of the local elite who coordinated the publication project.⁶⁴ Both Cheng and Zheng reflect on Zhang Juzheng's career and affirm the didactic value of *The Emperor's Mirror*. As Zheng put it, "Although its words are shallow (*qian*), its meaning is profound and efficacious for molding [character]."⁶⁵ Zheng Ruohuang also recounts his previous attempts to have the manuscript published for Zhang Yijin, which bore fruit only when Cheng arrived and took an interest in it.

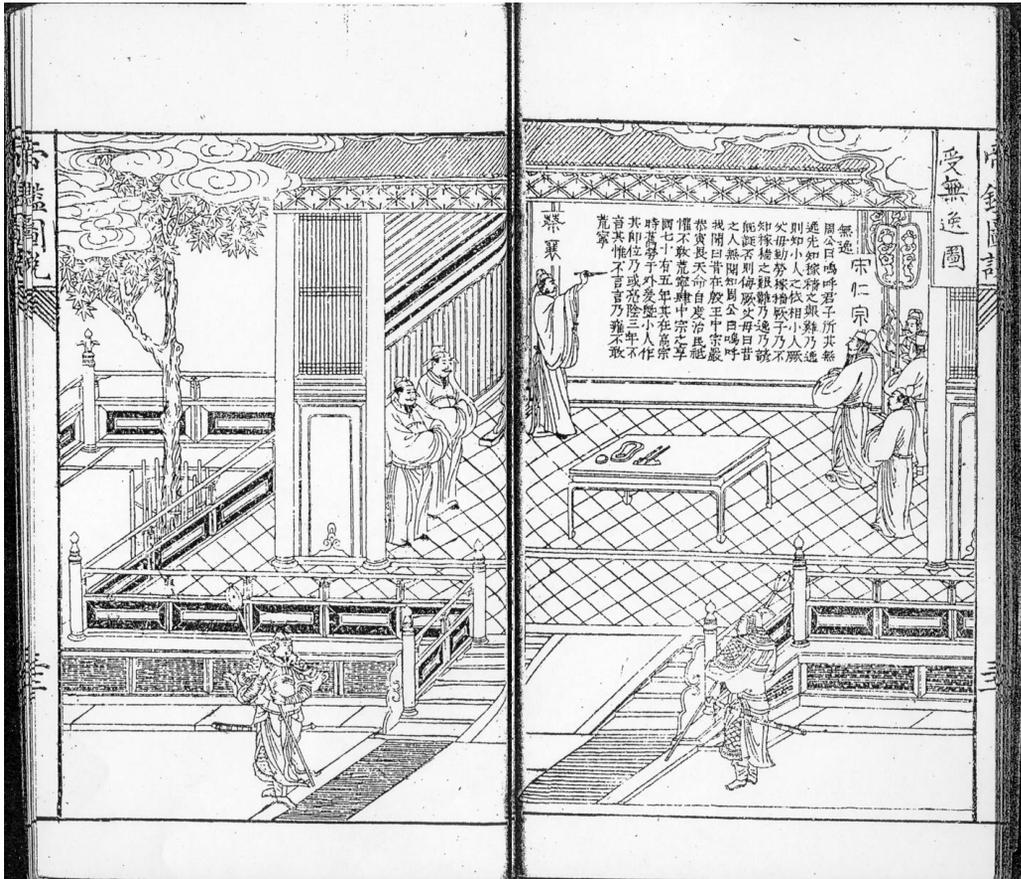
Because seven of the 117 stories were missing, Cheng Dekai went to considerable effort to locate a Ming edition from which to transcribe them.⁶⁶ However, neither Cheng nor Zheng Ruohuang expresses any regret that the manuscript lacked pictures, and neither suggests that illustrations should also have been copied from a Ming edition. Indeed, the absence of images is advertised by an otherwise blank page with the notation "illustration lost" (*tu yi*) preceding every story. Cheng and Zheng implicitly agree that the *stories* made the work efficacious for moral cultivation, and Zheng recommends the work to ordinary people (*shuren*) as well as emperors.⁶⁷ Even in the late-Ming period, some writers had disparaged pictorial representations as superficial, unreliable, or generally inferior to written text for conveying profound or essential concepts.⁶⁸ Taking this view a step further, the 1819 edition apparently rejects even the adage that pictures are useful for instructing "stupid men and women" (*yufu yufu*), unless Zheng's reference to commoners was simply a rhetorical gesture.

MODERN TRANSFORMATIONS OF *THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR*

All of the woodblock-printed editions described above represent appropriations of *The Emperor's Mirror* that respect its integrity as a compen-

dium of annotated pictures or illustrated stories. Even the 1819 edition, which has no pictures, acknowledges their centrality to the work by repeatedly calling attention to their absence. Moreover, while the paratexts to new woodblock editions may redirect the work to a different kind of reader, they do not challenge, undercut, or ignore its didactic content. The reader is expected to engage directly with the stories, whether to learn the principles of sage rule, gain a firmer moral grounding, acquire some useful background in history, or simply be entertained. By contrast, when *The Emperor's Mirror* is published in modern media, such as lithography late in the nineteenth century and photo-mechanical printing in the twentieth, it is presented as a relic of a departed past whose stories are not relevant to the reader's world. In making *The Emperor's Mirror* available to broader audiences than ever before, modern publishers have modified its core content in addition to framing it with new paratext.

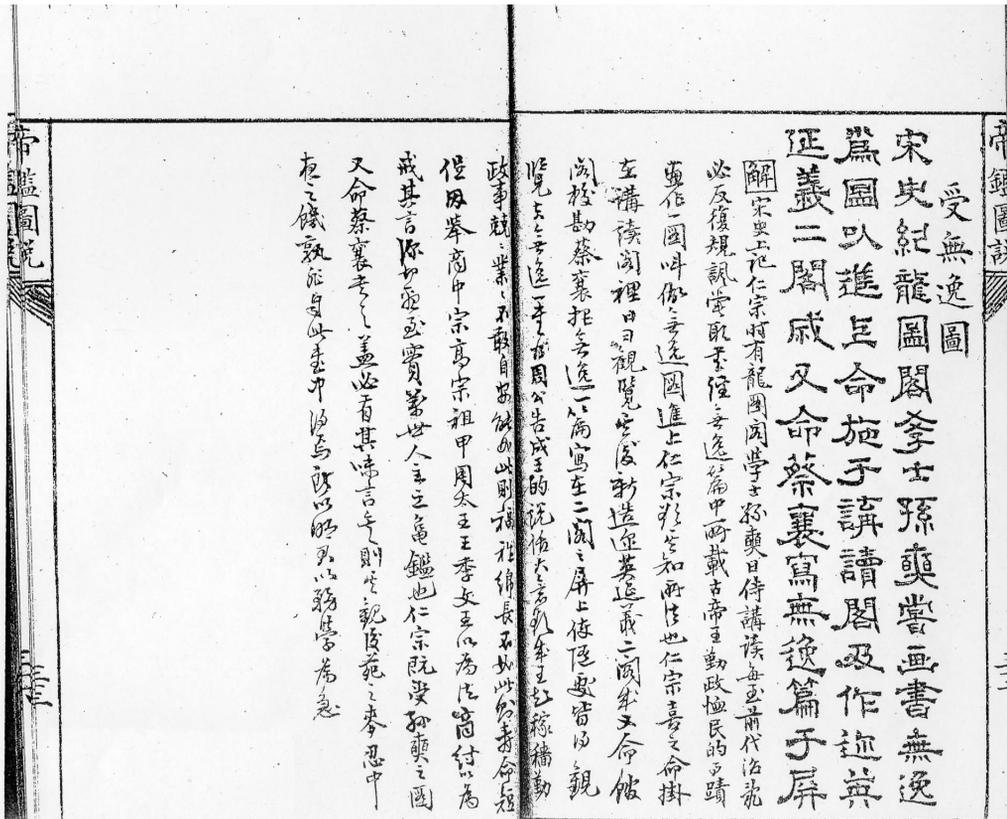
In 1880, a small-sized lithographic edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* was produced in Shanghai by the Dianshizhai, a subsidiary of the British-owned commercial newspaper *Shenbao* that published illustrated books and periodicals.⁶⁹ As Genette notes of inexpensive “pocket editions” of important works in the West, publication in reduced size on inferior paper for the mass market is a sign of a book's canonization, and the same is true in China.⁷⁰ Indeed, despite the Western origins of lithography and its association with modernity in China, the new technology was often employed for reprinting affordable editions of traditional Chinese books, such as the Confucian classics, the dynastic histories, and renowned works of literature and philosophy. The 1880 lithographic edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* was offered not as a didactic primer but as an embodiment of cultural refinement. The carefully executed pictures are miniature versions of those in the lineage of Zhang Juzheng's printed edition, but the accompanying texts have been transcribed without punctuation in various styles of brush calligraphy, some of them fairly cursive (See figures 8 and 9). Printed characters that look like the actual physical traces of the writer's hand movements evoke his presence and invite the viewer to fancy himself a connoisseur of calligraphy.⁷¹ On the other hand, the characters are more difficult to recognize and the sense of the text harder to grasp without punctuation.⁷² Compensating for the somewhat reduced intelligibility of the written accounts are several tables of



8. Dianshizhai lithographic edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1880, story no. 74, “Shou Wu yi tu” (Receiving the No Pleasurable Ease Picture), complete illustration, pp. 31b-32a, frame height 12.5 cm. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, no. 2258/1371.

contents, one at the head of each fascicle, in addition to the comprehensive table at the beginning of the book. As He Yong’s (dates unknown) preface reassures the reader, “From a single inspection it can be fully understood.”⁷³

Solicited by the publisher, He Yong’s preface reframes *The Emperor's Mirror* for its new audience, providing the background information and endorsements that Genette would predict. Noting that the reduced-size lithographic version was based on a copy of *The Emperor's Mirror* purchased in Japan, He Yong explains that the publisher had invited “famous



9. Ibid. Text in clerical script and explanation in running script, pp. 32b-33a, frame height 12.5 cm.

people”—none identified by name—to rewrite the accompanying texts in “all styles of calligraphy.” Warming to his pitch, he enthuses, “Truly it is a classic and valuable work of art!”⁷⁴ Unlike the preface to Guo Tingwu’s 1575 re-cut edition of *The Emperor’s Mirror*, which follows the paratexts reproduced from Zhang Juzheng’s original edition and highlights the historical and conceptual continuity between Zhang’s project and his own, He Yong’s 1880 preface appears at the very front of the book and underscores a decisive disjuncture from the original context. The inherited paratext is packaged visually as a unified configuration with the core work and set apart from the preface that touts the artistry of the production. Genette comments on similar instances in European literature in which a new preface pushes the old one(s) further into the

book, virtually collapsing them into the core text.⁷⁵ Writings that once did the meaningful work of introducing *The Emperor's Mirror* and promoting Zhang's enterprise had become integral parts of the symbol of traditional culture that the Dianshizhai offered to Shanghai's modern urban consumers in 1880.

The appropriations and reconfigurations of *The Emperor's Mirror* do not end in 1911 with the collapse of the Qing dynasty and the demise of the imperial system in China, despite the presumptive irrelevance of a work whose title links it unambiguously with emperors. As a cultural and historical relic, *The Emperor's Mirror* remains useful for demonstrating the unmistakable otherness of the past, not least because the language reforms associated with China's modernization have rendered the book's once-accessible text archaic and difficult to understand. Surviving copies of most editions have become "rare books" to the libraries that house them, and some have been reproduced as photo-facsimiles or microfilms in scholarly reference series. More revealing, however, are the configurations of three recent photo-offset editions, two published in mainland China during the 1990s and one in Taiwan in 2002. In addition to their new paratexts, their radical modifications of the core work dictate new readings to contemporary audiences.

A 1993 edition issued by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences reproduces a set of illustrations from an unidentified old edition in its library.⁷⁶ However, the accompanying texts have been reworked to enable modern readers to understand them. The historical accounts are transcribed into the simplified characters now standard in mainland China, and their appended explanations have been translated into modern vernacular Chinese, with the occasional addition of "new material and new points of view."⁷⁷ Replacing the old prefaces is a new, unsigned introduction that authoritatively assigns the book to its proper place in Marxist historiography, so that readers will know how to approach it.⁷⁸ Presumably written by the editor Feng Guangyu, the introduction begins by locating *The Emperor's Mirror* within a Ming-imperial tradition of "using history as a mirror," and then describes the book's contents, notes its utility to rulers, and acknowledges the broader appeal of its lively pictures and accessible text.⁷⁹ It concludes by cautioning contemporary readers to be wary of the work's "feudal" and biased viewpoint, and

ritualistically invites them to submit criticisms.⁸⁰ The substitution of this impersonal yet definitive introduction for the old prefaces and the linguistic interventions into the core text both transform *The Emperor's Mirror* into a picturebook of history and exoticize it as a curiosity, underscoring the superiority of the enlightened present over the “feudal” past.

A 1996 edition reworks *The Emperor's Mirror* even more drastically, not only modifying the texts, but also substituting new and drolly theatrical pictures for the old ones. (See figure 10.)⁸¹ As in the scene reproduced here, the modern illustrations sometimes highlight a different part of the story than what had been emphasized previously. For example, story number seventy-four tells how an imperial tutor to the

74 受无逸图⁽¹⁾

宋史纪：龙图阁学士孙奭，尝画《书》“无逸”为图以进⁽²⁾。上命施于讲读阁，及作“迓英”、“延义”二阁成，又命蔡襄⁽³⁾写“无逸”篇于屏。

【解】 宋史上记，仁宗时，有龙图阁学士孙奭，日侍讲读。每至前代治乱，必反复规讽。尝取《书经》“无逸”篇中所载古帝王勤政恤民的事迹，画作一图，叫做“无逸”图，进上仁宗，欲其知所法也。仁宗喜之，命挂在讲读阁里，日日观览。其后，新造迓英、延义二阁成，又命馆阁校勘蔡襄，把“无逸”一篇写在二阁之屏上，使随处皆得观览。

夫“无逸”一书，乃周公告成王的话，大意欲成王知稼穡勤政事。兢兢业业，不敢自安。能如此，则福祚绵长。不如此，则寿命短促。因举商中宗、高宗、祖甲、周大王、王季、文王以为法⁽⁵⁾，商紂以为戒。其言深切恳至，实万世人言之龟鉴⁽⁶⁾也。仁宗既受孙奭之图，又命蔡襄书之。盖必有味其言矣！则其观后苑之麦、忍中夜之饥，孰非自此书中得来，所以明君以务学为急。

【注释】

(1) 此篇出自《续资治通鉴长编》卷110。仁宗、天圣九年秋七月癸酉。《宋朝事实类苑》卷4。祖宗圣训。卷11。名臣事迹。《宋史》孙奭传。记述

10. Contemporary annotated edition *Dijian tushuo pingzhu* (A Critical Annotation of *The Emperor's Mirror, Illustrated and Discussed*), 1996, story no. 74, “Receiving the No Pleasureable Ease Picture” (*Shou Wu yi tu*), illustration and start of text, picture frame-height 16.5 (Zhengzhou, Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), pp. 268–269.

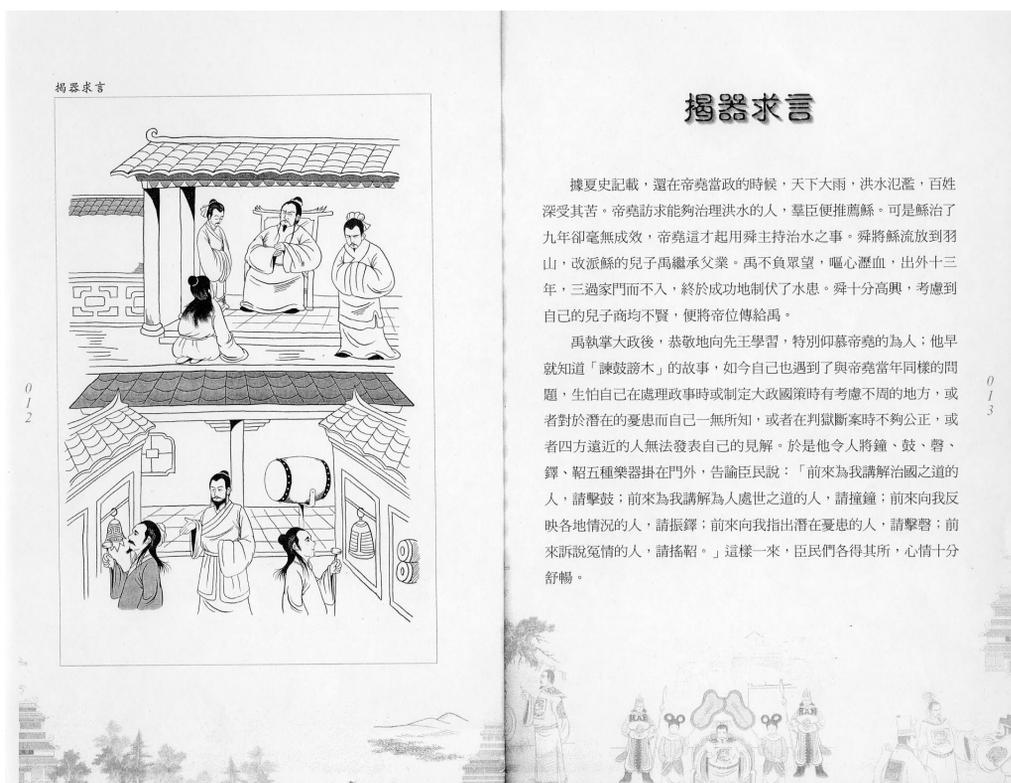
young Song emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063) presented *Wuyi tu* (Pictures of *No Pleasurable Ease*), illustrating the Duke of Zhou’s teachings to King Cheng of Zhou (fl. eleventh century BCE), and how Renzong had the paintings displayed in the lecture hall.⁸² Later, when two adjoining pavilions were added to the building, Renzong ordered Cai Xiang (1012–1067) to transcribe the text of *No Pleasurable Ease* onto a screen.⁸³ Illustrations of this story in the lineage of Zhang Juzheng’s edition show Cai Xiang writing on a large screen, while contemporary editions show the emperor and his tutors with a screen that portrays an ancient ruler with attendants and officials.⁸⁴ (See figure 8 and figure 10, respectively.) In general the redesigned compositions depict large forms at close range, rarely opening onto the panoramic settings typical of earlier versions. Even though the stories refer to some three thousand years of history, the illustrations represent a generic past that corresponds to no specific period. The material culture of the past is portrayed in stereotypical terms, deploying motifs for “ancient” architecture, furniture, clothing, and personal ornamentation common to a range of modern visual media, such as traditional-style painting (*guohua*), plays, operas, dances, and films. The ambiance of antiquity is also evoked by the clerical script used in the picture titles and name labels.

In addition to confirming contemporary viewers’ perceptions of the traditional past, this edition reshapes *The Emperor’s Mirror* into a curriculum for lessons on language and history, intended for students and general readers of middling literacy.⁸⁵ For each accompanying story, the historical account and its explanation are fully transcribed into simplified characters, with romanized pronunciations inserted for rare characters and superscripts for names and terms that are explained in the following section of notes. The story is then retold in simpler modern language, and the section concludes with a detailed critical discussion of the significance of the events in larger historical and modern political contexts. Similar treatment is given to Zhang Juzheng’s concluding epilogues and memorial, the latter relegated to an appendix.⁸⁶

As in the 1993 edition, the original preface has been replaced by a modern introduction, but its preoccupations are scholarly rather than ideological.⁸⁷ Signed by Jia Naiqian, one of the two editors, it traces the book’s history and discusses several of its later editions. A postface by Jia

and Chen Shengxi addresses additional topics and restates the significance of the book.⁸⁸ Lauding the importance of education in China ever since antiquity, they describe *The Emperor's Mirror* as a primer with something to offer youths and adults alike. Proclaiming a desire to spread Chinese culture, they dismiss their own work as mere “arranging” and proceed to detail their interventions, identifying which of the critical discussions they each contributed to provide a contemporary perspective on the education of emperors. Like the introduction to the 1993 edition, the 1996 postface ends by inviting the reader to point out the shortcomings of the work, which are portrayed as inevitable because of the lack of time and the complications of the project.⁸⁹

By contrast with the two recent mainland editions, both of which reinforce the disjuncture of past and present, a 2002 Taiwan publication uses *The Emperor's Mirror*, without such distancing disclaimers, as an accessible introduction to traditional Chinese history and culture.⁹⁰ Retitled *Baidi tu* (Pictures of One Hundred Emperors), the work is the first volume in a popular-level series called *Tuhua lishi renwu* (Pictorial Tales of Historical Figures), whose premise is that lively stories about colorful individuals are more appealing than standard historiography.⁹¹ Although the cover, title page, and publication-data page identify Zhang Juzheng as the “original author” (*yuanzhu*), there is no mention of the original title, *The Emperor's Mirror*, and there is no introduction or preface.⁹² The main concern of the short “Chuban shuoming” (Publisher's Explanation) at the front of the book is to promote the whole set, whose titles are linked by the common theme, “pictures of one hundred” (*Bai x tu*): brave generals (*Baijiang tu*), beautiful women (*Baimei tu*), filial sons (*Baixiao tu*), and emperors. Despite this numerical specificity, all 117 stories of *The Emperor's Mirror* appear in *Pictures of One Hundred Emperors* but are not given numbers, unlike in the mainland editions, so the incongruity with the book's title is obscured. The table of contents, which is divided into separate sections for the good and bad models using Zhang Juzheng's subtitles, lists the episode titles, emperor-protagonists, and starting page numbers. The stories themselves have been adapted with essential background information and are presented in accessible modern prose, which is written in traditional-style characters that a high-school student would recognize.



11. *Baidi tu* (Pictures of One Hundred Emperors), 2002, story no. 4, "Setting Up Instruments and Seeking Opinions" (*Jieqi qiuyan*), illustration and text, picture frame-height 15 cm. (Xindian, Taipei: Shichao chuban youxian gongsi, 2002), pp. 12–13.

Although the accompanying illustrations are more dignified and serious-looking than those in the 1996 mainland edition, they nonetheless have a somewhat cartoonish and theatrical quality, which confirms the assertion by the "Publisher's Explanation" that history is a play and its protagonists actors on stage. (Compare figures 10 and 11.)⁹³ The compositions often are based on traditional ones, but the panoramic settings and minor subplots are pared away to focus on the most important narrative elements. (Compare figures 2A and 11.) The absence of name-labels on the figures may indicate the publisher's expectation that the intended reader needs no help in identifying them or, more likely, a belief that such a didactic visual aid would make the work seem too pedantic to be appealing.⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

Although developed in European literary criticism, Gérard Genette's concept of the paratext offers a useful analytical model for interpreting the acts of appropriation and repositioning that the various editions of *The Emperor's Mirror* represent. Compared to most European books, however, the recontextualizations of *The Emperor's Mirror* are more numerous and diverse. Although the absence of legal protections for intellectual property in China made it normal for books to be reissued by different publishers to new audiences, the redeployments of *The Emperor's Mirror* seem unusually abundant even by Chinese standards. Perhaps its combination of accessible content and palace origins helps to explain the number and diversity of its later editions. Associated with imperial prestige, *The Emperor's Mirror* may have held appeal for members of other levels of society. As it moved into different social contexts, through, the sources of its authority also changed. For Zhang Juzheng, its value came from history, so he cited the historical texts from which each account was taken. For Guo Tingwu, Zhang Yijin, and various commercial publishers, the involvement of Zhang Juzheng himself made the book compelling, though in different ways, which are reflected in the framing of diverse editions for their respective audiences. For Pan Yunduan and Jin Lian, the supreme value was a moral system that transcended specific historical contexts or individual associations, which they honored by engaging high-quality craftsmen to illustrate events that displayed its workings.

In contemporary China, reissues of *The Emperor's Mirror* have entailed radical interventions into its core elements, in addition to paratextual reframing. Beyond merely adapting the work to make it intelligible to present-day readers, these mediations have removed the sources of its traditional authority and redefined the work. In Taiwan, its value lies in its presentation of history through colorful stories, which entertain the readers while also educating him or her. This engaging way of promoting acculturation is reminiscent of the original function of *The Emperor's Mirror* for the young Wanli emperor. To serve a similar function now, the work's historical identity and original format need not be preserved. In fact, its transformation into a very accessible *Pictures of One*

Hundred Emperors makes it more effective as a low-key means of inculcating the Chinese heritage in a time of increasing “Taiwanization.” Mainland editions, however, present *The Emperor’s Mirror* as a historical and cultural relic, circumscribing it as part of China’s past. Its account of history delegitimized, its didactic value is limited to the data it offers for study of the past, whether from a Marxist or a scientific standpoint. The fundamental difference in approach is emblematic of Beijing and Taipei’s official views of contemporary China’s relationship to the cultural heritage of the imperial era.

NOTES

Many colleagues and staff members at libraries in China, Taiwan, Japan, and the United States helped me gain access to extant versions of *The Emperor’s Mirror*. I am particularly grateful to Professor Ōki Yasushi of Tokyo University for organizing my visits to several important Tokyo collections; to Professor Chen Pao-chen of National Taiwan University for arranging access to rare books at the National Central Library; and to Martin Heidjra of Princeton’s The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection and Thomas Hahn of Cornell University for obtaining photocopies of rare materials.

1. There is a profusion of scholarship on the history of Chinese woodblock printing. For particularly accessible introductory accounts, see Denis Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China* (New York, Frederic Beil, 1983); and Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: The British Library, 1985).
2. The prohibition on private publication of the Confucian classics and commentaries was lifted in 1064. See Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China*, p. 32. Other restrictions remained in force, but by the late-Ming period, commercial publishers ignored them in responding to perceived demands of the market, such as for almanacs. See Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 167–171.
3. For a detailed discussion of the technical aspects of woodblock printing, see Tsuen-hsuei Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, in *Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
4. This is not to say that moveable type was never used, but it was extremely cumbersome to organize the huge quantities of type so that the needed characters could be found. An illuminating discussion of the complex system developed at the Qing court for this purpose is given by Lothar Ledderose,

- Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1998; Bollingen Series 35.46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), chap. 6.
5. Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars all agree that the late Ming was the “golden age” of woodblock-printed illustrated books. Nonetheless, the genre became the subject of serious discussion and scholarly inquiry only about a century ago, as part of a larger reaction against late-imperial disdain for what was presumed (by advocates and opponents alike) to be a “popular” form. Recent studies amply demonstrate that late-Ming printing was by no means a “folk” art, and some of the works most admired in recent times were made in and for exclusive circles of highly literate individuals. For representative recent scholarship, see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); Robert E. Hegel, “Distinguishing Levels of Audiences for Ming-Ch’ing Vernacular Literature,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 112–142; Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Kobayashi Hiromitsu, *Chūgoku no hanga: Tōdai kara Shindai made* (Chinese Woodblock Illustration: From the Tang Through the Qing Dynasty) (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1995); Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Illustrated Catalogue of the History of Chinese Printing) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988); and the Japanese exhibition catalogues *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten* (Exhibition of Traditional Chinese Woodblock Prints), compiled by Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1988) and Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, *Chūgoku Min Shin no ehon* (Chinese Illustrated Books of the Ming and Qing Periods) (Osaka: Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1987).
 6. Some of the studies I have found particularly insightful are listed below. On illustrated drama: Katherine Carlitz, “The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienü zhuan*,” *Late Imperial China* 12. 2 (1991), pp. 117–148; Scarlett Jang, “Form, Content, and Audience: A Common Theme in Painting and Woodblock-Printed Books of the Ming Dynasty,” *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997), pp. 1–26; and Yao Dajuin, “The Pleasure of Reading Drama: Illustrations to the Hongzhi Edition of *The Story of the Western Wing*,” in Wang Shifu (fl. 1295–1307), *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, ed. and trans. Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 437–468. On illustrated fiction: Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*; Anne Selima Farrer, “The *Shui-hu chuan*: A Study in the Development of Late Ming Woodblock Illustration” (Ph. D. diss., University of London, 1984); and Anne E. McLaren, “Ming Audiences and Vernacular Hermeneutics: The Uses of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*,” *T’oung Pao* 81 (1995), pp. 51–80. On woodblock illustration in general: Kobayashi, *Chūgoku no hanga* (Chinese Woodblock Illustration). On reading fiction in general: David Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction*

- and Fiction Commentary: *Reading and Writing Between the Lines* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); and David Roy, introduction to *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, vol. 1, *The Gathering* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
7. The word “exemplary” in my translation of *Lienü zhuan* as *Biographies of Exemplary Women* should be taken to mean “serving as examples,” not “paragons.” Besides numerous late-Ming editions and sequels of *Lienü zhuan* itself, illustrated books for women inspired by its instructive anecdotes include *Guifan tushuo* (Regulations for the Women’s Quarters, An Illustrated Discussion, 1590) by Lü Kun (1536–1618) and *Nü fan bian* (A Compendium of Models for Women, 1603) by Feng Ruzong (dates unknown). For relevant discussions, see Lisa Raphals, *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Katherine Carlitz, “The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienü zhuan*,” and Ann Waltner, “Representations of Children in Three Studies from *Biographies of Exemplary Women*,” in *Children in Chinese Art*, ed. Ann Barrott Wicks (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), pp. 84–107.
 8. For example, Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, chap. 5; Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, pp. 167–171; Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988); and Kai-wing Chow, “Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China,” *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (June 1996), pp. 120–157.
 9. For example, see Ellen Widmer, “The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Publishing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996), pp. 77–122; “Publishing and the Print Culture of Late Imperial China,” the entire issue of *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (June 1996); and Cynthia Brokaw and Kaiwing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
 10. The present article also draws on my own previous research on *The Emperor’s Mirror*, which comes to conclusions significantly different from those of other scholars, and to which I refer readers who want additional information. I provide detailed discussion and references on the origins and evolution of *The Emperor’s Mirror*, based on extensive first-hand research and visual comparisons, in my “From Textbook to Testimonial: *The Emperor’s Mirror*, An Illustrated Discussion (*Dijian tu shuo* / *Teikan zusetu*) in China and Japan,” *Ars Orientalis* 31 (2001), pp. 65–101. I discuss the relationships among various pictorial media (painting, printing, and carved stone) and the changes in meaning that arise from a change of medium for the same illustrated subject (three case studies of which *The Emperor’s Mirror* is one), in my “Didactic Illustrations in Printed Books,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Brokaw and Chow, pp. 417–450.
 11. Other extant works in the genre of picture-and-explanations made to educate a (future) ruler include *Yangzheng tujie* (Cultivating Rectitude, an Illustrated

- Explanation), compiled by the Hanlin official and imperial tutor Jiao Hong (1541–1620, *jinshi* 1589); and *Qinding Chenghua shilüe butu* (Imperially Approved Summaries of the Actions of a Crown Prince with Supplemental Illustrations), a late-Qing palace re-creation of Wang Yun's (1227–1304) *Chenghua shilüe* (Summaries of the Actions of a Crown Prince), compiled for the son and heir-apparent of the Yuan emperor Qubilai (r. 1260–1294), a work whose original pictures had been lost. For a translation of Wang's text and discussion of its historical context, see Herbert Franke "Wang Yün (1227–1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 153–193.
12. This term is widely used in scholarship on children's literature; for its range, see Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, *How Picturebooks Work* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), Introduction. Some scholars use the term "iconotexts" for pictures closely related to texts, e.g. Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995). That term seems inappropriate here, because the pictures for *The Emperor's Mirror* were made as illustrations in a straightforward sense, rather than being "constructs that rely on the interpenetration of words and images" (Wagner, p. 25).
 13. Among extant versions of many plays and novels, text-only editions outnumber the illustrated ones. However, it is possible that the distinctly textual turn taken in the Qing period caused disproportionate numbers of illustrated editions to be lost, compared with unillustrated ones. Sometimes illustrations for novels and plays provide a different viewpoint or even flatly contradict their written texts. Nikolajeva and Scott use the term "counterpoint" to refer to such situations. See their *How Picturebooks Work*, p. 17.
 14. For Zhang Juzheng's life and career, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 53–61; and Zhang Tingyu, comp., *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) (1735; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 213, pp. 5643–5652. A lengthy biography by his eldest son Zhang Jingxiu (1580 *jinshi*) and other early testimonials appear in the punctuated and annotated modern edition of Zhang Juzheng's collected writings; see Zhang Shunhui, ed., *Zhang Juzheng ji* (Zhang Juzheng's Collected Writings) (Wuhan: Jing Chu shushe, 1987), *juan* 47. For the relationship between Zhang Juzheng and the young Wanli emperor, see Ray Huang, 1587, *A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), esp. chapter one.
 15. Although stories of exemplary women also trace back to historical sources and were accepted as fact, many such women were recorded only to describe some particular conduct, suggesting the possibility that some were made up to personify desirable behaviors. See Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 169 ff. By contrast, rulers were recorded even if little of note occurred during their reigns.

