Remembering the Past through Music: The Transmission of Chinese *Qin* Songs in Seventeenth- to Nineteenth-Century Japan

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In the late seventeenth century, a Chinese Buddhist priest named Donggao Xinyue 東皋心越 (1639–1695) introduced a selection of *qin* 琴 songs (songs accompanied on the *qin* zither) to Japan. Over the following centuries, Japanese *qin* players continued to sing these songs in Chinese. This paper looks into this cross-cultural interaction from both Donggao's and the Japanese perspectives, against the historical background of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition and the breakdown of the Sinocentric world order in East Asia. I argue that Donggao and Japanese literati understood the significance of these songs differently as they both connected the songs to their own cultural past. Nonetheless, they were brought together by the shared belief that the performance of *qin* songs would bridge the past and the present and hence realize their vision of the ideal civilization. Meanwhile, neither Donggao nor the Japanese literati regarded the *qin*—as well as the ideal society it symbolized—to be exclusively Chinese or Japanese. My analysis shows how the idea of being Chinese/Japanese was intertwined with the changing understandings of the *hua–yi/ka-i* 華夷 worldview during this period, and how it was negotiated through the cultural memories that shaped and reshaped the past. This particular case also explains how *qin* songs as a medium for cultural memory differed from other musical and non-musical forms.

INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth century marked the beginning of an era that significantly changed the political and cultural relations between China and Japan. Japan's increasing assertions of power that followed its (unsuccessful) invasions of Korea in the 1590s threatened to shift the focus of regional power away from China, and the fall of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) accelerated the breakdown of the "Sinosphere."[1] Against this background, how do we understand the popularity of Chinese philosophy, literature, and the arts among Japanese scholars in the Edo period (1603–1867)? As for those Chinese literati who moved to Japan during the Ming-Qing transition, how did they remember China in Japan, and what did this process of remembering mean for them?

In this paper, I contribute to the discussion of these questions by examining a specific case: the transmission of Chinese *qin* 琴 songs in Japan starting in the late seventeenth century.[2] The transmission started with a Buddhist priest and *qin* player from China, known as

1. Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Zhai zi Zhongguo: Chongjian youguan "Zhongguo" de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國：重建有關"中國"的歷史論述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 166; Jiang Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun: Chinese Zen Master Yinyuan and the Authenticity Crisis in Early Modern East Asia* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2015), 7.

2. For the origin and development of *qin* song as a performative form, see Xu Jian 許健, *Qinshi xinbian* 琴史新編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 41–46; Zha Fuxi 查阜西, "Qinge de chuantong he yanchang" 琴歌的傳統和演唱, in *Zha Fuxi qinxue wencui* 查阜西琴學文萃, ed. Huang Xudong 黃旭東 et al. (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu

Donggao Xinyue 東皋心越 (1639–1695).[3] He taught a selection of *qin* songs in Japan, where Japanese literati continued to perform these songs over the following centuries. Through the teaching and learning of *qin* songs, as I will show, both the Chinese and the Japanese associated *qin* music with their own past, yet they did not regard the *qin* as exclusively Chinese or Japanese. The role that the songs played in this cross-cultural interaction was to mediate the cultural memories of idealized ancient worlds. This process rendered the past meaningful for both the present and future.

My use of the concept of cultural memory is inspired by Jan Assmann, who first used this term to refer to a form of collective memory. Assmann distinguishes cultural memory from "communicative memory"—another form of collective memory—in that it is concerned with the remote past, or the "absolute past," that shapes the identity of a cultural group.[4] He notes that the time structure of cultural memory requires it to be mediated through institutions, fixed objectifications, texts, performances of various kinds, and so forth. According to him, text is the major medium for cultural memory, as "cultural memory has an affinity to writing."[5] This paper, however, examines a situation where written language was deemed insufficient: for the *qin* players under discussion, the aural and performative aspects of music played an essential role in approaching and reconstructing the past. Within the realm of music, this paper also provides a new perspective due to the unique nature of these *qin* songs and their contexts: they were neither popular/entertaining music nor ritual/court music, and they were performed not by professional musicians but by literati amateurs who devoted themselves to self-cultivation and social responsibilities.

DONGGAO QINPU AND THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Donggao departed China in 1676 (the early Qing dynasty in China) and arrived in Japan the next year. He spent the rest of his life in Nagasaki and Mito, where he taught Japanese literati to play the *qin* and to sing *qin* songs.[6] The *qin*, the seven-string zither, was highly valued as an indispensable companion for Chinese literati throughout history. Although the *qin* might have been introduced to Japan in earlier periods, modern scholars have noted that

xueyuan chubanshe, 1995), 212–15; and Wang Xiaodun 王小盾, "'Hujia shibapai' he qinge" 《胡笳十八拍》和琴歌, *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 1995.5: 102–8. For the origin of the *qin* (also known as *guqin* 古琴, the seven-string zither), see Robert van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay in the Ideology of the Ch'in* (rpt. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2011), 1–21; David Ming-yueh Liang, *The Chinese Ch'in: Its History and Music* (San Francisco: Chinese National Music Association, San Francisco Conservatory of Music, 1972), 7–128; and Bo Lawergren, "Strings," in *Music in the Age of Confucius*, ed. Jenny F. So (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2000), 65–85. Scholars have generally agreed that the history of *qin* song can be traced back to a form of singing accompanied on plucked string instruments at least 2,500 years ago, as noted in ancient texts such as the *Book of History*, the *Analects,* and *Zhuangzi.* Early visual evidence includes Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) clay figurines; see Xu Jian, *Qinshi xinbian*, 42–43. The tradition of *qin* song continued throughout later periods and culminated between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Zhan Qiaoling 詹橋玲, "Qinge de lishi yu xianzhuang" 琴歌的歷史與現狀, *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 2005.4: 99–101.

3. Donggao Xinyue is also known as Tōkō Shin'etsu, Jiang Xingchou 蔣興儔, or Yue-duduo 越杜多. Henceforth, Donggao.

4. Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 35–41.

5. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 44.

