

# The Restoration of Traditional Instruments in Xiong Penglai (熊朋來)'s *Sepu* (瑟譜)

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## Introduction

Xiao Youmei 蕭友梅 (1884–1940) is famous for introducing Western music to modern China and establishing the first music academy. At the same time, he was researching traditional Chinese music with the aim of developing a national music tradition (國樂). Although he had great respect for the ancient music (古樂) of the Zhou 周 dynasty, he opposed the idea of imitating traditional instruments and playing them. For example, he criticized the Great Unity Music Society (Datongyuehui 大同樂會), which brought such instruments back into use and gave concerts, saying, “If they only imitate traditional instruments and put them in museums, this isn't ‘an arrangement of national music’ (國樂整理) but should be called ‘an antique imitation’ (骨董模造), which contributes little to national music.”<sup>1</sup>

At this time, the many musicians and scholars studying Western musical techniques sought to create new music that reflected the original spirit of the Chinese people by researching traditional Chinese music. However, how could they find the original spirit of the Chinese people in this music, especially when most were

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<sup>1</sup> Xiao 1931, 389.

focused on ancient music, which was not an imitation of traditional music? If restoring traditional instruments was not a true revival of “ancient music,” then how was it possible to revive ancient music?

The reviving of “ancient music” did not begin in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. As this “ancient music” was being lost nearly every Chinese historical period, Chinese scholars and especially Confucians interested in music had been seeking to revive ancient music traditions for more than 2,000 years. Xiong Penglai 熊朋來 (1246-1323), a Confucian who lived between the end of the Song 宋 dynasty and the beginning of the Yuan 元 dynasty tried to restore the traditional stringed instrument the *se* 瑟, which was only being played in a few places at that time. As he was a faithful philosopher who followed the teachings of Zhu Xi 朱熹 and did not serve in the Yuan dynasty, were his efforts to revive these traditional instruments merely reactionary? In this paper, Xiong Penglai's philosophy of the *se* and his ancient music ideals are examined to elucidate his philosophy in the Yuan dynasty.

## 1. Confucian revival of ancient music

Music played a special role in ancient China and was considered in Confucianism as one of the objects of study in the four books and five classics (*Sishu Wujing* 四書五經) and in rituals as it was believed that music could harmonize and lead people to goodness.

Confucius felt that music and especially musical pitch was important. The principles of Confucianism stated that pitch represented imperial power and influenced the fate of dynasties. Because the musical pitch that had been used by a previous dynasty was considered “the pitch that destroyed the dynasty, each subsequent dynasty introduced new musical pitches and instruments that could play them. The musical pitches used by a previous dynasty were considered “the

pitch that destroyed the dynasty 亡國之音。”

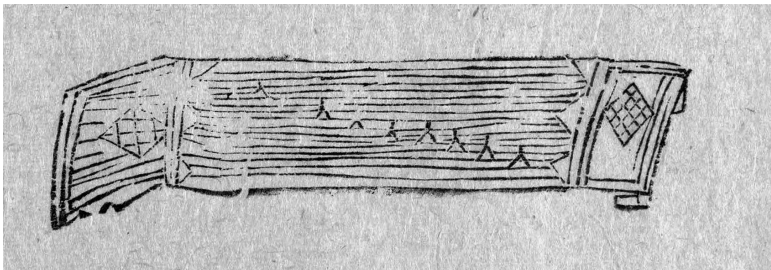
The importance given to music by Confucianism became an issue in the historical transmission of music. As the music changed when the dynasties changed, the previous dynasty's music was not generally passed on by the succeeding dynasty. However, as some musicians continued working with the previous dynasty's musical instruments, some music and instruments remained in the new dynasty. For example, the court music (雅樂) of the Song and Jin 金 dynasties continued to be used in the Yuan dynasty. However, as this type of situation was not considered positive in Confucian philosophy, the Confucians discussed how to make “new” ancient music based on the knowledge in the *Sishu Wujing*. Therefore, Xiong Penglai, by restoring and reviving the use of the *se*, was trying to regain the spirit of ancient Chinese music.

## 2. The *se*

The *se* (Figure 1.) is a type of zither or stringed instrument that is similar to the *qin* 琴 but has bridges (柱) that can be tuned. The oldest *se* artifact, which was excavated from the grave of the King of Chu 楚 at Changsha 長沙 in Hunan 湖南 province, was made at the end of the Chunqiu 春秋 period (770 to 403 BCE) and the beginning of the Zhanguo 戰國 period (403 to 221 BCE). Many *se* have been excavated from ancient graves in Hunan, Hubei 湖北, and Henan 河南 provinces, most of which were made of rectangular pieces of wood and had 23 or 24 strings. There have been some descriptions found in literature written after the Tang 唐 dynasty of another type of ancient Chinese *se* used in the royal courts, the shape and size and the way of playing of which was somewhat different from those that had been excavated from the graves. Until the Qing 清 dynasty (1644-1911), the *se* was played in court at rituals; however, the custom of playing it by the people