16. Similar claims to moral efficacy and hence legitimacy often are asserted in the prefaces to novels and collections of fictional stories, which frequently mimicked the rhetorical features of factual records, besides containing plotlines in which virtue was acclaimed and evil condemned. For illuminating discussions, see Eugene Eoyang, "A Taste for Apricots: Approaches to Chinese Fiction," in *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, ed. Andrew Plaks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 53–69; and Sheldon Hsiang-p'eng Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994).
17. For an introduction to Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), see G. Lewin's entry in *A Sung Bibliography*, comp. Etienne Balaz, ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 69–70.
18. Stanley K. Abe, "Native Canons" (paper, Symposium on Value Systems in the Visual Arts of India and China: New Approaches to the Textual Sources, Sussex University, 23 June 2001).
19. This is the subject of Gérard Genette's 1987 book *Seuils* (Thresholds), which has a lucid and engaging English translation by Jane E. Lewin, under the title *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997). Most relevant for my purposes here are his discussions of paratexts that are part of the book, such as its format, typeface, paper, cover, title, author name, title page, preface, table of contents, chapter headings, running heads, and postface. Although Genette recognizes illustration as another important kind of paratext, he declines to treat it, for lack of appropriate expertise; see Lewin's translation, *Paratexts*, p. 406.
20. Genette discusses prefaces in *Paratexts*, chap. 8–10. In analyzing various paratextual components, he sensibly distinguishes "readers" who (at least) look inside the book, from a larger "public" who (at most) may only see it on a bookstore shelf or in advertisements. Prefaces and colophons, which appear inside the book, are addressed only to the smaller group.
21. Genette states that an allographic preface to an original edition is *always* written in response to a request and that its writer's prestige permits him to use the occasion to write about other issues that may be important to him. If the request makes him uncomfortable, he may make a point of stating that his preface was solicited, thus absolving himself of responsibility for contributing it. See his *Paratexts*, chap. 10.
22. Genette does not discuss colophons in exactly the sense that the term is used in the Chinese context, which is similar to what he calls an "allographic postface." See his *Paratexts*, pp. 237–239. In the European context, a colophon is either an ending inscription that gives the facts of publication, or a publisher's emblem that appears on the cover or title page.
23. As Jacques Derrida suggests, even in the best of circumstances, prefaces "fall away" after the reader gets to the main text, leading him to assert that they are "written in view of their own self-effacement." See his *Disseminations*, trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 9.

24. See discussions in Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary*; Roy, introduction to *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, and McLaren, "Ming Audiences and Vernacular Hermeneutics."
25. For a vivid account of Zhang's presentation and the Wanli emperor's enthusiastic reaction to *The Emperor's Mirror*, see *Shenzong shilu* (Veritable Records of Shenzong) in *Ming shilu* (Veritable Records of the Ming) (1630; Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1961–1966), vol. 96, *juan* 8, pp. 7b–8a (pp. 290–291).
26. For epitext, meaning paratext that is physically separate from the work but that also serves to present the work to the reader, see Genette, *Paratexts*, chap. 13–14. Epitext is sometimes brought into later editions of a book and thus transformed into peritext. (i.e., paratext that is physically part of the work) Indeed, as noted below, later editions of *The Emperor's Mirror* reproduce Zhang's memorial, under the title "Jin tu shu" (Memorial on Submitting the Pictures), as part of the prefatory section. The memorial also appears in Zhang Juzheng's collected writings, compiled by his sons; for a photographic reproduction of the memorial as it appears in the 1612 edition of Zhang's writings, see *Zhang Taiyue ji* (Collected Writings of Zhang [Juzheng] Taiyue) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984), *juan* 7, pp. 3b–6a. A punctuated and annotated transcription is given in Zhang Shunhui, ed., *Zhang Juzheng ji* (Zhang Juzheng's Collected Writings), *juan* 3, pp. 103–107, first cited in note 14 above.
27. For Pan Yunduan's biography, see Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, comp., *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Index to Biographical Materials for Ming Personages) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1965), p. 775; and *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 202, p. 5342. The sole surviving example of Pan's printed reproduction of the painted album, now only two-thirds complete, belongs to the Japanese Imperial Household Agency. The extant pictures are reproduced in Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, comp., *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: E tehon ten* (Painting and Painting Manuals of Early Modern Japan: Exhibition of Hand-Painted Books) (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), vol. 2, catalogue no. 21. Each pair of illustration and text was carved on a single enormous block, with a column at the center of the block to display the title and page number. The work is mounted with the printed sheets pasted together along the edges. Pan Yunduan's reproduction appears to have been an evolutionary dead-end, in the sense that it did not become the basis for any other edition. For further discussions, see my "From Textbook to Testimonial," pp. 71–74.
28. As Zhang's memorial (cited in note 26 above) explains, the number eighty-one (nine times nine) embodied extreme *yang* and the number thirty-six (six times six) extreme *yin*, thus making them respectively the correlates of the auspicious and inauspicious. Zhang Shunhui, ed., *Zhang Juzheng ji* (Zhang Juzheng's Collected Writings), *juan* 3, p. 104.
29. For specific occasions, see entries in *Wanli qiju zhu* (Wanli Diary of Activity and Repose) (Seventeenth century; Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 59–61 and 109–112.

30. I have personally examined examples of the edition in the National Central Library, Taipei (Rare book no. 05239); the National Library of China, Beijing (Rare book no. 17486); and Princeton University's East Asian Library and Gest Collection (Rare book no. TB 367/609). Another that I have studied only in microfilm was formerly catalogued in the "Beiping" Library and is now in the National Palace Museum Library, Taipei (Rare book no. 05238). For other purported examples in collections in mainland China, see Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui, comp., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Bibliography of Rare Books in China), (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1985), vol. 2, *juan* 8, p. 407.
31. The intended audience for Zhang's edition is explicitly identified in a postface dated 1 May 1573 by Wang Xilie (*jinshi* 1553), "*Dijian tushuo houxu*" (Preface Written After [or, to the Latter Part of] *The Emperor's Mirror*), *houxu* pp. 4a–4b; also transcribed with punctuation in Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, comp., *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu, shibu* (Prefaces and Colophons in Rare Books in the National Central Library, History Section) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1993), pp. 399–400. For discussion of what "*houxu*" means here, see note 36 below.
32. During his tenure as senior grand secretary, Zhang developed a useful working relationship with this powerful and cultured eunuch. See Huang, 1587, *A Year of No Significance*, chap. 1. Although Zhang's printed edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* is not explicitly identified as a palace publication, its visual appearance is consistent with a "Jingchangben," that is, a "Depot edition," a book carved and printed in the inner court under the supervision of the Directorate of Ceremonial. A eunuch, Liu Ruoyu (1584–ca. 1642), later explicitly claims that Feng Bao published *The Emperor's Mirror* for Zhang. See Liu's *Zhuozhong zhi* (Treatise in the Middle of Pouring) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1994), *juan* 5, p.27.
33. This information is given in a preface entitled "*Dijian tushuo xu*" (Preface to the *Emperor's Mirror*), dated 4 March 1573 and written by Lu Shusheng (1509–1605), *qianxu* p. 4a; transcribed with punctuation in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben suba jilu, Shibu*, pp. 398–399. This preface is further discussed below. Wang Xilie's postface (see note 31 above) confirms that Zhang Juzheng had a duplicate set of pictures that was used to prepare the printed edition; see "*Dijian tushuo houxu*," (Preface Written After [or, to the Latter Part of] *The Emperor's Mirror*), *houxu* p. 1a (punctuated transcription, p. 399).
34. The size of the original album can be gauged from the printed reproduction (see note 27 above), in which the illustration and its text appear side by side within a block-frame that measures at least 40 x 77 cm. The sheets printed from these giant blocks are mounted accordion-style, so that the entire picture and text are seen together. Such a large object must be laid on a table for viewing. In Zhang's edition, by contrast, the pictures and texts were carved on separate blocks, whose frames measure only about 20 x 28.6 cm. A single printed sheet, folded in half for binding, produced recto and verso pages in

- the final book. Therefore, the pictures are divided in half by the fold, and the page must be turned to see an entire composition. Likewise, the text extends over at least two pages, and longer texts extend to three or four pages. Not only are the pages much smaller, the book is divided into either six or twelve *ce* (fascicles), which the reader can easily hold in one hand. For a well-illustrated discussion of relationships between the block-printed sheet and a book's binding, see David Helliwell, "The Repair and Binding of Old Chinese Books," *East Asian Library Journal* 8.1 (Spring 1998), pp. 27–150.
35. What little Genette has to say about tables of contents appears in his *Paratexts*, pp. 316–318.
 36. Lu Shusheng was the minister of rites and a Hanlin academician. For his biography, see *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 216, pp. 5694–5696; for reference to his preface, see note 33 above. Wang Xilie, who was temporarily in charge of the affairs of the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent, was a Hanlin academician as well as a vice-minister of personnel; see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Index to Biographical Materials for Ming Personages), p. 34. In his postface (see note 31 above), Wang states that Zhang had shown him the work in progress and had prevailed upon him to "*xu zhu hou*," which could mean either "to write a preface for the latter part" or "to write a preface to place afterward;" see Wang Xilie, "*Dijian tushuo houxu*," *houxu* p. 1a (punctuated transcription, p. 399). Because his meaning is somewhat ambiguous, the placement of Wang Xilie's text varies among editions. In Zhang Juzheng's, it appears before the table of contents to the cautionary models, which are paginated as the "latter" (*hou*) section; in other editions, such as Hu Xian's (dates unknown), discussed below, Wang's text appears as a postface at the very end of the book.
 37. See note 21 above.
 38. For the memorial, see note 26 above.
 39. See Genette, *Paratexts*, chap. 6.
 40. I have seen the two examples of Hu's edition in the National Central Library, Taiwan (Rare book nos. 05240 and 05241, both in six *ce*), which are catalogued in Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan, comp., *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu, zengding ben* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1967), p. 404. For the sparse information that can be deduced about Hu Xian, see Lucille Chia, "Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Brokaw and Chow, pp. 107–151.
 41. There were at least two other early, commercially re-cut editions, which I discuss in my "From Textbook to Testimonial," p. 75.
 42. The page numbers in Zhang Juzheng's edition were outside the upper left edge of the block frames in "the ear of the text" (*shuer*), and Hu Xian moved them into the pictorial space. Hu, also revised the numbering of pages in the first section from simply *yi er san* ("one, "two," "three") etc. to "*qian yi*," "*qian er*" ("former 1," "former 2") and so forth, to match Zhang's numbering

- in the second section, which started over as “*hou yi*,” “*hou er*” (“latter 1,” “latter 2”), etc. For more on Wang Xilie’s postface, see notes 31 and 36 above.
43. I have seen one example in the National Central Library (Rare book no. 05242), in twelve *ce*; the library incorrectly identifies Rare book no. 05243 as another. Except for omitting Wang Xilie’s postface, Guo’s edition includes all the same parts as Zhang Juzheng’s edition. Guo’s “*Dijian tushuo chongke xu*” (Preface for Recutting *The Emperor’s Mirror*) is transcribed and punctuated in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu, Shibū* (Prefaces and Colophons in Rare Books in the National Central Library, History Section), pp. 400–401
44. Guo’s flattery seems to have paid off, because his next official posting was in Beijing, and he served in or near one of the two capitals well into the 1580s.
45. For Pan’s reproduction, see references in notes 27 and 34 above.
46. Pan En’s text is signed with the title *Duchayuan zuodu yushi jinjie zhishi* (Retired Chief Censor of the Left) and bears a date that corresponds to 24 December 1573; see Pan’s preface, p. 2a. The latest date on which the painted album is mentioned in the court annals corresponds to 2 November 1573; see *Wanli qiju zhu* (Wanli Diary of Activity and Repose), p. 112. Although it is unclear how Pan En acquired the painted album, his close friendship with Lu Shusheng, the minister of rites, may have been a factor. As Lu notes in his preface to Zhang Juzheng’s printed edition (see note 33 above) and as the Wanli emperor’s response to Zhang’s memorial also indicates (see figure 4), the painted album was to be given to the Ministry of Rites for transfer to the History Office after the Wanli emperor finished looking at it. For Pan En’s biography, see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Index to Biographical Materials for Ming Personages), p. 778.
47. By itself, *chuan* seems to imply dissemination among contemporaries, but if taken in the sense of *chuanshi*, it could mean “transmission to future generations.” Wang Zongmu was director-general of grain transport in Huaian (on the Grand Canal). See Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 1438–1441. Wang Zongmu’s “*Dijian tushuo xu*” (Preface to *The Emperor’s Mirror*) states that Pan Yunduan asked him to contribute the piece to put at the end of the reproduction, whose blocks were being carved from the “original version” (*yuanben*) in “Huai;” see Wang Zongmu “*Dijian tushuo, houxu*,” p. 1b. The text of Wang’s postface, dated 24 November 1573, is reproduced in his collected writings, but several characters have been altered by careless carving; see Wang Zongmu, *Jingsuo Wang xiansheng wenji* (Collected Writings of Wang [Zongmu] Jingsuo) (n.p., 1574), *juan* 5, pp. 42b–45a. Zhang Juzheng also was in regular correspondence with Wang Zongmu, and Wang sent Zhang a copy of his preface; Zhang’s letter thanking Wang for this preface appears in *Zhang Taiyue ji* (Collected Writings of Zhang [Juzheng] Taiyue), *juan* 25, p. 27b (p. 309).
48. Jin Lian worked in the Central Drafting Office, which served the Grand Secretariat. For what little can be known about him, and the confusion with similarly named individuals, see my “From Textbook to Testimonial,” note 68. Jin Lian’s preface is not reprinted anywhere else.

49. The signatures of Huang Jun (alternate names Junpei and Xiuye, 1553–1620) and his son Huang Yingxiao (Zhongchun, 1582–1662) appear on the work. Like other members of the Anhui workshop, they may have been working in Nanjing where Jin Lian held office. Zhou Wu puts them in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth generations of the Huang family, respectively, and identifies other publications they carved. See Zhou Wu, *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Essays on the History of Anhui-Style Woodblock Printing) (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 39 and 42.
50. In Jin Lian's edition, the two halves of the picture were carved on separate blocks, so that they appeared on facing pages when the sheets were folded and the book string-bound. The designer acknowledged the separation of the half-compositions by placing each half-picture inside a separate single-line rectangular frame.
51. Li Weizhen's preface also appears in his collected writings, *Dabishanfang ji* (Collected Writings of Gushing-Water Mountain-Studio) (Jinling, ca. 1611), *juan* 8, pp. 5b–7a.
52. Li had served in the Hanlin Academy and assisted Zhang Juzheng in compiling the *Muzong shilu* (Veritable Records of Muzong [the Longqing emperor, r. 1567–1572]). His biography appears in the "Wenyuan" (Eminent Literati) section of Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 288, p. 7385. For further details, see my "From Textbook to Testimonial," note 28.
53. For many examples, see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*; and Chu-ting Li and James C. Y. Watt, *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
54. I have examined a copy in the Beijing University Library, rare book number □910.5/1171. Technical details show that it was based on the Nanjing book-seller Hu Xian's 1573 edition (see note 40 above).
55. Wei Zhongxian's earlier name, Jinzhong, appears third on the list, dated the eighth month of 1622. For his biography, see Arthur W. Hummel, comp., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 846–847.
56. An edition published in Jiangling by a man surnamed Deng, identified only from the printed sheet pasted inside the front cover, appeared in the Kangxi period (1662–1722) and was reprinted several times. Examples of Deng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* are catalogued by the libraries of the University of California, Los Angeles (DS734/C34 1662) and of the University of Michigan (DS734/C223 T56), however, the UCLA exemplar is incomplete and the Michigan exemplar is now missing. A version in the Tokyo University Library in four *ce* (H30-290) and one in the Harvard-Yenching Library in six *ce* (T1685/1371) are later editions displaying variant forms for the taboo characters *xuan* and *hong*, associated with the personal names of the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors. Deng also reprinted Zhang Juzhen's collected works. For further discussion, see my "From Textbook to Testimonial," p. 83.
57. A handwritten Manchu exemplar in two *ce*, attributed to the Shunzhi reign (1644–1661), is in the Palace Museum Library, Beijing; and a printed edition

- based on that exemplar is in the National Library of China, Beijing. See Huang Junhua, *Quanguo Manwen ziliao lianhe mulu* (National Union Catalogue of Texts in Manchu) (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 11, no. 0035.
58. Ji Yun (1724–1805) et al., comp., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Abstracts of the Comprehensive Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Categories) (1782; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931), 17, *Shibu*, *Shipinglei*, *Cunmu* 2, p. 98.
 59. See Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, chap. 5 and “Epilogue.”
 60. I have examined this edition in the National Library of China, Beijing (Rare book no. 3988). For detailed discussion, see my “From Textbook to Testimonial,” pp. 83–84.
 61. See Cui Longjian (1741–1817, *jinshi* 1761) and Huang Yizun (dates unknown), comps., *Jiangling xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Jiangling District) (1784), in *Xinxiu fangzhi congkan*, *Hubei fangzhi* 12 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1970), *juan* 25, p. 7a (p. 1091) and *juan* 43, pp. 7a–8b (pp. 1837–1840).
 62. Cheng Dekai, “Chongke *Dijian tushuo xu*” (Preface on Recutting *The Emperor’s Mirror*); and anon. “Chongkan *Dijian tushuo jiaoding xingshi*” (Names of Collators and Proofreaders of the Republished *Emperor’s Mirror*). Being a rather grand personage, Cheng Dekai wrote mostly in generalities, but he did take pains to mention that Zhang Yijin was the direct descendant of Zhang Jusheng’s legal wife. I have not found Cheng’s preface independently preserved in other sources. For his biography, see Yu Jinfang, comp., *Macheng xianzhi qianbian* (First Compilation of the *Gazetteer of Macheng District*; 1935), in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu*: Huazhong difang 357, Hubeisheng (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), *juan* 9, pp. 58b–60a (pp. 776–779).
 63. For Zhang Juzheng’s memorial, see note 26 above and the text at that note.
 64. Zheng Ruohuang goes into some detail describing the sequence of events involved in getting the manuscript prepared for publication, but he incorrectly claims that *The Emperor’s Mirror* had not been republished since Zhang Juzheng’s time. See “Zheng Ruohuang Futing shi jing ba” [Respectful Colophon by Zheng Ruohuang (Futing)]. I have not found Zheng’s colophon independently preserved in other sources nor any biographical information about him.
 65. *Ibid.* It is not derogatory to call the work “shallow,” in the sense that didactic literature is more effective if it is broadly accessible, rather than deeply laden with arcane learned allusions that only a minority of erudites can understand.
 66. Cheng Dekai’s preface (see note 62 above) says that he found the seven missing texts in a “Neige” (Secretariat) edition, probably referring to Zhang Juzheng’s 1573 publication. For this 1573 publication, see the text at note 30 above. When I examined the 1819 edition (cited in note 60), I observed that the seven texts were printed on separate slips of a different kind of paper, which were inserted loose into the string-bound book, suggesting that Cheng sent them only after the rest of the book had been printed and bound.
 67. Zheng Ruohuang’s colophon is cited in note 64 above.

68. For further discussion, see Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, p. 77 and chapter 4; and my "The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.2 (May 1996), pp. 269–300.
69. I have examined examples in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency (270–162) and University of Chicago library (2258/1371).
70. Genette, *Paratexts*, chap. 2.
71. Late-Ming and Qing commercial publishers of woodblock-printed books also made frequent use of simulated brush calligraphy to enhance a publication and differentiate it from others in the marketplace, often to assert fictitious authenticity for a text signed with the name of an eminent man. However, even when the individual in question actually was involved with the publication, the handwritten facsimile often was not in his personal style of calligraphy. The publishers could evidently count on their customers' responding to the authorial presence evoked by simulated handwriting without recognizing the disparity in calligraphic style. For reproduction of many examples, see Hunglam Chu, "Calligraphy's New Importance in Later Ming Printing," *The Gest Library Journal* 2.2 (Spring 1988), pp. 167–202.
72. Genette does not discuss punctuation, although its role in steering novice readers through a text could be considered part of the "publisher's peritext." See Genette, *Paratexts*, chapter. 2.
73. He Yong, "Shiyin *Dijian tushuo xu*" (Preface to the Lithographic Printing of *The Emperor's Mirror*), unpaginated.
74. Close inspection suggests that He Yong based his edition on the 1606 Japanese edition published in the name of Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615). An exemplar of this 1606 edition in the National Diet Library, Tokyo, is fully reproduced in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: E tehon ten* (Painting and Painting Manuals of Early Modern Japan: Exhibition of Hand-Painted Books), vol. 2, catalogue no. 22; this source was first cited in note 27 above. Hideyori's edition was based in turn on Hu Xian's 1573 commercial edition. For more on Hu's edition, see the text at note 40 above. I provide further details in my "From Textbook to Testimonial," pp. 84–86.
- Ironically enough, even He Yong's preface was rewritten by one Wang Yeye (dates unknown) of Pingjiang (Suzhou), the only calligrapher whose name appears in the whole book. The range of styles used through the book actually is narrow, ranging from running-regular script to running script, with an occasional passage in clerical script. See He Yong, "Shiyin *Dijian tushuo xu*," unpaginated.
75. Genette writes, ". . . in the course of time and by losing its initial pragmatic function, the paratext, unless it disappears, is 'textualized' and incorporated into the work." Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 177.
76. *Dijian tushuo* (The Emperor's Mirror), ed. Feng Guangyu (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993).
77. *Ibid.*, "Introduction," p. 2.
78. Citing a distinction discussed by Derrida (*Dissemination*, p. 17; cited in note 23 above), Genette suggests that an "introduction" is more closely tied to the

- subject of the text, whereas the function of a “preface” is both more formal and embedded in specific historical circumstances. See Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 161–162.
79. *The Emperor’s Mirror*, ed. Feng Guangyu, “Introduction,” p. 1.
 80. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 81. Jia Naiqian and Chen Shengxi, eds., *Dijian tushuo pingzhu* (A Critical Annotation of *The Emperor’s Mirror, Illustrated and Explained*) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996). The dust jacket credits one Wang Xianshen with “arranging” (*zhengli*) the very contemporary-looking pictures, which he seems to have drawn with only occasional reference to the compositions in the lineage of Zhang Juzheng’s edition.
 82. *Ibid.*, pp. 269–270. The paintings illustrated the “Wuyi pian” (No Pleasurable Ease) chapter of the *Shujing* (Book of Documents).
 83. *Ibid.* For Cai Xiang’s biography, see Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), pp. 1026–1029.
 84. Incongruously, the only official labeled in figure 10 is Cai Xiang, who had nothing to do with the paintings, rather than Sun Shi (962–1033), who submitted them. For Sun Shi’s biography, see Franke, *Sung Biographies*, pp. 977–979. The 2002 Taiwan edition, published under the title *Baidi tu* (see discussion at note 90), also depicts paintings of *No Pleasurable Ease* rather than the calligraphy screen. See Zhang Juzheng, *Baidi tu* (Pictures of One Hundred Emperors), ed. Zhang Sheguo (Xindian, Taipei: Shichao chuban youxian gongsi, 2002), p. 152.
 85. See *Dijian tushuo pingzhu* (A Critical Annotation of *The Emperor’s Mirror, Illustrated and Discussed*), “Qianyan” (Introduction), p. 1.
 86. *Ibid.*, pp. 296–302, 445–448, and 449–454, respectively.
 87. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–13.
 88. *Ibid.*, pp. 455–456.
 89. Here I find some resonance with Genette’s comments on “disavowing authorial prefaces,” which admit to inadequacies in the text. See his *Paratexts*, p. 282.
 90. Zhang Juzheng, *Baidi tu* (Pictures of One Hundred Emperors); first cited in note 84 above.
 91. The grouping of discrete works as volumes in a series is a form of “publisher’s peritext” that both identifies them as “classics” and disseminates them as “an instrument of ‘culture.’” See Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 18–22.
The publisher’s explanation for this series, referring to evidently popular but unflattering stereotypes about history writing, claims that the series avoids tedious recitations of motley events and unresolvable arguments about facts. See “Publisher’s Explanation,” *Baidi tu*, p. 2.
 92. Zhang Juzheng, *Baidi tu*, cover, pp. 1 and 204.
 93. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 94. For the publisher’s desire to differentiate the work from others, see note 91 above.

GLOSSARY

- ba 跋
Baidi tu 百帝圖
Baijiang tu 百將圖
Baimei tu 百美圖
Baixiao tu 百孝圖
 Cai Xiang 蔡襄
 ce 冊
 Cheng 成
 Cheng Dekai 程德楷
Chenghua shilüe 承華事略
 Chongkan *Dijian tushuo* jiaoding xingshi
 重刊帝鑑圖說校定姓氏
 chongkeben 重刻本
 Chongke *Dijian tushuo xu* 重刻帝鑑圖
 說序
 chuan 傳
 chuanshi 傳世
 Chuban shuoming 出版說明
Chunqiu 春秋
 Chunzhongtang 純忠堂
 Cui Longjian 崔龍見
 Cunmu 存目
Dabishanfang ji 大泌山房
 Deng 鄧
 Dianshizhai 點石齋
Dijian tushuo 帝鑑圖說
Dijian tushuo chongke xu 帝鑑圖說重
 刻序
Dijian tushuo houxu 帝鑑圖說後序
Dijian tushuo song bing xu 帝鑑圖說頌
 并序
Dijian tushuo xu 帝鑑圖說序
 Duchayuan zuodu yushi jinjie zhishi 都察
 院左都御史進階致士
 fankeben 翻刻本
 fanli 凡例
 Feng Bao 馮保
 Feng Guangyu 馮廣裕
 Feng Ruzong 馮汝宗
Guifan tushuo 閩範圖說
 guohua 國畫
 Guo Tingwu 郭庭梧
 He Yong 何鏞
 hong 弘
 hou 後
 hou er 後二
 houxu 後序
 hou yi 後一
 Huai 淮
 Huaian 淮安
 Huanduzhai 還讀齋
 Huang 黃
 Huang Jun 黃鉞
 Huang Yingxiao 黃應孝
 Huang Yizun 黃義尊
 Hu Xian 胡賢
 Jiangling 江陵
Jiangling xianzhi 江陵縣誌
Jiangu bangmu 諫鼓謗木
 Jiao Hong 焦竑
Jieqi qiuyan 揭器求言
 Jingchangben 經廠本

- Jingsuo Wang xiansheng wenji* 敬所王先生文集
- Jin Lian 金濂
- Jinling 金陵
- jinshi 進士
- Jin tu shu 進圖疏
- Jinzhong 進忠
- Ji Yun 紀昀
- juan 卷
- Junpei 君佩
- Kuangyu fuche 狂愚覆轍
- Lienü zhuan* 列女傳
- lisu 俚俗
- Liu Ruoyu 劉若愚
- Li Weizhen 李維禎
- Lü Kun 呂坤
- Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲
- Lü Tiaoyang 呂調陽
- Macheng xianzhi qianbian* 麻城縣誌前編
- Mingshi* 明史
- Ming shilu* 明實錄
- Muzong shilu* 穆宗實錄
- Neige 內閣
- Nü fan bian* 女範編
- Pan En 潘恩
- Pan Yunduan 潘允端
- Pingjiang 平江
- qian 淺
- Qianyan 前言
- qian er 前二
- qianxu 前序
- qian yi 前一
- Qinding Chenghua shilüe* 欽定承華事略
- Qinding Chenghua shilüe butu* 欽定承華事略補圖
- Qubilai 忽必烈
- Renzong 仁宗
- Shenbao* 申報
- Shengzhe fangui 聖哲芳規
- Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄
- Shibu 史部
- Shiguan 史館
- Shipinglei 史評類
- Shiyin *Dijian tushuo xu* 石印帝鑑圖說序
- Shou Wuyi tu* 受無逸圖
- shuer 書耳
- Shujing* 書經
- shuren 庶人
- Siku quanshu 四庫全書
- Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要
- Silijian 司禮監
- Sima Guang 司馬光
- Sun Shi 孫奭
- Teikan zusetu* 帝鑑圖說
- Toyotomi Hideyori 豐臣秀賴
- tuce 圖冊
- tu yi 圖佚
- Wang Xilie 王希烈
- Wang Yeye 王業煥
- Wang Yun 王惲
- Wang Zongmu 王宗沐
- Wanli qiju zhu* 萬歷起居注
- Wanli yuannian dongyue jidan Jinling shufang Hu Xian xiuzi 萬曆元年冬月吉旦金陵書房胡賢繡梓

- Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢
 Wenyuan 文苑
 Wuyi pian 無逸篇
 Wuyi tu 無逸圖
 Xiuye 秀野
 xu 序
 xuan 玄
 xu zhu hou 序諸後
 yang 陽
 Yangzheng tujie 養正圖解
 yi er san 一二三
 yin 陰
 Yi Yin 伊尹
 yuanben 原本
 yuanzhu 原著
 yufu yufu 愚夫愚婦
 Zhang Jingxiu 張敬修
 Zhang Juzheng 張居正
 Zhang Juzheng ji 張居正集
 Zhang Sheguo 張社國
 Zhang Taiyue ji 張太岳集
 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
 Zhang Yijin 張亦縉
 zhengli 整理
 Zheng Ruohuang 鄭若璜
 Zheng Ruohuang Futing shi jing ba 鄭若璜
 璜黼廷氏敬跋
 Zhongchun 仲純
 Zhou 周
 Zhuozhong zhi 酌中志
 Zizhi tongjian 自治通鑑

Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing

NICOLAS STANDAERT

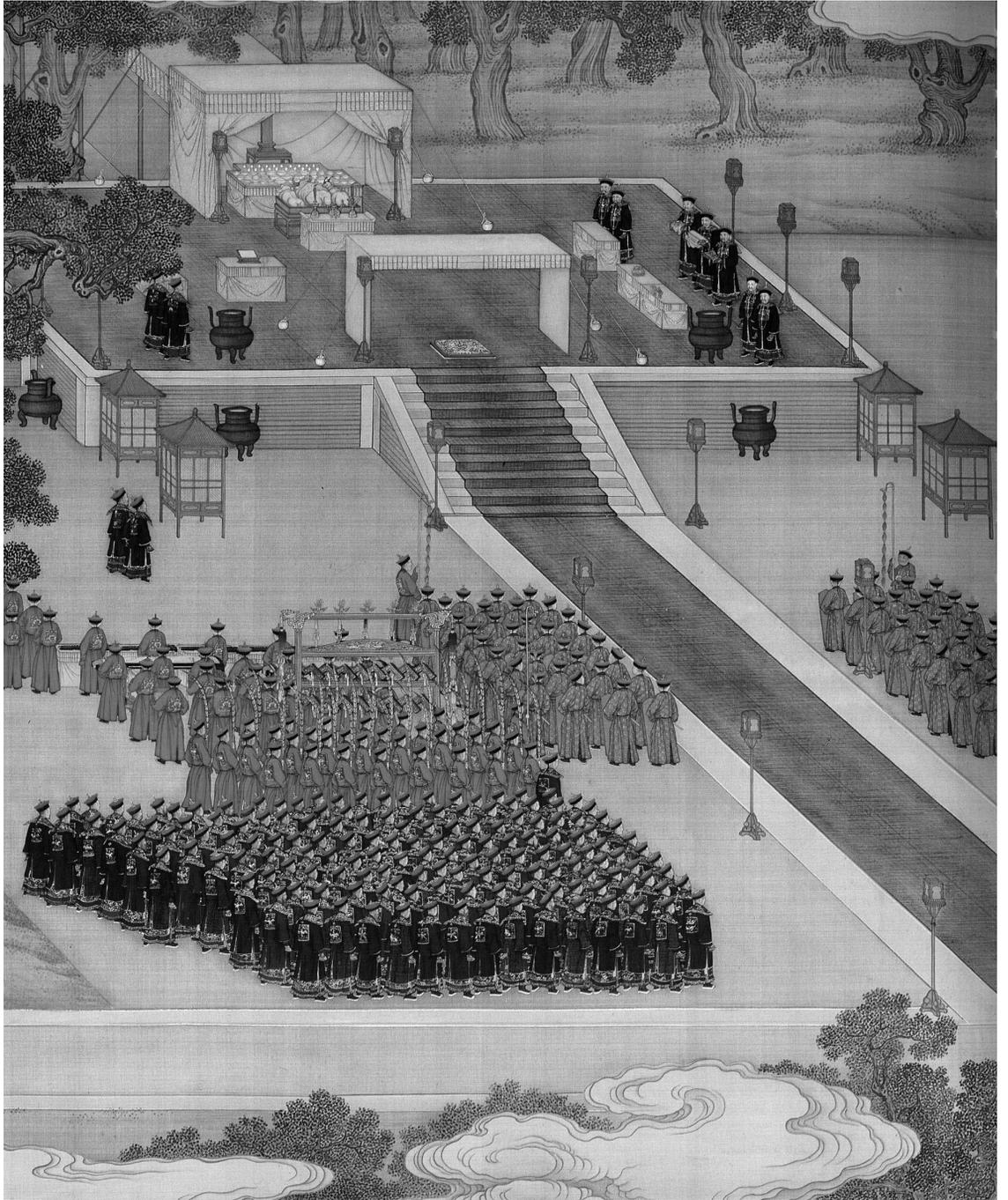
The painting of the sacrifice to the First Farmer (Xiannong or Shennong) dating from the Yongzheng reign (1723–1735) of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) gives a rare glimpse into the state sacrifices, which were one of the main ritual activities of the Chinese court.¹ (See figure 1.) The ceremonies paid to the First Farmer were associated with the emperor's agrarian rites, which included the annual plowing of the sacred field near the Altar to First Farmer south of the walled city in Beijing. Grain from this field was used in the great sacrifices.² Central in the painting are the offerings that are prepared on an altar under a canopy on the platform. They are arranged in a way that is very close to the prescriptive text of these sacrifices found in the *Da Qing huidian* (*Yongzheng chao*) [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)].³ The overall positioning of the participants and the ritual objects in the painting is also very similar to what is specified in this prescriptive text.⁴ (See figure 2.) Because this layout indicates the participants or audience by a Chinese character and not by the numbers of participants in a given category, the plan does not fully reflect the important presence of officials and ritual specialists at these sacrifices. Closest to the altar, on the

podium, are the ceremonial officers who were supposed to number eighteen at the sacrifice to the First Farmer.⁵ On the ground closest to the altar are the approximately fifty musicians, in the *Da Qing huidian* designated by a single character *yue*, meaning “music” or “musician”. Behind them are 128 dancers, designated by *wu*, meaning “dance” or “dancer.”⁶ They are arranged in eight rows of eight dancers (*bayi*). (See figure 3) The martial (*wu*) dancers, with ax in the right hand and shield in the left hand, stand in front since they dance during the first oblation. (See figures 4a and 4b.) The civil (*wen*) dancers who have a pheasant feather in the right hand and a short flute in the left are waiting to move to the front in order to dance during the second and third oblations. (See figures 5a and 5b.) Each dancer is dressed in a gown of red loosely woven silk (*hongjuan*) and wears a specific cap, all according to the prescriptions for this sacrifice.⁷ (See figure 6.) Farthest from the platform stand the approximately three hundred scholar-officials, in blue and black gowns, who were invited (or ordered) to witness the ritual.