6. For a chronological biography of Donggao, see Chen Shuping 陳舒平, "Donggao Xinyue chanshi nianpu" 東皋心越禪師年譜, in *Donggao Xinyue quanji* 東皋心越全集, comp. Pujiang xian zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 浦江縣政協文史資料委員會 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2006), 518–27.

it was not until Donggao's arrival that *qin* music began to attract a larger audience in Japan.[7] Donggao's repertoire was preserved and transmitted through collections known as *Donggao qinpu* 東皐琴譜 (Jap. *Tōkō kinfu*). *Qinpu*, often translated as "handbooks of the *qin*," typically consist of *qin* music notated in traditional tablature, often enriched with instructional comments and other introductory materials. By Donggao's time, there were no fewer than fifty different *qinpu* circulating in China. The Donggao *qinpu*, with all its surviving editions, contains the music and lyrics for sixty-one songs.[8] Most of the songs were selected by Donggao from other Chinese *qinpu* with modifications, while a few were his own compositions.[9] The earliest extant edition of *Donggao qinpu* was compiled by Sugiura Kinsen 杉浦琴川 (1660–1711), one of Donggao's *qin* students.[10] Many different editions of the *qinpu* appeared in the following centuries and circulated almost exclusively in Japan. The earliest published edition dates to 1772.

For over two centuries, Donggao's *qin* songs were transmitted with their Chinese lyrics in the Chinese pronunciation (except for four *waka* 和歌 songs that Donggao himself set to music, which I will discuss later in this paper). Although the Japanese literati of this time could read and write literary Chinese, they typically vocalized the Chinese characters (*kanji*) with their Japanese pronunciations (either *on'yomi* 音読み or *kunyomi* 訓読み), and most of them did not know how a Chinese would vocalize the text.[11] In most extant editions of *Donggao qinpu*, the Chinese pronunciation of each character is imitated and denoted by Japanese *kana* (Figs. 1 and 2).[12] Compared to other *qinpu* circulated in China that never mark the pronunciations of the lyrics, these editions of *Donggao qinpu* suggest that the *qinpu* users in Japan made special efforts to sing the songs in the Chinese way.

7. For example, van Gulik, through a careful examination of various Japanese and Chinese sources, drew the following conclusion: "It was only with the arrival of Shin'etsu that the Chinese lute was really played in Japan, and found enthusiasts in broader circles of artists and scholars." Van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 224.

8. This number is based on Yang Yuanzheng's 楊元錚 findings. Yang lists sixty-two titles, but one of them is not found in any editions of *Donggao qinpu*, appearing only in an Edo-period manuscript of *qin* miscellanea located in Hikone. For a list of Donggao's *qin* repertoire, see Appendix A in Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*: The Appropriation of Chinese *Qin* Music in Tokugawa Japan" (PhD diss., Univ. of Hong Kong, 2008), 225–33.

9. Among them, two songs consist of both music and lyrics written by Donggao ("Siqin yin" 思親引 and "Xichun cao" 熙春操), and around ten other songs use existing lyrics that Donggao set to music (these include four *waka* songs). This information is inferred from the comments in different editions of *Donggao qinpu*. The comments usually use the word *xieyin* 諧音 when the music was originally composed by Donggao, and words like *dingzheng* 訂正 or *jiaozheng* 校正 when the music was collated or edited by Donggao (this might have involved some modification of the music). We should also be aware that the boundary between composing and revising/editing was not clear-cut. For a list of these comments in *Donggao qinpu*, see Appendix A in Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 225–33.

10. Sugiura planned to put this edition into print, but he died before he could realize this plan. This edition was circulated in manuscript form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two manuscript copies of Sugiura's edition, both entitled *Donggao qinpu*, are preserved in the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan, Tokyo.

11. Although the *on'yomi* ("sound reading") of *kanji* is roughly based on Chinese pronunciation, it may be quite different from how the character is pronounced by the Chinese of a certain time period and region. In fact, the pronunciations marked in *Donggao qinpu* often differ from the *on'yomi*, deliberately imitating the Chinese singer's pronunciation.

12. As shown in the pictures, some editions also use small circles to indicate the linguistic tone of each character. The combination of *kana* and tone marks allows the *qinpu* user to imitate the Chinese pronunciation of the lyrics as closely as possible. The linguistic tones might also determine how a musical note was supposed to be sung, as we have observed in some Chinese opera traditions.

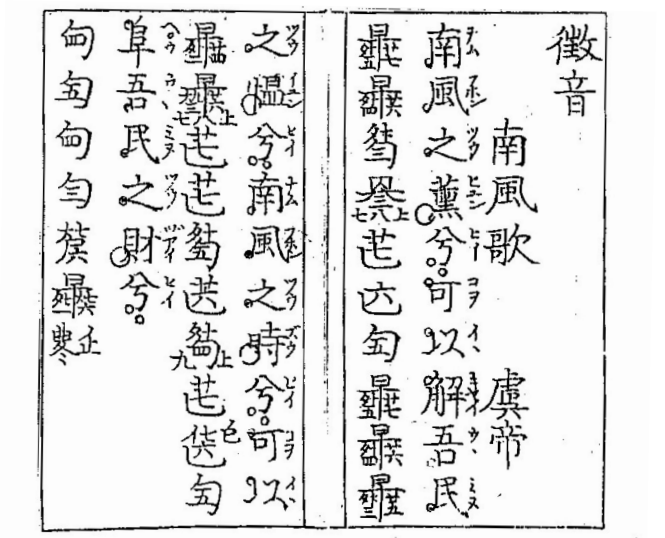

Fig. 1. The score of the "South Wind" in Suzuki Ryū's edition of *Donggao qinpu*[13]

Fig. 2. A page from a late Edo period manuscript copy of *Donggao qinpu*[14]

13. See *Qinqu jicheng* 12: 248. Each Chinese character is transliterated into *katakana* written on its right side. A circle on one of the corners (lower right, upper right, upper left, or lower left) of a Chinese character indicates the tone (correspondingly, *ping*, *shang*, *qu*, or *ru*), not to be confused with a punctuation mark, which is a circle right below a character. Yang Yuanzheng notes that "all the linguistic annotations were engraved into the body of the notation. They were not inserted by hand when the music was taught, but solidified in woodblock with the tablature itself and constituted an organic part of the notation"; Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 77.