ceased around the beginning of the Six Dynasties era (六朝時代, 220–589 CE). Xiong Penglai again tried to revive the *se* among the people, wrote the book *Sefu* 瑟賦 to highlight the importance of the *se*, and wrote *Se pu* 瑟譜 (*The Score of Se*) to clarify the role of the *se*. Chapter 1 of *Se pu* includes the items *qinxuanlütu* 瑟絃律圖, *xuangongliushitiaotu* 旋宮六十調圖, *yaliütongsupuli* 雅律通俗譜例, and *zhifa* 指法, which refer to the form, the pitch, the score, and the fingering of the *se*. Chapter 2 cites the *Kaiyuanshierpu* 開元十二譜, which was handed down by Zhao Yansu 趙彥肅 during the Northern Song dynasty 北宋 as the old score (*shijiupu*, 詩旧譜) of the *Book of Odes* 詩經. Chapters 3 and 4 contain the new score (*shixinpu*, 詩新譜) composed by Xiong Penglai. Chapter 5 is *yuezhangpu* 樂章譜, which is the score of the music played during a festival honoring Confucius. Chapter 6 includes *Se puhoulu* 瑟譜後錄, which collects descriptions of the *se* found in ancient books and earlier discussions of this instrument. However, all traditions related to the playing of the *se* have ended in China, with this instrument only being played at recent festivals honoring Confucius (釋奠)<sup>2</sup>.

Figure 1. The *se*. Source: *Yueshu* 樂書, Jingjatang Wenku, chap. 122, 3.



<sup>2</sup> See *Zhongguoyinyuecidian* 1985, 335, and Nagai 2009, 1–11.

### 3. Xiong Penglai's philosophy of the *se*

#### 3-1. The *se* can revive the spirit of poetry.

Xiong Penglai sought to bring back the *se* because he admired this instrument and its Confucian orthodoxy, as he stated in his book *Sepu*:

When we sing, we must play the *se*, and recite and sing the lyrics of a song. If we only sing, it is *xi* 兮; if we only play the instrument, it is *pu* 步. The *se* is always on the stage (*tangshang* 堂上), and the *sheng* 笙, made of gourds, or a flute (*di* 笛), made of wood, is always under the stage (*tangxia* 堂下). The *se* is an instrument used with songs on the stage (*dengge* 登歌). Therefore, it is so important that we do not remove it for no reason. The teaching of the *se* has already ended, and we cannot sing the melody of the lyrics. (*Sepu*, p. 1)

“When we sing, we must play the *se*” indicated the important role of the *se* as an accompaniment to songs being sung onstage, so it could not be removed for no reason. Many saints, including Confucius, referred to the *se* numerous times. For example, *Erya* 爾雅 explained that it was an instrument that accompanied songs on stage as part of the ceremonial court music, and *The Analects* only refer to the *se* but do not mention the *qin*. In many ceremonies, the *se* was the only instrument being played onstage to accompany the songs.<sup>3</sup>

The ritual music of the ancient Chinese dynasties was made up of the music under the stage (*tangxiazhiyue* 堂下之樂), which was played in a garden in front of the stage, and the music on the stage (*tangshangzhiyue* 堂上之樂), which included the singers and was thus called “songs on the stage” (*dengge* 登歌). Fig-

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<sup>3</sup> *Sepu*, chap. 1, 8.

ures 2 and 3 show two images from Chen Yang's陳暘 (1064–128) book *Yueshu* 樂書 (chap. 113, pp. 1-2). The biographies of Chen Yang and his brother, Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道, was recorded in Chapter 432 of *Songshi* 宋史. Chen Yang's book *Yueshu* was offered to Emperor Huizong 徽宗 in the Northern Song dynasty's Ji-anzhongjingguo 建中靖國 period.

Figure 2. *Tangshangzhiyue*. Source: *Yueshu*, Jingjiatang Wenku, chap. 113, 1.

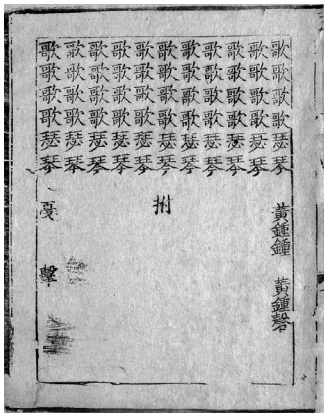
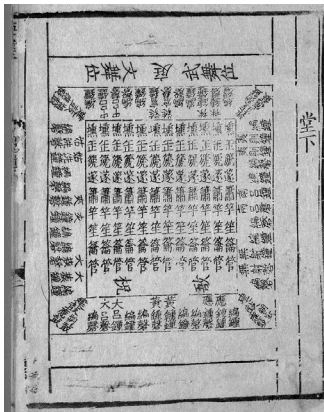


Figure 3. *Tangxiazhiyue*. Source: *Yueshu*, Jingjiatang Wenku, chap. 113, 2.



In Figure 2, there are some *qins* on the stage; however, Chen Yang did not attach as much importance to the *se* as Xiong Penglai, who considered the *se* the only instrument that could accompany songs on stage, as explained in the following,

Xiong Penglai believed that the *se* was precious as it was the only instrument that could be played with songs. However, the teaching of the *se* had already ended, and he cited Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 *Tongzhi* 通志 to explain the reason for this. *The Book of Odes* has two parts: one related to the study of interpretation, and the other related to the study of song. Because the study of song fell into decline, people could not sing poems in the Yuan dynasty. At the beginning of the Han 漢 dynasty, people could still sing, but after the Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 dynasties, songs from the poems were not handed down, and though these songs were revived in the *Kaiyuanli* 開元禮 of the Tang dynasty, there were few people who sang these songs in the Yuan dynasty.<sup>4</sup> So, why did Xiong Penglai emphasize the singing poems?