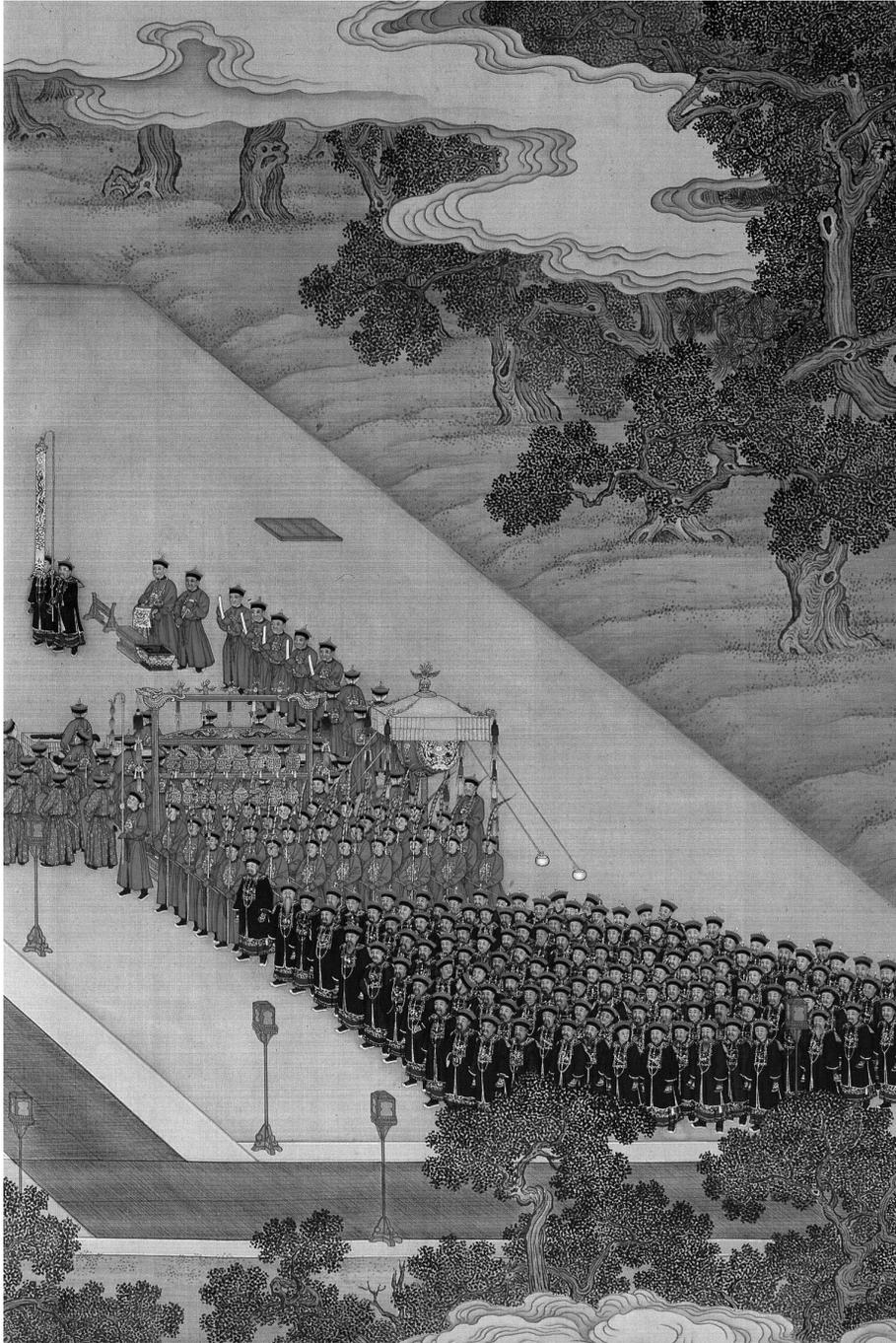
The state sacrifices in the Ming and the Qing (1644–1911) themselves have been the object of research in the last decade, especially in the studies by Romeyn Taylor, Evelyn Rawski, and Angela Zito.⁸ In addition, Joseph Lam has presented an in-depth study of the music at these sacrifices during the Ming.⁹ The dancers, however, have been a virtually neglected topic.¹⁰ Who were the dancers? What type of dance did they perform? How did scholars write about the dances? What were the prescriptions with regard to dancing, and how did these evolve in the course of Ming and Qing dynasties? These questions are the object of this exploratory study. The answer will be based largely on visual representations of dancers and dances in written records, which are one of the most important sources for our knowledge about the dances during Ming and Qing.

DANCERS AT STATE SACRIFICES

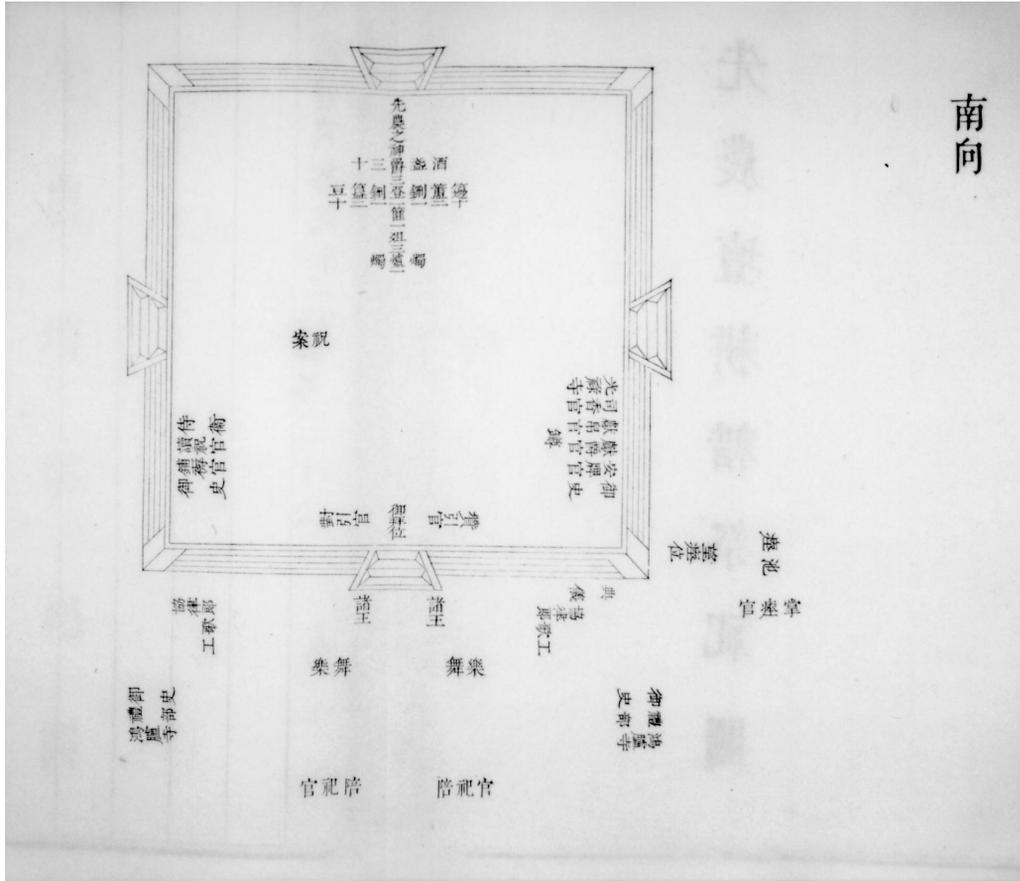
In 1367, a year before the formal beginning of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398, r. 1368–1398; posthumous title, Taizu), the soon to be Hongwu emperor, took several initiatives for the institution of the system of state sacrifices, which would help him in the demonstration



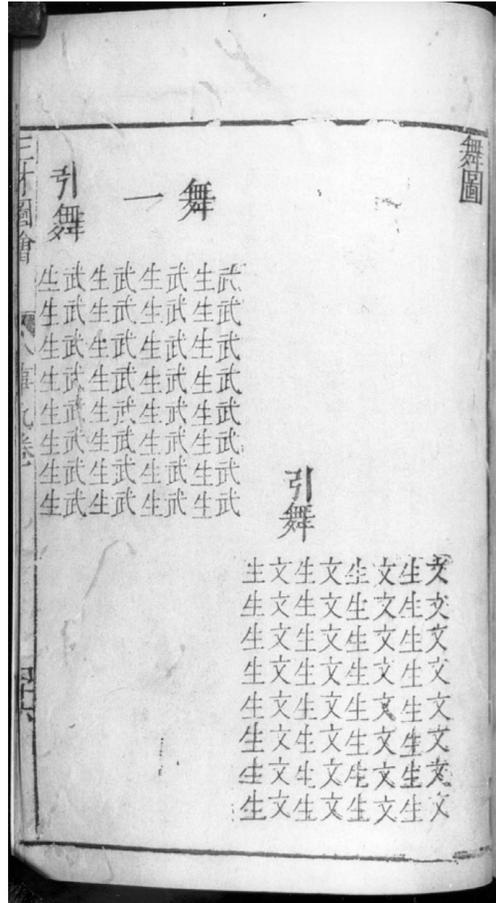
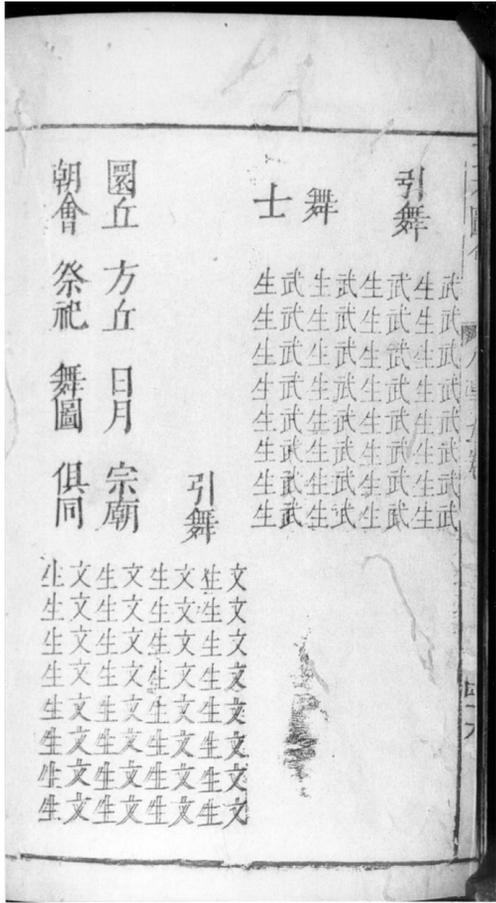
1. *Ji Xiannongtan tu* (Painting of the Sacrifice to the First Farmer), central section of the scroll. Scan of the image in Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Qingdai gongting huihua*



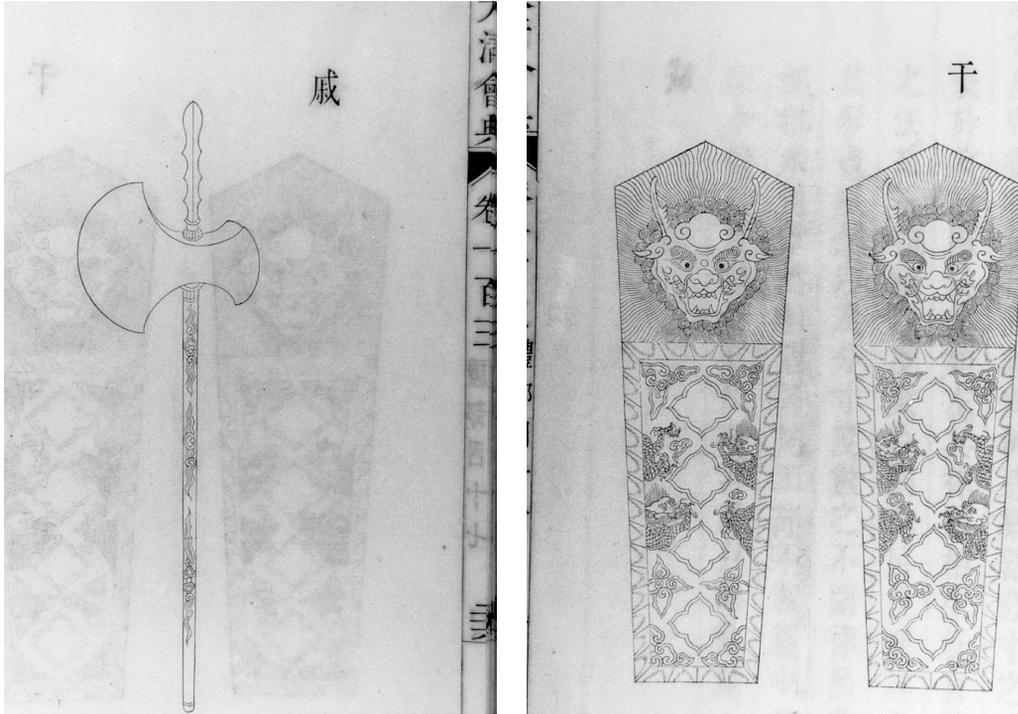
(Beijing: Wenhua chubashe, 1992), plates 43–44. Original in the Beijing gugong bowuyuan, reproduced with permission.



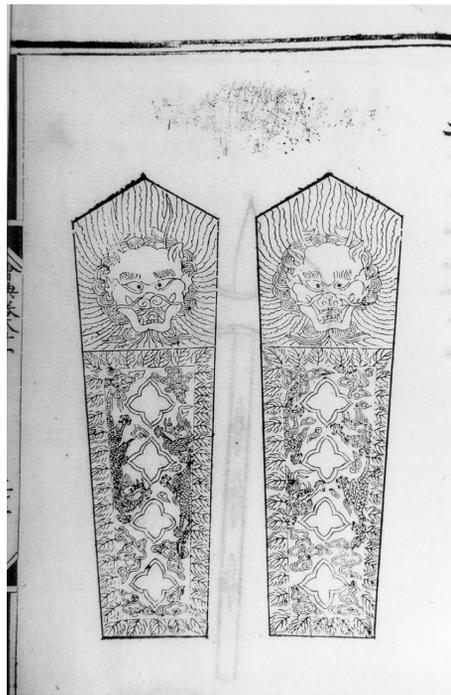
2. Prescriptive positioning of participants and ritual objects in the Sacrifice to the First Farmer. Yinlu, *Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao)* [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)] (Beijing: Neifu, 1732), *juan* 92, pp. 18a–b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB282/3515.



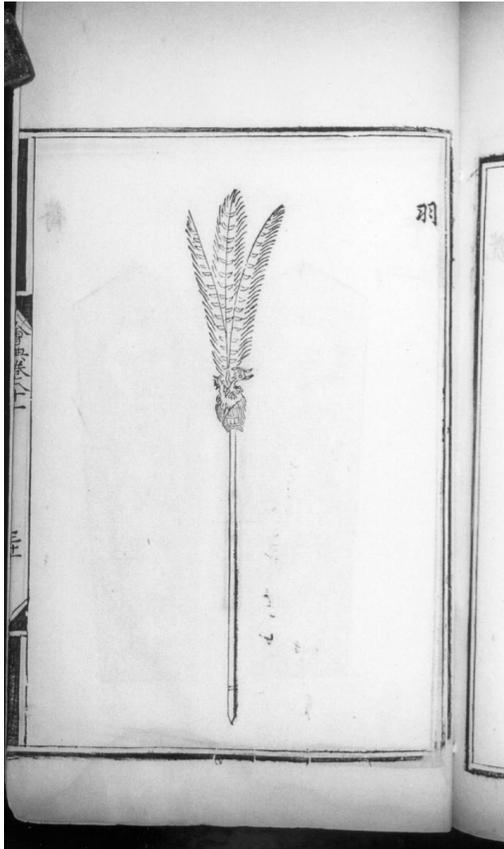
3. Positioning of the martial and civil dancers in eight rows (*bayi*). Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms) (ca. 1609), "Renshi," *juan* 9, pp. 46a–b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TC348/680.



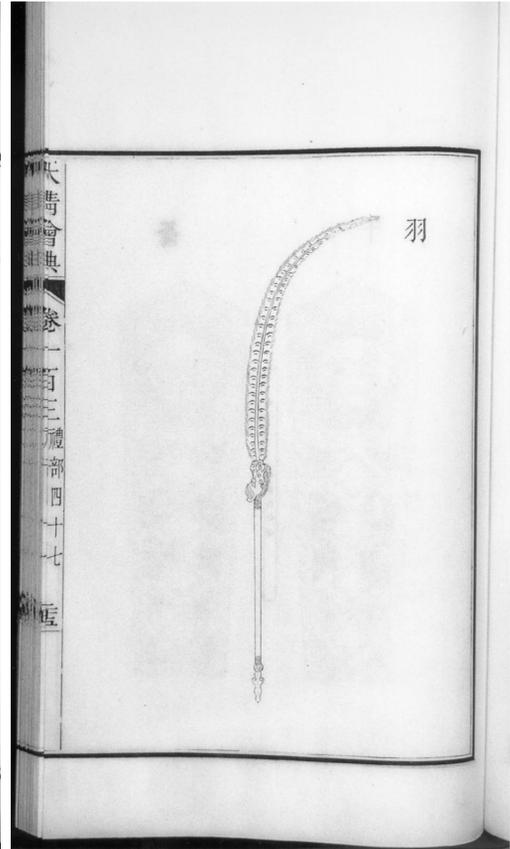
4A. Ca. 1732. The design and shape of the ax and shield, properties used by martial dancers, used in the Qing dynasty. *Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao)* [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)] (1732), *juan* 103, pp. 26 a–b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB8282/3515.



4B. *Ca*, 1587. Ming-dynasty ceremonial ax and shield. Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming) (1587), *juan* 81, pp. 32a–b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB282/1726.



5A. Ca. 1587. The prescriptions for the pheasant-feather property of the civil dancers was changed during the Kangxi reign—the three pheasant feathers used in the Ming were reduced to one. Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming) (1587), *juan* 81, p. 31a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB282/1726.



5B. Ca. 1690. Qing-dynasty pheasant-feather property. Yi Sang'a (1655 *jinshi*, et al., comp., *Da Qing huidian* (Kangxi *chao*) [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Kangxi era)] in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan san bian* (1690; Taibei xian Yonghe shi: Wenhai chubanshe, 1992), *juan* 71, p. 45a (vol. 720, p. 3695).



6A. Ca. 1899. Vestment worn by martial dancer belonging to the Imperial Music Office (Shenyueshu), Qinding *Da Qing huidian tu*, (1899) *juan* 47, p. 10b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, number B282/2152b.



6B. Vestment worn by civil dancers belonging to the Imperial Music Office (Shenyueshu), *Ibid.*, *juan* 47, p. 10a.

of the political legitimacy of his court. Noteworthy is his personal involvement in this process of institution. His active role can be exemplified by the following incident that is reported in the major Ming sources. On 28 July 1367, Zhu Yuanzhang ordered the academicians Zhu Sheng (1299–1371) and Fan Quan (dates unknown) to lead a rehearsal of music and dance near the palace gate. During the rehearsal, Zhu Yuanzhang himself struck a tone on the stone-chimes and asked Zhu Sheng to identify the sound. He failed to do so, since he took the note *gong* (do) for the note *zhi* (so). Zhu Yuanzhang laughed with contempt at this mistake.¹¹

This event caused Zhu Yuanzhang to make a number of decisions that had an important impact on the further developments of ritual dance in terms of organization and personnel. In August 1367, he instituted the Taichangsi (Office of Imperial Sacrifices). This office, the origin of which can be traced back to much earlier dynasties, was responsible for the conduct of major state sacrificial ceremonies according to ritual regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Rites (Libu).¹² The search for the important function of music director (*xielulang*) led to the selection of Leng Qian (1310–ca. 1371). Leng, who is said to have been very knowledgeable in music and good at playing the stringed instrument *se*, was then living a concealed life as a Daoist hermit in Wushan near Hangzhou. He was soon charged with the task of instituting the system of music and dancing for the court. As he was a Daoist, it seems that the pupils of music and dancing under his direction were also selected from among the Daoists. It is from that moment on that it became a tradition to employ Daoist youths as musicians and dancers.¹³

The terms used for these Daoist youths or initiates are *Daotong* or *Daosheng*, but it is not always very clear what their precise origin was neither what their age was. Moreover, although sometimes the term is used for the collective group of musicians and dancers, there seems to have been some distinction in selection between musicians and dancers.¹⁴ *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) reports that “For musicians, they continued to employ Daoist youths, but for dancers they made a change and employed handsome children from among the army and civilians.”¹⁵ The *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices) gives some additional details:

In the first year of Hongwu (1368), imperial order specified the selection of handsome Daoist boys of young age to fill the number of musicians for ceremonial music. In the first years of the Hongwu reign, imperial order also specified the selection of Daoist boys to become musicians and dancers, but later, because in the ancient system civil and martial dancers were all children of high officials, it was ordered that one would employ Daoist boys as musicians, while selecting the civil dancers from among the government students and the martial dancers from among the children of military officers. In the twelfth year (1379), it was decreed that the Daoist priests of the Shenyueguan (Office of Sacrificial Music) could educate disciples, but the other temples were not allowed to do so. In the thirteenth year (1380), it was again decreed that the children of nobility and various military officials should exercise themselves in the art of music and dance. And again it was decreed that the Ministry of Rites identify deficient and sick musicians and dancers and have them return to their civilian status. Later there was again an order that more intelligent and handsome boys of the populace be adopted for training, to be employed in case of urgent need at the sacrificial services of the court; these are distinct from the Daoist priests in the court temple.¹⁶

This description, though still very incomplete, at least indicates that there was a significant Daoist presence among not only the musicians but also the dancers. This became institutionalized by the establishment in 1379 of an entirely new institution, the Office (literally, Daoist temple) of Sacrificial Music. When the capital moved to Beijing in 1420, its buildings were located at the south-east side of the Altar of Heaven (Tiantan). The Office of Sacrificial Music was led by Daoist priests who supervised the practice of state sacrificial music and the training of musicians and dancers. As such, it was an actual institution which set the tradition of employing musicians and dancers from within its circle. On the other hand, the text also reflects some reluctance towards the employment of Daoist youths as dancers, but less so as musicians.¹⁷ As can be seen from the following quotation, this reluctance was still evident in

Qing-dynasty texts that describe the institutional changes made at the founding of the Ming dynasty:

At the beginning of the Hongwu reign, one chose upright and gracious men among the students of the imperial academy and had them learn music and dancing together with pupils among the children of the high-ranking civil officials. This profoundly realizes the transmitted meaning of the ancient people. That one supplemented the musicians and dancers for the great state sacrificial ceremonies with Daoists from the Daoist temple is something that only started during the Yongle (1403–1424) reign.¹⁸

This institutional structure remained basically the same during the whole of the Ming dynasty, the Taichangsi (*Office* of Imperial Sacrifices) only changing its name to Taichangsi (*Court* of Imperial Sacrifices) in 1397.¹⁹ At its beginning, the Qing took over the Ming system. Musicians and dancers were still selected from among Daoist initiates coming from families that had been in charge of music and sacrifices and from families that had provided musicians and dancers. The officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were ordered to command the music director of the Office of Sacrificial Music and others to train the musicians and dancers in the rituals of music and dances. The day before any sacrifice, they should rehearse their performance at the Ningxidian, outside the walls of Altar of Heaven to the west.²⁰

A major reorganization, however, took place early in the Qianlong (1736–1795) reign. In 1742, the emperor established a Ministry of Music (Yuebu) separate from the Ministry of Rites. This ministry consisted of two offices: one, the Shenyueshu (Imperial Music Office), the successor to the Office of Sacrificial Music (Shenyueguan); and two, the Heshengshu (Music Office), the successor to the Jiaofangsi (Music Office). Staffed by Han officials only, the Imperial Music Office was in charge of the music and dances at the sacrifices, the training of musicians and dancers, and the regulations for instructing the music personnel. In 1743 this office was first called the Shenyuesuo and then in 1755 given the new name of Shenyueshu (also Imperial Music Office). Staffed by both Han and Manchu officials, the Heshengshu (Music Office), which was in charge of court music performed at banquets, had been thus designated already

since 1729.²¹ The Court of Imperial Sacrifices, reduced in importance and in size, continued to be in charge of the practical organization of sacrifices.²²

These changes seem to have been accompanied by an increased emphasis on competence. In an incident that is very similar to Ming Taizu's observing his officials' incompetence in the field of music, the Qianlong emperor complained that when listening to the airs performed by the musicians of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices at the occasion of banquets or ceremonies, "[since] one was not able to distinguish clearly between the note *gong* (do) and the note *shang* (re), how could one then communicate with the spirits and attain sincerity?" The emperor also complained about the fact that the musicians at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were Daoists and was of the opinion that Daoists and Buddhists should not be employed in the court. "In their spare time they perform prayers and recite scriptures for common people in order to supplement their income. What kind of system is this? From now on they should no longer practice Daoist rituals. Those who do not want to change their occupations should be deprived of their registration [as musicians] and can still be Daoist masters."²³ In the same year of 1742, the Qianlong emperor ordered that the performers should practice regularly and without sudden interruption so as to avoid the recent mistakes.

Musicians and dancers should perform at the Office of Sacrificial Music every month; and in spring and autumn, they must perform before the Office of Palace Ceremonial (Zhangyisi) in the Imperial Household Department.²⁴ If there are irregularities, they have to be taught and guided, so that the pitches are in harmony. In accordance with this instruction, every year in the third and ninth month, they should perform before the Office of Palace Ceremonial and be examined by the high officials of the Ministry of Music.²⁵

The number of musicians and dancers initially employed at the Shenyueguan during the Ming is not very clear, but by 1380 it was fixed at 600. In 1420 when the capital moved from Nanjing to Beijing, 300 remained in Nanjing and 300 accompanied the court to Beijing where their number was soon increased to 527. During the early years of the

Jiajing reign (1522–1566), and especially during the years of the ritual reforms, the total number grew to 2,200 by 1536. In the following fifteen years, their number was reduced to 1,153, mainly because of the excessive cost of their maintenance but also because of the increasing disinterest of the Jiajing emperor (posthumous title, Shizong) in ritual matters. Further, the Ministry of Rites considered them superfluous. During the Longqing reign (1567–1572), the number remained at 1,153.²⁶ It is unclear what the situation was during the Wanli reign (1573–1620) and those following. These figures do not distinguish between the number of musicians and dancers. That, in the Ming dynasty, the number of the dancers was more numerous than the number of musicians may possibly be implied from figures available from the Qing dynasty. At the beginning of the Qing the total number of musicians and dancers in the Office of Sacrificial Music of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was 570: that is, 180 musicians, 150 martial dancers, 150 civil dancers, and ninety subordinate musicians and dancers.²⁷ At the time of the Qianlong reforms, the Imperial Music Office seems to have counted in total 180 musicians and 300 dancers.²⁸ (See table 1 for a summary of this data.)

While musicians and dancers at the court banquets included both men and women, all the dancers at the state sacrifices were men. The

TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF MUSICIANS AND DANCERS EMPLOYED IN THE OFFICE OF SACRIFICIAL MUSIC DURING THE MING AND QING DYNASTIES

DYNASTY	REIGN PERIOD	YEAR	CHANGE	TOTAL	
Ming	Hongwu	1368		unknown	
		1380		600	
	Yongle	1420	-300	300	
		after 1420		527	
		Jiajing	1526	+215	
		1531	+229		
		1536	+1,229	2,200	
		1546	-441		
		1550	-406		
		1551	-200	1,153	
Qing	Longqing	after 1569		1,153	
	Shunzhi	1651		570	
	Qianlong	1742		480	

possibility of having female dancers arose when in 1530 the Jiajing emperor reinstated the sericultural ceremonials, which had not been practiced during the Ming. These ceremonials were performed by female participants: the empress, rather than the emperor, and the wives of nobles and chief ministers addressed the Progenitor of Sericulture (Xiancan). The ceremony itself consisted in picking the mulberry leaves and processing the cocoons. The institution of these ceremonials are one of the clearest examples of the Jiajing emperor's revision of the Ming ritual system and how creative solutions were found to numerous practical demands.²⁹ The reforms also affected the musicians and dancers. A distinctive feature of this ceremony was the presence of female musicians, who were employed by the Music Office (Jiaofangsi), the institution that was normally in charge of music and performances at the court banquets. In contrast with the Court of Imperial Sacrifice where there were only men, the Music Office also employed women, and the specificity of both institutions corresponds to the classical distinction between *yayue* (refined music) for the first and *yanyue* (banquet music) and *suyue* (common music) for the second. With regard to the dancers for the sacrifice to the Progenitor of Sericulture, the Jiajing emperor was of the opinion "that dancing was not a woman's affair," and as a result it was decided to have no dancing during the sacrifice (*di yi wu fei nüzi shi, ba buyong*).³⁰ The complete absence of dancers was atypical for sacrifices, and in the eyes of the critics, a violation of the legacy left by the founder of the empire.³¹

The above information concerns the dancers of the state sacrifices in Ming times. All in all, the dancers were only a very small group in the service of the emperor. Judged from the perspective of the remuneration in later eras, for which we have specific data, their status was also lower than that of the musicians. In 1742, for instance, the musicians received one tael (*liang*) of silver, and three *dou* three *sheng* (one *dou* equals ten *sheng*) of rice as remuneration a month, while the dancers and assistants received only four *qian* (one *liang* equals ten *qian*) and the same amount of rice a month.³² The information is drawn completely from semi-prescriptive texts or general records which tend to stress unity rather than difference. In these sources one perceives little of the actual life of the dancers.