14. Accessible on the website of the National Diet Library of Japan (Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan 国立国会図書館) at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2561624?tocOpened=1 (accessed January 25, 2020).

Earlier scholars have tried to understand the significance of these *qin* songs from either Donggao's or the Japanese literati's perspective. From Donggao's perspective, Wu Wenguang 吳文光 and Li Meiyan 李美燕 attempted to relate these songs to Donggao's religious beliefs. Although Donggao was a Buddhist priest, we only find one Buddhist-related *qin* song in his repertoire.[15] Wu Wenguang therefore argues that Donggao's music was Confucian, despite his Buddhist beliefs.[16] Li Meiyan, on the other hand, remarks that both Donggao's thoughts and his music were a synthesis of the three religions, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism.[17] However, I suggest that we should not be limited by the issue of "religion" when studying Donggao's *qin* songs. In fact, most of the lyrics in *Donggao qinpu* are classical poems with no obvious religious implications.

From the Japanese literati's perspective, Yang Yuanzheng investigated how the *qin* was gradually "Japonified" in Edo Japan (1603–1868) after Donggao's arrival. The "Japonification" of the *qin*, as he puts it, refers to the Tokugawa *bakufu* government's effort to incorporate the *qin* into the Japanese court music (*gagaku* 雅楽) orchestra. Yang traces the Japanese interest in *qin* music back to Donggao's songs. He notices that the Japanese *qin* learners paid particular attention to the Chinese pronunciation of the lyrics, yet they did not seem to care for the four *waka* songs that Donggao set to *qin* music. Yang calls these Japanese literati "Tokugawa sinophiles," and explains that they were interested in the Chinese lyrics because "the entire beauty of the *qin*," for these sinophiles, "rested completely on its Chineseness."[18] This explanation juxtaposes Donggao's transmission as "Chinese" against the *qin* in the *gagaku* orchestra as "Japonified." Admittedly, some of the *qin* learners might have been motivated by their admiration for Chinese culture. However, this alone is not enough to explain the transmission of *Donggao qinpu* throughout the Edo period, especially after the late eighteenth century when the Japanese perception of the Japan-China relationship further changed with the initiation of contact with the West. My analysis complicates Yang's argument and suggests that the significance of the Chinese *qin* songs for the Japanese literati was—not essentially different from the *qin* in *gagaku*—directly tied to Japan's past, present, and future.

Moreover, the Chinese-Japanese bifurcation can be misleading. Certainly, the *qin* is a Chinese musical instrument, and the songs were sung in Chinese. Nevertheless, Japanese *qin* players did not regard the *qin* tradition as exclusively Chinese, and many of them even believed that the history of the *qin* in Japan was as long as it was in China. Meanwhile, in the eyes of both Japanese literati and Chinese Ming loyalists such as Donggao,[19] the Ming-

15. The song is titled "Shi tan zhang" 釋談章. It is included in Sugiura's edition of *Donggao qinpu*, but not seen in other later editions.

16. Wu Wenguang, "Donggao qinpu sanjian" 東皋琴譜散見, *Zhejiang yishu zhiye xueyuan bao* 2003.1: 62.

17. Li Meiyan, "Donggao Xinyue zhi qindao ji qi zichuang qinge yanjiu" 東皋心越之琴道及其自創琴歌研究, *Yishu pinglun* 2011.21: 50.

18. Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 80.

19. Donggao was known as a Ming loyalist, although he was only five years old when the Manchus conquered China in 1644. Nagai Masashi 永井政之 suggests that Donggao's tonsure at the age of eight might be related to his oldest brother, Jiang Ting 蔣挺, a Ming official who became a Buddhist monk after the failure of anti-Qing rebellions. See Nagai, "Tōkō Shin'etsu jiseki kō" 東皐心越事蹟考, *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 73 (2015): 17–18. Some scholars, like Chen Zhichao 陳智超, believe that Donggao was directly involved in the anti-Qing rebellions around Zhejiang and Fujian; see Chen Zhichao, "Preface" ("Xu" 序), in *Lüri gaoseng Donggao Xinyue shiwen ji* 旅日高僧東皋心越詩文集, ed. Chen Zhichao (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1994), 1. For further discussions about Donggao and anti-Qing rebellions, see Xu Xingqing 徐興慶, "Shin'etsu Zenji to Tokugawa Mitsukuni no shisō hensen shilon: Shū Shūnsui shisō to no hikaku ni oite" 心越禅師と徳川光圀の思想変遷試論：朱舜水思想との比較において, *Nihon Kanbungaku kenkyū* 日本漢文学研究 3 (2008): 42–44.

Qing dynastic transition detached the cultural perception of "China" from its geopolitical one. This shared understanding tied the Japanese and the Ming loyalists together in spite of all the differences between them. As a result, we should not oversimplify the transmission of Donggao's songs from China to Japan by using a cultural import or export model. To avoid a one-sided narrative, I investigate the transmission of the songs from both Donggao's and the Japanese literati's perspectives based on their writings and activities, trying to respect simultaneously the divergence between the two and the common ground on which they interacted.

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DONGGAO

Japan through Donggao's Eyes

In history, the Chinese often prohibited "foreigners" (*yi di* 夷狄) from listening to the *qin*, arguing that *qin* music was intended to convey the ancient sages' moral teachings, which the "barbarians" would not understand.[20] If this was the case, why was it for Donggao not only acceptable, but even a must to teach the Japanese to perform *qin* songs? This question needs to be examined against the background of the Ming-Qing transition.

Donggao wrote about his journey to Japan in his long poem, "Expressing My Mind during the Voyage to the East" 東渡述志. The poem begins with a tragic scene of Chinese suffering during the Manchu invasion. As the Ming loyalists' resistance failed, the Manchus "ravaged and plundered people's properties," they "burned buildings to ashes and razed towns to the ground."[21] Donggao's stand against the Manchus set the background of his departure for Japan.