Poems can move Heaven and Earth and touch the spirits of our ancestors, not only through the words but also through the songs. Zhu Xi explained the importance of music in his book of poems, *Shijizhuan* 詩集傳, and I think if we played poems on the *se*, we would be able to understand the meaning of the poems more and more. (*Sepu*, chap. 1, 9)

By saying that if people wanted to move Heaven and Earth and touch the spirits of our ancestors, they must not only read poems but also sing them; Xiong Penglai was referring to the ideas of Zhu Xi, who believed that poems required

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<sup>4</sup> *Sepu*, chap. 1, 7.

music; therefore, Xiong Penglai's emphasis on songs was influenced by the philosophy of Zhu Xi.

### 3-2. Xiong Penglai stressed the music of poems as a faithful neo-Confucianist philosopher.

As mentioned, Xiong Penglai's philosophy was based on neo-Confucianism, and his theory on musical pitch was influenced by Zhu Xi and Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135-98). For example, Xiong Penglai's discussion of the four high pitches beyond the 12 original pitches (*siqing*, 四清, which includes *huangzhongqing* 黃鐘清, *daluqing* 大呂清, *taicuoqing* 太簇清, and *jiazhongqing* 夾鐘清) and the two pitches beyond the pentatonic scale (*erbian*, 二變; *Bian* 變 means *biansheng* 變聲), was based on the thoughts of Zhu Xi and Cai Yuanding. In a pentatonicism (五聲, i.e., *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *wu* 羽), the gap in pitch between *jue* and *zhi*, and *yu* and *gong* is big, so *bianzhi* 變徵 and *biangong* 變宮 should be set to close the gap. Some Confucians only referred to the theory related to the 12 original pitches and the pentatonic scale and attempted to remove *siqing* and *erbian*. However, as Xiong Penglai based his judgement on the number of strings on the *se*, he believed that the *siqing* should be played as it did not interfere with the original 12 pitches (*Sepu*, chap. 1, 26-29).

Xiong Penglai explained Zhu Xi's emphasis on the musical aspects of poems by referring to the *Yilijingzhuantongjie* 儀禮經傳通解 (the explanation of *The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*), wherein he presented the theory of musical pitch (鐘律), an explanation of it (鐘律義), and the music of the poems (詩樂) and cited Zhao Yuanxiao's *Kaiyuanshierpu* as the accompanying score. However, as Xiong Penglai stated that Zhu Xi had not yet played any music based on this score,<sup>5</sup> why did Zhu Xi cite the Tang dynasty score as the ancient music of the



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poems? As explained,

In the ancient book of *Yili* 儀禮, there was no chapter about the music of poems. The great music was not handed down, and we had lost it for a long time. Now I supply the song by citing the *Kaiyuanshierpu* from the Tang dynasty, and you will see its resemblance to ancient music, but I do not know if this score really suits ancient music or not. (*Yilijingzhuantongjie*, table of contents, *shiyue* 詩樂, chap. 24, 37)

By discussing the resemblance to ancient music, Zhu Xi cited a Tang dynasty score. So, why did he think the *Kaiyuanshierpu* resembled ancient music? He thought that even if only the words of the poems remained, it was not possible to revive the ancient poetic music as to do so would require re/mastering the special techniques of *chang* 唱,<sup>6</sup> *he* 和,<sup>7</sup> *diezi* 疊字,<sup>8</sup> *sansheng* 散聲,<sup>9</sup> *tan* 歎,<sup>10</sup> and others. He was, however, unsure as to whether the *Kaiyuanshierpu* could express the ancient music perfectly but believed it had a resemblance and was waiting for someone to analyze the score in the future.<sup>11</sup>

In his book *Shijizhuan*, Zhu Xi expressed his opinion about the relationship between poems and music by citing Xie Liangzuo's 謝良佐.

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<sup>5</sup> *Sepu*, chap. 6, 136.

<sup>6</sup> A technique to start singing.

<sup>7</sup> A technique to harmonize voices after *chang*.

<sup>8</sup> The succession of two of the same characters.

<sup>9</sup> An instrumental part of music.

<sup>10</sup> Techniques used for expressing.

<sup>11</sup> *Yilijingzhuantongjie*, chap. 14, *shiyue*, 526-27.

Ancient poems are current songs that can always move people's minds. On the contrary, if we study merely the words of the poems, we become too obsessed with the characters and the sentences to move people's minds. Cheng Hao 程顥 was good at reading poems, but he never explained the characters and sentences in detail. He only enjoyed reading freely and sang the poems with intonation, so people could understand the poems immediately. (*Shijizhuan, shizhuangangling* 詩傳綱領, 349)

It is interesting that Xie Liangzuo (and Zhu Xi) thought the aim of the ancient poems was to make an impression on people similar to contemporary music and thought that the study of the characters and sentences could not do this. As Cheng Hao enjoyed singing poems freely, which helped people easily understand the meaning, this approach to deeply studying poems influenced Xiong Penglai.

Influenced by Zhu Xi, Xiong Penglai investigated the importance of songs and became interested in how he could make music that could impact people, which then made the contemporary music techniques more important.