DANCERS IN THE SACRIFICE TO CONFUCIUS

While the dancers in the state sacrifices were the most professional ones, they were also to a certain extent the most hidden ones, since the occasions to see them performing were rare for the average official. Even if the painting of the sacrifice to the First Farmer represents the presence of approximately three hundred officials, the occasions on which officials attended a sacrifice were, after all, relatively small. Zhang Anmao (j.s. 1647), the author of a book on ritual and music in the local school, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (1656, Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), expressed this in the following way:

The great state sacrificial ceremonies belong to the chamberlains for ceremonials (*taichang*) and unless one is a high-ranking official, one has no possibility of attending them. It is only to the First Teacher that one offers in the national and regional schools, so that everyone, including the erudites (*boshi*) and pupils all can observe the tinkling and clanging of music and the movements of the dances. As a result [scholars] have compiled [collections of these rituals] and made them into books so as to make known the achievements of the Sage and spread the grace of his teaching.³³

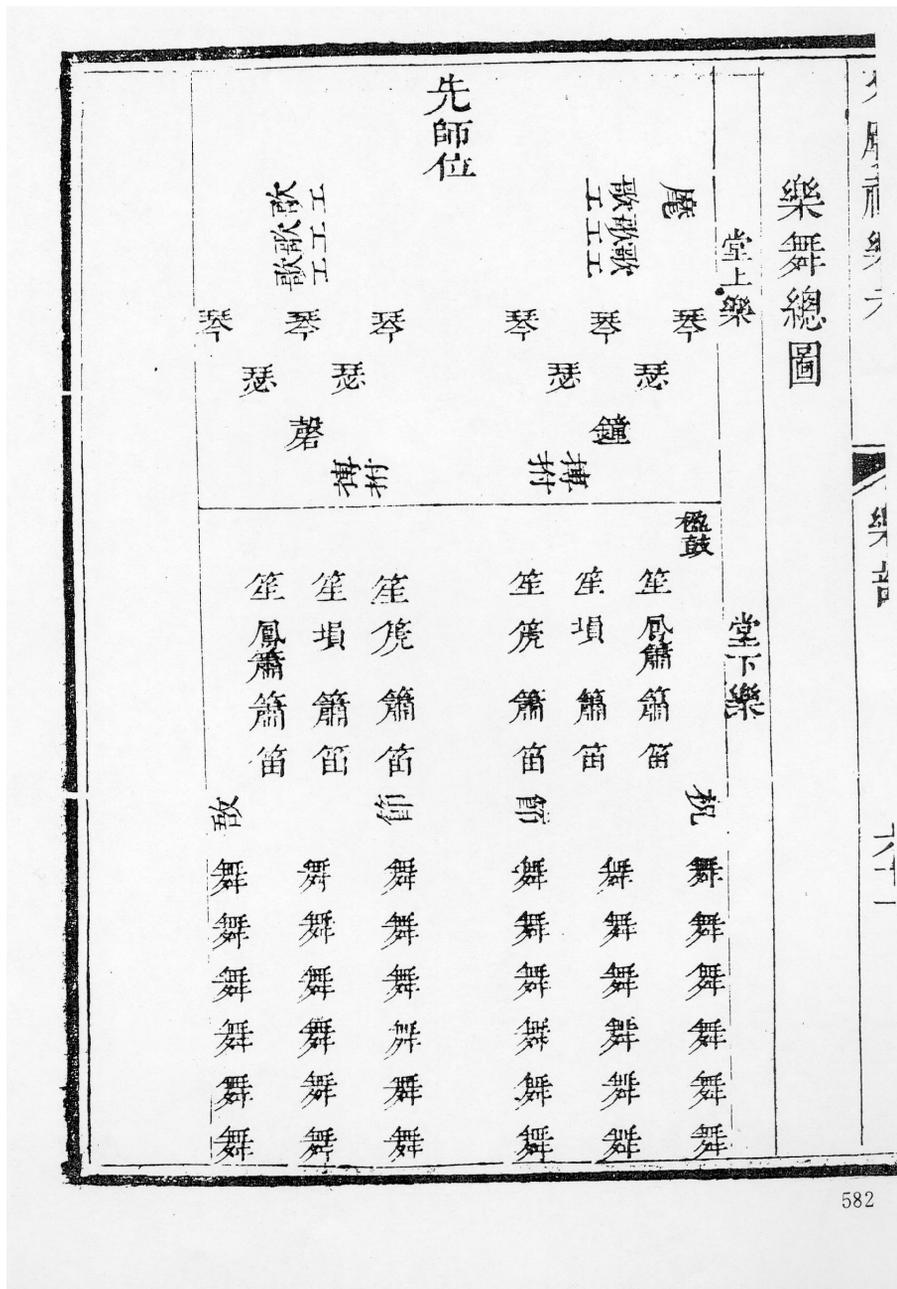
Virtually every degree holder in the empire was familiar with sacrifices to Confucius in particular because he would have participated in this ceremony at local schools from the early years of his formal education.³⁴ Some would probably even have performed the ritual dances during these ceremonials. The sacrifice to Confucius is, therefore, the link between the state sacrifices performed only by the emperor (or his representative) and the sacrifices performed by officials.³⁵ Indeed, it is the only sacrifice that, in different degrees of solemnity, is performed by both.³⁶ As will be pointed out further, when writing about dances, scholars first predominantly wrote about the dances performed at the sacrifice for Confucius, rarely those performed during state sacrifices.

The state sacrifice to Confucius itself, was an object of dispute during the Ming. The initial system established by the founding emperor foresaw thirty-six dancers (six-row format, *liuyi*) for the state sacrifice to

Confucius, but very soon the number may have grown to forty-eight.³⁷ (See figure 7.) Moreover, new ideas about ritual gradually emerged, and scholars expressed their dissatisfaction with some aspects of the system. In August 1450, for instance, Liu Xiang (fl. mid-fifteenth century), an instructor (*zhujiao*) in the Directorate of Education (Guozijian), criticized the lack of proper music in the state sacrifice of Confucius; however his concrete proposals produced no verifiable results.³⁸ In 1475, Zhou Hongmo (1419–1491), chancellor of the Directorate of Education proposed to honor Confucius with a new title and with the most exalted type of state sacrifices. One year later, his proposals were partially accepted. The number of dancers was raised to sixty-four (eight-row format), and the number of sacrificial food-offerings was increased from twenty to twenty-four.³⁹ In 1530, however, the Jiajing emperor dismantled these innovations. The number of dancers was again reduced to thirty-six and the sacrificial foods to twenty. Moreover, the emperor stopped the practice of honoring Confucius as king with the title Most Accomplished and Virtuous King of Civility (Dacheng zhisheng wenxuanwang), and rather honored him as the Most Virtuous First Teacher (Zhisheng xianshi).⁴⁰

There were other distinct characteristics concerning the dances performed at the sacrifice to Confucius, regardless of this controversy. At the other state sacrifices, the martial dancers performed during the first oblation, and the civil dancers during the second and the third. This had also been the practice for the sacrifice to Confucius during Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368). Since the first emperor of the Ming, however, in order to esteem cultivation and virtue (*wende*), only civil dancers performed at the Confucian temple. Moreover, in earlier times, dancing was not performed at the same time as the songs and music; one first sang and played music and next, after beating the major drum, one then performed the dancing. Later, however, dancing, singing, and playing music were performed simultaneously.⁴¹

The state sacrifice to Confucius, which was considered one among the middle sacrifices (*zhongsi*), was not the only occasion where the sacrifice to Confucius was performed. The sacrifice was also performed at Queli, the Confucian temple (Wenmiao) in Confucius's birthplace Qufu in Shandong province; at Confucian temples in the provinces or



7. Ca. 1691. Positioning of participants and ritual objects in the sacrifice to Confucius shows civil dancers in six rows. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, comp., *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple) (preface dated 1691), "Yue" (Music), p. 61b, reprinted in Kongzi wenhua daquan bianjibu, ed., *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture) (Ji'nan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), p. 582.

districts; at the Confucian shrine in the imperial academies—the Taixue (National University) and the Guozijian (Directorate of Education) in Beijing and the Nanyong in Nanjing; or at the shrine to Confucius in the local schools (*pangong*). Two types of places were of privileged importance: Queli and the imperial academies. This is manifested by the importance the emperors paid to these places. Of the Hongwu emperor, for instance, it is said that as soon as he entered Jianghuaifu (today known as Zhenjiang), he went to pay homage to the Confucian temple to pay tribute to the Sage. And in the second month of the first year of his reign, he ordered a grand sacrifice be performed in honor of Confucius in the imperial academy in Nanjing, and he sent a delegate to Qufu to perform a sacrifice.⁴² As a result, decisions about the ritual of the ceremonies offered to Confucius in the state sacrifices directly concerned or affected these places, and there was a particular interaction concerning ritual among the imperial administration, the imperial academies, and Queli. For instance, in 1374, it was decided that twenty musicians and dancers chosen from among the populace and students in the surroundings of Queli were to be sent for special training at the Office of Imperial Sacrifice.⁴³ And in 1384 it was ordered that “the Ministry of Rites determine the musical instruments for the ceremonies offered at Confucius so that one could order all Confucian schools in the empire to take the musical instruments of the Directorate of Education as the norm.”⁴⁴

DANCE ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE SACRIFICE TO CONFUCIUS IN THE MING AND EARLY QING

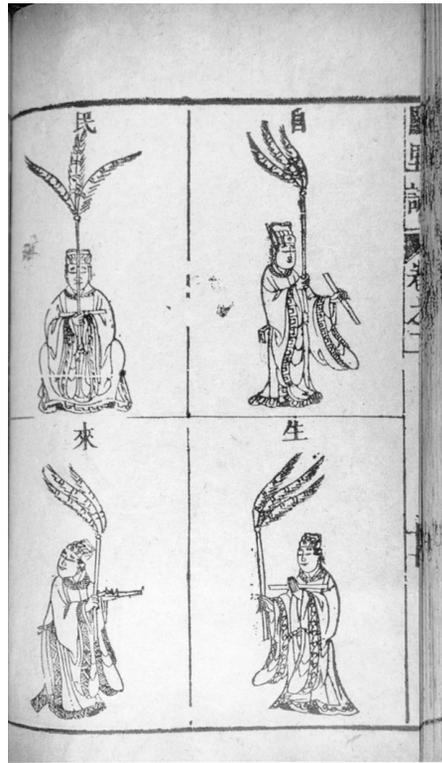
The records of Queli and of the imperial academies are the most important source for illustrations of dance choreography. One of the oldest sources containing such illustrations is *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer; preface dated 1505) and edited by Chen Hao (*jinshi* 1487).⁴⁵ It is difficult to ascertain whether these illustrations are indeed the earliest ones, but they are the source for reproduction all through the sixteenth century. (See figure 8). The *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer) contains in total ninety-six images of dancers, each side of a folio representing four positions (they read in the following order: top right, bottom right, top left, and bottom lower left). Each image represents one dancing position of the “Daxia”



8A. Ca. 1505. Variant early representations of positions for the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) dance. These illustrations of different editions of *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer) are the foundation of most later representations of dances. Chen Hao et al., comp., *Queli Gazetteer*, 13 *juan* [1505 preface], *juan* 1, p. 24b, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection Microfilm, role 457 (2).



8B. After 1505. Chen Hao, comp., *Queli Gazetteer*, 24 juan [Zhengde era (1505–1520), preface dated 1505] juan 2, p. 17b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 108.

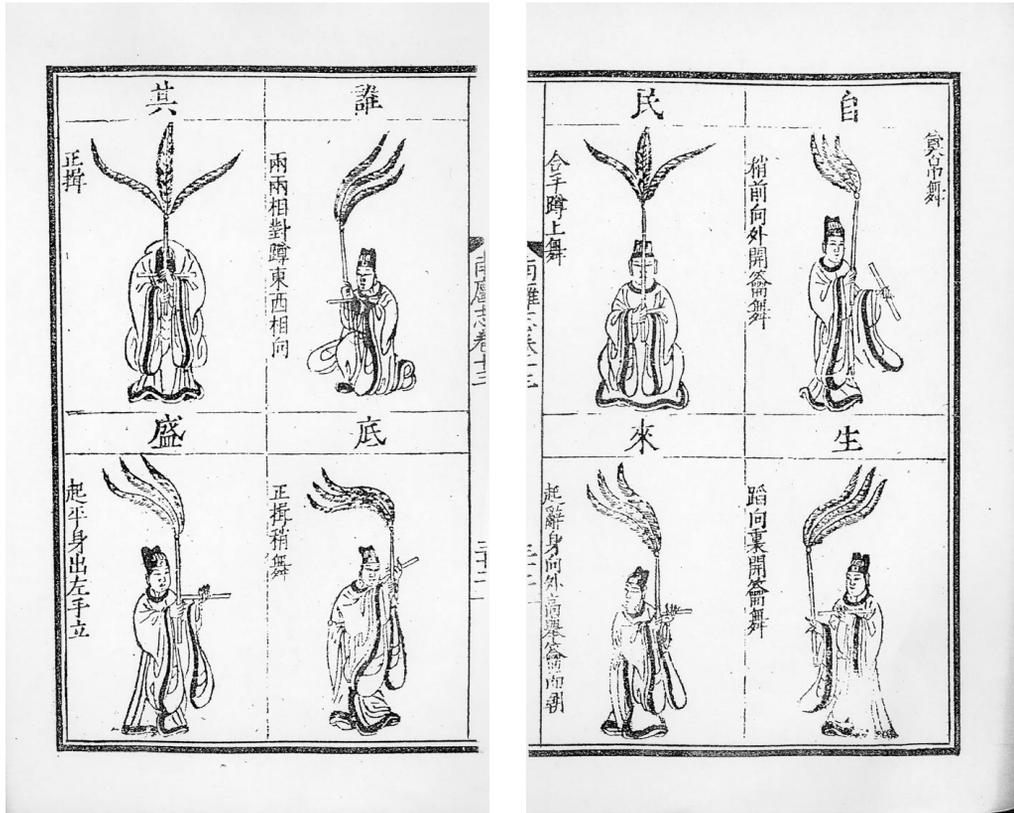


8C. Chongzhen era. Kong Yinzhi, ed., *Queli Gazetteer*, 24 juan [Chongzhen era (1628–1644); possibly post 1724], juan 2, p. 17b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB107/2597. Figures in this edition appear to have been printed from the same blocks as for the exemplar in figure 8b.

(Great Benevolence) dance, the civil dance which has as properties the pheasant feathers (*di*) and the short flute (*yue*). At the top of the illustration is a Chinese character, which is the syllable of the lyric that is sung during the execution of the dance movement, and each position corresponds to one character of the lyric. The ninety-six images can be divided into three groups of thirty-two positions. Each movement contains thirty-two positions, but the order of the positions and also the lyric varies in each of the three oblations.

In the sixteenth century, these illustrations grew in complexity. This can be observed from the monographs of the imperial academies. As places where future officials were trained, the academies also performed the sacrifices for Confucius twice a year, with dancers who were students from the academies. The two most important sources in this regard are the *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Imperial Academy in Nanjing) compiled by the scholar and prolific writer Huang Zuo (1490–1556)⁴⁶ and the *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the National University in Beijing) edited by Guo Pan (1499–1558).⁴⁷ (See figures 9 and 10, respectively.) The illustrations included in these writings are clearly based on the illustrations of *Quli Gazetteer* (or have the same source in origin). They indicate that, in a first phase, the instructions of the dance movements were added, and in a second phase, the musical notation, in fixed scale (*lülü*) notation on the right side and variable scale (*gongche*) notation on the left side of the character of the lyric, was added.⁴⁸ In principle, music contained one word to one note. These illustrations became the dominant pattern all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also in publications with no direct link to a ritual context. For instance, they appear under the same format in Wang Qi's *Sancai tuihui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Three Powers; 1609).⁴⁹ (See figure 11.)

There seems to have been little attempt at innovation of these representations. One major exception was Li Zhizao's (1565–1630) *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools; 1618, 1619). (See figure 12.) Li Zhizao, who was baptized as a Christian in 1610, is known for his writings on Western astronomy and mathematics and as editor of the *Tianxue chuhan* (First Encyclopaedia of Heavenly Studies), first published



9. Ca. 1549. Representation of the “Daxia” dance with instructions of the dance movement added. Huang Zuo, *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy) [after 1571; prefaces dated 1544 and 1549], *juan* 13, pp. 32a–32b, in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3.

in 1626.⁵⁰ His work on the rituals in the local schools is representative of late-Ming scholarship. In the first chapters, which deal with the shrine of the local school, the author explains in a very detailed way the origins (*gu*) of the cult objects. He also discusses in detail the music and songs that are used during the ceremonies. His work contains the three series of thirty-two positions of the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) dance.⁵¹ He presumably took these from a later edition of *Queli Gazetteer* revised by Kong Hongqian in 1552, which, except in Li Zhizao’s works, seems not to have been adopted elsewhere.⁵² (See figure 13.) These illustrations show two major differences from the former series. Instead of one



10. Ca. 1557. Representation of the “Daxia” dance with musical notation added, flanking the lyric in the horizontal register. Guo Pan (1499–1558), *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University) [preface 1557], *juan 5*, pp. 46b–47a, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996).



11. Ca. 1609 representation of the “Daxia” dance, showing in the horizontal register, the character of the lyric in a circle, with fixed scale notation to the left and variable scale notation on the left; text to the left of the dancer is the instruction for the dance position. Wang Qi et al, comps., *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms) [1609], “Renshi,” *juan* 9, p. 34a-b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TC348/680.



12. Li Zhizao's representations of dance (1618–1619). Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, p. 13a, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan* (1618–1619; Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), p. 853.



13. Possible source for Li Zhizao's representations of dances (1552). Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), ed. Kong Hongqian, *juan* 1, p. 71a, photographic reprint in Beijing tushuguan guji chuban bianjizu, ed., *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, vol. 23 ([1552]; Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), p. 437.

dancer, they represent two dancers, one on the east and one on the west. The dancers perform their gestures in mirrored form, that is, when the dancer on the east turns toward the center, the dancer on the west also turns toward the center. Even more important is that the explanation of the gestures is much more detailed than in the previous texts. In line with the mirror construction of the dance, they contain the differentiated details for each dancer, for example, when the dancer on the east lifts his right hand up to his shoulder, the dancer on the west lifts the left hand. Moreover, in the *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), the quality of drawing and print surpasses the other series.

The contrast between these Ming illustrations and representations of dances of the early Qing is noteworthy. The four series of Qing illustrations that were found all share the same characteristics. (See figures 14, 15, 16, and 17 below.) Like other writings, they copy from earlier Ming illustrations, but in contradistinction to them, it appears that they are hardly based on any direct observation of the performance of the ritual. Moreover, they do not attempt to innovate or improve the illustrations. This leads to a certain stagnation and even decline in the quality of representation. Zhang Anmao's *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), published in 1656 is, among other writings, based on Li Zhizao's *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools). Zhang, however, did not adopt Li Zhizao's two-dancer representation or the detailed dancing notation. He copied the earlier single-dancer representations, including the Ming dancing cap, sometimes making mistakes in the process of copying. For example, the representation corresponding to the movement at the moment of the character *sheng* (to live) erroneously copies the position of another movement (figure 14).⁵³ Jin Zhizhi (dates unknown) and Song Hong's (dates unknown) *Wenmiao liyue kao* (pref. 1691; Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple) includes the new Qing vestment and cap, but omits all notations (figure 15).⁵⁴ Both the work *Shengmen liyue tong* (1702; Rules for the Music and Rituals for the Sage) by Zhang Xingyan (fl. 1693–1701) and



14. Early-Qing (ca. 1656) dance illustration retains the Ming-style dancing cap but shows the incorrect movement for the lyric specified. For the correct position, compare with figure 11, lower right-hand quadrant. Zhang Anmao (1647 *jinshi*), *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 16, p. 28b, photographic rpt. of exemplar in the collection of the Zhongguo kexueyuan tushuguan in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (1656; Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1997), "Shibu," part 271, p. 564.



15. Early-Qing (ca. 1691) illustration for civil dance adopts Qing-style cap and vestments but omits all notation. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao*, "Yue," p. 71b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 602.



16. Early-Qing (ca. 1702) dance illustration with notation from both the one-dancer series and the two-dancer series. Zhang Xingyan, comp., *Shengmen liyue tong* (n.p.: Wansong shuyuan, 1702), *juan* 23, p. 12a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/3425.



17. Early-Qing (ca. 1719) dance illustration with notation from both the one-dancer series and the two-dancer series. Li Zhouwang and Xie Lüzhong, eds., *Guoxue liyue lu* (1719), *juan* 16, p. 2a, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng*, vol. 19 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996).

the work *Guoxue liyue lu* (1719; Record of the Music and Rituals in the Imperial Academies) by Li Zhouwang (1669–1730, 1697 *jinshi*) and Xie Lüzhong (1703 *jinshi*) are peculiar since they combine the short notation for one-dancer series with the extensive notation for the dancer on the west of the two-dancer series (figures 16 and 17, respectively).⁵⁵ This creates a decoupling of the illustration and the notation, since the dancer is not represented as prescribed by the extensive notation. Thus, the illustration still follows the ancient pattern, but it does not show the dancer in the position as given by the notation for the dancer on the west. Specifically, while the notation indicates that the dancer should elevate the left hand to the level of the shoulder and let the right hand hang down, the dancer in the image has the hands on the level of the elbow as was the case in the earliest Ming representations. In another case, a dancer puts his left foot in front instead of his right foot.

These Ming and early-Qing representations of dances shed some new light on the function of images or illustration (*tu*).⁵⁶ Noteworthy in terms of illustration is that the earliest images of dances do not contain any explanation of the dance. Usually, images or illustrations are thought of as amplifications to a text, whereby the illustration accompanies a text that existed prior to the production of illustration. Yet, in the earliest illustrations of dances, the only text is the character of the lyric which indicates the moment at which the dancer occupies a specific position; there is no text whatsoever to explain how to dance. It is only in later stages that explanatory texts are added. This may be explained by a move from a more descriptive function of the illustrations in the case of the earliest *Queli Gazetteer* to a more prescriptive and instructive function in the case of the records of educational centers such as the imperial academies. In Li Zhizao's work, this prescriptive function goes hand-in-hand with a search for rituals in accordance with those performed in ancient times. His work should also be viewed in the context of concern for concrete studies (*shixue*) at the end of the Ming. The early-Qing writings show a clear decoupling of between text and illustration. Here the tradition of copying other works led to an apparent disconnection with the practice of the dancing, which may very well be illustrative of the state of the dancing at the Confucian ceremonies themselves.

ILLUSTRATED PROPOSALS FOR RENEWAL OF STATE SACRIFICIAL DANCES

Contrary to the dances performed at the sacrifice for Confucius, there seem to be very few illustrations of the dances at the state sacrifices. Moreover, the extant writings seem to be proposals to reform these dances rather than representations of the actual dances.

These works find their origin in the ritual reforms early in the sixteenth century during the reign of the Jiajing emperor.⁵⁷ Unlike previous Ming rulers, who neither wanted to nor dared to change the system of state sacrifices and music established by the dynastic founder, the Jiajing emperor carried out drastic revisions in the 1530s and 1540s. He was motivated by a personal agenda—establishing and maintaining his own genealogical line and consolidating his position in court. The conflicts lasted for several years and had as a result that the emperor was directly and persistently intervening in the questions of rites. He encouraged, among other initiatives, the publication of the *Da Ming jili* (1530; Collected Rituals of the Great Ming).⁵⁸ However, the controversy had ramifications that went beyond the direct political sphere. As the debate developed, the argumentation became more sophisticated, articulated, and complex, and it stimulated an interest in historical precedents. This resulted in many publications on music, rituals, and dances that treat a wide variety of topics including the origin of music or dance, pitch standards, and descriptions of ancient musical instruments. Given the Confucian belief in the idealized power of music and dance, Ming theorists also wanted to use both to solve problems in their world. Their research was based on the premise that the proper music of antiquity (*guyue*) and also the proper dance of antiquity (*guwu*) had generated the golden reigns of antiquity. In their eyes, it was possible to reconstruct proper music and dance in their own time, and thereby lead to a harmoniously established realm in the Ming. Therefore, these theorists often presented the results of the work to the court in an attempt to convince the Ming court to implement these ideas and to emulate the ancient music and dance.

Two notable examples are the illustrations of dances to be found in Han Bangqi's (1479–1556) *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo's Treatise on Music; preface 1504, but probably printed much later) and Li

Wencha's (dates unknown) (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* (Treatise on Music by Li [Wencha] Louyun [of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices]; preface 1545).⁵⁹ The illustrations in these two works are very similar to each other. The authors of these two works were scholar-officials who occupied important positions in the Ming court during the Jiajing reign. In 1547, Han Bangqi reached his highest position as Minister of War, though prior to that he had occupied various positions and had been discharged several times. He was famous for his knowledge of astronomy, geography, music, and military sciences. The music master Li Wencha was summoned to the court in 1536 and assigned the position of archivist in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichangsi dianbu*). In this function he presented several proposals to the throne, especially musical treatises with recommendations for the rectification of state sacrificial music.⁶⁰

Han Bangqi's work is the more extensive one of the two. He gives the movements for both the "Dawu" (Great Military) dance, with ax and shield as properties, and the "Daxia" (Great Benevolence) dance, with feather and flute as properties. For each dance there is one movement in forty positions, four in twenty-eight positions, four in forty-eight positions, and two in sixteen positions. (See figure 18 and figure 19 left.) Compared with the representations of dances for the Confucius ritual, these representations are very vivid and full of movement, but they are much more repetitive than the former ones. Moreover, they frequently represent the dancers from the back, the perspective of the scholar-official attending a state sacrifice. Except for the fixed scale (*lülü*) notation, there is no text or explanation added to these illustrations. In Han's own opinion, "With regard to the interpretation of dancing images, the explanations by scholars from past and present have been either far-reaching absurdities or mean vulgarities. That is why I do not dare to record them in this scheme. I only record their images as follows."⁶¹ The representations for the same dances in Li Wencha's treatise are less numerous, but they are accompanied by the notation of the basic movements "forward" (*jin*) and "backward" (*tui*) and the name of the movement, based on the reconstruction of ancient texts which the author appointed to the position. (See figure 19 right.)

Neither the work of Han Bangqi nor that of Li Wencha had any traceable effects on court ritual practices. These writings seem to have



18. Vivid representations of the martial dance “Dawu” (Great Military), many showing rear perspective. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music) (Nanjing: Wang Hong, [1548, preface dated 1504]), *juan* 11, p. 11b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/1328.



19A. Works showing similarities between representations of the civil dance “Daxia” (Great Benevolence). Han Bangqi’s 1548 work *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music), *juan* 11, p. 6b.



19B. Li Wencha’s work, “Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao” (Musical Harmonization in the Ming Palace of the Heir-Aparent), (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* (Treatise on Music by Li [Wencha] Louyun [of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices]), National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection microfilm, rolls 239(4)–240 [preface dated 1545], *juan* 2, p. 14a. Li Wencha’s work includes the basic movements of “forward” or “backward” and the name of each movement.

been more theoretical than practical. As vivid reminders of the tensions between theory and practice, orthodoxy and creativity, they represent Confucian and scholarly concerns to conduct research on ancient music and ancient dance and the efforts by scholars-officials to pursue the ideal state sacrifices.⁶²

ZHU ZAIYU'S RITUAL CHOREOGRAPHY

Though they did not produce concrete effects, the writings by Han Bangqi, Li Wencha, and other theorists were not left unnoticed by Zhu Zaiyu (1536–1611), the most important and most creative scholar of dance theory in late imperial China.⁶³ He was a descendant in the sixth generation of the fourth Ming emperor Zhu Gaochi (pinyin: Renzong, r. 1425), and he is therefore often mentioned as “Prince Tsai-yü” in eighteenth-century Western sources. His father Zhu Houwan (1518–1591) was a strict Confucianist who incurred the displeasure of the Jiajing emperor for submitting a memorial criticizing the emperor’s excessive observance of Daoist ceremonies and urging the emperor to reform his personal conduct. The prince was deposed and confined in the prison for convicted imperial clansmen at Fengyang in Anhui. Then fourteen years old, Zhu Zaiyu felt keenly the injustice endured by his father and signified his grief by living alone in a small cottage outside the gate of the ancestral palace for some seventeen years until 1567 when his father was released and restored to the principality. During his years of solitary living, Zhu Zaiyu devoted himself to study and, under the influence of his father, took a deep interest in works on the mathematical principles of music and the calendar.⁶⁴ He left approximately twenty-eight writings, mainly on mathematics, the calendar, and music, and is known for his discovery of the calculation of equal temperament (the formula $12\sqrt{2}$).⁶⁵

Two specific contexts played a role in Zhu’s accomplishments. The ritual reforms during the reign of the Jiajing emperor were the context in which Zhu Zaiyu passed his youth, and his texts can be considered a late blossom of the efforts to solve the problems of the 1530s. He himself acknowledged the lessons he learned from his father and other theorists who were active during the Jiajing era.⁶⁶ In addition, in 1606 Zhu Zaiyu presented the results of his work, the *Yuelü quanshu*

(Complete Work on Music) in 48 *juan*, to the court with the request that it be transmitted to the Directorate of Education and Hanlin Academy for investigation in the hope it would be put into practice.⁶⁷ This attempt reflects that in the early-seventeenth century, when the Ming empire was in institutional crisis, interest in music and dance theory was renewed. Revision of state sacrificial music was once again proposed as a means to help revive the collapsing empire.⁶⁸

The second context corresponds to the public life of Zhu Zaiyu at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Partly as a result of the debates on rituals during the Jiajing reign period, but more importantly as a reaction against the excessive intuitionist tendencies of the Wang Yangming (1472–1529) school, scholars cultivated an interest in philology and textual analysis, which was reflected in their study of words and the meaning of terms. This movement is often labeled “concrete and solid studies” (*shixue*), and Zhu Zaiyu’s treatises on music and dance belong to the same movement. Zhu Zaiyu regarded his studies as part of the effort to know better the past (*fugu*) so as to put it into practice in the present.⁶⁹ He was interested in the search for “solidity and principles,” not “appearances and adornment.”⁷⁰ In this regard it is important to underscore that scholars in the seventeenth century rarely limited their efforts to one domain: in the case of Zhu Zaiyu, mathematics, calendrical studies, music, dance, and rituals interposed each other.

The largest collection of Zhu Zaiyu’s writings, *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), consists of a variety of texts that treat diverse subjects related to music, dance, and ritual. The following four texts of various lengths are concerned more specifically dance, but that topic is also discussed elsewhere in *Complete Work on Music*.⁷¹

Lülü jingyi waipian (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), *ce* 10, *juan* 9 (pp. 72a–88b) and *juan* 10 (pp. 89a–123b).⁷² These two texts are two sequels to Zhu’s treatise on music *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality). The first contains a general discussion on dancing in ten sections, treating questions such as dance training, the names of dances, the instruments, and the number of dancers and their vestments. The second is a graphical representation of the positions of the

“Human Dance” (Renwu) for two dancers, following two types of dances—“Kangqu” (Crossroads) and “Yaomin” (The People of Yao)—with texts of Daoist inspiration from *Liezi* and *Zhuangzi*, and shows sixty-four positions in total, eight for each character of the lyric. (See figure 20.)

Liudai xiaowu pu (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties), *ce* 15, pp. 1a–104b.⁷³ After the presentation of the six dances and the dances with one, two, three, or four dancers, there are the illustrated notations for the six dances in the following order: “Human Dance,” “Phoenix Dance” (Huangwu), “Feather Dance” (Yuwu), “Banner Dance” (Fuwu), “Oxtail Flag Dance” (Maowu), “Shield Dance” (Ganwu). (For a sampling of these illustrations, see figure 21.)

Eryi zhuizhao tu (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers), *ce* 16, pp. 1–36.⁷⁴ This work comprises representations of the thirty-five positions of the feet for the left and right dancers (seventy positions in total), in a square with south, north, east, and west sectors. (For three of these positions, see figure 22.)

Lingxing xiaowu pu (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice), *ce* 17, pp. 1a–97b and *ce* 18, pp. 98a–153a.⁷⁵ Emperor Gao (r. 206–195 BCE) of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) ordered the establishment of Lingxing temples to sacrifice to Houji, minister of agriculture under the mythical emperor Shun. Zhu Zaiyu’s text first provides an explanation of the sacrifice, the positioning of the offerings, the musical instruments, and the tunes and then includes the representation of the dancers. The eight couples (pairs) carry the instruments used in agricultural activities: a sickle (*lian*) to weed out (*shanchu*), a shovel (*jue*) to open up wasteland (*kaiken*), a small spade (*qiao*) to plant (*zaizhong*), a hoe (*chu*) to remove weed (*yunnou*), a bamboo rod (*gan*) to dispel birds (*qujue*), a forked branch (*cha*) to harvest (*shouhuo*), a flail (*jia*) to thresh grain (*chongfu*), and a



20. One position in the “Kangqu” (Crossroads) dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music) [Zhengfan, Wanli era (1573–1620)], *ce* 10, *juan* 10, p. 91b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/278.