In response to this poem, one of Donggao's Japanese students, Hitomi Chikudō 人見竹洞 (1637–1696), once wrote to him: "China has long been barbarized, how could you return to the homeland [*koen* 故園]?"[22] If the Manchus were "barbarian" (*hu* 胡/*yi* 夷) in the eyes of both Ming loyalists such as Donggao and Japanese literati such as Hitomi, then what tied Japan and China together as a group that viewed the Manchus as "the other"? From Donggao's perspective, what drew him toward Japan and away from Qing China? These questions are crucial to understand what *qin* song meant for Donggao in Japan, and the later part of "Dongdu shuzhi" may give us a hint.

In contrast to the miserable scene of Qing China in the previous lines, the poem offers a refreshing description of Donggao's first impression of Japan:

For the first time I realized that in the cosmos,	始知宇宙内
There is a new world on the mythic island of the East.	方壺別有天
Climate and landscapes are not particularly different,	風土殊非異
Houses as they were in the old times.	屋舍古猶然
The residents are all ingenuous,	居民皆淳樸
Their daily needs frugal and simple.	日用自省便[23]

20. Arguments of this type can be found in many Chinese *qinpu* of before and around Donggao's time. For examples, see van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 61–62.

21. 塗毒劫民物，堪悲使祝融。樓臺皆灰燼，城市成故宮; *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 270. These lines may refer to the Qing's suppression of the rebellions in Southeast China that started in 1673, as Wang Pengsheng 王芃生 writes in his preface to Robert van Gulik's 1944 *Ming mo yi seng Donggao chanshi ji kan* 明末義僧東皋禪師集刊. See Wang Pengsheng, "Xu" 序, in *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 4. But it is also possible that Donggao combined what he had heard about other Manchu-Han conflicts with what he actually saw.

22. 中夏為胡久，故園豈歸乎; Hitomi Chikudō, "Kō Shin'etsu zenshi 'Dongdu shuzhi' chōhen hōin" 賡心越禪師東渡述志長篇芳韻, in *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 272.

23. *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 271.

Donggao had never been to Japan or any other country prior to this trip. When he commented that the nature before his eyes was "not particularly different" and the houses were "as they were in the old times," he was comparing this "new world" with his vision of China's past—an idealized, peaceful world, as "ancient China" had long been remembered. The comparison between Japan and his vision of "ancient China" helped Donggao interpret what he saw in this foreign land.

In one of Donggao's *qin* songs, written soon after he arrived in Japan, it becomes clear that the cultural memory of ancient China allowed Donggao to distinguish Edo Japan from the "barbarian." He titled the song "Sunny Spring" ("Xichun cao" 熙春操) because he landed in Japan in early spring and, perhaps, considered this turning point as a new start of his life. In the preface to this song, Donggao describes Japan thus: "The emperor is wise, the officials capable, the country stable, the people in peace. Ritual and music flourish, culture and provisions abound."[24] The lyrics praise Japan for its order, civilization, prosperity, natural scenery, and the virtue of the people. In the last line, Donggao concludes that he feels "as if he were visiting the world of the ancient King Xi" 恍若游世羲皇.[25] Xi (otherwise known as Fuxi 伏羲) is a legendary Chinese king considered throughout Chinese history to be the model of an ideal ruler. In Donggao's view, whereas China became subject to the Manchus, a ruler of the Chinese ideal seemed to have appeared in Japan. In other words, Edo Japan became closer than the Qing to the idealized vision of ancient China for its peace, order, and civilization.

Donggao was not alone in comparing Edo Japan with ancient China ruled by sage-kings. Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600–1682), for example, was an influential Confucian scholar who emigrated from China to Japan seventeen years earlier than Donggao. As a Ming loyalist who engaged in anti-Qing rebellions, Zhu wrote long essays condemning the Manchus' crimes and proposing plans to "wipe out the barbarian invaders" 滅虜.[26] Contrary to his hostility to the Manchus, Zhu was impressed by the civilized and talented Japanese literati during his exile. He wrote in a letter to his Japanese Confucianist friend, Andō Seian 安東省菴 (1622–1701), "how could it be that [scholars such as] Confucius and Yan Hui remain exclusively in China [*Zhonghua*] and [rulers such as] Yao and Shun would never be born in remote areas?"[27]

Zhu Shunshui believed that even "remote areas" might well achieve the highest level of civilization. This reflects the Ming loyalists' reconsiderations about concepts such as *yi* ("foreign," "barbarian," "the remote area," "uncivilized") and its opposite, *hua* 華 (or *Zhonghua* 中華 and *Zhongguo* 中國, often translated as "Chinese" or "the Central Country"). Scholars have pointed out that *hua* and *yi* were geographical-cultural terms rather than ethnic terms.[28] *Hua* referred to both the civilization and the spatial territory of ancient China as it was remembered, while those outside the spatial territory were at the same time culturally peripheral. However, if Japan became comparable to ancient China in these Ming loyal-

24. 君聖臣賢，國安民泰，禮樂之興，文物之盛; *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成, comp. Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan 中國藝術研究院 and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui 北京古琴研究會 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 12: 221.

25. Ibid.

26. *Zhu Shunshui quanji* 朱舜水全集, ed. Ma Fu 馬浮 (Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 300.

27. 貴國山川降神，才賢秀出，恂恂儒雅，藹藹吉士 … 豈孔顏之獨在於中華，而堯舜之不生於絕域; *Zhu Shunshui quanji*, 74.

28. Peter K. Bol, "Middle-Period Discourse on the Zhong Guo: The Central Country," *Hanxue yanjiu* (2009), https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/3629313; Hu Axiang 胡阿祥, *Wei zai si ming: "Zhongguo" gujin chengwei yanjiu* 伟哉斯名：“中国”古今称谓研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000); Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 251.

ists' eyes, it was no longer culturally peripheral, despite being a "remote area." Although Donggao and Zhu Shunshui used their cultural memory of ancient China as the yardstick for "civilization," they realized that a civilized society might in fact appear somewhere else than within Chinese territory.