### **3-3. Linking contemporary music to ancient music: The score linking ancient musical pitch to contemporary musical scores (*yalütongsupu*, 雅律通俗譜)**

Xiong Penglai used two different ways of composing music for the poems: *lǜlǚ* (律呂, the name of the pitch used in ancient court music) and *gongchǐpǔ* (工尺譜, the score used in popular music) for the following reason.

When Zhu Xi discussed the pitch of the *qin*, he cited Chen Kuo's 沈括 *Mengxibitan* 夢溪筆談 and explained the approach to tuning the strings of a *gongtiao*

The Restoration of Traditional Instruments in Xiong Penglai's *Sepu* 宮調 based on the *gongchipu* used in wind instruments for popular music.<sup>12</sup> Now, the people who play music always know the pitch by the marks *he*合, *si*四, *yi*一, *shang*上, *gou*勾, *chi*尺, *gong*工, *fan*凡, *liu*六 and *wu*五. ... Scholars who take *lülü* seriously make a calculation of the pitch first, and put off trying to play the music. In ancient times, people always played the music first and never calculated the musical pitch. Today, songs in poems are no longer studied, so I would like to link *lülü* in ancient court music to the current *gongchipu* using my *Xiangyinshipu* 鄉飲詩譜 in order to help people understand the poem easily. (*Sepu*, chap. 1, *yalütongsupuli* 雅律通俗譜例, 24-6)

Similar to Zhu Xi, Xiong Penglai tried to connect ancient musical pitch to the current musical scores in popular music. Xiong Penglai criticized the attitude that some people held about being too concerned about an orthodox theory of ancient music and thought it was important to link orthodox theory to current popular music and for music to change so that it could be familiar to many people:

Now I want to independently compose the scores for some chapters of *The Book of Odes*. I tried not to use *siqing* and *erbian*, but the music without them did not sound beautiful at all. If I imagine ancient people living today, I cannot help but accept the changes in the times. So, I followed the approach of the *Kaiyuanshierpu* and linked ancient music to current music. If I use the melody of the Tang dynasty and the poems of the Zhou dynasty, it will sound better than other music. (*Sepu*, chap. 6, *sepuhoulu* 瑟譜後錄, 136-137)

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<sup>12</sup> Zhu Xi's book *Qinliushuo* 琴律說 cited *Mengxibitan*'s method of tuning (3246-7).

As previously explained, as *siqing* and *erbian* were not orthodox ancient music pitches, they should be removed; however, if this were done, the music would not sound beautiful to contemporary people. Therefore, Xiong Penglai thought it was important to discuss the revival of ancient music based on a sense of what people liked at that time, and he considered that the best way to do this was to link the ancient music to the current music using the *Kaiyuanshierpu*, which had the poems of the Zhou dynasty set to a Tang dynasty melody.

### 3-4. The improvement of instruments

Xiong Penglai's attitude towards changing the orthodox ancient music to be more suitable to contemporary audiences was also reflected in his desire to improve older instruments. The *sheng*笙 (Figure 4) was an instrument that had been described many times in ancient books, but what is the *sheng*?

The first chapter of *luoming*鹿鳴 says, 'Play the *se* and blow the *sheng*, blow the *sheng* and ring the *huang* (簧, reed)'.<sup>13</sup> It formed an antithesis: to play the *se* and blow the *sheng*, like the *chelin*車鄰.<sup>14</sup> In ancient times, the *tangshang-zhiyue* responded to the *sheng*'s sound; the *se* and the *sheng* were related. At the *xiangyinjiuli*鄉飲酒禮, before playing as an ensemble, people first sang three chapters of poems onstage, then played three chapters on the *sheng*, and sang the three chapters again. That is, first, people sang three chapters of *luoming* and played the *se* with song accompaniment; second, they played three chapters of *nangai*南陔; third, they sang three chapters of *yuli*魚麗;

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<sup>13</sup> *The Book of Odes*, *xiaoya*小雅, *luoming*.

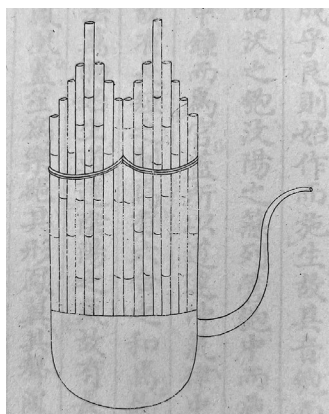
<sup>14</sup> *The Book of Odes*, *guofeng*國風, *Qin*秦, *chelin*.

The Restoration of Traditional Instruments in Xiong Penglai's *Sepu* and fourth, they played three chapters of *yougeng* 由庚. Before people started performing as a group, only the *se* and the *sheng* were played. However, when they played the *zhounan* 周南 and the *shaonan* 召南 as an ensemble, they started playing other instruments too. Thus, the poem of *luoming* only described the *se* and the *sheng*. When the *luoming* was played, people did not yet play other instruments. (*Jingshuo* 經說, chap. 2, *yishishu* 易詩書, *luominggusechuisheng* 鹿鳴鼓瑟吹笙, 279)

Why in *The Book of Odes* do the *se* and the *sheng* form an antithesis? The answer is because people could only play these two instruments before performing as an ensemble at the *xiangyinjiuli*. The *sheng* had the special role of responding to the onstage songs and the *se*.