21A. Illustrated notations for “Banner Dance.”

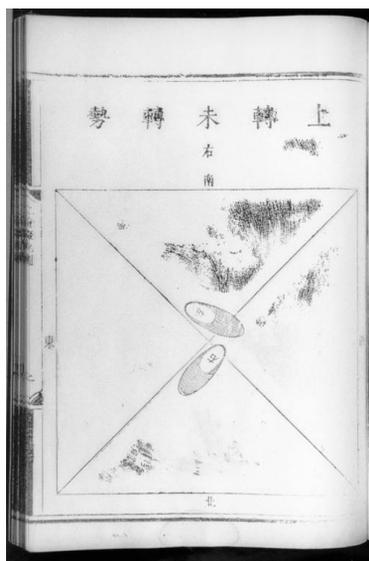


21B. Illustrated notations for “Phoenix Dance.”

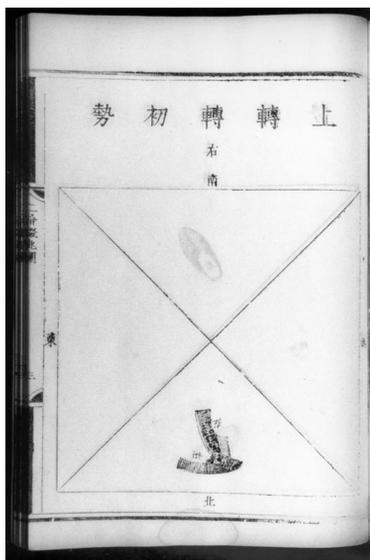


21C. Illustrated notations for “Human Dance.”

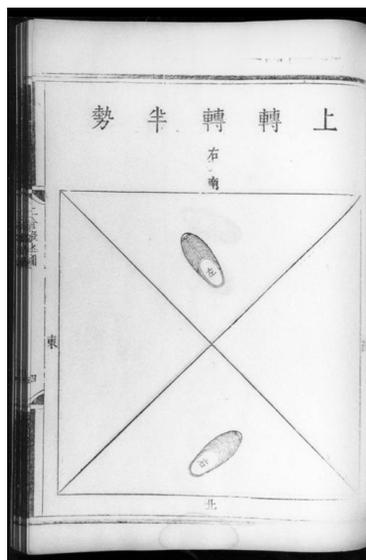
21A–C. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, *juan* 37, pp. 1b–2b. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/278.



22A. Preparatory position



22B.
Beginning
position.



22C.
Half-turn
position.

22A–C. First three positions of the feet of the dancer on the right in a dance with two persons. Zhu Zaiyu, *Eryi zhui Zhao tu* (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, pp. 2a, 3a, and 4a. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TA141/1328.

large spade (*xian*) to winnow (*boyang*). The collection thus includes eight series of thirty-two positions. (See figure 23.) Next follows (*ce* 18, pp. 153b–198b) the choreography of dances performed by a group of sixteen dancers without properties. They perform the so-called “character dance” (*ziwu*). With their bodies, the dancers trace one-by-one the characters in the phrase “*tian xia tai ping*” (all under Heaven is at peace), formations that are visible to the spectators on a podium.⁷⁶ (See figure 24.)

Zhu Zaiyu’s writings on dance share the two distinctive features of late-Ming writings on music theory.⁷⁷ They emphasize factual data, and they provide information on practical matters, such as notes on the performance of musical instruments and dances, including performance and notational illustrations. In this regard, Zhu Zaiyu’s work is one of the most complete of the writings under review here. His collection contains a bibliographical list of all classical works and dance treatises known at that time.⁷⁸ Moreover, Zhu Zaiyu did not limit himself in citing passages from the classics and making references to historical precedents. Zhu’s collection does more than merely present theoretical discussions such as can be found in the other Ming treatises. He himself insists that he “supplements what ancient scholars did not develop” and that his opinions “are considerably different from the ancient theories of previous scholars.”⁷⁹ As a result, his collection is a monument of theoretical creativity which proposes many new solutions for the choreography of ritual dances.

A comparison with the other Ming writings on dance, both those concerning the sacrifice to Confucius and proposals of reform of the state sacrifices, prove Zhu Zaiyu’s originality and creativity. He was the first to have discussed, described, and designed the dances in such detail—his writings contain over six hundred illustrations of dancing positions. Characteristically, Zhu presented a comprehensive approach in that he established the rules for combining the dancing with vocal and instrumental music. In doing so, he also created new choreographies.

For his classification of dances, Zhu Zaiyu refers to the terms *dawu* (major dances) and *xiaowu* (minor dances). This terminology goes back

23A.
Dance
with
hoe to
remove
weeds.



23B.
Dance
with
large
spade to
winnow.



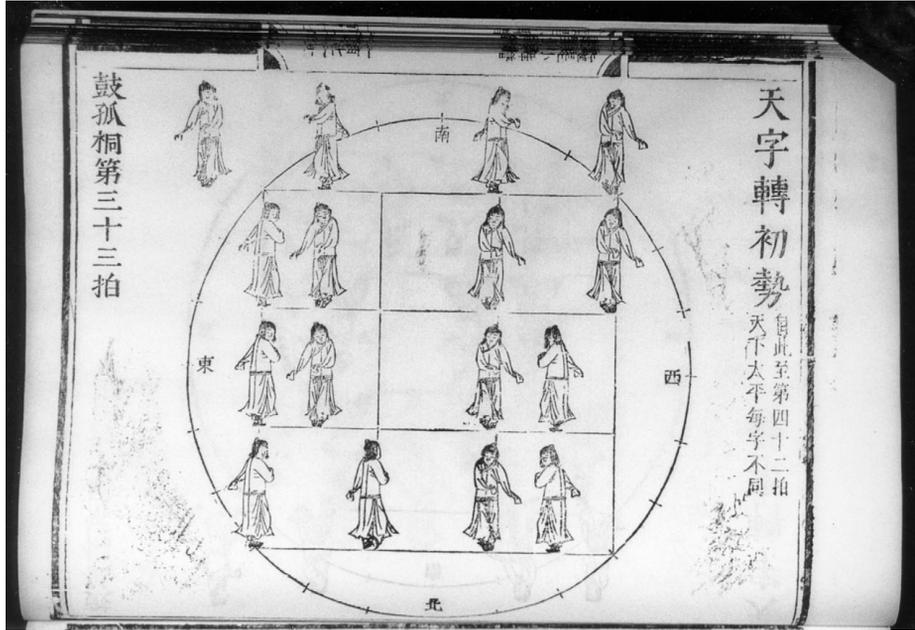
23C.
Sixth
position
of outer
move-
ment of
dance
with
bamboo
rod to
dispel
birds.



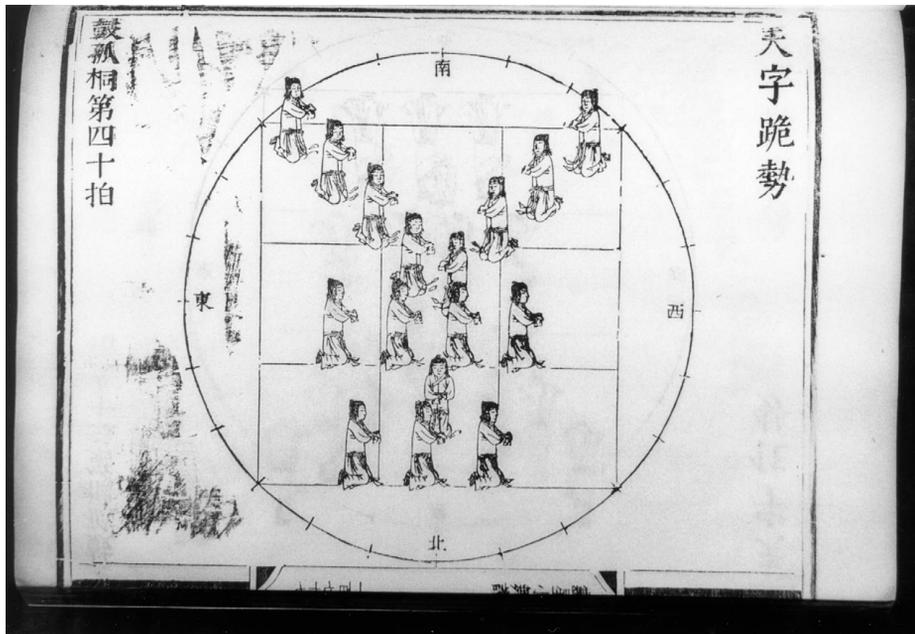
23D.
Third
position
of the
outer
move-
ment of
dance
with
hoe.



23A-D. Representation of dancers for the minor dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice: Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 17, pp. 15a, 17a, 62b, and 75a, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton rare book number TAI41/I328.

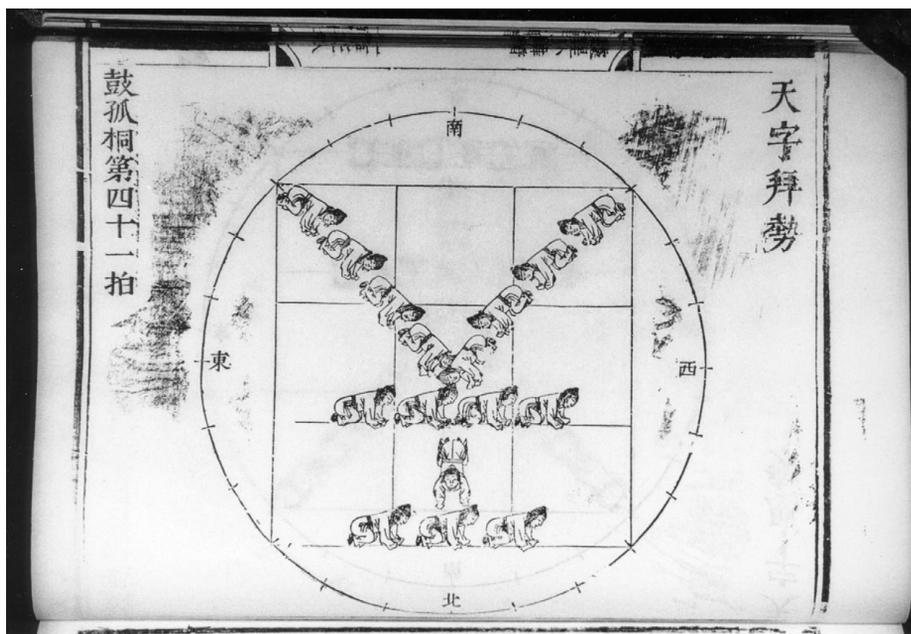


24A. Beat 33, beginning position.

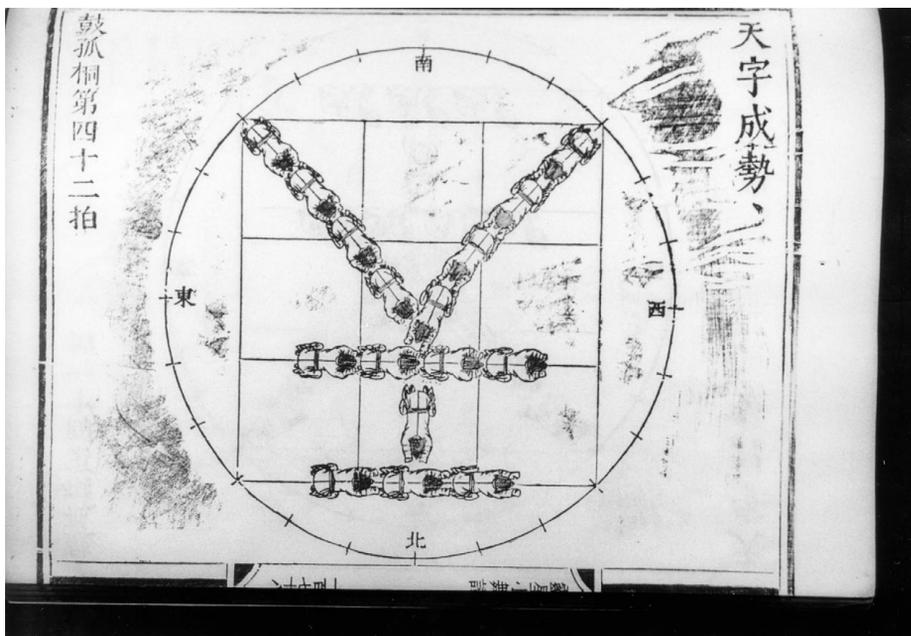


24B. Beat 40, kneeling position.

24A-D. Representation of dancers for four positions of the "character dance."
 Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice)



24C. Beat 41, prostrate position.



24D. Beat 42, final position.

in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 18, pp. 174a, 177b–178b, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.

to two passages in the *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou), a text to which most authors writing on dances refer. There, the chapter on the musician-in-chief (*dasiyue*) reads:

[The musician-in-chief] teaches the musical dances to the children of the state; they have them perform the dances called “Yunmen” (Gate of Clouds) and “Dajuan” (Great Reunion), [and those called] “Daxian” (Great Concord), “Dashao” (Great Succession), “Daxia” (Great Benevolence), “Dahu” (Great Protection), and “Dawu” (Great Military).⁸⁰

These terms refer to musical tunes that, according to tradition, were created by the founders of the first six imperial families and preserved by the Zhou (ca. eleventh century BCE–256 BCE). That is why they are often called the “dances of the six ancient dynasties” (*liudaiwu*). The first two are said to be composed by Huangdi and are usually identified as being one tune. The others are respectively from Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, and King Wu. The *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou) distinguishes the dances by the musical instruments that accompany the dance, the melody that one sings, and the respective divinities to which one offers a sacrifice. Although the *Rituals of Zhou* text itself does not contain the expression “(six) major dances,” this term was adopted later because the names of most of these dances contain the character “da” (major or great).

In the next chapter of *Rituals of Zhou*, entitled “Yueshi” (Music Master), there is a passage that reads,

[The music master] teaches the minor dances to the children of the state. Among the dances, there are the “Fuwu” (Banner Dance), the “Yuwu” (Feather Dance), the “Huangwu” (Phoenix Dance), the “Maowu” (Oxtail-Flag Dance), the “Ganwu” (Shield Dance), and the “Renwu” (Human Dance).⁸¹

This passage is usually explained by the Ming and Qing authors by making reference to the following passage in *Liji* (Book of Rites), chapter 10, “Neize” (The Pattern of the Family):

At the age of thirteen he practiced music, recited the Songs, and danced the “Zhuo” [of the Duke of Zhou]. As an adolescent

[between fifteen and nineteen years old], he danced the “Xiang” [of King Wu]. At the age of twenty, . . . he danced the “Daxia” (Great Benevolence) [of Yu].⁸²

On the basis of these sources, authors like Zhu Zaiyu noticed that the “minor” dances are those that one learns till the age of twenty. Next one learns the “major” dances.⁸³ More important is that he identified the “major” and “minor” dances.⁸⁴ In his eyes there is a perfect correspondence between the six major and six minor dances, which differ only by their names when the latter are performed by boys. The dances do not differ in their choreography. By identifying them this way, Zhu Zaiyu refutes the traditional understanding of “Yunmen” (Gate of Clouds) as a civil dance and classifies it as a martial dance.⁸⁵ His classification is shown in table 2. When Zhu Zaiyu wrote his treatise, he knew but one limited description of the choreography of the “Human Dance” as represented in the *Collected Rituals of the Great Ming*.⁸⁶ (See figure 25.) Zhu Zaiyu created the full choreography of this dance and reconstructed the choreography of the other dances on the basis of the “Human Dance.” In addition, he reinstated the original properties. In the *Da Ming*

TABLE 2: ZHU ZAIYU’S CLASSIFICATION OF MAJOR AND MINOR DANCES

TYPE	MINOR DANCES	MAJOR DANCES	ATTRIBUTE	SOVEREIGN
civil dance <i>wenwu</i>	Human Dance “Renwu”	Entire Generosity “Xianchi”	without attribute	Yao
	Phoenix Dance “Huangwu”	Great Succession “Dashao”	vertical bamboo flute <i>xiao</i>	Shun
	Feather Dance “Yuwu”	Great Benevolence “Daxia”	pheasant feather <i>di</i> and short flute <i>yue</i>	Yu
military dance <i>wuwu</i>	Banner Dance “Fuwu”	five-colored “Yunmen”	flag <i>wucaizeng</i>	Huangdi
	Oxtail flag Dance “Maowu”	Great Protection “Dahu”	flag with oxtails set up at the top of its staff <i>yumao</i>	Tang
	Shield Dance “Ganwu”	Great Military “Dawu”	shield <i>gan</i> and ax <i>qi</i>	Wu Wang



25. Illustration of dancer in the “Renwu” (Human Dance), showing full movement. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming) (1530), *juan* 50, p. 23b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/1623.

jili (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), the “Phoenix Dance,” “Banner Dance,” and Oxtail-flag Dance” had a *jie* (a banner made of knots) as property, which he replaced with a vertical bamboo flute, a five-colored flag, and a flag with oxtails set up at the top of its staff, respectively.⁸⁷

There are numerous examples of how Zhu Zaiyu created while transmitting. Referring to the image of the “Human Dance” in the *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), an image showing a dancer in full movement, he remarks that contemporary dancers at official ceremonials abstain from ample (*shu*) and turning (*zhuan*) movements, characteristics that are present in this ancient representation. (See figure 25 above.) This modification was introduced during the Eastern Han (25–220) when King Ding of Changsha (r. 155–129) and later also Tao Qian (132–194) changed the choreography by having the dancers stand straight in a fixed place and move their hands only rather than their entire bodies. The Han condemned these simplifications. Thus, considering them to be mistakes, Zhu Zaiyu reinstated the full-body movements.⁸⁸

The importance of movement also appears in the new dance vocabulary that Zhu Zaiyu created.⁸⁹ Each choreography is divided into four movements—upward movement (*shangzhuan*), downward movement (*xiazhuan*), outward movement (*waizhuan*), and inward movement (*neizhuan*)—to which he attaches a specific moral value, that is, one of the Four Principles (*siduan*), i.e. humaneness (*ren*), duty (*yi*), propriety (*li*), and wisdom (*zhi*). (For depictions of two of the movements, see figure 26.) Each movement itself is divided into eight positions or postures (*shi*), to each of which he again attaches a moral value, one of the Five Constants and Three Bonds (*wuchang sangang*).⁹⁰ The beat is marked with the *chongdu* instrument.⁹¹ (See figure 27.) Each beat (*chong*) coincides with one of the characters *fei* of the *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius) quotation “*fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting, fei li wu yan, fei li wu dong*” (Look not at what is contrary to propriety, listen not to what is contrary to propriety, speak not what is contrary to propriety, make no movement which is contrary to propriety) (*Lunyu*, 12.1). (For the series of eight positions for the upward movement, see figure 28.) In other words, dancers were supposed to memorize this text and change position



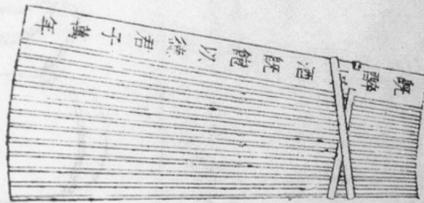
26A. Complete turn posture in the downward movement of the “Phoenix Dance.”



26B. Looking upward posture in the inward movement of the “Human Dance.”

26A–B. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 29b and 23b, respectively. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.

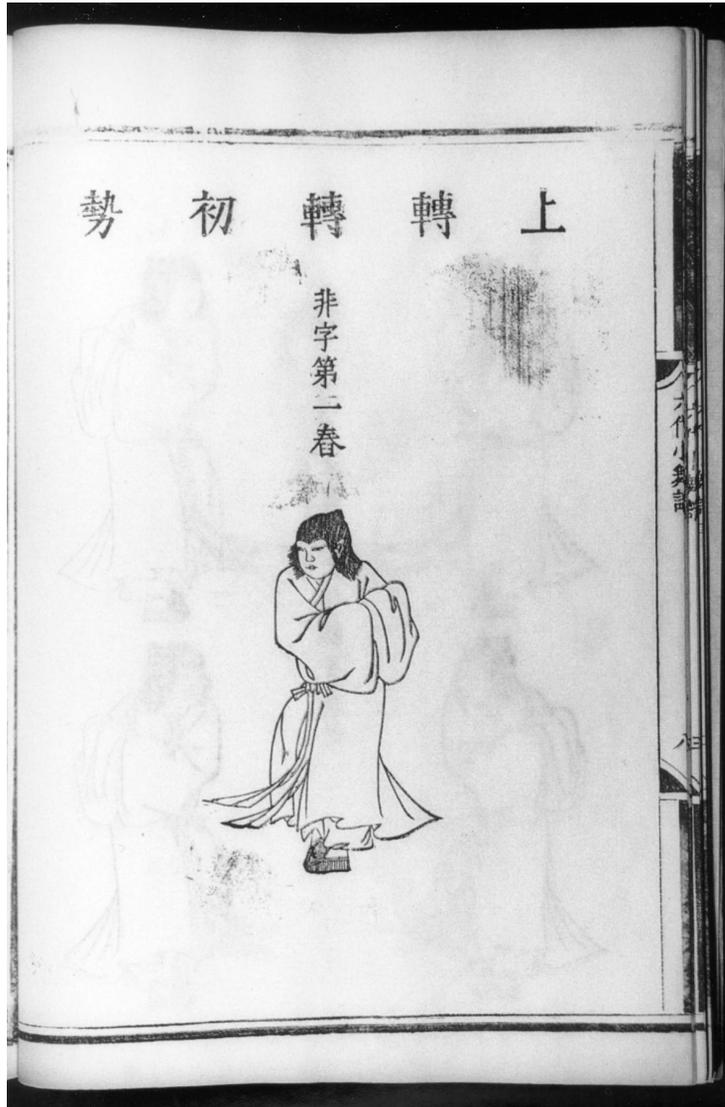
春牘小樣



舊說先鼓以警戒者鞀鼓也會守拊鼓者應鼓也治亂以相者
 味鼓也亦疾以雅者雅鼓也周禮所謂春牘應雅是也太常寺

春牘之為器猶今拍
 板也以竹為之形如
 竹簡凡十二枚廣一
 寸長一尺二寸上端
 二寸之下兩旁各有
 一孔孔長二分聯以
 皮條右手摠握上端
 而以下端撻於左手
 掌中是故不曰擊而
 曰春非春築於地也

27. The *chongdu* instrument marks the beat of the dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Xiaowu xiangyue pu* (Musical Notations for the Minor Dances), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, p. 32b. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TA141/278.



28A. Beginning.

28A-H. Positions for the eight beats of the upward movement of the human dance. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient



28B. Half turn.

Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 8b–12a. Photographs of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TAI41/278.



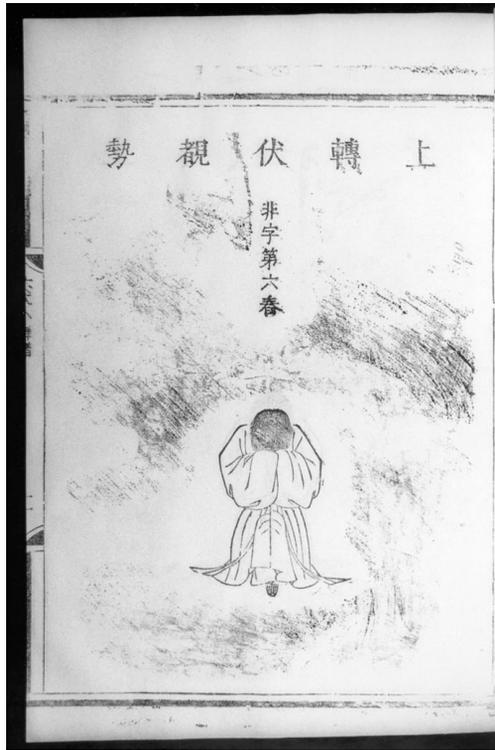
28c. Complete turn.



28d. Passing.



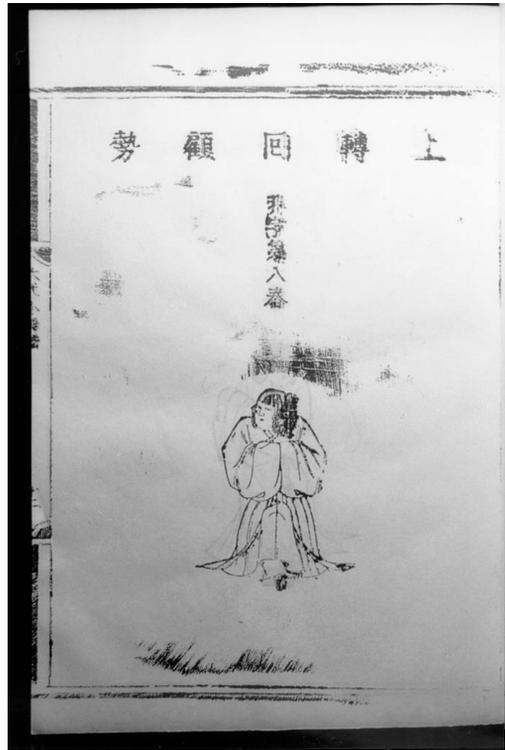
28E. Pausing.



28F. Looking downward.



28G. Looking upward.



28H. Looking backward.

at each *fei* character. This system of beats illustrates well that each position was followed by a pause, which was made possible because ritual music was rather slow. Zhu was the only one who so explicitly linked the ethical values and norms to dances, and thus his system of dances appears to create a “spacialization” of ethics.

Zhu Zaiyu did not limit himself to an analysis of the movements of the body; he also analyzed in great detail the positioning of the feet. Zhu is the only one of all dance illustrators who has included the precise positions of the feet. He represents these positions in a square divided into four triangles, each corresponding to one of the four wind-directions. (See figure 22 above.) In the course of assuming the thirty-two positions of one movement, dancers make a complete tour of the four directions. Further, for each position, Zhu Zaiyu also shows which foot is in *dao* (on tiptoe), *ta* (resting on the heel), or immobile position. (See figures 20 and 22 above.) The whole of his dancing theory can be summarized in the following table. (For the Chinese text of table 3, see appendix 1.)

Although Zhu Zaiyu divided a dance into four “movements,” this overview shows that the key to Chinese ritual dance is not its movement, but rather it is the positions which correspond to real “pauses.” During these pauses, the dancer does not “move” but rather remains static as long as the musical tone and the chanting of the corresponding word of the poem last. This succession of pauses can be compared with the concept of “rhythm” in early Greek texts. *Rhythmoi* were originally the “positions” that the human body was to assume in the course of a dance. Pauses thus defined the very heart of the idea of rhythm. It was the still stance that was significant; movements were mere transitions.⁹² One possible explanation for the early development of printed choreographies in China is that the illustrations do not attempt to seize movements but rather fix on paper this “frozen moment” in dance transformation.

Zhu Zaiyu’s works on dancing include many other subtle novelties. For instance, he created the notion of the “study of dance” (*wuxue*) and presented its basic curriculum.⁹³ Another detail introduced by Zhu Zaiyu was to reject a scarf so commonly carried by young dancers since it is not mentioned in the Zhou system.⁹⁴ Finally one has to underscore

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF ZHU ZAIYU'S DANCE THEORY

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	MORAL VALUE
0	upward	preparatory		center	
1	upward	beginning	tiptoe	north	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	upward	half turn	heel	north and south	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	upward	complete turn	heel	south	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	upward	passing	tiptoe	south	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	upward	stop	heel	south and north	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	upward	looking downward	immobile	south and north	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	upward	looking upward	immobile	south and north	loving care for one's father
8	upward	looking backward	immobile	south and north	harmonious obedience to one's husband
1	downward	beginning	tiptoe	north	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	downward	half turn	heel	north	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	downward	complete turn	heel	north	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	downward	passing	tiptoe	north	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	downward	stop	heel	north and south	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	downward	looking downward	immobile	north and south	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	downward	looking upward	immobile	north and south	loving care for one's father
8	downward	looking backward	immobile	north and south	harmonious obedience to one's husband

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	MORAL VALUE
1	outward	beginning	tiptoe	south	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	outward	half turn	heel	south and east*	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	outward	complete turn	heel	east	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	outward	passing	tiptoe	east	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	outward	stop	heel	east and west	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	outward	looking downward	immobile	east and west	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	outward	looking upward	immobile	east and west	loving care for one's father
8	outward	looking backward	immobile	east and west	harmonious obedience to one's husband
1	inward	beginning	tiptoe	west	humaneness that experiences compassion
2	inward	half turn	heel	west	sense of duty that experiences shame
3	inward	complete turn	heel	west	truthfulness that expresses sincerity
4	inward	passing	tiptoe	west	wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong
5	inward	stop	heel	west and east	propriety that knows to decline and yield
6	inward	looking downward	immobile	west and east	venerable respect for one's ruler
7	inward	looking upward	immobile	west and east	loving care for one's father
8	inward	looking backward	immobile	west and east	harmonious obedience to one's husband
0		stable		center	
0		end		center	

*East for the dancer on the left and west for the dancer on the right, and inversely.

the elegant graphic quality of the more than six hundred illustrations that are included in his work.⁹⁵

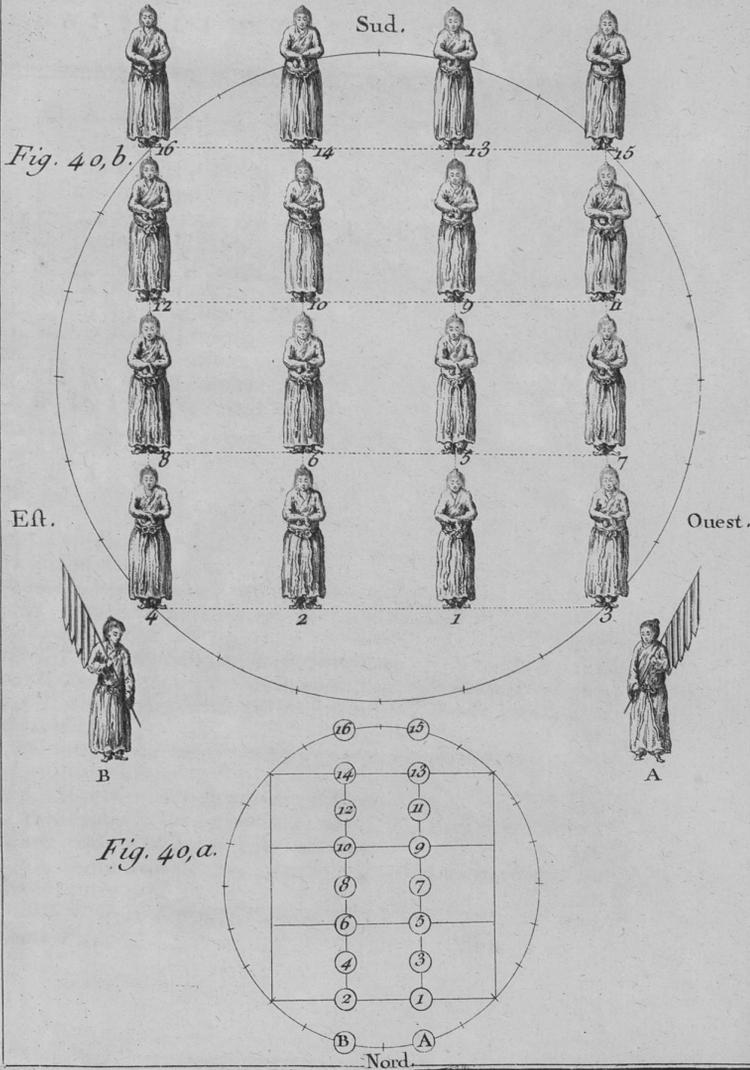
Zhu Zaiyu had hoped that his ritual reforms would contribute to saving the dynasty, but his proposals were a failed attempt. They produced no effect toward reforming the dances. The *Official History of the Ming*, in revisiting the history of musical transformations, points out that after the reforms made during the Hongwu and the Jiajing reign periods, there were no major changes in the ceremonials of the state sacrifices. It criticizes the writings of scholars like Han Bangqi and Huang Zuo as “empty talk.” It also lists all of the more or less innovative proposals that had been made by scholars like Li Wencha and Zhu Zaiyu. In the final years of the dynasty, during the Chongzhen reign (1628–1644), new proposals submitted in 1633 and 1641 by Huang Ruliang (1586 *jinshi*) were accepted for further examination, but they did not succeed in being implemented.”⁹⁶

Although his was a failed attempt at renewal, Zhu Zaiyu’s work remained a scholarly reference on dance in the next centuries. It also caught the attention of the Jesuit Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793), the first European to write extensively on Chinese ritual dances for publication in Europe. The illustrations of Zhu Zaiyu’s dances were first included in the 1780 publication *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, etc. des Chinoise*.⁹⁷ (See figure 29.) In addition Amiot sent a total of more than fourteen hundred pages of copies of Zhu Zaiyu’s dance illustrations to Europe.⁹⁸

IMPERIAL PATRONAGE OF DANCE NOTATIONS

Not until the Qianlong reign were serious changes to affect the dances of the state sacrifices. It was not so, however, that the Shunzhi (1644–1661) and Kangxi (1662–1722) emperors were unconcerned about the state sacrifices. The Shunzhi court took over the Ming system and, by insisting on rehearsals, tried to increase the quality of the music and dancing performances. These decisions also affected the sacrifices to Confucius. In the first year of the Shunzhi reign, it was decided that “every year on the first *ding* day of the second and eighth month, all provinces, prefectures, sub-prefectures, and districts should perform the

Arrangement des Danseurs chantant l'Hymne.