Since the *qin* was known as "the sage's instrument," it would be not only acceptable but in fact necessary for Donggao to promote *qin* music in Japan—a place where sages would appear. This does not mean that he and other Ming loyalists regarded Japan as simply another China, for the concept of *hua* was still bound to its geographical borders. If Japan was not to become another China, then what did it mean for Donggao to relate the memory of ancient China with the present and future of Japan? I will discuss this question in the following section, which explains how teaching *qin* songs would help Donggao achieve his goals.

Remembering China through qin *Songs*

The belief that ideal civilization could exist outside the "geographical center" supported many Ming loyalists to resist in peripheral or foreign areas such as Yunnan, Taiwan, Burma, and Japan.[29] Ellen Widmer and Wai-yee Li have analyzed literary works written during the Ming-Qing transition that romanticize geographical margins as utopias.[30] These utopian margins are not necessarily an idealized version of China or a pure restoration of the imagined ancient past. For example, in the novel *Shuihu houzhuan* 水滸後傳, Siam is presented as a utopia that syncretizes Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist ideals; even after China has regained its sovereignty from the "barbarian invaders," the exiled heroes choose to remain in Siam.[31]

Similarly for Donggao, who also presented Japan as a utopia in his writings, cultural memories about China would help to make the foreign land even closer to his ideal. These memories mainly involved literati culture and philosophical learnings, which were indispensable in Donggao's vision of an ideal world. This ideal world is not simply Confucian or Buddhist, Chinese or non-Chinese, just as Siam in *Shuihu houzhuan*. As we know, during his eighteen years' sojourn in Japan, Donggao was active in disseminating syncretic teachings and promoting Chinese literati culture.[32] He exchanged classical Chinese poems with his Japanese associates, offered instruction in seal engraving, and was influential in calligraphy and painting.[33] Likewise, *qin* songs were also widely enjoyed among Chinese scholars in history, in their studios or gardens, or at group gatherings where poems were composed and collected.[34] These songs represented the beauty of literati life, which was supposed to be part of a highly civilized world in Donggao's vision.

Two aspects distinguished *qin* song from the other cultural activities in how they connected the past to the present. The first aspect has been discussed by previous studies about

29. Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683: A Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1998), 15; Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*.

30. Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia: Shui-hu hou-chuan and the Literature of Ming Loyalism* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard Univ., 1987); Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Asia Center), 250–54.

31. See Widmer, *Margins of Utopia*. Appendix 2 contains a chapter-by-chapter summary of *Shuihu houzhuan.*

32. On Donggao and religious syncretism, see Xu, "Shin'etsu Zenji to Tokugawa Mitsukuni no shisō hensen shilon," 53–60.

33. Ōba Takuya 大庭卓也, "Hitomi Chikudō to Tōkō Shin'etsu: Chikudō den no hitokoma" 人見竹洞と東皐心越：竹洞伝の一齣, in *Gobun kenkyū* 語文研究 82 (1996): 30.

34. Liu Minglan 劉明瀾, "Lun qinge de yishu shuxing" 論琴歌的藝術屬性, in *2010 nian Zhongguo guqin guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 2010 年中國古琴國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Zhejiang Provincial Museum (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2011), 14–18.

the role of music in remembering the fallen dynasty during the Ming-Qing transition, particularly the music from which people took pleasure in the old days.[35] When the music is reperformed in a different historical context, it evokes a nostalgic feeling by reminding the listener of the bygone splendor of the fallen dynasty. The same could be said of Donggao's case, as *qin* songs were often a component of the leisure culture of late Ming literati. However, this alone does not fully explain how *qin* songs connected the Chinese past to Donggao's present in Japan.

The second aspect is less discussed in the studies of Ming loyalists' activities, yet it is particularly relevant to *qin* music. Throughout history, the *qin* was regarded as a typical example of "ancient music" (*guyue* 古樂) as opposed to "new music" (*jinyue* 今樂) or "popular music" (*suyue* 俗樂), that is, the music created by the ancient sage-kings to harmonize the natural and human worlds. By Donggao's time, many Chinese literati considered *qin* playing to be an effective means of self-cultivation and, ultimately, as the key to achieving the ideal civilization.

Moreover, many *qin* players of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries argued that combining canonical texts with *qin* music could help to comprehend moral teachings in a more profound way.[36] As we can tell from the Chinese *qinpu* published during this period, it was a common practice to adapt Confucian classics into *qin* songs. Donggao was no exception. He not only edited and taught some of those songs, but also composed one using a paragraph from the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*) as lyrics, which discusses the sage's Way and the virtues that a gentleman (*junzi* 君子) should have.[37] Songs of this type are rooted in the cultural legacy of ancient China, but they are supposed to facilitate moral cultivation only when people continue to perform them in current contexts, with no two performances being identical. Music, like memory, is a process rather than a product. Hence for Donggao, *qin* song was a suitable medium through which he remembered China in Japan, as the ongoing process of musical performance continued to give meaning to the past.

Musicalizing the waka

In the earliest edition of *Donggao qinpu* that survives today, we find four *qin* songs with *waka* (Japanese classical poetry) lyrics. The compiler of this edition, Sugiura Kinsen, explains in the preface to these songs "why the *waka* poems were set to *qin* music."[38] The preface states that among the poems in *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首, Donggao understood and appreciated four of them in particular, and he chanted them in a particular rhythm that was reflected in his *qin* adaptations.[39] The four *waka* songs, all in the form of *tanka* (a short poem in a 5-7-5-7-7 meter), are "Haruno" 春野 by Kōkō Tennō, "Yama-zakura" 山櫻 by Daisōjō Gyōson, "Fuji" 富士 by Yamabe no Akihito, and "Yama-zato" 山里 by Minamoto

35. For example, see Philip A. Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai's Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2007); Li, *Women and National Trauma*; and Judith Zeitlin, "Music and Performance in Hong Sheng's *Palace of Lasting Life,*" in *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, ed. Wilt L. Idema, Wai-yee Li, and Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Asia Center, 2006), 454–87.