The *sheng* was also played in the Yuan dynasty with different material from ancient times. Originally the *sheng* was made of a gourd, but later it was made of wood.

Figure 4. The *sheng*. Source: *Yueshu*, *Sikuquanshu Zhenben* vol.9, chap. 123, 2.



The *sheng* is one of the *bayin* (八音, instruments made from eight categories of materials: *jin*金 (gold), *shi*石 (stone), *tu*土 (clay), *ge*革 (leather), *si*糸 (silk), *mu*木 (wood), *pao*匏 (gourd), and *zhu*竹 (bamboo) and was generally made of bamboo (竹, the pipes were made of bamboo) and gourd (匏, the under part that held the pipes was made of gourd), with the gourd being seen as the more important. After the Sui隋 dynasty (581–618 CE), *sheng* craftsmen exchanged the gourd for wood, and as a result there were no gourds in the *bayin*. The gourd was generally considered to be less strong than wood, which was so strong that a hole could be made in it to hold the pipes. However, to remain true to ancient custom, I believe gourd should be used with silver or copper to reinforce the part holding the pipes, a hole made, and copper, bone and or animal horn used to reinforce the part that holds the strings of the *se* and the *zheng*箏. (*Jingshuo*經說, chap. 7, *zashuo*雜說, *bayinquepao*八音缺匏, 341)

As the under part of the *sheng* was made of wood rather than gourd, there was no gourd in the *bayin* at that time. The *bayin* was a concept described in *Zhouli* 周禮 and *Chunqiu* 春秋左氏傳 and became connected with eight points (八方位), eight hexagrams (八卦), and the wind from eight directions (八風). In ancient court music, ideal music had perfect *bayin*; therefore, to ensure perfect *bayin*, Xiong Penglai used a gourd for the under part of the *sheng* and used metal to reinforce the parts that held the pipes. Xiong Penglai said the *se* should be made with copper or the bones and horns of animals to reinforce the part holding the strings, which was why Xiong Penglai used the gourd for the *sheng* to abide by the orthodox *bayin* concept but used metal to reinforce it so that it was easier to use for contemporary people, which reflected his recognition of the importance in making orthodox ancient music more suitable for contemporary times.

Xiong Penglai called for a revival of the *se* because he thought that it was

precious and was the only instrument that could accompany songs. He believed that the ancient poems should be handed down with the music, but because Confucians more valued the poems, words, and sentences, the study of interpretation had become superior to the study of poetic songs, which then faded out of use to the point where people no longer knew how to sing the poems. As a faithful neo-Confucianist philosopher, Xiong Penglai focused on Zhu Xi's emphasis on the poetic music, citing the Tang dynasty score for the poems from *The Book of Odes*, and suggested that people should play the *se* using this score. He also independently composed scores for the other chapters in *The Book of Odes* that linked ancient music to contemporary music by including both the name of the pitch used in ancient court music as well as the *gongchipu* used in the current popular music. He also used the gourd as the material for the *sheng* to maintain the orthodox *bayin* concept but used metal for the reinforcement so that it would be more convenient for contemporary people.

Xiong Penglai tried to restore the *se* not only because it was an orthodox instrument that had been described in ancient books but also because he wanted to revive the spirit of the ancient poems. He believed it was possible to move people's minds by singing the ancient poems accompanied by the sounds of the *se*. When composing music, it is natural to seek an approach that is familiar to contemporary people to make an impression, which was why Xiong Penglai sought to link ancient music and current music.

#### 4. Ancient music revival patterns

To clarify the features of Xiong Penglai's *se* theory, in this section, Xiong Penglai's *se* theory is compared with other scholars' discussions on the revival of ancient music. With the exception of the *se*, many ancient instruments have been

lost; however, besides restoring the instruments, there are other ways to revive ancient music. For example, to revive ancient music, Chen Yang 陳陽 tried to restore all *bayin* and put together a perfect orchestra, and Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉, who invented 12 equal temperaments, found simplicity in the *se* and considered this simplicity as the key to bringing back ancient music.

#### 4-1. The representation of order through the *bayin*—Chen Yang's *Yueshu* 樂書

Before Xiong Penglai, Chen Yang sought to revive ancient music in his discussion on the instruments in his book *Yueshu*. As mentioned, he based his thinking on the philosophy of the *bayin*, claiming that it was necessary to collect all *bayin* in court music orchestra instruments and that it was important to change the orchestration based on the ritual scales and the status of the ritual priest.<sup>15</sup>

Chen Yang also considered the *se* important; however, he placed less importance on it than Xiong Penglai. Following is an example of the ritual orchestrations for the gods of heaven from Chen Yang's *Yueshu*.

The *tangshangzhiyue* of the *mingtangsi* 明堂祀 that belonged to *dasi* (大祀, the largest scale rituals) had the *qin* and the *se* of the *yunhe* 雲和在 the picture (Figure 5). In the other rituals for *dasi*, the *qin* and the *se* were always onstage 堂上. In the rituals for *sizhong* 司中, *siming* 司命, *silu* 司祿, and *siren* 司人,<sup>16</sup> which belonged to *zhongsi* (中祀, the middle scale rituals), there were only some *se* on the stage (Figure 6). In the rituals for *fengshi* 風師, *yushi* 雨師, and *leishi* 雷師, which also belonged to *zhongsi*, there was only some *qin* onstage (Figure 7). In

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<sup>15</sup> See Tanaka 2008, 38-94.