29. Earliest engraving of Chinese dancers published in Europe. Initial position of the character dance. *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, des Chinois*, vol. 6 (Paris: Nyon, 1790), figure 30. Photograph from the exemplar in the collection of the library of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (former Jesuit collection).

sacrifices to the First Teacher; local officials should preside. The setting and the ceremonial itself should be completely the same as in the Directorate of Education (Guozijian).”⁹⁹ Moreover, like the founder of the Ming, both the Shunzhi emperor (in 1651) and the Kangxi emperor (in 1667, 1675, and 1681) sent personal messengers to Queli to perform the sacrifices to Confucius. During his eastern tour in 1684, the Kangxi emperor performed the ritual in person. The repercussions of this visit indicate the low regard that the center of the empire held for the rituals as performed at this major place of honor for Confucius and perhaps also hint at the real decline in ritual practice as reflected in the representation of dances by the early-Qing scholars:

The musical texts used in Queli are slightly different from the ones of the national academies, and it is to be feared that the musicians are not very skilled. Therefore, it is ordered that the Court of Imperial Sacrifices consider sending officials in charge of music, as well as musicians and dancers, to travel speedily in advance to instruct and train them; as for the vestments of the musicians, let the vestments used by the musicians at the imperial academy in Beijing be taken with them to be used [in Queli] in order to make the ceremony more radiant and solemn.¹⁰⁰

About forty years later, in 1724 during the reign of the Yongzheng emperor, there were still complaints about the diversity of the performances. “The melodies played at Queli are inharmonious.” Therefore, it was ordered that several people be selected to go to the Court of Imperial Sacrifice for a proper training in the correct ways of performance. They then could in turn transmit these to others. In the next year it was also decided to have a book printed on the ritual and musical instruments to be used in Confucian temples in the provinces, so that all places could make them uniform according to the design.¹⁰¹ In 1733 and 1734, the court issued several instructions to restore the buildings of the Confucian temples in the prefectures and districts and also to repair the ritual instruments.¹⁰² In addition, the Yongzheng reign paid special attention to the selection of the dancers who were to perform in the different localities. Characteristic of these decisions is that dancers (and musicians) should not only be selected through examination but should

be regularly submitted to tests in order to prove their aptitude. In 1727, for instance, it was ordered that the musicians and dancers of the Qufu district be tested, that those incompetent should be eliminated, and that others be added to maintain the total number at 154. In 1735, a similar order was proclaimed for all sub-prefectures and districts. The teaching officers should carefully test the handsome boys of the locality. “Only those who understand music and who are skillful in ceremonials should be maintained and trained further.”¹⁰³

These examples show the subtle interplay between the major centers of sacrifices to Confucius with regard to codification: the Court of Imperial Sacrifice as training center, the imperial academies as norm for the other localities, and the Confucian temple in Queli as preferential place of attention. The attempts by the center to control the rituals in the periphery were certainly not new for the Qing. The increasing number of references to these attempts of control, however, as well as the wider spread of printing which made attempts of codification and unification of ritual more likely, seems to indicate that the imperial regulation of rituals became more intensified.

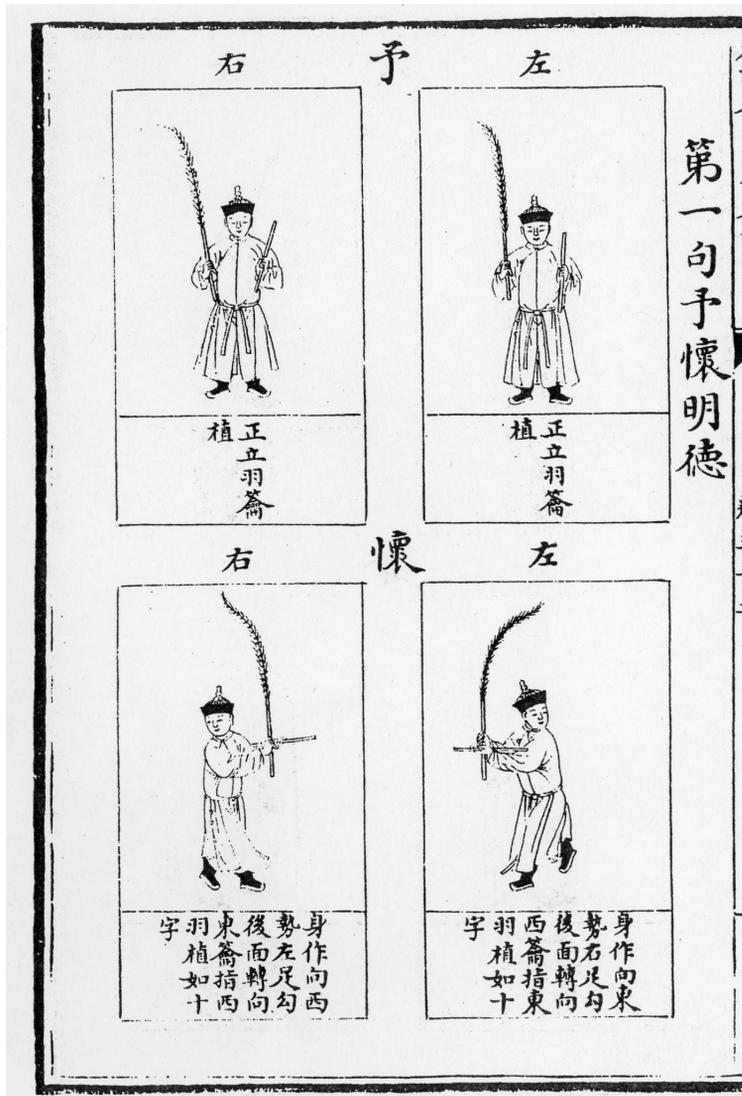
These attempts at standardization did not pertain to rituals only. The last twenty years of the Kangxi reign are known for the major compilations, and thereby regulation, of some major branches of knowledge. One of these was (*Yuzhi*) *Lüli yuanyuan* ([Imperially Commissioned] Source of Pitch Pipes and Calendar) ordered by the emperor himself in 1713 and printed in 1723. It comprised three major treatises: one on calendar, *Lixiang kaocheng* (Compendium of Computational and Observational Astronomy) in 42 *juan*; one on mathematics, *Shuli jingyun* (Essential Principles of Mathematics) in 53 *juan*; and one on music, *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) in 5 *juan*. Compared to the extent of the other two collections, the last was a rather small collection, though it contained some major proposals for musical innovation, including Western musical notation.¹⁰⁴ However, it did not contain any proposal for reform in dance choreography. The topic of dances did receive considerable attention in the *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (The Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia) compiled by Chen Menglei (b. 1651, 160 *jinshi*) during the Kangxi reign and published during the Yongzheng reign. Dances are arranged under headings titled “Jingjihui”

(Political Economy), “Yuelü dian” (Music),” and “Wubuhui” (Dance) in *juan* 85 through 90. The work extensively quotes Zhu Zaiyu’s treatises on dances, especially *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) and also reproduces the representations of the choreography of the human dance for two dancers. Part of the information on dances is also taken from Wang Qi’s *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Three Powers).¹⁰⁵

The decisions concerning rituals at large, and dances more specifically, made during the early-Qianlong reign can be linked to the wider context of these compilations and also to the institutional reforms, especially the establishment of the Ministry of Music mentioned earlier. The two key figures in this regard were Zhang Zhao (1691–1745) and Yinlu (alternate name Yunlu, 1695–1767), the second Prince Zhuang. Yinlu was on good terms with both the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors. Having studied mathematics and music, he was ordered by the Yongzheng emperor to head the commission to re-edit and print *Lülü yuanyuan* (Source of Pitch-pipes and Calendar), and perhaps also the *Gujin tushu jicheng* (The Chinese Encyclopaedia), in which function he was entrusted with the task of erasing names, in particular of Prince Yinzhi (1677–1732), who had been involved in both projects, and of others also. Zhang Zhao was an official, painter, and calligrapher, who in 1740 was made a vice-minister of the Ministry of Punishment and two years later minister of the same ministry and concurrently in charge of the Office of State Music. In 1741 Yinlu and Zhang Zhao were commissioned to revise and enlarge the *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) and were also appointed supervisors in the Ministry of Music. The result was a much more extensive work in 120 *juan* entitled *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), published in 1746 and to which a supplement in 8 *juan* was added in 1789. In this collection, dances occupy an important place, filling (together with the corresponding musical annotation) thirty-five *juan* in total.¹⁰⁶ The work begins by reporting in its introduction the acknowledgment by the Qianlong emperor that some of the reforms initiated by his ancestor the Kangxi emperor had not succeeded in getting ritual music right and continues by relating the discussions that took place at Qianlong’s command between 1741 and 1746, especially on the problem

of the relationship between the lengths of textual and musical lines.¹⁰⁷ There is a direct link between the original idea of composing the notation for dances and the dance compositions by Zhu Zaiyu. The *Qinghuidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing) reports that in 1742 an imperial decree stated that “Zhu Zaiyu’s music book and other books contain dance notation, but the dance system of our court has not been recorded.” The emperor was wondering which should be included in books and had the imperial edict transferred to Yinlu and Zhang Zhao for execution. “In obedience to this decree, the dance notations have been compiled for the music and dance of the major and middle sacrifices in 30 *juan* and have been added to the *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* so to have them transmitted to posterity as fixed norms.”¹⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that these proposals were made in counterpoint to Zhu Zaiyu’s texts, thereby also ignoring them.

Lülü zhengyi houbian (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) is the first text to prescribe the choreography of the state sacrifices dances in significant detail. More than thirty *juan* include the detailed notation of music, lyrics, and dance for all major state sacrifices. Moreover, in addition to the imperial sacrifice to Confucius, the collection contains the choreography of the dances at the sacrifice to Confucius in the provinces, which are treated in a separate section. It may be useful to compare the illustrations of ritual dance in this 1746 work with the illustrations found in earlier published works. The general structure of *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* is the same as that of the earliest Ming writings. Each oblation is illustrated with three series of thirty-two positions. (See figure 30) The representations follow the order of the lyric, a character of which is given at each position. The text of these lyrics, however, is different from the early-Qing texts, which preserved the Ming style. The lyrics had been changed by order of the Kangxi emperor, and one of the aims of the *Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes* was to produce new versions of the dances that included the necessary complementary alterations to the music.¹⁰⁹ The positions are given for the dancers on both the left and right sides. Each position is also accompanied by an explanation, the grammar of which is based partly on the previous technical terminology and partly on new vocabulary. The framed-page layout of the illustrations and the text gives the



30. Notations for dancers in local Confucian ceremonies, authored by the Qianlong emperor. Yinlu and Zhang Zhao et al., eds., *Yuzhi lülü zhengyi houbian* (Imperially Composed Sequel to the

文廟直省春祭初獻舞譜

秋祭用涼
帽舞式同

左就
班式



右就
班式



左右班各一十八人各繪其一以例其餘

欽定四庫全書

御製律呂正義後編

二

Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes) (1746), *juan* 32, pp. 2a–b, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the *Guoli gugong bowuyuan* in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 216.

dance representations a more formalized feeling than in previously published representations.

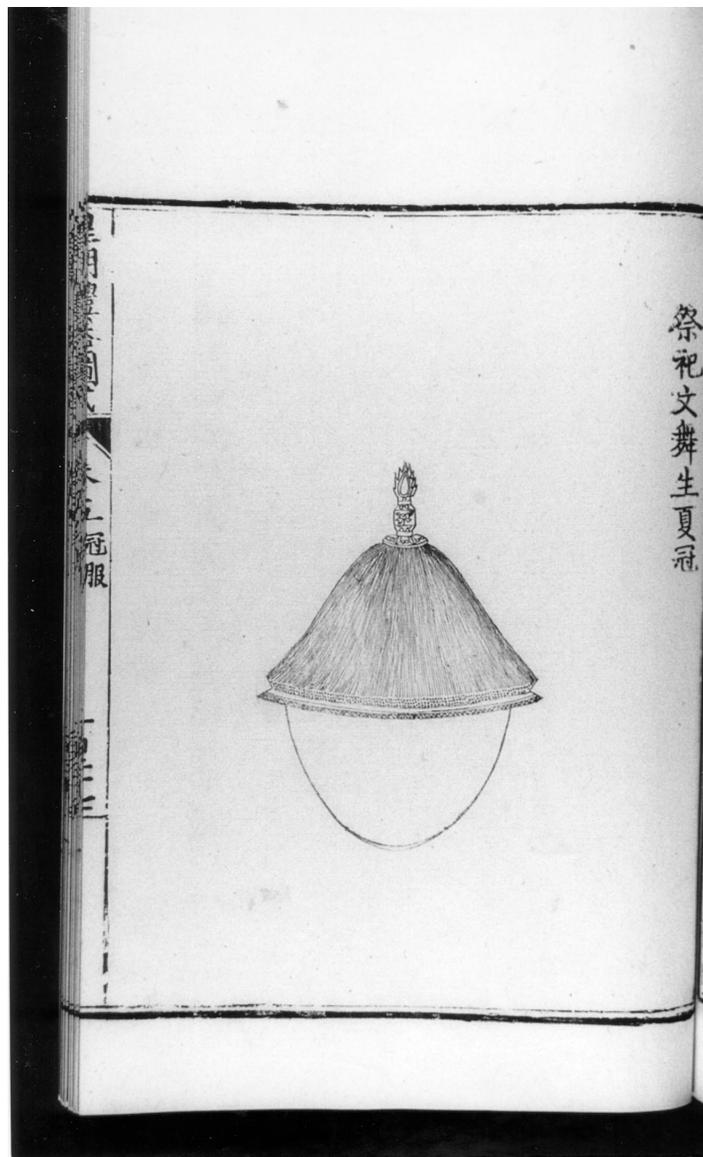
Another important work in terms of ritual codification, *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), also was compiled by Yinlu and first completed in 1759 with a revision published in 1766.¹¹⁰ This work, which covers a wide range of ritual objects, including sacrificial vessels, robes, musical instruments, and insignia used in the ceremonies of the reigning dynasty, also includes illustrations of costumes and properties for the dancers. (See figure 31.) In addition to the instruments used by dancers, illustrations of which also appear in many other writings, the treatise includes the illustrations for the summer and winter gowns and caps for the civil and martial dancers.¹¹¹

The changes in the choreography of dances proposed by the Qianlong emperor without doubt followed earlier precedents and therefore may not have been very radical. They were certainly more significant than the limited musical reforms carried out under his reign.¹¹² Moreover, the fact that for the first time the dance choreography was recorded by imperial decree meant that the dances had a special impact. These writings were not just theoretical exercises, but were destined for immediate implementation. In the same years as the production of the *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), Yinlu, who was also in charge of the Office for the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes (*Lülü zhengyi guan*), the office that produced this work, requested that the Ministry of Rites be allowed to inspect the musical and ritual practices at Queli. Next, proclamation was issued that the new musical scores decided upon by the emperor were to be implemented, first in Queli and then in the schools all over the empire.¹¹³ At the same time there was an intensified codification of the dancers. In line with the regulations of the Yongzheng reign, the new regulations insist on the examination and testing of the candidates, now often called “Confucians initiates” (*Rutong*), prior to their enrollment. A regulation of 1743 explicitly refers to the fact that the identities of musicians and dancers had often been mixed up or that their functions had often been transmitted from father to son without checking whether the successors indeed had sufficient qualifications. Another important decision made the preceding year was to divide the musicians and dancers of the Court of

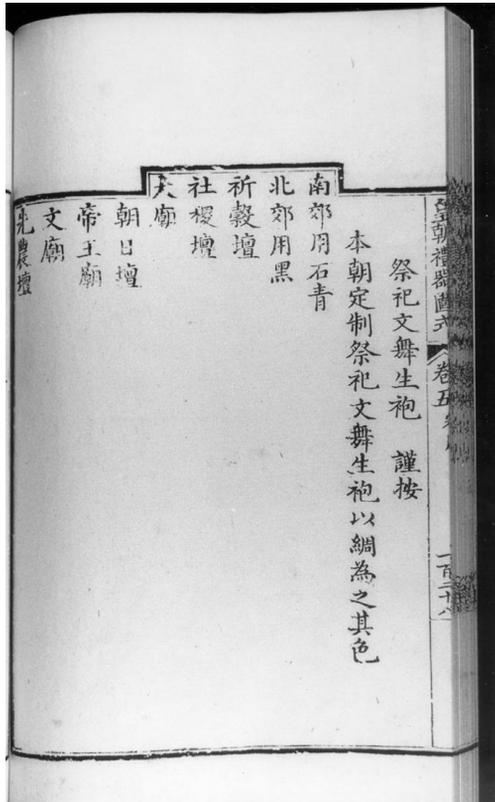
Imperial Sacrifices into three hierarchical classes: the first were the musicians, next the dancers, and next the subordinate musicians and dancers. These distinctions were manifested in the vestments and caps. The classification was also to be applied accordingly in the Confucian temples in the provinces.¹¹⁴

At the local level, implementation of the new regulations governing ritual sacrifices involved some interpretation, adjustments, and initiatives. In 1747, the Qianlong emperor sent Zhang Yuesheng (dates unknown), music director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, to Queli to teach the new music and choreography. Because he felt that some poses for rites to be celebrated on the occasion of the emperor's visit in 1748 were too difficult, Zhang decided to teach a simpler version of the dances using the dancing notation of the imperial academy. About fifteen years later, Kong Jifen (1725–1786), a descendant of Confucius, was of the opinion that what Zhang Yuesheng had taught did not fully correspond to the norms of *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). Thus, in order to have the dances in Qufu exercised more strictly in accordance to the new rules, Kong Jifen had a work entitled *Wupu* (Dance Notation) in one *juan* published.¹¹⁵ This step taken by Kong Jifen, who seems to have had a keen interest in dance, shows that illustrations in printed works could effectively serve as norms by which to correct ritual practice. Yet, it certainly took a long time before the changes were introduced in all places of the realm. In 1772, for instance, there was a decree complaining that the Confucius temple in Shengjing (i.e. Shenyang) was still using “popular drums and music.” Therefore it was ordered that the local officials should have the musical instruments, dance implements, and costumes made in compliance with the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), and that the numbers of musicians and dancers should follow the regulations used in Queli. In addition, those knowledgeable in music should be sent to the Court of Imperial Sacrifices for proper training, and upon their return to their own school, they should transmit what they have learned to others.¹¹⁶ Without doubt, the complete implementation of ritual, and especially of the reforms to ritual dances, took a long time.

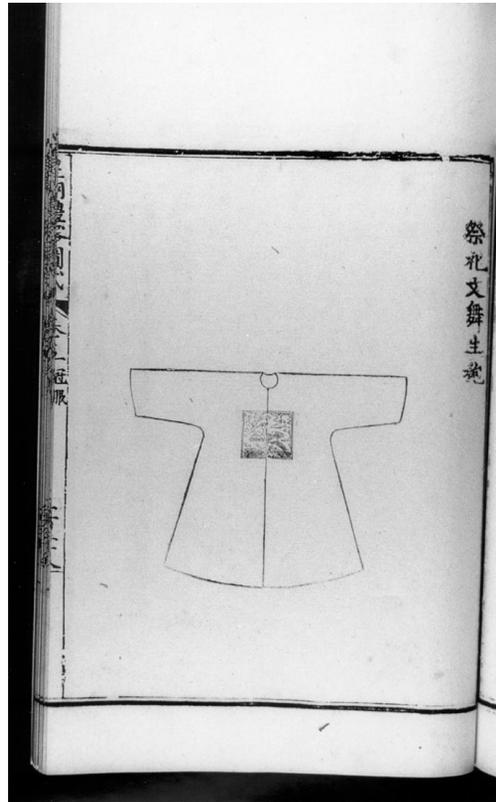
Extant sources on ritual dancers or dancing published in the first half of the nineteenth century are few. However, the larger number of



31A. Summer cap worn by civil dancers. Yinlu et al., comp., *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), 18 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1766), *juan* 5, p. 127a. Photograph of the exemplar in the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton, rare book number TB287/1925.



31B. Text specifying the style, fabric, and color of the vestment worn by for civil dancers. Ibid., p. 128b.



31C. Design of the vestment for civil dancers. Ibid., p. 128a.

publications on these topics extant from the second half of that century seems to indicate a renewed interest in the rituals in honor of Confucius. In general, there were three types of publications. The first group has authors whose scholarly interests were similar to those of the mid-Ming and early-Qing scholars writing about ritual. The works were general treatises on the rituals and music, such as Yan Shusen and Xu Changda's compilation *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Record of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance; pref. 1863; facsimile reprint 1871); or on rituals in the Confucian temple, such as Lan Zhongrui's (fl. 1836–1845) *Wenmiao dingji pu* (Notations for the Ding Sacrifice in the Confucian Temple; 1845); and Liu Kunyi's (1830–1902) *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao* (Reference Materials for the Music for the First-Ding Ritual in the Confucian Temple; preface 1870).¹¹⁷ (See figures 32a, 32b, and 32c, respectively.) Others are records of the ritual practices linked to a given place. For example, for Tangyi in Shandong province there is the work *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Music and Dance of the Ceremonials for Confucius in the Local School in Qingyi, Illustrated and Explained), edited by Yang Yizeng (1787–1856) and with a preface dated 1851.¹¹⁸ (See figure 33a.) And for Qufu there is a work entitled *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), originally attributed to Kong Shangren (1648–1718), with prefaces dated 1716 and 1887.¹¹⁹ (See figure 33b.) The dancing choreographies of these writings all copy closely the Qianlong norms as given in the section on the sacrifice to Confucius in the provinces found in the *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). This evidence demonstrates how more than one hundred years after the proclamation of these norms, they were accepted as orthodox ways of practicing the rituals.

The second type of writings is the choreography manual (*wupu*), a short booklet of no more than twenty-five folded pages that contain only the dance choreography. They were specific to the ritual practice of a single place, e.g. in Qingjiang in Jiangxi, Dingzhou in Zhili, or Fuzhou in Fujian.¹²⁰ (See figures 34a, 34b, and 34c, respectively.) With minor exceptions, these texts also copy faithfully the Qianlong instructions. These booklets are of particular importance, especially because this author has located no similar examples dating from earlier periods. They are the tangible remnants of an attempt to implement the norms, not

第一成

予
正立羽
籥植



懷
身作向內勢兩足勾後面轉
向外籥指內封植如十字



32A. Mid- to late-nineteenth century general treatises on ritual that closely copy the Qianlong-era norms. Yan Shusen and Xu Changda, comp., *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance) ([1863]; Chubei:

Chongwen shuju, 1871; facsimile rpt. [Hong Kong]:

n.p., [1970?]), *juan xia*, p. 2a.

第一成

予
正立羽
籥植



懷
身作向內勢內足勾後面轉
向外籥指內羽植如十字



文
明
一
冬
普

卷
四
之
一

三

醴
陵
縣

32B. Lan Zhongrui et al., *Wenmiao dingji pu* (1845), *juan* 4a, p. 69a, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 923.

第一成

予正立羽
籥植



懷身作向內勢內足勾後面轉
向外籥指內羽植如十字



32c. Liu Kunyi, *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao* [Hong Kong: Yilizhai, 1870], *juan* 4, pp. 1-24. Photocopy of the exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788/2336.



33A. Late-nineteenth century records of ritual practice in a specific locale. Tangyi, Shandong [ca. 1851] Yang Yizeng, ed., *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Qingyi: n.p., [preface dated 1851]), ce 5, p. 5b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.8/3333.



33B. Qufu, Shandong. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), [preface dated 1716; preface of reprint dated 1887], p. 23b, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), "Shizhi" (Historical Records), p. 160.

明



朝上左足著地，右足加於左足，合齋到三拍上蹲。

予



朝上左足上前跪，右足隨踏，身微躬，起右手於肩，垂左手於下，旋向外舞。

德



朝上，起左手於肩，垂右手於下。

開右足向東蹲，起左手於肩，垂右手於下，隨將右足轉身加於左足，身向東側。

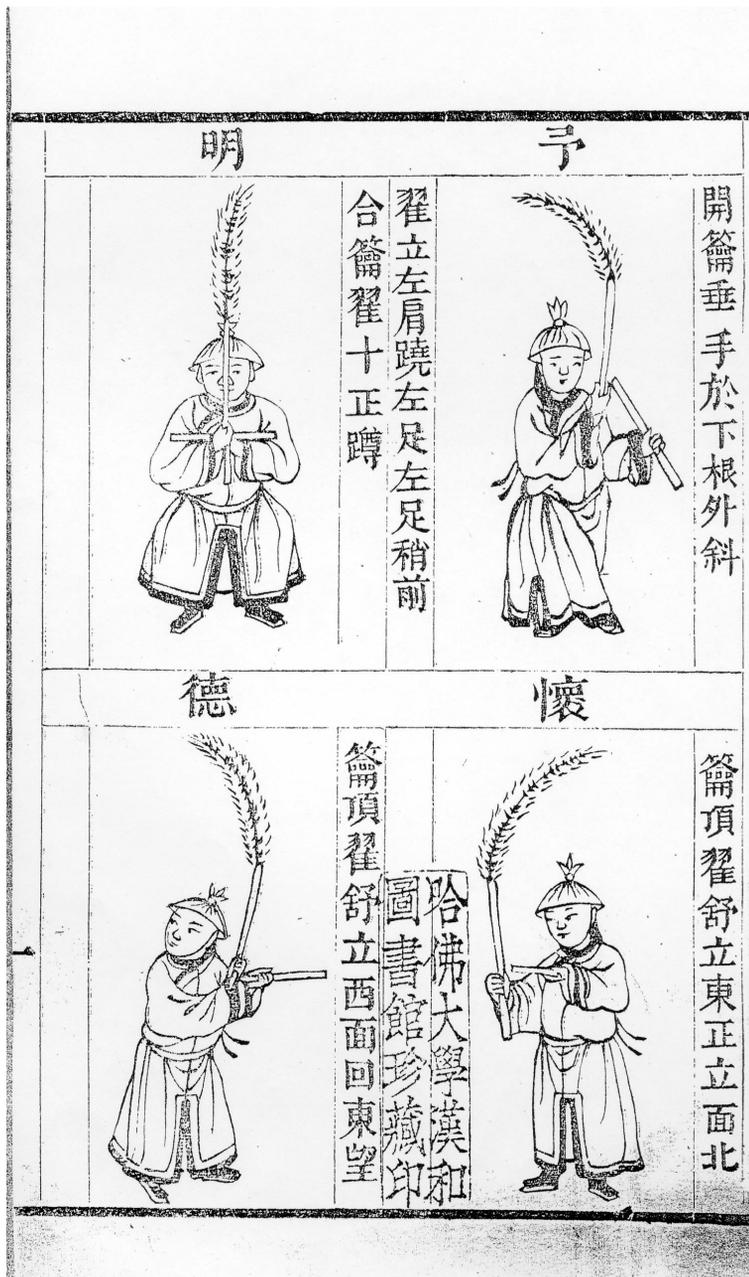
懷



朝上，右足上前跪，左足隨踏，身微躬，起左手於肩，垂右手於下，旋向內舞。

34A. Short booklets on dance choreography for rituals in a single locale. Qingjiang, Jiangxi. *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Ding Sacrifice) (Qingjiang: Qingjiang liyueju, 1907), p. 1a.

Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.8/0080.



34B. Dingzhou, Zhili [n.d.]: *Wenmiao wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Confucian Temple) (Dingzhou, n.p., n.d.), p. 1a. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.8/0080.



34C. Fuzhou, Fujian [n.d.]: *Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu* (Record of Ritual Matters for the Confucian Temple in Fuzhou) (Fuzhou: Wenchangmiao, n.d.), p. 1b. Photocopy of the exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788.31/3300.

only through the training of dancers via practice, but also through the medium of a visual representation that could stand as a memory devise for the instructors or dancers.

The third type concerns only one work, *Da Qing huidian tu* (Illustrations to the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing; 1899), the illustrated version of the Qing canon. (See figure 35.) Beginning with the Jiaqing-era (1796–1820) version of the canon, the illustrations were not included in the canon itself but were reproduced in a separate volume. That volume of illustrations includes, among others, the norms of the *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects). The Guangxu-era (1875–1908) version of *Da Qing huidian tu* (Illustrations to the Institutions of the Great Qing) contains the representation of dances.¹²¹ However, this publication reveals a disparity between illustration and text that is even stronger than the decoupling evident in the early-Qing writings representing dances. Only the initial position of the dancers is given in illustration. Next follow the characters of the lyric accompanied by the instructions for the dancing position but without illustration.

Some writings describing choreography do not contain illustrations at all. This was the case for Kong Jifen's *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli; 1762), which includes the detailed description of all the positions of the dances at Queli. It was also the case for vice-minister of the Board of Rites Pang Zhonglu's (1822–1876) *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple; 1865), which, in addition to the dances at Queli, includes the positions of those performed at the imperial academies.¹²² Characteristic for both writings, however, is also the systematic development of a “grammar of the dance,” i.e. lists of specific vocabulary related to choreography. The terminology is not necessarily new since it can be found in the Ming dance instructions, but it is now brought together in a systematic way according to the postures of the different parts of the body. This “grammar of dance” illustrates how dancing had become an object of historical and choreographic research.¹²³ For instance, *Study of Documents Related to Queli* distinguished eleven positions for holding the hands and positioning the flute and feather: *zhi* (vertical), *ju* (raising), *heng* (horizontal), *luo* (down hanging), *gong* (saluting), *cheng* (submitting), *kai* (separating), *he* (joining), *bing* (uniting), *chui* (letting fall), *jiao* (crossing).¹²⁴ It also lists a

先師廟初獻文舞就班圖



魏	右向東 右西身俯兩足並羽翥植地	聖	左立羽翥如十字	賢	左向東 右向西身仰兩手推出羽翥斜舉	鑄	左向東 右向西身俯下垂右手伸出羽植	陶	左正立兩足並翥植居右羽平衡如十字	民	右正立翥斜舉羽植	生	左向東 右向西翥斜指下羽植	我	右身微向東 羽翥偏右如十字	覺	左正立翥下垂羽植	先師廟初獻文舞譜
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斟	右正立翥植居中羽衡翥下	三	左正面屈雙足羽翥如十字	正	右屈雙足俯首至地羽翥如十字	先師廟祭以春秋仲月初獻文舞	左右兩班各有八人正而立冬冠夏冠視祭時服紅色補服皆左手執翥居左當胸平衡右手執羽居右當中植立高出於頂兩手微拱羽翥相交如十字工歌宣平之章舞凡三十二式直省初獻文舞就班同惟樂章樂舞各殊	樂章	覺我生民陶鑄賢聖巍巍泰山實予景行禮備樂和豆籩嘉靜既述六經爰斟三正	先師廟直省初獻文舞譜	予	左正立羽翥分植	懷	右身作向東勢左足向後面轉向西翥平指東羽植如十字	明	右正立兩手微拱羽翥如十字	德	左正立翥植近肩羽平衡如十字	玉	左向西首微側右足進前翥平指西羽斜舉	振	左身俯向東面轉向西兩手伸出羽翥斜交	金	右正立身微蹲翥斜舉羽植
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35. Dancing instructions, here for sacrifices at the Confucian Temple, have become more important than the figural representations of the dances. *Qinding Da Qing huidian tu* (Imperially Authorized Illustrations to the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing), *juan* 54, "Yue," 24, pp. 11a-b, 13a-b (1899; photographic rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 578-579.

detailed vocabulary for the several countenances or postures (*rong*) in dance:

- STANDING POSITION (*li*): *xiangnei* (inward), *xiangwai* (outward), *xiangshang* (facing upward), *xiangdui* (facing each other), *xiangbei* (with backs to each other)
- MOVEMENTS (*wu*): *xiangnei* (inward), *xiangwai* (outward)
- HEAD (*shou*): *yang* (looking upward), *fu* (looking downward), *ce* (looking sideward)
- BODY (*shen*): *ping* (straight), *gong* (bent), *ce* (inclining sideward), *hui* (returned), *dun* (squat)
- HANDS (*shou*): *qi* (elevated), *chui* (letting fall), *chu* (forward), *gong* (saluting), *wan* (pulling)
- FEET (*zu*): *qiao* (raising), *dian* (touching), *chu* (forward), *qu* (bending), *yi* (walking), *jiao* (crossing), *dao* (tiptoeing)
- STEPS (*bu*): *jin* (foreward), *tui* (backward)
- RITUAL ATTITUDE (*li*): *shou* (receiving), *shou* (giving), *ci* (declining), *rang* (yielding), *qian* (retiring), *yi* (bowing), *bai* (worshipping), *gui* (kneeling), *dun* (crouching), *wudao* (dancing)

These late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century illustrated dance notations put the Qianlong reforms into a wider perspective. With his transformations of ritual standards and interpretations, the Qianlong emperor took an initiative that can be compared to the ritual innovations initiated by the Hongwu and Jiajing emperors in the Ming. Similar to their successes, the Qianlong emperor's reforms would last until the end of the Qing dynasty, and even today, the music and dances performed at the Confucian temple in Qufu have the Qianlong style as their basis.¹²⁵ However, there is also an important difference with regard to the result and the impact of these innovations. The Hongwu and Jiajing emperors had made decisions that were put into practice, but as far as the dances are concerned, they seem to have never issued a detailed codification of all aspects that involved the dances at the state sacrifices. As a result, the changes that they made to rituals did not prevent scholars from coming forward with new proposals for correcting or even changing the rituals, as can be observed from the writings from the late-Ming period. The codification and changes in codification originated from scholar-officials. By contrast, in the Qing an impressive treatise such as the *Lülü zhengyi*

houbian (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), on the contrary, was composed by the Qianlong emperor himself (*yuzhi*). With such an imperial codification, the space for discussion and initiative was *de facto* closed. This resulted in there being no innovative treatise on ritual dance produced in the following 165 years.