36. *Qin* players' arguments on this topic can be found in many *qinpu* from this period. For example, in *Yuexian qinpu* 樂仙琴譜, dated to 1623, a song titled "*Daxue* xu" 大學序 uses the first chapter of *The Great Learning* as its lyrics. The *qinpu*'s comment on this song says that the music would help the *qin* player understand the gist of this Classic about how to regulate the world by starting with cultivating oneself. *Qinqu jicheng*, 8: 394–95.

37. This song that Donggao set to music is titled "Da zai yin" 大哉引.

38. 和歌者胡為諧入琴調. The preface, dated 1710, can be found in the last volume of *Tōkō kinfu shōhon* 東皐琴譜正夲, ed. Sakata Shin'ichi 坂田進一 (Tokyo: Sakata koten ongaku kenkyūjo, 2001).

39. 今配琴調者即藤原定家所撰之百人一首也。師于中尤能解此四首也。其輕重急徐之節須對譜吟焉, ibid.

no Muneyuki. Donggao did not leave any comments about these poems, but scholars have speculated that a shared feeling of loneliness in these four poems may have resonated with Donggao's nostalgia.[40]

How do we understand the musical marriage between *qin* music and *waka* in *Donggao qinpu*? How do we relate these *waka* songs to Donggao's other songs and musical activities? In my opinion, setting the *waka* poems to *qin* music was consistent with Donggao's view of Japan as a "utopian margin" that embodied the Chinese ideal yet remained uniquely Japanese. The *waka* songs were neither a Japonification of the *qin* nor a Sinicization of the *waka.* On the one hand, when we compare the music of these *waka* songs to the other songs in *Donggao qinpu*, we find that the *waka* songs are not particularly different from those Chinese songs in regard to the modes, melodic patterns, rhythmic patterns, structures, and finger techniques that are used.[41] In other words, the music is no less Chinese than that of other songs in Donggao's repertoire. On the other hand, Donggao did not consider *waka* to be inferior to Chinese classical poetry. He realized that these Japanese poems had a literary value that was unique and comparable to the best works he had read, such as Li Bo and Tao Yuanming's poems, which were also included in *Donggao qinpu*.

In Donggao's appreciation of the *waka* poems, *qin* music also served as a bridge between the old (the more familiar) and the new (the less familiar), between the Chinese tradition that he inherited from the past and the Japanese environment that he had to cope with from now on. The way that Donggao enjoyed the *waka* was to chant them in a particular rhythm with the music with which he was familiar, and to connect them through music with the Chinese poems that he also enjoyed singing.

Unlike many other songs in Donggao's repertoire, these four songs might have been more meaningful to Donggao himself than to the Japanese literati, since the *qin* adaptation of the *waka* was an embodiment of Donggao's own interpretation of the Japanese poems. Indeed, we do not find these *waka* songs in later editions of *Donggao qinpu*.

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JAPANESE LITERATI

During centuries of circulating and reshaping *Donggao qinpu*, Japanese *qin* learners constantly made deliberate choices for themselves. The fact that Donggao's *waka* songs were not well circulated suggests that Japanese *qin* learners were much less interested in songs with Japanese lyrics than in those with Chinese lyrics.[42] Furthermore, they paid particular attention to the Chinese pronunciation of the lyrics, which is indicated by *kana* and tone marks in most editions of *Donggao qinpu*. Some of these *qin* learners found that the phonetic symbols were not enough to reflect the correct sound of the lyrics, and they even went to Nagasaki—where Chinese immigrants were allowed to stay in Edo Japan—in order to learn the "authentic" pronunciation.[43] Although some early manuscript editions of the *qinpu* do not include phonetic symbols, this may be explained by the assumption that the Chinese pronunciation of the lyrics was already well known through oral transmission. In fact, in

40. Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 72.

41. It would need a separate paper to give a detailed musicological comparison between the *waka* songs and the other songs in Donggao's repertoire. For the original musical notations of the four songs, see the last volume of *Tōkō kinfu shōhon*, ed. Sakata.

42. As van Gulik has noted, although a few Japanese *qin* players like Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川 (1684–1763) attempted to use the *qin* to accompany Japanese songs, their attempts "had but scant success," whereas the majority of Japanese *qin* players aimed at singing the *qin* songs "in as purely Chinese a way as possible"; van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 230.

43. See van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 230; Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 79.

the extant correspondence between Donggao and his Japanese students, the students inquire about the Chinese accent that Donggao used to recite classical poems.[44] To better understand the Japanese *qin* learners' efforts, I now turn to their own writings to see what the significance of learning *qin* music and songs was to them.

Reshaping the Japanese Past

My analysis of the Japanese writings begins with a preface to *Donggao qinpu* written by Suzuki Ryū 鈴木龍 (1741–1790, also known as Suzuki Ran'en 蘭園) in 1772. Suzuki was the first to put *Donggao qinpu* into wood-block print, and the preface was written for this first print edition. The opening is as follows:

> In our ancient past, the rites and music were flourishing, and all kinds of musical instruments were complete, among which the *qin*, an instrument always accompanying the elites and gentlemen, was the most prevalent. This is written in various historical records, which can be taken as proof. After the medieval period, the *qin* gradually became abandoned and was no longer prevalent. In the recent past, it eventually failed to be transmitted and no one talked about it anymore.
> 蓋我古昔，禮樂之隆，八音之器，諸般皆備，而琴最盛行，爲士君子常御之器。乃諸史傳所載，可以徵矣。中世已後，漸廢不行。及至近代，竟失其傳，無復有道之者矣。[45]

The preface then goes on to explain how the once-lost ancient music was brought back to life in Japan by Donggao from China, and how Donggao's teaching was passed down through two generations of his disciples to Suzuki himself.