<sup>16</sup> *Sizhong*, *siming*, *silu*, and *siren* are names of the stars of *wenchanggong* 文昌宮.



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the rituals for *lingxing* 靈星 and *shouxing* 壽星, which belonged to *xiaosi* (小祀, the smallest scale rituals), there were only *se*, with the number of these decreased significantly (Figure 8).

Figure 5. *Tangshangzhiyue* and the *tangxiazhiyue* of the *mingtangsi* 明堂祀. Source: *Yueshu*, Jingjatang Wenku, chap. 189, 7.

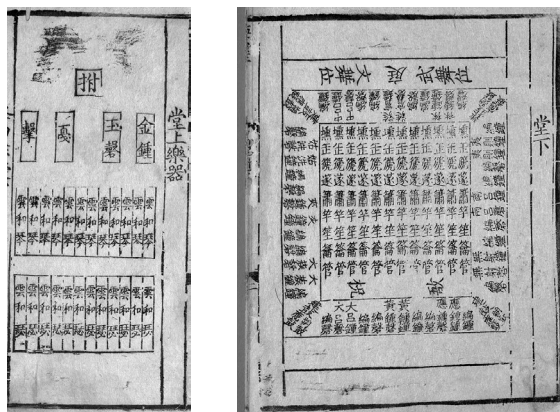


Figure 6. *Tangshangzhiyue* and the *tangxiazhiyue* for the rituals of *sizhong* 司中, *siming* 司命, *silu* 司祿 and *siren* 司人. Source: *Yueshu*, Jingjatang Wenku, chap. 190, 7.

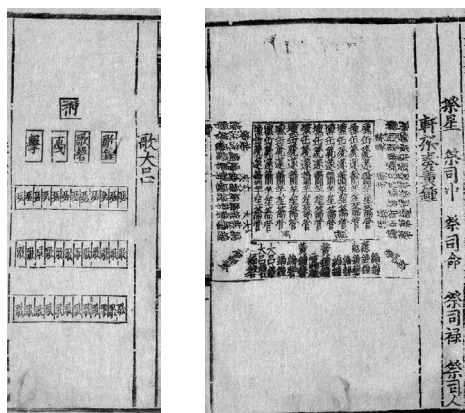


Figure 7. *Tangshangzhiyue* and the *tangxiazhiyue* for the rituals of *fengshi* 風師, *yushi* 雨師 and *leishi* 雷師. Source: *Yueshu*, chap. 190, p. 8.

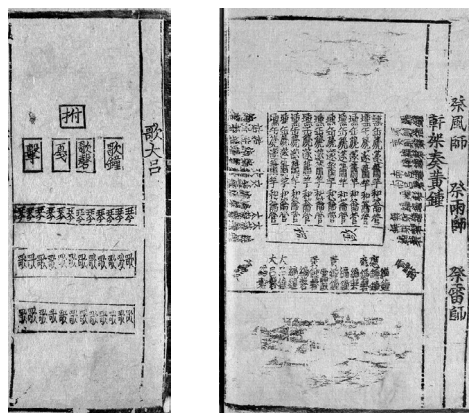
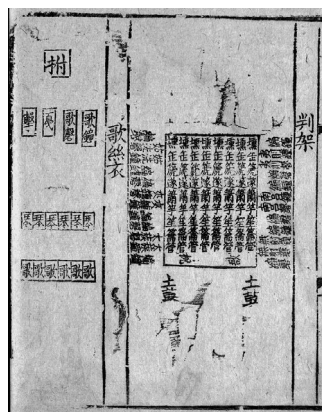


Figure 8. *Tangshangzhiyue* and *tangxiazhiyue* for the rituals of *lingxing* 靈星 and *shouxing* 壽星. Source: *Yueshu*, Jingjatang Wenku, chap. 191, 1.



Although Chen Yang did not actually mention the *se*, his orchestration indicated that the *se* tended to be considered a little more seriously than the *qin*.

However, as mentioned, Chen Yang's intention was to use not only the *se* but

all orchestra elements: the instruments, songs, dances, tonalities, and so on. As many of the musical elements described in the ancient books had disappeared from contemporary court music, Chen Yang sought to include as many aspects of the music as possible in his revival of the ancient music.

#### 4-2. Emphasis on simplicity in ancient music—Zhu Zaiyu's *Sepu* 瑟譜

Zhu Zaiyu also wrote a *Sepu*, which was not a score like Xiong Penglai's, but an article focused on the *se*. Nagai Naoko analyzed in detail the reasons Zhu Zaiyu wrote this piece, as follows. In the Ming 明 era, there were many complex techniques related to the *qin*, especially those for the left hand. Zhu Zaiyu compared the techniques for the *qin* with the techniques of other instruments and commented that these were too complicated for orchestras and songs. He considered the *qin*'s complex techniques for the left hand to be *Zhengsheng* 鄭聲,<sup>17</sup> and as part of the criticism of these techniques, he attempted to enhance the position of the *se*, which had very simple techniques. However, as the *se* was not very popular in the Ming dynasty, Zhu Zaiyu did not persist in trying to revive its use. He thought that the ancient *se* corresponded to the current *shukonghou* 豎箏篎 and believed that the *se*, *zheng* 箏, and *konghou* 空侯 had the same origin.<sup>18</sup>

In seeking a simple instrument suitable for orchestras and songs, Zhu Zaiyu recognized the importance of the *se*; however, he did not feel that the *se* was a special instrument in the *bayin* and did not agree with the order of instruments:

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<sup>17</sup> *The Analects* described music that was popular in the country of Zheng as music that led people to be bad. In the chapter of *weilinggong* 衛靈公, Confucius thought *zhengsheng*, which was the popular music of Zheng, sounded good, but ultimately, it would be harmful to the people and the country.