DANCE AS A SUCCESSION OF PAUSES

In his *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), Li Zhizao re-traces the entire history of the worship and explains all the rules, the instruments, and the offerings. Then he elucidates in a nearly pathetic way the importance of dance and the importance of dance instruction:

Why is it that the Kings of Old all taught us the importance of dancing? Because when humans come of age, their vital energies start being full and strong, and [therefore the youngsters] burst out in joyous laughing and play, hopping and jumping on hands and feet, dancing in imitation of bears and cranes, dancing lions and climbing monkeys. As these things were lacking in decorum. . . . the Sage came to guide them and said to them: “Come! I’ll teach you dancing!” . . . From this, the knowledge of body and mind, nature and destiny came forth, but the original Way (*Dao*) has been interrupted at least for a thousand years now. Who now, I ask you, understands dancing as the ancients did? Youth should learn it to regulate the body, to serve others, and to achieve their personality. Then there will be again servants who dance for their lords, . . . and lords who dance for their servants; . . . elder and younger brothers who dance together; hosts and guest who dance together.¹²⁶

The above is a rare example of a text that exposes the emotive side of dance, by pointing out how dance is able to achieve both personal fulfillment and harmony in the society at large.

The present exploratory study has shown that the theme of dancing in Ming and Qing can be looked at from different perspectives. On the whole, the study concerns a very limited number of people—around

three hundred semi-professional dancers employed to perform at the state sacrifices and an unknown number of occasional dancers employed at the regional sacrifices to Confucius. Throughout the study, we have seen that they remained anonymous. Indeed, we know very little about their lives, their training, or their daily activities. And, unfortunately, it is impossible to deduce from the sources what the dancers themselves felt about their role in ritual. The sources indicate that, as corporal expression of the ritual, they played a significant role in the state sacrifices. However, even if they were more numerous than the musicians, their role was less important, and controversies concerning dance were less vehement and less detailed than those about music.

In contradistinction with the limited information about the dancers, we have more information about the people who wrote about them. Most of the writers were scholar-officials who included the topic of dancing in a much wider record of the ritual practices of a certain place, such as Queli, or institution, such as an imperial academy. It is noteworthy that the most innovative proposals for dance reform came from scholars who were trained in and published on mathematics, the calendar, and music. The association of these disciplines with dancing may not seem very evident at first look. However, mathematics, the calendar, music, and dance all are closely connected with essential aspects of ritual. Mathematical sciences are essential to the “ritualization” of time in a calendar and harmonization of sound in music. Dance, as geometry of ritual, concerns the “ritualization” of space. And given the moral values attached to each dance position, dance creates also a “spacialization” of ethics.

The history of the visual representation of dances has revealed through the lens of this very limited subject, some aspects of the history of ritual codification. The representations were generated by different centers of ritual practice: Queli as place of privileged importance, the imperial academies as place of training, and the imperial institution as center of regulation. There was a constant subtle interaction among these different centers. The first representation of dances may have emerged from records of Queli, in which the descriptive aspect was predominant. In a next phase, these illustrations were adopted by the records of the imperial academies, which added prescriptive texts to the illustrations.

Late in the Ming period, several scholars emerged who, in very creative ways, made proposals for renewal of the dances on the basis of the most ancient traditions. The most innovative proposals—those offered by Zhu Zaiyu—were in the end a failed attempt, since none of his ideas were ever accepted by the court, much less put into ritual practice. Dance illustrations of the early Qing showed a certain stagnation which may also be the reflection of stagnation of the actual ritual practices. With the reforms of the Qianlong era, illustration and regularization took a new turn. For the first time, imperial norms concerning dances were published in significant detail. The new norms may have been implemented very gradually. In the second part of the nineteenth century, however, when there was a new interest in Confucian ritual, the reforms were generally accepted and implemented as orthodox norms.

The increased regularization of ritual dance was facilitated partly through the spread of printing as a means of dissemination and control. The topic of visual representation of dance deserves in itself an in-depth study. The link between image and text, for instance, raises the very difficult question of the different functions of the illustrations. The context of the work in which the illustrations appear gives some indications whether the illustrations are more descriptive or whether they are more prescriptive, though this question remains largely unresolved. Records of temples or those found in encyclopedia tend to be more descriptive, while records of imperial academies and semi-judicial texts tend to be more prescriptive. Yet except for the choreography manuals that were published at the end of the Qing, there are few sources that give any idea of the actual use of these illustrations by the dancers themselves, who are accustomed to transmitting their knowledge through practice, not through books. Some of the illustrations may have served as memory devices for instructors or dancers who already knew how to perform the dance.

The visual representation also raises the question of whether these illustrations represent “dance” in the modern sense of the word. In general, the representation of dance is different from a representation of an object or a person, since ordinarily movement is considered to be the center of dance. Yet, movement can rarely be represented by a single

image. That is why dance representations nearly always include multiple images that break the dance up into different positions within the movement. In the case of these ritual dances, however, illustrations correspond to a *pause* rather than to *movement*. Thus the successive illustrations are a succession of pauses that embody the *rhythm* of the dance. They point at the fact that the pause is at the core of Chinese ritual dances. It is precisely because of this “frozen moment” that it was possible to produce the choreography of these dances in print. As a result, the illustrations for ritual dance presented in this article underscore that this moment of non-action is the key to the transformation that takes place through ritual action.¹²⁷

This article on ritual dance in Ming and Qing China was based largely on dance illustrations. This approach stands in contrast with the fact that in most cultures the transmission of dance takes place through practice not through illustrations. The number of illustrated dances presented in this article may seem limited. However, it is a very rich collection compared with the European tradition where important collections of illustrated dances date only from late in the nineteenth century, partly because then photography could represent movement more easily than was possible prior to its invention.¹²⁸ This difference between the Chinese and the European traditions of dance representation may explain the fascination of Joseph-Marie Amiot for the ancient Chinese dances. From the time of his arrival in China in 1750 as a young Jesuit, he became interested in these dances, and as early as 1761, the French periodical *Journal étranger* published two articles based on Amiot’s extensive translations of Chinese texts about dance. Toward the end of his life, when he sent two extensive manuscripts to his correspondents in Paris, Amiot felt even more compelled to introduce the ancient Chinese dances to Europeans. In his eyes, these dances were part of a civilization dating back to those distant centuries “when Europe and most of the other known regions offered only forests and ferocious animals as habitants.” Therefore, it was important to “assign to the events that took place in China the place that they deserve in world history.”¹²⁹ The visual representations of these ritual dances in the Ming and the Qing enable us to retrace a part of the history of a tradition that has almost disappeared.

APPENDIX I SUMMARY OF ZHU ZAIYU'S DANCE THEORY

NUMBER OF BEAT	MOVEMENT	POSITION	POSITION OF FEET	PLACEMENT	MORAL VALUE
				OF FEET IN THE SQUARE	
	上轉	未轉勢		中	
一	上轉	轉初勢	蹈	北	側隱之仁
二	上轉	轉半勢	踏	北-南	羞惡之義
三	上轉	轉周勢	踏	南	篤實之信
四	上轉	轉過勢	蹈	南	是非之智
五	上轉	轉留勢	踏	南-北	辭讓之禮
六	上轉	伏音勢	不動	南-北	尊敬於君
七	上轉	仰瞻勢	不動	南-北	親愛於父
八	上轉	回顧勢	不動	南-北	和順於夫
一	下轉	轉初勢	蹈	北	側隱之仁
二	下轉	轉半勢	踏	北	羞惡之義
三	下轉	轉周勢	踏	北	篤實之信
四	下轉	轉過勢	蹈	北	是非之智
五	下轉	轉留勢	踏	北-南	辭讓之禮
六	下轉	伏視勢	不動	北-南	尊敬於君
七	下轉	仰瞻勢	不動	北-南	親愛於父
八	下轉	回顧勢	不動	北-南	和順於夫
一	外轉	轉初勢	蹈	南	側隱之仁
二	外轉	轉半勢	踏	南-東	羞惡之義
三	外轉	轉周勢	踏	東	篤實之信
四	外轉	轉過勢	蹈	東	是非之智
五	外轉	轉留勢	踏	東-西	辭讓之禮
六	外轉	伏視勢	不動	東-西	尊敬於君
七	外轉	仰瞻勢	不動	東-西	親愛於父
八	外轉	回顧勢	不動	東-西	和順於夫
一	內轉	轉初勢	蹈	西	側隱之仁
二	內轉	轉半勢	踏	西	羞惡之義
三	內轉	轉周勢	踏	西	篤實之信
四	內轉	轉過勢	蹈	西	是非之智
五	內轉	轉留勢	踏	西-東	辭讓之禮
六	內轉	伏視勢	不動	西-東	尊敬於君
七	內轉	仰瞻勢	不動	西-東	親愛於父
八	內轉	回顧勢	不動	西-東	和順於夫
	內轉	轉定勢		中	
	內轉	轉終勢		中	

NOTES

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1. Gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Qingdai gongting huihua* (Paintings of the Palace in the Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), no. 43–44, anonymous painting in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. The second scroll of this painting is in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris. See also, Nie Chongzheng, “Yongzheng di ji Xiannongtan tu juan” (On the Scrolls the Yongzheng Emperor’s Sacrifice at the First Farmer Altar), *Wenwu tiandi* 3 (1990), pp. 45–47.
2. Romeyn Taylor, “Official Religion in Ming,” in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 842–845. The Yongzheng emperor paid special attention to this sacrifice, and in 1726 he mandated the construction of First Farmer altars for all counties. See Romeyn Taylor, “Official Altars, Temples, and Shrines Mandated for All Counties in Ming and Qing,” *T’oung Pao* 83 (1997), pp. 98, 109. On the First Farmer altars, see Zhu Zuxi, “Xiannongtan: Zhongguo nonggeng wenhua de zhongyao zaiti” (The First Farmer Alter is an Important Carrier of Chinese Agricultural Culture), *Beijing lianhe daxue xuebao* 1 (2000), pp. 42–45.
3. Yinlu (1695–176), ed., *Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao)* [Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Yongzheng era)], 250 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1732), *juan* 92, pp. 20a–b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB282/3515; photographic rpt. in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian, ji* 77–79, vols. 761–790 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1994–1995), vol. 773, pp. 6191–6192.
4. *Ibid.*, *juan* 92, pp. 18a–b; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian*, vol. 773, pp. 6183–6184.
5. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Great Qing), 1220 plus 8 *juan* (1899), *juan* 1059, photographic rpt. of 1899 lithographic edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), vol. 11, p. 587.
6. According to *ibid.*, *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1087, the total number of musicians and dancers, including the subordinate musicians and dancers was 222 when the emperor offered and plowed in person.

7. *Ibid.*, *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1088 and *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 588. The assistants wear different costumes.
8. See Romeyn Taylor, "Official Religion in Ming," cited in note three above; Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text / Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
9. See Joseph Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998).
10. The earliest, and so far still one of the most extensive articles on Chinese dance is abbé François Arnaud (1721–1784), ed., "Des danses chinoises" and "Des anciennes danses chinoises: Extrait de la traduction du Livre de Lykoang-ty," *Journal étranger* (October 1761), pp. 1–54. The translations in these articles were made by the Jesuit Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793).
Another important analysis is the section on dance in Maurice Courant, "Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois, avec un appendice relatif à la musique coréenne," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac, I, vol. 1 (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1913), pp. 137ff. For general overviews, see also Herbert A. Giles, "The Dance in Ancient China," in his *Adversaria Sinica* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1914), pp. 119–131; Kishibe Shigeo, "La danse du confucianisme," in *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, ed. Jacques Porte, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions Labergerie, 1968), vol. I, pp. 265–267; and Wang Kefen, *The History of Chinese Dance* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985). Ritual dance during the Confucian ceremonial is also treated in Joseph Lam, S. C., "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong yuewu,'" in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 134–172.
11. Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755), *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 61, p. 1500; Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 100.
12. For the history of these institutions, Ji Yun (1724–1805), comp., *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), ed. Lu Xixiong (1744–1790), 72 *juan* (1780; Taipei: Xi'nan shuju, 1973), *juan* 27, p. 721ff. For the institutions of court music and ritual music in the Tang (618–907), see Cui Lingqin (fl. 749), comp., *Jiaofang ji* (Account of the Music Office) (ca. 755–760), photographic reprint of exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Wenyuange siku quanshu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 1035, pp. 541–549; and a study by Martin Gimm, *Cui Lingqin und sein Traktat zu den höfischen Theater- unter Unterhaltungskünsten im China des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1: Der Autor des Jiaofangji (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).
13. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 61, p. 1500; L. Carrington Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 802–804.

14. See e.g. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 61, p. 1500.
15. *Ibid.*, *juan* 61, p. 1500. The term *junxiu* is also an unofficial, polite reference to students who had been admitted to the Directorate of Education. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 201.
16. *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices), 8 *juan* (ca. 1640s), *juan* 7, p. 7b, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuguan in *Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 599, p. 252.
17. *Ibid.*, *juan* 7, pp. 7b–9a, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, pp. 252–253; see also *juan* 7, p. 16b, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, p. 257 where it is written that “When there are vacancies for musicians and dancers, one should search among the registered Daoist priests to fill the number.” See also *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296 on the sacrifice in Confucius temple, which reads, “In 1371, the Board of Rites memorialized to fix the ritual objects. The sacrificial food offerings were then increased from sixteen to twenty. There were sixty musicians, forty-eight dancers, and two people leading the dancers, in total 110 people. The Ministry of Rites requested permission to select handsome persons from among the populace of the capital to fill the number of musicians and dancers. The Hongwu emperor answered, ‘Music and dance are a scholar’s matter; even more is the libation which is the way to honor the Master. It is appropriate to select students of the imperial academy and students from among the children of high officials in order to instruct and exercise them.’”
18. Zhang Anmao (1647 *jinshi*), *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), 16 *juan* (1656), *juan* 16, p. 28b, photographic rpt. in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Ji’nan: QiLu shushe, 1997), “Shibu,” vol. 271, p. 570.
19. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 27, p. 741.
20. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 587.
21. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 10, p. 257ff.; *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043ff., and on the change of the name Shenysesuo to Shenyseshu in 1754, see esp. *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1045. On the history of the Jiaofangsi (Music Office) and its relation to the Ministry of Rites, see Shen Shixing (1535–1614) et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming), 228 *juan* (1587; 1936; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), *juan* 104, p. 568, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB282/1726.
22. Ji Yun, *Lidai zhiguanbiao* (Tables of Official Positions Through History), *juan* 27, p. 721.
23. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, pp. 1043–1044.

24. The exercises in spring and autumn are mentioned in *Liji* (Book of Rites), “Yueling” (Proceedings of Government in the Different Months) as being performed on the *shangding* (first *ding* day of the month), from which originates the term *dingji* (*ding* sacrifice). For this text, see *Liji zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the *Liji*), The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hongkong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), sec. 6.20.
25. *Da Qing shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1046.
26. *Taichang xukao* (Sequel Study of the Office of Imperial Sacrifices), *juan* 7, pp. 7b–9a, *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 599, pp. 252–253.
27. Reference to the approval of the request in 1561 by the Ministry of Rites to increase the number of dancers to the former number of 570 may be found in Zhao Erxun (1844–1927) et al., comps., *Qingshigao* (Draft Official History of the Qing), 316 *juan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976–1977), *juan* 94, p. 2736.
28. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043. Whether or not there continued to be subordinate musician and dancers is unclear. See, *ibid.*, esp., *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1087.
29. See Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, chap. 4. The ceremonials were again suspended in 1559; see *ibid.*, p. 72.
30. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 49, p. 1275 and *juan* 61, p. 1510. On women in the Jiaofangsi, see also *Da Qinghuidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 524, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1043. On girl dancers in Han common music, see [Xu Yikui (1318–ca. 1400) et al., comp.], *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), 53 *juan* [Beijing: Neifu, 1530], *juan* 53, p. 6a, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book numbers TB287/1623 and TB287/802; also in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu 650, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the collection of the Guoli gugong bowuyuan (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), p. 482.
31. See Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 68, 74.
32. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 1059, photographic reprint, vol. 11, p. 590.
33. Zhang Anmao, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 271, p. 365.
34. Cf. Thomas A. Wilson, “Sacrifice and the Imperial Cult of Confucius,” *History of Religions* 41.3 (2002), p. 269.
35. For a general description and history of the liturgy of the sacrifice to Confucius, see Wilson, “Sacrifice and the Imperial Cult of Confucius.” For a concrete description of the ceremony in Hangzhou in 1898, see George Evans Moule (1828–1912), “Notes on the Ting-chi, or Half-Yearly Sacrifice to Confucius,” *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33 (1900–1901), pp. 120–156. One can also find such a description in Wu Jingzi’s (1701–1754) novel *Rulin waishi* (The Scholars), chap. 37. Noteworthy also is

- an article by Joseph Edkins, which describes his visit together with James Legge to Qufu in 1873. See Joseph Edkins, "A Visit to the City of Confucius," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8 (1874), pp. 79–92. For a description of movements of the dancers, see *ibid.*, pp. 87–88.
36. The only other local ritual in which dancing was performed was the sacrifice to Guandi (Guan Yu), the god of war, a paragon of loyalty and righteousness especially important to merchants and to military men. Guan Yu was added to the sacrificial statutes only in 1725. See Taylor, "Official Altars, Temples, and Shrines," pp. 102, 110. During the Taiping rebellion, his worship was raised to the same level in the official sacrifices as that of Confucius. See Duara Prasenjit, "Subscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (November 1988), p. 784. Only in 1854 were the dances added to its liturgy. See *Zhongsì hebian* (Compilation on Middle Sacrifices), addendum to Yan Shusen (1814–1876) and Xu Changda (*fl.* 1861–1870), comp., *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance), 2 *juan* ([1863]; Chubei: Chongwen shuju, 1871; facsimile rpt. [Hong Kong]: n.p., [1970?]); not included in Yinlu and Zhang Zhao (1691–1745) et al., eds., *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), 128 plus 2 *juan* (1746), photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vols. 215–218 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]).
37. See note 17 above for a translation of the passage from *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296. See also Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 92, p. 5a, Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 217, pp. 614. Most other sources do not mention this number of forty-eight dancers.
38. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 104–106; *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1297. Note that according to *Official History of the Ming*, *juan* 50, p. 1298, in 1496, the number of musicians and dancers was increased "to become seventy-two, just like the system of the Son of Heaven." It is not clear what is meant by this total figure, since there were already twenty musicians, thus leaving only a maximum of fifty-two dancers instead of the sixty-four dancers required for a state sacrifice.
39. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 106.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
41. Jin Zhizhi (dates unknown) and Song Hong (dates unknown), comp., *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple), 2 *juan* (preface dated 1691), "Yuebu" (Music), pp. 27b–28a, reprinted in Kongzi wenhua daquan bianjibu, ed., *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture) (Ji'nan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), pp. 514–516.
42. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 50, p. 1296.
43. Chen Hao (1487 *jinshi*), comp., *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan* [Zhengde era (1505–1521), preface dated 1505], *juan* 12, p. 17a, in *Kongzi wenhua*

- daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), p. 575. See also Kong Yuqi (1657–1723) et al., comps., *Xing Lu shengdian* (The Kangxi Emperor's Tour of Lu), 40 *juan* (Qufu: n.p., 1711), *juan* 3, p. 18b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/927; also photographic rpt. of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yinying Wenyuange siku quanshu, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 652, p. 40.
44. Guo Pan (1499–1558), *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University), 5 *juan* [preface 1557], *juan* 5, pp. 46a–b, photographic reprint in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vols. 5–7. For an example of Kangxi reforms in 1690 affecting the number of musicians, see Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao* (Study of the Sacrificial Music and Rites in the Confucian Temple), “Yuebu” (Music), pp. 29a–b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 517–518.
45. Chen Hao et al., comps., *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 13 *juan* (1505 preface), *juan* 1, pp. 23b–36a, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection Microfilm, role 457 (2). This gazetteer was printed first during the Zhengde reign (1505–1521) and at several later dates. See also another slightly different version of Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan* (cited above in note 43), *juan* 2, pp. 17a–26b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 107–132. The same illustrations are found in the Qing reprint of *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), 24 *juan*, postface by Kong Yinzhi (1591–1647) [after 1724], *juan* 2, pp. 17b–36a, exemplar in the East Asian Collection, University of California, Berkeley, no. 1786.1.7982.1730.
- For another version, see illustrations in Yi Sopchae, ed., *Kwöllli chi* (Queli Gazetteer), 3 *juan* (n.p.: Ulsa, [1905]), exemplar in the East Asian Collection, University of California, Berkeley, 1786.1.4093. For illustrations that closely resemble those in the Korean edition of 1905, though no attribution of sources is given, see Huang Wentao, comp. and annot., *Zhongguo lidai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yili kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices to Confucius Through the Ages in the Various Countries of Southeast Asia) (Jiayi: Jiayixian wenxian weiyuanhui, 1963), p. 42ff.
46. Huang Zuo, *Nanyong zhi* (Gazetteer of the Nanjing Imperial Academy), 24 *juan* [after 1571; prefaces dated 1544 and 1549], *juan* 13, pp. 32a–43b, in Shoudu tushuguan, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3; also in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, “Shibu” (History section), vol. 257, pp. 315–320. Huang Zuo is also the author of *Yuedian* (Music Canon), a work on music in 36 *juan*. For more biographical information on Huang Zuo, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 669–62.
47. Guo Pan, *Huang Ming Taixue zhi* (Gazetteer of the Ming National University), *juan* 5, pp. 49a–61a.
48. For the difference between these two types of notation, see Walter Kaufmann, *Musical Notations of the Orient: Notational Systems of Continental, East, South and Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 196), p. 12ff. and p. 69ff.

49. Wang Qi (1565 *jinshi*) and Wang Siyi (fl. early-seventeenth century), comps., *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), 106 *juan* [1609], “Renshi,” *juan* 9, pp. 34a–45b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, rare book number TC348/680; also photographic reprint of a 1607 edition by Huaiyin caotang (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), vol. 4, pp. 1777–1783.
50. The encyclopedia *Tianxue chuhan* is comprised in twenty-two works including Li Zhizao’s own work, *Hungai tongxian tushuo* (Illustrated Explanation of the Sphere and the Astrolabe), 3 *juan* (1607) together with two works compiled in collaboration with Matteo Ricci (Li Madou; 1552–1610), *Huanrong jiaoyi* (The Meaning of Compared [Figures] Inscribed in a Circle), 1 *juan* (1614) and *Tongwen suanzhi* (Rules of Arithmetic Common to Cultures), 10 *juan* (1614). The *Tianxue chuhan* is no. 23 of *Zhongguo shixue congshu* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, [1965]), a photographic reprint of the exemplar in the National Central Library, Taipei.
51. Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), 10 *juan* (1618–1619), *juan* 8, pp. 19a–66b, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), pp. 853–948; also in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 651, pp. 272–296.
52. Chen Hao, *Queli zhi* (Queli Gazetteer), ed. Kong Hongqian, 15 *juan* (1552), *juan* 1, pp. 71a–118b, photographic reprint in *Beijing tushuguan guji chuban bianjizu*, ed., *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, no. 23 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), pp. 437–460.
53. Zhang Anmao, *Pangong liyue quanshu* (Complete Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 16, pp. 16a–27b, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 271, pp. 563–569. (This work was first cited above in note 18.)
54. Jin Zhizhi and Song Hong, *Wenmiao liyue kao*, “Yuebu,” pp. 71b–83a, in *Kongzi wenhua daquan* (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 602–625.
55. See, respectively, (1) Zhang Xingyan, comp., *Shengmen liyue tong*, 24 plus 1 *juan* (n.p.: Wansong shuyuan, 1702), *juan* 23, pp. 12a–22b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/3425; also photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Beijing University Library in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, “Shibu,” vol. 272 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), pp. 290–296; another exemplar of this work in 8 plus 1 *juan* is in the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book number T1786.1 1320; and (2) Li Zhouwang and Xie Lüzhong, eds., *Guoxue liyue lu*, 20 *juan* (1719), *juan* 16, pp. 2a–13b, photographic reprint in *Shoudu tushuguan*, comp., *Taixue wenxian dacheng*, vol. 19 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996); also, photographic reprint of exemplar in Tsinghua University Library (Guozijian, 1719), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), “Shibu,” vol. 271, pp. 803–808; another exemplar of this work in 8 plus 1 *juan* is in the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book number T1786.1 4470.
56. On the multiplicity of relationships between text and *tu* in Chinese

- woodblock imprints, see Lucille Chia, “Text and Tu in Context: Reading the Illustrated Page in Chinese Blockprinted Books,” *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 89 (2002), pp. 241–276.
57. For the context of this reform, see Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, pp. 80–82, 111ff.; and James Geiss, “The Chia-ching Reign, 1522–1566,” in ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 1*, The Cambridge History of China, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 449.
58. The *Da Ming jili* was originally edited by Xu Yikui et al., who finished a first version in 1370. A completely revised version bearing the Jiajing emperor’s preface was published in 1530. See note 30 above.
59. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue*, 20 juan (Nanjing: Wang Hong, [1548, preface dated 1504]), photographic reprint of the exemplar in the collection of the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 212, pp. 436–499. Juan 11–14 of this work are entirely devoted to dances. An edition of 1548 is mentioned in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, p. 491. An exemplar of this 1548 edition is held in The Gest Collection of The East Asian Library at Princeton, rare book number TA141/1328.
- Li Wenchang, “Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao” (Musical Harmonization in the Ming Palace of the Heir-Apparent), (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu*, 20 juan, National Library of Peiping Rare Books Collection microfilm, rolls 239(4)–240 [preface dated 1545], juan 1, pp. 26a–31b and juan 2, pp. 12a–15b; also in [Gu Tinglong, ed.], *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 114, p. 284–287, 295–296. See also the section “Guyue quanti” (Means to Catch Ancient Music), *ibid.*, juan 4 and 7; the charts in these sections are clearly explanations of the text. It is under the titles of these sections that this work by Li Wenchang is mentioned by Zhu Zaiyu in the bibliography of writings that Zhu consulted for *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality). See Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi*, 10 juan, in his *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), 46 juan [Zhengfan, Wanli era], *ce* 5, juan 1, p. 5b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TA141/278; also photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Beijing tushuguan in Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, [1987]), vol. 4, p. 150. See also, the modern typeset edition, Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi*, annot. Feng Wenci (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1998), p. 9.
60. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 117.
61. Han Bangqi, *Yuanluo zhiyue* ([Han Bangqi] Yuanluo’s Treatise on Music), juan 11, p. 1a, Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 212, p. 435.
62. Cf. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 119.
63. See the bibliography of the works consulted by Zhu Zaiyu for *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), *ce* 5, juan 1, p. 5b; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 150; Feng Wenci 1998 annotated edition, pp. 6–10.
64. For more on Zhu Zaiyu’s life, see Kenneth G. Robinson and Chaoying Fang,

- “Chu Tsai-yü,” in Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 367–371; Chen Wannai, *Zhu Zaiyu yanjiu* (Research on Zhu Zaiyu) (Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1992); Dai Nianzu, *Zhu Zaiyu: Mingdai de kexue he yishu juxing* (Zhu Zaiyu: A Superstar of Ming-Dynasty Science and Art) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986); and Xing Zhaoliang, *Zhu Zaiyu pingzhuan* (Critical Biography of Zhu Zaiyu) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1998).
65. This contribution is the subject of many publications; see e.g. Kenneth G. Robinson, “The Evolution of Equal Temperament,” in ed. Kenneth G. Robinson and Joseph Needham, *Physics and Physical Technology, Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 212–228.
66. See, for example, Zhu Zaiyu’s preface to *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), *ce* 5, *juan* 1, p. 1b; photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, [1983]), vol. 213, pp. 24–25; Feng Wenci 1998 annotated edition, pp. 1–2. See also the following note.
67. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) (1606) in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, pp. 1–4. Zhu Zaiyu had previously presented several texts to the emperor in 1595.
68. Cf. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 78.
69. See for example, Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, p. 4. See also Zhu Zaiyu’s prefaces and inserted sections in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), e.g. the inserted section “Zonglun fuguyue yi jiezou weixian” (General Discussion on the Fact That In Going Back to Ancient Music One Should Start with Rhythm), Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 519; see also Wang Kefen, *Zhongguo wudaoshi: Ming-Qing bufen* (History of Dance in China: Ming and Qing Section) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 166–167.
70. Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne) in his *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, p. 3.
71. For example, Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, p. 5aff., 24bff; in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 214, p. 22ff. Musical notations are included in *Caoman guyue pu* (Treatise on Ancient Melodies with Accompaniments, Including Music for the Lute), *ce* 11 (63 pp.); *Xuangong heyue pu* (Treatise on Melodies and Transposition), *ce* 13 (88 pp.); and *Xiangyinshi yuepu* (Treatise on Music for the Odes Sung at District Banquets), *ce* 13, *juan* 1 (44 pp.), *juan* 2 (36 pp.), *juan* 3 (31 pp.) and *ce* 14, *juan* 4 (31 pp.), *juan* 5 (43 pp.), *juan* 6 (31 pp.); *Xiaowu xiangyue pu* (Musical Notations for the Minor Dances), *ce* 16 (33 pp.).

72. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality) and *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *juan* 19 (30 pp.) and *juan* 20 (20 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, pp. 524–558. The modern critical edition *Lülü jingyi*, annotated by Feng Wenci (first cited in note 59 above) includes the reproduction of the illustrations of the dances. The dances are also the object of a separate study by Wang Guangsheng, *Zhongguo gudai wudao xingshi yu jingshen de tansuo: Lülü jingyi wupu zhi yanjiu* (In-Depth Investigation Into the Form and the Spirit of Chinese Ancient Dance: Research on the Dance Manual *Lülü jingyi*) ([Banqiaoshi]: Guoli Taiwan yishu zhuanke xuexiao chuban weiyuanhui, 1982).
73. Zhu Zaiyu, *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, *juan* 37 (57 pp.) and *juan* 38 (49 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 379–432.
74. Zhu Zaiyu, *Eryi zhuizhao tu* (Illustrations of the Successive Positions for a Dance with Two Dancers) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 16, *juan* 40 (38 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 459–477.
75. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 17, *juan* 41 (100 pp.) and *ce* 18, *juan* 42 (104 pp.); Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 479–582.
76. The “character dance” had a long tradition. It is mentioned as one of the types of dances in Duan Anjie’s (fl. 880) *Yuefu zalu* (Miscellaneous Records on the Music Bureau; ca. 890). See Martin Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh: Studien zur Geschichte von Musik, Schauspiel und Tanz in der T’ang Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 251, 257. See also Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Die Entwicklung des höfischen Theaters in China zwischen dem 7. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburg Sinologische Gesellschaft, 2000), pp. 137–143.
77. Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p. 78; Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), *Wudao luncong* (Dance Tribune) 29 (1987, no. 2), pp. 82, 85.
78. For reference to this biography, see note 63 above.
79. Zhu Zaiyu, *Jin Lüshu zoushu* (Memorial Written on the Occasion of Presenting Musical Treatises to the Throne), in *Lülü jingyi* (Fine Points of Tonality), annot. Feng Wenci, pp. 1–2. The Chinese text reads “*Qiyi huo ke BU xianru suo wei fa . . . zhongjian yijian po yu xianru jiushuo butong*.” The notion of “complement” (*bu*) is also mentioned in the inserted section Zhu Zaiyu, “Zonglun xiangyin you qing wu zhong” (General Discussion That Chiming-Stones, But Not Bells, Are Used At Village Banquets), *ce* 13, p. 2b; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 565. There Zhu Zaiyu writes, “Now, on the basis of the *Zhouli* (Rituals of Zhou), I complement what is missing” (*Jin ju Zhouli BU qi quelüe*).
80. “Chunguan” (Spring Officials), *Zhouli zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the

- Zhouli*), ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), *juan* 22, sec. 3.21.
81. “Yueshi” (Music Master), *Zhouli zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the *Zhouli*), *juan* 23, sec. 3.22.
 82. *Liji zhuzi suoyin* (A Concordance to the *Liji*), ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), sec. 6.20. See also James Legge, *The Li Ki*, vol. 27, *The Sacred Books of the East*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885), p. 478.
 83. The term “minor dance” refers also to another distinction: the number of dancers. According to ancient traditions, the number of dancers varied following the social hierarchy. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waipian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 9, pp. 81a–82a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, pp. 532–533. See also Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), *Wudao yishu* (Dance Arts) (1989, no. 3), p. 20. In this context, “minor dances” refers to the dances with a limited number of dancers. See also Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24b–25a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, p. 22; and Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” p. 139. Courant was cited first in note ten above.
 84. See Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24b–25a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 22. See also his *Liudai xiaowu pu* (Notations for the Minor Dances of the Six Ancient Dynasties) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, pp. 1a–4a; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 380–381. See also, Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” p. 141; and Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), p. 83.
 85. For example, Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, p. 5a, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, p. 835; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 651, p. 265. This work was cited first in note 51 above.
 86. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), *juan* 50, p. 23b; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 650, p. 427; see note 30 above. Another source of this illustration is Chen Yang (ca. 1055–1122), *Yueshu* (Book on Music), 200 *juan* (n.d. n.p.), *juan* 128, p. 10a, photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 211, p. 769. The same illustration may also be found in Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), “Qiyong” (Utilization of Utensils), *juan* 4, p. 5a; Chengwen chubanshe photographic reprint of 1607 exemplar, vol. 3, p. 1146. *Sancai tuhui* was first cited in note 49 above.
 87. Xu Yikui, *Da Ming jili* (Collected Rituals of the Great Ming), *juan* 50, p.

- 19aff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 650, p. 425ff. Similar properties are indicated in Chen Yang, *Yueshu* (Book on Music), *juan* 128, p. 2aff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 211, 765ff.
88. For these restorations, see Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 10, p. 89a; *ce* 15, p. 1a; and *ce* 16, p. 30a; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, p. 539; vol. 214, p. 379; and vol. 214, p. 455, respectively. And see also *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, p. 25b; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, pp. 22–23.
- On the importance of the turning movements (*zhuan*), see the inserted section “Zonglun xue gu gewu yi yong zhuan erzi wei zhongmiao zhi men” (Discussion on the Fact That in Order to Learn the Ancient Dances the Two Notions of “Perpetual” and “Movement” are the Gate to All Mysteries), in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 15, p. 1aff; Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 4, p. 65. See also Courant, “Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois,” pp. 138–140.
89. Wang Kefen, “Zhu Zaiyu wupu yanjiu” (Research on the Dance Manuals by Zhu Zaiyu), p. 82.
90. For a reference to Four Principles, see *Mencius*, 6A: 6, in James Legge, trans. (1815–1897), *The Works of Mencius in The Four Books* (Taipei: Wenhua tushu gongsi, 1981), p. 863. The concept of the Five Constants and Three Bonds is loosely derived from early classical commentaries. The Five Constants are humaneness that experiences compassion, the sense of duty that experiences shame, truthfulness that expresses sincerity, wisdom that distinguishes right and wrong, and propriety that knows to decline and yield. The Three Bonds are venerable respect for the ruler, loving care for one’s father, and harmonious obedience to one’s husband.
91. The *chongdu* is a bundle of twelve bamboo or wooden slats bound together at one end, representing the twelve *lü* (pitches) and the twelve months of the year.
92. See Kuriyama Shigehisa, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), pp. 88–91.
93. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 9, *juan* 10, pp. 75b–76b; Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 213, p. 528. For the learning instructions, see e.g. *Yuexue xinshuo* (New Account of the Study of Music), *Caoman guyue pu* (Treatise on Ancient Melodies with Accompaniments, Including Music for the Lute), and *Xuangong heyue pu* (Treatise on Melodies and Transposition) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 3, pp. 24bff., *ce* 11, p. 18aff., and *ce* 13, p. 1aff., respectively; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 214, p. 22ff., p. 104ff., and p. 145ff., respectively. For a modern work on this topic, see Dong Xijiu, Liu Junxiang, and Qin Xu, *Yuewuzhi* (Treatise on Music and Dance), *Zhonghua wenhua tongzhi*, No. 8 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1998), p. 92.
94. Zhu Zaiyu, *Lülü jingyi waibian* (Fine Points of Tonality, Outer Chapters) in

- Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 10, *juan* 10, pp. 75b–76b; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 213, p. 539.
95. Dai Nianzu, *Zhu Zaiyu: Mingdai de kexue he yishu juxing* (Zhu Zaiyu: A Superstar of Ming-Dynasty Science and Art), pp. 246–257. See Zhao Qian and Zhang Zhiqing, “Book Publishing by Princely Households During the Ming Dynasty,” *East Asian Library Journal* 10.1 (Spring 2001), pp. 85–128.
96. *Mingshi* (Official History of the Ming), *juan* 62, p. 1516; Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music*, p.120. The same text with annotation (including a list of major texts) is in Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 92, pp. 51b–53a; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 217, pp. 637–638.
97. Joseph Marie Amiot et al., *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, etc. des Chinois*, 16 vols. (Paris: Nyon, 1780), vol. 4, figures 40a and 40b; c.f. Zhu Zaiwu, *Lingxing xiaowu pu* (Notation for the Minor Dances for the Lingxing Sacrifice) in *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music), *ce* 18, pp. 157a–b; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 214, p. 560.
98. These manuscripts are now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris) and the Real Biblioteca (Madrid). Amiot’s study of dances is the object of the collaborative publication, Yves Lenoir and Nicolas Standaert, eds., *Les danses rituelles chinoises d’après Joseph-Marie Amiot* (Brussels: Éditions Lessius; Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2005), with contributions by Michel Brix, Michel Hermans, Yves Lenoir, Nicolas Standaert, and Brigitte Van Wymeersch. This new publication includes a selection of Amiot’s illustrations and an edited reproduction of all printed and manuscript texts by Amiot on Chinese dances.
99. Suerna, et al., comp., *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperially Authorized Edition of Complete Work on the Study of Governing), 80 *juan* (Qianlong era, 1736–1795), *juan* 1, p. 1a, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB289/2636; also facsimile reprint of a Qianlong-era imprint[?] in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, 2 vols (Taibeixian Yonghezhen: Wenhai chubanshe, 1968), vol. 293a, p. 27. Therefore, the sacrifice to Confucius is also called the “ding sacrifice” (*dingji*). See note 24 above.
100. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 437, photographic reprint, vol. 5, p. 957; Zhao Erxun, *Qingshigao* (Draft Official History of the Qing), *juan* 94, pp. 2737–2738, first cited above in note 27. See also Kong Yuqi, *Xing Lu shengdian* (The Kangxi Emperor’s Tour of Lu), *juan* 3, p. 1a; *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 652, p. 40; this source was first cited above in note 43.
101. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperially Authorized Edition of Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 1b–2a; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 292, pp. 28–29.
102. *Ibid.*, *juan* 1, pp. 2b–3a; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 292, pp. 30–31.
103. *Ibid.*, *juan* 79, pp. 1a–b; *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 293, pp. 1615–1616.

104. See Gerlinde Gild-Bohne, trans. and ed., *Das Lülü zhengyi xubian: Ein Jesuitentratat über die europäische Notation in China von 1713*, *Orbis musicarum*, 8 (Göttingen: Edition Re, 1991).
105. Zhu Zaiyu is quoted in *juan* 85 and *juan* 86 of Chen Menglei, et al., comps., *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (The Imperially Authorized Chinese Encyclopaedia), 10,000 plus 40 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1726–1728). There are visual representations in *juan* 87 of this same source and in Wang Qi, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Realms), *juan* 88. For the latter source, see note 49 above. *Juan* 89 and *juan* 90 of *Sancai tuhui* contain many references to dances in literary sources. For more on Zhang Zhao, Yinlu, and Chen Menglei, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, pp. 24–25, 93–95, and 925–926, respectively.
106. Yinlu, *Lülü zhengyi houbian* (Sequel to The Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *juan* 2–36; see note 36 for the first citation to this title. *Juan* 78–92 of this work also contains an extensive history of the ritual institution entitled “Yuezhikao” (Study of the Institution of [Ritual] Music).
107. Keith Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” *Chime* 7 (Autumn 1993), p. 91.
108. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Precedents of the Collected Statutes of the Qing), *juan* 528, photographic reprint, vol. 6, p. 1089. It can be noted that much later the Qianlong emperor read Zhu Zaiyu’s *Yuelü quanshu* (Complete Work on Music) in detail and had the shortcomings and mistakes of that work corrected on the basis of *Lülü zhengyi* (Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). See Qinggui (1735–1816) et al. comp., *Guochao gongshi xubian* (Sequel to the Palace History of the Qing Dynasty), annot. Zuo Buqing, 100 *juan* (ca. 1806; Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1994), *juan* 87, p. 836ff.
109. Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” pp. 97–98.
110. Yinlu et al., comp., *Huangchao liqi tushi* (Illustrations of Dynastic Ritual Objects), 18 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1766), *juan* 9, pp. 23a–31b, exemplar in The Gest Collection, Princeton University, rare book number TB287/1925; photographic reprint of the exemplar in the Guoli gugong bowuyuan in Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 656 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1984), vol. 656, pp. 492–496.
111. *Ibid.*, *juan* 5, p. 130ff.; Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu, vol. 656, p. 307ff.
112. Cf. Pratt, “Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music,” p. 100. For a good overview of the results of the Qianlong reforms, see Liu Guiteng, “Qingdai Qianlong chao gongting liyue tanwei” (Research on the Details of the Court Music of the Qing Dynasty During the Qianlong Reign), *Zhongguo yinyuexue (Musicology in China)* 64 (2001, no. 3), pp. 43–6. For the influence on the music at the rituals in the Confucius Temple, see Yang Yinliu, “Kongmiao dingji yinyue de chubu yanjiu” (Preliminary Research into the Music for the Ding Sacrifices at the Confucian Temple), *Yinyue yanjiu (Musicology in China)* 1 (1985, no. 1), p. 60ff.
113. See Kong Shangren (1648–1718), *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the

- Sage's Domain), 1 *juan*, [preface dated 1716; preface of reprint dated 1887], pp. 1a–2b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), “Shizhi” (Historical Records), pp. 115–118. For the same reference to the decree of 1743, see Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 4a–4b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 292, pp. 33–34.
114. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 79, pp. 2b–3b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 293, pp. 1618–1622.
115. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), postscript, pp. 1a–3a, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 245–249. Kong Jifen (1725–1786), *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), 100 plus 2 *juan* (preface 1762; Xiangyin: Lishi, 1892), *juan* 24 *xubian*, pp. 1a–3a; also photographic rpt. in *Zhongguo wenxian congshu* (Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, 1966), pp. 549–553. See also, Lam, *Musical Confucianism*, p. 143.
116. Suerna, *Qinding xuezheng quanshu* (Imperial Authorized Edition of the Complete Work on the Study of Governing), *juan* 1, pp. 6a–6b; Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan, vol. 292, pp. 37–38.
117. See, respectively, Yan Shusen and Xu Changda, *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu* (Records of Dynastic Sacrificial Vessels, Music, and Dance), *juan xia*, pp. 1b–25b (first cited in note 36, above); Lan Zhongrui et al., *Wenmiao dingji pu*, 4 *juan* (1845), *juan* 4a, pp. 68b–92b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 922–970; and Liu Kunyi, *Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao*, 4 *juan* [Hong Kong: Yilizhai, 1870], *juan* 4, pp. 1–24.
118. Yang Yizeng, ed., *Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo* (Qingyi: n.p., [preface dated 1851]), *ce* 5, pp. 5a–19b. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.8/3333.
119. Kong Shangren, *Shengmen yuezhi* (Treatise on Music for the Sage's Domain), pp. 23a–47b, in Kongzi wenhua daquan (The Complete Works of Confucian Culture), pp. 159–207. Other examples of this type of work are: Ying Baoshi (b. 1821, 1844 *juren*), *Zhisheng shidian liyue ji* (Account of the Sacrificial Offerings and Music in the Directly Administered Province), 6 *juan* (Guangdong: Guangdong fanshu, 1891), *juan* 6. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1786.5/1135. For some differences in representation, see Ye Boying (dates unknown), comp., *Wenmiao liyue zhaiyao* (Selected Essentials on the Sacrificial Music at the Confucian Temple), 4 *ce* (Xi'an: n.p., [preface dated 1885]), *ce* 3. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1798.18/4924.
120. For Qingjiang in Jiangxi, see *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the *Ding* Sacrifice), 1 *juan* (Qingjiang: Qingjiang liyueju, 1907), 12 pp. For Dingzhou in Zhili, see *Wenmiao wupu* (Choreography Manual for the Confucian Temple), 1 *juan* (Dingzhou, n.p., n.d.), 12 pp. The above two exemplars in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library are catalogued together under no. 1786.8/

0080. For Fuzhou in Fujian, see *Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu* (Record of Ritual Matters for the Confucian Temple in Fuzhou) (Fuzhou: Wenchangmiao, n.d.), 25 plus 3 pp. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 1788.31/3300. For a manuscript version, see illustrations in Huang Wentao, *Zhongguo lidai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yili kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices to Confucius in the Various Countries of Southeast Asia Through the Ages), pp. 79–81, cited in note 45 above. The author gives no clear reference for this source, though it may be from the Confucius temple in Zhanghua.

An exceptional booklet is *Wenmiao wuwu pu* which is the notation for the martial dance during the first oblation at the sacrifice to Confucius in the prefectural schools. See *Wenmiao wuwu pu* (Choreography Manual for the Martial Dances for the Confucian Temple) (n.p., n.d.), 10 pp. Exemplar in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library, rare book T1786.8/0018.

121. *Da Qing huidian tu*, *juan* 46–57, “Yue” (Music) 16–26 (1899; photographic rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 493–600. The dances are not included in the Jiaqing-period (1796–1820) version (*ca.* 1811) of this work.
122. See, respectively, Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao*, *juan* 14, p. 8bff.; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, p. 54ff.; and Pang Zhonglu, *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple), 50 plus 1 *juan* (n.p.: 1878), *juan* 1, p. 36aff.; also (Taipei: Zhongguo liyue xuehui, 1977), p. 97ff.
123. For a comparison between Ming and Qing grammars, see Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), p. 34 (first cited in note 83 above); and Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), *juan* 14, p. 6bff.; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, p. 540ff. A similar grammar is found in *Dingji wupu* (Choreography Manual for the *Ding* Sacrifice), pp. 1a–2a, cited in note 120 above. For a different version, see Pang Zhonglu, *Wenmiao sidian kao* (Study of Ritual Sacrifices in the Confucian Temple), *juan* 1, p. 40bff.; also 1977 reprint edition, p. 97ff. See also the work of a scholar-musician of Liuyang county Qiu Zhilu (fl. 1835), *Dingji liyue beikao* (Complete Study of the Rites and Music for the *Ding* Sacrifice), 3 *juan* (1840), *juan zhong*, pp. 8a–9b, as cited in Lam, “Musical Confucianism,” pp. 161–162.
124. See Kong Jifen, *Queli wenxian kao* (Study of Documents Related to Queli), *juan* 14, pp 6b–7a; *Zhongguo wenxian congshu*, pp. 540–541.
125. Wang Mingxing, “Ji Kong yuewu yanjiu” (Research on the Music and Dance for Sacrifices to Confucius), p. 27. These rituals were reintroduced in Qufu in 1986. In Taipei, beginning in 1970, in accordance with the instruction of Chiang Kai-shek to the Ministries of Interior and Education to study and improve the rites and music for the service in the Confucian temple, it was decided to use the rites, dances, and music of the Ming dynasty. The consecration officers who are government officials, however, wear the national dress of blue gown with black jacket. See Taibeishi zhengfu, ed., *Dacheng zhisheng xianshi Kongzi shidian jianshuo* (Simplified Explanation of the Sacrificial Offerings for Confucius, the Most Accomplished and Virtuous First Teacher) (Taipei: Taibeishi zhengfu, 1974), p. 3.

126. The translation of this passage from Li Zhizao's work is by Kristofer Schipper. See Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu* (Description of the Rites and Music for the Ceremonials [Offered to Confucius] in Local Schools), *juan* 8, pp. 2b–3b, facsimile rpt. of Wanli edition in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan*, pp. 832–833; *Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol. 651, pp. 264–265. This work was cited first in note 51 above. See also Kristofer Schipper, "Some Naive Questions about the Rites Controversy: A Project for Future Research," in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII–XVIII Centuries): Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, October 25–27, 1993*, ed. Federico Masini, *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I.*, 49 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1996), pp. 307–308.
127. In this regard, one may note that *wu* (dance) and *wu* (nothingness) have the same etymological origin. See Pang Pu, "Shuo 'wu'" (On the Character *Wu*), in his *Langyouji: Zhongguo wenhua yu zhexue lunji* (A Gathering of Weeds and Grass: A Collection of Discussions on Chinese Culture and Philosophy) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 320–336, esp. p. 324.
128. On the history of European and Western dance notation, see Brenda Farnell, "Movement Notation Systems," in Peter T. Daniels and William Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 855–879; and Anne Hutchinson-Guest, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance: A Project of Dance Perspectives Foundation*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), s.v. "Notation."
129. Joseph-Marie Amiot, "Suite du mémoire sur les danses religieuses, politiques et civiles des anciens Chinois" (1789), p. 3, in Yves Lenoir and Nicolas Standaert, eds., *Les danses rituelles chinoises d'après Joseph-Marie Amiot*, p. 245.

GLOSSARY

bai 拜	cha 杈
bayi 八佾	Changsha 長沙
bing 并	cheng 呈
boshi 博士	Chen Hao 陳鎬
boyang 簸揚	Chen Menglei 陳夢雷
bu (complement) 補	Chen Yang 陳暘
bu (steps) 步	chong 舂
<i>Caoman guyue pu</i> 操縵古樂譜	chongdu 舂牘
ce (fascicle) 冊	chongfu 舂拂
ce (inclining sideward; looking sideward)	Chongwen shuju 崇文書局
側	chu (forward) 出

- chu (hoe) 鋤
 Chubei 楚北
 chui 垂
 Chunguan 春官
 ci 辭
 Cui Lingqin 崔令欽
 da 大
Dacheng zhisheng wenxuanwang 大成至聖
 文宣王
 Dahu 大護
 Dajuan 大卷
Da Ming huidian 大明會典
Da Ming jili 大明集禮
 dao (on tiptoe) 蹈
 Dao (The Way) 道
 Daosheng 道生
 Daotong 道童
Da Qing huidian (Kangxi chao) 大清會典
 (康熙朝)
Da Qing huidian shili 大清會典事例
Da Qing huidian tu 大清會典圖
Da Qing huidian (Yongzheng chao) 大清會
 典(雍正朝)
 Dashao 大磬
 dasiyue 大司樂
 dawu (major dance) 大舞
 Dawu (name of a dance) 大武
 Daxia 大夏
 Daxian 大咸
 di 翟
 dian 點
 Ding (a surname) 定
 ding 丁
 dingji 丁祭
Dingji liyue beikao 訂祭禮樂備考
Dingji wupu 丁祭舞譜
 Dingzhou 定州
 di yi wu fei nüzi shi, ba buyong 帝以舞
 非女子事罷不用
 dou 斗
 Duan Anjie 段安節
 dun (crouching) 頓
 dun (squat) 蹲
Eryi zhui Zhao tu 二佾綴兆圖
 Fan Quan 范權
 fei 非
 fei li wu shi, fei li wu ting, fei li wu yan, fei
 li wu dong 非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，
 非禮勿言，非禮勿動
 Fengyang 鳳陽
 fu 俯
 fugu 復古
 Fuwu 帔舞
 Fuzhou 福州
Fuzhou wenmiao jingshilu 福州文廟敬事
 錄
 gan (bamboo rod) 竿
 gan (shield) 干
 Ganwu 干舞
 Gao 高
 gong (bent) 躬
 gong (the note do) 宮
 gong (saluting) 拱
 gongche 工尺
 gu 詁
 Guandi 關帝
 Guan Yu 關羽
 gui 跪

- Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成
Guochao gongshi xubian 國朝宮史續編
 Guo Pan 郭鑿
Guoxue liyue lu 國學禮樂錄
Guozijian 國子監
 guwu 古舞
 guyue 古樂
Guyue quanti 古樂全蹄
Han Bangqi 韓邦奇
Hanlin 翰林
 he 合
 heng 衡
Heshengshu 和聲署
hongjuan 紅絹
Houji 后稷
Huaiyin caotang 槐蔭草堂
Huangai tongxian tushuo 渾蓋通憲圖說
Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu 皇朝祭器樂舞錄
Huangchao liqi tushi 皇朝禮器圖式
Huangdi 黃帝
Huang Ming Qinggong yuediao 黃明青
 宮樂調
Huang Ming Taixue zhi 黃明太學志
Huang Ruliang 黃汝良
Huangwu 皇舞
Huang Zuo 黃佐
Huanrong jiaoyi 圓容較義
 hui 回
 jia 枷
Jianghuaifu 江淮府
 jiao 交
Jiaofang ji 教坊記
Jiaofangsi 教坊司
 jie 節
 jin 進
Jingjihui 經濟彙
Jin ju Zhouli bu qi quelüe 今據周禮補
 其缺略
Jin Lüshu zoushu 進律書奏疏
 jinshi 進士
Jin Zhizhi 金之植
Ji Xiannongtan tu 祭先農壇圖
Ji Yun 紀昀
 ju 舉
 juan 卷
 jue 鑷
 junxiu 俊秀
 juren 舉人
 kai 開
 kaiken 開墾
Kangqu 康衢
Kong Hongqian 孔弘乾
Kong Jifen 孔繼汾
Kong Shangren 孔尚任
Kong Yinzhi 孔胤植
Kong Yuqi 孔毓圻
Kwölli chi 闕里誌
Lan Zhongrui 藍鍾瑞
Leng Qian 冷謙
 li (propriety) 禮
 li (ritual attitude) 禮
 li (standing position) 立
 lian 鎌
 liang 兩
 Libu 禮部
Lidai zhiguanbiao 歷代職官表
Liezi 列子
Liji 禮記

- Li Madou 利瑪竇
 Lingxing 靈星
Lingxing xiaowu pu 靈星小舞譜
 Lishi 李氏
 liudaiwu 六代舞
Liudai xiaowu pu 六代小舞譜
 Liu Kunyi 劉坤一
 Liu Xiang 劉翔
 Liuyang 瀏陽
 liuyi 六佾
 Li Wencha 李文察
Lixiang kaocheng 曆象考成
 Li Zhizao 李之藻
 Li Zhouwang 李周望
 Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊
 lü 律
Lüli yuanyuan 履曆淵源
 lülü 律呂
Lülü jingyi 律呂精義
Lülü jingyi waipian 律呂精義外篇
Lülü zhengyi 律呂正義
 Lülü zhengyi guan 律呂正義館
Lülü zhengyi houbian 律呂正義後編
 Lunyu 論語
 luo 落
 Maowu 旄舞
Mingshi 明史
 Nanyong 南廳
Nanyong zhi 南廳志
 Neifu 內府
 Neize 內則
 neizhuan 內轉
 Ningxidian 凝禧殿
 pangong 頰宮
Pangong liyue quanshu 頰宮禮樂全書
Pangong liyue shu 頰宮禮樂疏
 Pang Zhonglu 龐鍾璐
 ping 平
 qi (ax) 戚
 qi (elevated) 起
 qian (measure of currency) 錢
 qian (retiring) 謙
 qiao (raising) 蹻
 qiao (small spade) 鍬
Qinding Gujin tushu jicheng 欽定古今圖書集成
Qinding Da Qing huidian tu 欽定大清會典圖
Qinding xuezheng quanshu 欽定學政全書
Qing huidian shili 清會典事例
 Qinggui 慶桂
 Qingjiang 清江
Qingjiang liyueju 清江禮樂局
Qingshigao 清史稿
 Qingyi 清邑
Qingyi pangong yuewu tushuo 清邑泮宮樂舞圖說
 Qiu Zhilu 邱之桂
Qiyi huo ke bu xianru suo wei fa . . . zhongjian yijian po yu xianru jiushuo butong 其義或可補先儒所未發…中間臆見頗與先儒舊說不同
 Qiyong 器用
 qu 屈
 Queli 闕里
Queli wenxian kao 闕里文獻考
Queli zhi 闕里誌
 Qufu 曲阜

- qujue 驅爵
 rang 讓
 ren 仁
 Renshi 人事
 Renwu 人舞
 Renzong 仁宗
 rong 容
Rulin waishi 儒林外史
 Rutong 儒童
Sancai tuhui 三才圖會
 se 瑟
 shanchu 芟除
 shang 商
 shangding 上丁
 shangzhuan 上轉
 shen 身
 sheng (to live) 生
 sheng (volume measure) 升
Shengmen liyue tong 聖門禮樂統
Shengmen yuezhi 聖門樂誌
 Shenjing 盛京
 Shennong 神農
 Shen Shixing 申時行
 Shenyang 瀋陽
 Shenyueguan 神樂觀
 Shenyueshu 神樂署
 Shenyuesuo 神樂所
 shi 勢
 Shibu 史部
 shixue 實學
 Shizhi 史志
 Shizong 世宗
 shou (giving) 授
 shou (hands) 手
 shou (head) 首
 shou (receiving) 受
 shouhuo 收穫
 shu 舒
Shuli jingyun 數理精蘊
 Shun 舜
 siduan 四段
 Song Hong 宋泓
 Suerna 素爾納
 suyue 俗樂
 ta 踏
 taichang 太常
 (*Taichang*) *Li Louyun yueshu* 太常李樓雲
 樂書
 Taichangsi (Court of Imperial Sacrifices)
 太常寺
 Taichangsi (Office of Imperial Sacrifices)
 太常司
 Taichangsi dianbu 太常寺典簿
Taichang xukao 太常續考
 Taixue 太學
 Taizu 太祖
 Tang 湯
 Tangyi 堂邑
 Tao Qian 陶謙
 Tiantan 天壇
 tian xia tai ping 天下太平
Tianxue chuhan 天學初函
Tongwen suanzhi 同文算指
 tu 圖
 tui 退
 waizhuan 外轉
 wan 挽
 Wang Hong 王宏

- Wang Qi 王圻
 Wang Siyi 王思義
 Wang Yangming 王陽明
 Wansong shuyuan 萬松書院
 wen (civil) 文
 Wenchangmiao 文昌廟
 wende 文德
 Wenmiao 文廟
Wenmiao dingji pu 文廟丁祭譜
Wenmiao liyue kao 文廟禮樂考
Wenmiao liyue zhaiyao 文廟禮樂摘要
Wenmiao shangding liyue beikao 文廟上丁
 禮樂備考
Wenmiao sidian kao 文廟祀典考
Wenmiao wupu 文廟舞譜
Wenmiao wuwu pu 文廟武舞譜
 wenwu 文舞
 wu (dance, dancer) 舞
 wu (martial) 武
 wu (movements) 舞
 wu (nothingness) 無
 Wu (surname) 武
 Wubuhui 舞部彙
 wucaizeng 五彩繪
 wuchang sangang 五常三綱
 wudao 舞蹈
 Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓
Wupu (book title) 舞譜
 wupu (choreography manual) 舞譜
 Wushan 吳山
 wuwu 武舞
 wuxue 舞學
 xian 杵
 Xiancan 先蠶
 Xianchi 咸池
 Xiang 象
 xiangbei 相背
 xiangdui 相對
 xiangnei 向內
 xiangshang 向上
 xiangwai 向外
 Xiangyin 湘陰
Xiangyinshi yuepu 鄉飲詩樂譜
 Xiannong 先農
 xiao 簫
 xiaowu 小舞
Xiaowu xiangyue pu 小舞鄉樂譜
 xiazhuan 下轉
 xielulang 協律郎
 Xie Lüzhong 謝履忠
Xing Lu shengdian 幸魯盛典
Xuangong heyue pu 旋宮和樂譜
 Xu Changda 徐暢達
 Xu Yikui 徐一夔
 yang 仰
 Yang Yizeng 楊以增
 Yan Shusen 嚴樹森
 yanyue 燕樂
 Yao 堯
 Yaomin 堯民
 yayue 雅樂
 Ye Boying 葉伯英
 yi (bowing) 揖
 yi (duty) 義
 yi (walking) 移
 Ying Baoshi 應寶時
 Yilizhai 義禮齋
 Yinlu 胤祿

- Yinzi 胤祉
 Yi Sopchae 李燮宰
 Yu 禹
 Yuanluo zhiyue 苑洛志樂
 yue (music, musician) 樂
 Yue (Music [section of a book]) 樂
 yue (short flute) 簫
 Yuebu 樂部
 Yuedian 樂典
 Yuefu zalu 樂府雜錄
 Yueling 月令
 Yuelü dian 樂律典
 Yuelü quanshu 樂律全書
 Yueshi 樂師
 Yueshu 樂書
 Yuexue xinshuo 樂學新說
 Yuezhikao 樂制考
 yumao 羽旄
 Yunlu 允祿
 Yunmen 雲門
 yunnou 耘耨
 Yuwu 羽舞
 yuzhi 御製
 (Yuzhi) Lüli yuanyuan (御製) 律曆淵源
 (Yuzhi) Lüli zhengyi houbian (御製) 律
 呂正義後編
 zaizhong 栽種
 Zhang Anmao 張安茂
 Zhanghua 彰化
 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
 Zhang Xingyan 張行言
 Zhangyisi 掌儀司
 Zhang Yuesheng 張樂盛
 Zhang Zhao 張照
 Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽
 Zhengfan 鄭藩
 Zhenjiang 鎮江
 zhi (the note so) 徵
 zhi (vertical) 執
 zhi (wisdom) 智
 Zhisheng shidian liyue ji 直省釋奠禮樂記
 Zhisheng xianshi 至聖先師
 zhongsi 中祀
 Zhongsi hebian 中祀合編
 Zhou 周
 Zhou Hongmo 周洪謨
 Zhouli 周禮
 zhuan 轉
 Zhuang 莊
 Zhuangzi 莊子
 Zhu Gaochi 朱高熾
 Zhu Houwan 朱厚烷
 zhujiao 助教
 Zhuo 勺
 Zhu Sheng 朱升
 Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
 Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉
 ziwu 字舞
 Zonglun fuguyue yi jiezou weixian 總論
 復古樂以節奏為先
 Zonglun xiangyin you qing wu zhong
 總論鄉飲有磬無鐘
 Zonglun xue gu gewu yi yong zhuan erzi
 wei zhongmiao zhi men 總論學古歌
 舞以永轉二字為眾妙之門
 zu 足
 Zuo Buqing 左步青

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