With the word "our" (*ware* 我 in the original text) in the first line, this preface presents a narrative of the music history of Japan. In this narrative, the *qin* was appreciated and practiced by Japanese gentlemen in high antiquity, but later it became forgotten. Hitomi Chikudō, one of Donggao's most influential students, whom I mentioned earlier, offers a similar account in his correspondence with Donggao:

> There used to be *qin* players in our country in the ancient past, but later no one inherited the music. Hence, those who were interested in the *qin* had no way of getting to know its essence. It was not until the arrival of the master [Donggao] that it began to be known.
> 我國上古有彈琴之人，后無繼響者，故有志不能知其趣。自師停葦航於我東方，初得知之。[46]

We should not treat these two pieces of writing as reliable accounts of Japanese music history. Another of Donggao's students, Sugiura, held the contrasting view that the *qin* was introduced to Japan only recently.[47] Modern scholars have shown that in ancient Japanese texts the Chinese character 琴 usually refers to other kinds of zithers, such as the *wagon* 和琴 (lit., Japanese *qin*), whereas the *qin* did not really become known in Japan until Donggao's time.[48] The claim that *qin* playing had a long history in Japan thus seems to be what Hobsbawm and Ranger would call "the invention of tradition."[49]

The word "invention," however, can be misleading in this case, because Suzuki and Hitomi did not simply make up a story. Their narratives about the history of the *qin* seem well grounded when read against numerous Chinese *qinpu* of the sixteenth and seventeenth

44. Chen Zhichao, *Lüri gaoseng Donggao Xinyue shiwen ji*, 251.
45. Suzuki Ryū, "Koku *Tōkō kinfu* jo" 刻東皐琴譜序, in *Qinqu jicheng*, 12: 239.
46. *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 148.
47. See Sugiura's preface to *Donggao qinpu*, reprinted in *Tōkō kinfu shōhon*, ed. Sakata, vol. 1.
48. See van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 224.
49. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

centuries. To give but one example, in *Qinxue xinsheng xiepu* 琴學心聲諧譜 (compiled by Zhuang Die'an 莊蝶庵 and published in 1664), the writer of the first preface states that *qin* music was appreciated in ancient times (*gu* 古), but was gradually lost in a later period (*houshi* 後世) and was finally brought back by the compiler of the *qinpu*.[50] Similar accounts are found in many Chinese *qinpu* and other types of writings on this topic. These texts communicated a shared memory about the history of the *qin* among Chinese literati. The Japanese *qin* players may well have learned a similar version of this narrative from Donggao's teaching. In fact, Donggao did introduce Zhuang Die'an's *qinpu* to some of his students, including Hitomi.[51] However, when Hitomi and Suzuki retell the history of the *qin* in their writings, their use of *ware* 我 shifts the historical setting from China to Japan. As a result, the memory of the history of the *qin* transcended national boundaries and reshaped the past.

More importantly, with the *qin* being regarded as the legacy of the ideally ordered society in the ancient past, the above Japanese narratives on the history of the *qin* managed to situate the ideal civilization in Japan. In Suzuki's preface, ancient Japan is presented not much differently from the most well-organized, civilized Central Country. This vision of ancient Japan was in accordance with the political and intellectual discourse in the Edo period, which advocated a Japan-centric world order (also known as *Nihongata ka'i ishiki* 日本型華夷意識).[52]

Therefore, as Suzuki saw it, the gradual loss of transmission of *qin* music put civilization at risk, whereas Donggao's arrival, in this regard, brought hope for restoring the ideal society of the ancient past. In Suzuki's view, although the "rites and music" (*reigaku* 禮樂) of ancient Japan were lost, their fragments could be traced from the living tradition of *qin* playing in China. In this sense, what a *qin* learner such as Suzuki gleaned from Donggao's songs was not merely the aesthetic beauty of the *qin*, which rested on its "Chineseness," as Yang Yuanzheng has put it, but a piece of lost memory of ancient Japan.

Reviving the Past through qin *Songs*

Suzuki and Hitomi's perspectives were shared among many other Japanese *qin* players and scholars not long after Donggao's arrival. Thanks to their efforts, in the 1730s the *qin* was added to the *gagaku* orchestra in order to reconstruct Heian-era (794–1185) court music for the Tokugawa *bakufu*.[53] The shōgun at the time, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684–1751), ordered Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川 (1684–1763), a student of Sugiura Kinsen, to incorporate the *qin* into *gagaku*. Onoda believed that the *qin* used to be part of the *gagaku* performance in ancient Japan, as he wrote, "in our country, the *qin* was used in the orchestra in ancient times, but it is no longer used nowadays . . . Now that the country has been in peace for over a century, isn't this the proper time that . . . *gagaku* should be revived?"[54] As

50. See Yuan Xiangyi's 袁相一 preface to *Qinxue xinsheng xiepu* 琴學心聲諧譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, 12: 2.

51. Zhuang Die'an's *qinpu* was preserved in Japan as one of Donggao's belongings. Either Donggao himself brought it from China, or he later asked other Chinese travelers to bring a copy for him. See Xie Xiaoping 謝孝苹, "Lüri qinseng Donggao Xinyue" 旅日琴僧東皋心越, *Yinyue yanjiu* 1993.4: 76. Sugiura's compilation of *Donggao qinpu* includes a chapter of Zhuang's fingering instructions. From Hitomi's letters to Donggao, we know that Hitomi was learning some pieces from Zhuang's *qinpu*, as well as some other Chinese *qinpu* such as *Songxianguan qinpu* 松絃館琴譜 and *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音. For Hitomi's letters, see *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 141–49.

52. Ge, *Zhai zi Zhongguo*, 166; Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 111.

53. Yang Yuanzheng's "Japonifying the *Qin*" offers a detailed study of the "gagakuization" of the *qin* in the Tokugawa period.

54. 本朝以七絃琴並奏音樂者,古有而今無。其所斷絕者最尚矣。如今太平百有餘年,實是文武兼備,文明赫然,雅樂可興之時乎? This quotation is from Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 175. The original source, according to Yang, is preserved in the Hikone Castle Museum (Hikone-jō hakubutsukan).

Suzuki and Hitomi, Onoda's writing also claims that the *qin* was part of Japanese ancient music. Moreover, by indicating that the *qin* was used in the orchestra during the heyday of *gagaku*—the Heian period—Onoda's view seems to correspond with Suzuki's statement that *qin* music did not decline in Japan until the medieval period (*chūsei* 中世).