<sup>18</sup> See Nagai 2002, 261–74.

On the whole, the instruments which sound loud like the *sheng*, the *yong* 鐘 and the *tao* 鼗 are not proper to listen to close by, so they should be on the *tangxia* to keep them at a distance. The instruments which sound silent, like the *qin*, the *se* and the *pipa* 琵琶, cannot properly be listened to from a distance, so they should be on the *tangshang* to keep them near. The notion of *tangshang* and *tangxia* in ancient times was only based on the difference in the distance suitable for listening. So, it is nonsense to persist in stressing the difference between them to claim the order of instruments. (*Se pu*, chap. 2, *Bian xianru shi qingmiaozhisewu* 辨先儒臧清廟之瑟誤, p. 19)

Court music instruments were divided into on the stage (*tangshang*) and under the stage (*tangxia*). Zhu Zaiyu believed that this division was not related to the order of instruments but was based on the differences in the distance that was most suitable for listening. This idea was different from Xiong Penglai, who took the *se* seriously because it was the only instrument that was played on the stage.

According to Zhu Zaiyu, there was no difference in value between the *se* and the *qin*; however, the *qin* already had techniques that were considered *Zhengsheng* in ancient times, which were complex techniques for the left hand called *fansheng* 繁聲: *yin* 吟, *nao* 猱, *fan* 泛, and *yan* 罨.<sup>19</sup>

A man of virtue should always put the *qin* and the *se* close and play them to improve morality. However, if the sound of *fansheng* is heard, the man simply enjoys the music as he wants and cannot be positively affected. Zhu Zaiyu felt that only

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<sup>19</sup> *Yin* and *nao* are big and small vibrato; *fan* is harmonics; and *yan* is the following: the third finger of the left hand holds a string, the right hand plucks the string, and then the thumb of the left hand taps the string. See Nagai 2002, 265 and 2009, 186-7.

*shiyin* 実音 and *sanyin* 散音 were good *qin* techniques and that the ancient saints had prohibited other techniques from being used.<sup>20</sup>

So why was *fansheng* so bad? Zhu Zaiyu described the orchestras in *Shangshu* 尚書 and *The Book of Odes* and stated that a harmonious orchestra that included songs was the spirit of ancient music. He thought that if the *qin* had techniques that were not compatible with other instruments and songs, these techniques should be removed.<sup>21</sup>

Zhu Zaiyu believed that the current *se* did not have such a complicated technique. The *qin* and the *se* were often likened to a husband and a wife; that is, they had to harmonize, which tends to imply that the correct ancient *qin* did not have a complicated technique. Zhu Zaiyu said that when Confucius played the *qin*, he only played using the correct technique and never played *fansheng*.<sup>22</sup>

Compared with the complexity of the *qin*, the simplicity of the *se* captured Zhu Zaiyu's attention. However, he did not insist on a restoration of the ancient *se* as he believed that the *se* had evolved into other instruments and continued to live on in contemporary times. He pointed out that the current *se* was important as it could be linked to an older age, and discussed how ancient rituals and music could be handed down to contemporary times. People today are no longer satisfied with a simple and unsophisticated life. Their lives have become increasingly wealthy, and rituals and music have become more sophisticated. If music did not change at all, people would not be able to enjoy it; they would get tired of it. Only if people really enjoy music, can it achieve the aim of creating harmony.<sup>23</sup> Changes in the *se* took

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<sup>20</sup> *Sepu*, chap. 5, *Lun qinse shuyashuzheng* 論琴瑟孰雅孰鄭, 51–2

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 54

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 55

<sup>23</sup> *Sepu*, *daxu* 大序, 133–4.

place so it could become another instrument suitable for the current time. Zhu Zaiyu believed that various instruments, including the *se*, should be played in a timely manner, so that they could truly lead the human traits in the right direction.

## Conclusions

This paper considered aspects of Xiong Penglai's discussion of the *se*. Compared with Chen Yang, Xiong Penglai chose the *se* from the many instruments described in ancient books that were not popular at the time he was writing. However, Zhu Zaiyu took the *se* seriously because it had evolved over time to become more suitable for contemporary times but had still retained its simplicity. When comparing Zhu Zaiyu with Xiong Penglai, Xiong Penglai thought the importance of the *se* lay in its compatibility with a human song; that is, for Xiong Penglai, the *se* was very important because it was the only instrument played to accompany songs. Actually, both Chen Yang and Zhu Zaiyu understood the importance of the songs, but Xiong Penglai believed that the revival of ancient music was dependent on the recovery of poetic music, which in turn required the revival of the *se*.

The revival of ancient music in musicology by playing music on old instruments was discussed by Nikolaus Harnoncourt:

... so the key question is simply *why* a musician favors one type of sound over another. ... Historical or curatorial reasons are able to hold our interest for a time, certainly: how was this formerly played, how might it have sounded? However, there is hardly a *musician* who would focus his professional interest in the long run on such pursuits; I tend to regard such a person more as an historian than as a musician. In the final analysis, a musician will always look for the instrument which appears best suited to *him*.<sup>24</sup>

Given this discussion, was Xiong Penglai a historian or a musician? Of course, he was neither as his passion to restore the *se* was not based on historical or curatorial reasons but on a passion to seeking an instrument that appeared best suited to him and the people of his same period, as Harnoncourt stated. Did the ancient poems accompanied by a Tang dynasty melody played with a *se* accompaniment really suit the people of the Yuan dynasty? Or was it like listening to a modern “harpichord,” which sounds like a chirping and tinkling, that is far from the sound of the original harpichords;<sup>25</sup> that is, was it only a replacement?

Reviving old instruments is very difficult because “the advantages and disadvantages at any given stage in an instrument's development go hand in hand with the music the instrument was designed to play.”<sup>26</sup> In some eras, a mellow and soothing tone was demanded, and in others, a bright but grand tone was preferred. Therefore, if we want to revive certain instruments, it is necessary to consider whether they are really demanded by the preferences of the day.

I do not know whether the sound of the ancient *se* was really in demand at the end of the Song dynasty and at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty. However, the reason Xiong Penglai staked a revival of ancient music on the recovery of poetic music through the revival and restoration of the *se* was relevant to something that was required from the music in that era. The Yuan dynasty had just begun, and the East and West were exchanging cultures. How can we discover what was being demanded from music in this era when Xiong Penglai wished to revive a simple poetic music form accompanied by one instrument?

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<sup>24</sup> Harnoncourt 1988, 72.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 71.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 75.

The many books on the history of Chinese music mark the Yuan dynasty as a period of *Zaju* (雜劇, poetic drama with music). Tanabe Hisao 田邊尚雄 said, “A noteworthy event in the history of music of the *Yuan* dynasty was the rise of the *Yuanqu* 元曲; that is, the *Zaju*,”<sup>27</sup> which became popular because as Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏 said, “The senior officials were occupied by Mongolia. ... The intellectuals of the Han 漢, Qidan 契丹 and Nüzhen 女真 were discriminated against, their position declined and they started to live as citizens. They interacted with the general public and held meetings of a book club and composed music of *Zaju* and participated in activities with private artists. These things were very useful for raising the level of *Zaju*, and at the same time, works by intellectuals became popular, too.”<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, in the Yuan dynasty, the Confucius theory of music flowed out to the ordinary people and fused with the techniques of popular music. As Xiong Penglai did not serve the Yuan dynasty and was only a Confucian who discussed music while living among ordinary people, what influence did this have? I think the discussion of music by the Confucians forced them to change their way of thinking about music. The Confucians sought their ancient music by discussing the music that had been played earlier at court, but at this time, they had to seek the music they prized within the popular music that the ordinary people were listening at that time and found their ideal ancient music in the possibility of character cultivation through the songs. They sought the ancient music in the songs rather than in the music of the dynasty.

If musical instruments are connected with human songs, the instruments are simpler. If the human songs were considered seriously, people may pay more

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<sup>27</sup> Tanabe 1940, 334.

<sup>28</sup> Yang 1981, 460.



attention to the people living today rather than to the ancient saints. If we understand that simple music that people can sing and play is the key to reviving ancient music, Xiong Penglai's attitude towards using new melodies to change old poems into something suitable for the people in the current era and employing new technologies to improve old instruments can be understood.

When the Confucians started discussing court music again in the Ming dynasty, there was an increased recognition of the importance of simple music that could directly appeal to people's emotions. Therefore, Xiong Penglai's theory could be seen as the beginning of this trend.

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# The Restoration of Traditional Instruments in Xiong Penglai (熊朋來)'s *Sepu* (瑟譜)

TANAKA Yuki

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, the many musicians and scholars studying Western musical techniques sought to create new music that reflected the original spirit of the Chinese people by researching traditional Chinese music. However, how could they find the original spirit of the Chinese people in this music, especially when most were focused on ancient music, which was not an imitation of traditional music? If restoring traditional instruments was not a true revival of “ancient music,” then how was it possible to revive ancient music?

The reviving of “ancient music” did not begin in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As this “ancient music” was being lost nearly every Chinese historical period, Chinese scholars and especially Confucians interested in music had been seeking to revive ancient music traditions for more than 2,000 years. Xiong Penglai 熊朋來 (1246–1323), a Confucian who lived between the end of the Song 宋 dynasty and the beginning of the Yuan 元 dynasty tried to restore the traditional stringed instrument the *se* 瑟, which was only being played in a few places at that time. As he was a faithful philosopher who followed the teachings of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and did not serve in the Yuan dynasty, were his efforts to revive these traditional instruments merely reactionary? In this paper, Xiong Penglai's philosophy of the *se* and his ancient music ideals are examined to elucidate his philosophy in the Yuan dynasty. Xiong Penglai chose the *se* that were not popular at the time he was writing from the many instruments described in ancient books. He thought the

importance of the *se* lay in its compatibility with a human song; that is, for Xiong Penglai, the *se* was very important because it was the only instrument played to accompany songs. He believed that the revival of ancient music was dependent on the recovery of poetic music, which in turn required the revival of the *se*.