As these Edo literati still remembered, Japan built a close relationship with China during the Heian period. It was therefore reasonable for them to believe that the Chinese *qin* songs could have preserved the Heian legacy that had been lost in Japan. This explains why the lyrics of Donggao's most widely circulated *qin* songs were poems written during the Tang and Song periods (618–1279) or even earlier. Except for the two songs written by Donggao himself, other songs with lyrics written in later periods were often excluded from editions of the *qinpu*,[55] as in the eyes of Japanese literati they were only the products of the "recent past." However, this pursuit of antiquity did not mean to reconstruct the music of a particular time period, neither did the Japanese disregard all later compositions. In fact, these *qin* players were well aware that the *qin* songs in *Donggao qinpu* were not the exact music of the Tang and Song, let alone of the Heian period. What they really cared about was whether a living performance in the present could bring about a sense of authenticity that would symbolize the revival of the imagined past.

Authenticity, which Jiang Wu defines in the context of Edo Japan as "the foundation of a tradition and the source for forming a coherent and consistent value system,"[56] explains why the Japanese *qin* players insisted on learning *qin* songs the Chinese way, including imitating the pronunciations of the Chinese lyrics. Even though they believed that Japan also had a long history of *qin* playing, they could no longer find a Japanese *qin* tradition to learn from. Learning from the Chinese, especially from Donggao, became an opportunity for Japanese *qin* players to bring authenticity to their musical performances (the "gagakuization" of the *qin*, as Yang Yuanzheng has suggested, might be another option). For one thing, China had an unbroken tradition of *qin* playing. For another, ancient China had long been conceived of as an authentic civilization among East Asian countries, and the continuous transmission of Chinese civilization was barely challenged until the seventeenth century. Last but not least, as Jiang Wu has argued, Donggao's political stand against the Manchus and his excellence in literati culture made him one of the "symbols of authentic civilization" in Japan.[57] Accordingly, in the Japan-centric worldview, Donggao's leaving China for Japan would signify that Japan was deemed to replace China as the center of civilization. In sum, learning *qin* songs from Donggao would not only promise to bring back the authentic ancient tradition of *reigaku*, but would also be a necessary move to make Japan the Central Country, as ancient Japan once had been portrayed.

Authenticity was also the major concern when the Japanese *qin* players of later generations made their choices from Donggao's repertoire. On the one hand, because Donggao was regarded in Japan as a symbol of authenticity of the *qin* tradition, his own compositions were—unlike some other songs with lyrics written after the Song dynasty (960–1279)—widely circulated in Japan. On the other hand, unlike his other compositions, Donggao's

55. For statistics on the rate of different types of songs included in five editions of *Donggao qinpu*, see Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 64.

56. Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 6. Wu's monograph on Yinyuan Longqi offers an in-depth discussion about "authenticity" as a cultural and political concern in Edo Japan. In his view, the fall of the Ming dynasty led to the Authenticity Crisis in East Asia, which challenged China as an authentic civilization; at the same time, Chinese literati like Yinyuan and Donggao who were loyal to the Ming were regarded by the Japanese as symbols of authenticity.

57. Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 7.

waka songs are rarely seen in extant editions of *Donggao qinpu*. Because the Japanese literati were aware that the combination of *waka* poetry and *qin* music was Donggao's own invention, these *waka* songs could not serve as authentic representations of the *qin* tradition in Japan.

The Civilization That Surpasses That of the Sage-Kings

A later piece of writing further supports my argument that the significance of the Chinese *qin* songs to the Japanese was to restore their own past and to reinforce the claim that Japan was the Central Country. This piece of writing is worth mentioning because it was written in 1834, when China had lost much of its prestige in East Asia due to the impact of Western empires. The admiration for China evident in Japanese scholars' writings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries disappears in the following essay by the nineteenth-century scholar, Fujita Tōko 藤田東湖 (1806–1855), but the author nonetheless argues for the significance of learning Chinese *qin* songs. This essay was written for one of Donggao's *qin* named "Yu Shun" 虞舜 (i.e., King Shun) which was passed down to Fujita's time. It begins with, again, a remembrance of ancient music:

> In the ancient time, the Zither of Heaven's Edict [*ame no norigoto* 天詔琴] hit a tree and sounded, waking up the deity [*kami* 神]. The records in ancient histories can be used to confirm it. There is no way to know its shape and sound in detail, but what is nowadays called "Japanese zither" [*wagon* 和琴] is perhaps a remnant of it. The foreign country [i.e., China] also has a long history of the zither [*kin* 琴]. [. . .] The "Record of Music" [a chapter in the *Book of Rites*] says, "King Shun created the five-stringed zither, to which he sang the 'South Wind.'" According to this, perhaps the Chinese zither was modeled after King Shun's. [. . .] In the old days, the imperial court was powerful, and we built a good relationship with Tang China [618–907], hence we often adopted cultures and objects from the west [China], . . . but the *qin* alone was barely heard of. Was it because at that time the remainder of the Zither of Heaven's Edict was in use, hence there was no need to borrow from the foreign country? Or was it that the *qin* as an object was imported, but soon abandoned before its music was widely known?
> 大古之時，天詔琴觸樹而鳴，驚神之眠。古史所記，可以徵也。其規模聲律，不可得而詳之。然今所謂和琴者，蓋其遺乎。異邦之有琴亦尚矣。. . .《樂記》曰：“舜作五絃之琴，以歌《南風》”，然則異邦之琴，其仿於虞舜乎。. . . 昔者皇室之盛也，通好於李唐。西土文物，頗有所採用，. . . 獨琴寥寥蔑聞。豈當世專用天詔琴之遺，不待資諸異邦耶？抑其器雖傳，未及盛行而廢耶？[58]

The "Zither of Heaven's Edict" comes from a legendary record in the first volume of *Kojiki* 古事記 (An Account of Ancient Matters), the earliest extant chronicle in Japan. Its first volume, known as the "Kamiyo no maki" 神代卷 ("Volume of the Era of the Deities"), is a collection of myths that outlines the beginning of Japanese history. In Fujita's narrative, the Zither of Heaven's Edict, the Japanese zither, and the Chinese *qin* were connected with each other by the same character, 琴, despite its different pronunciations in the three Japanese words. Although Fujita acknowledges that the Chinese *qin* has a long history as well, he seems to suggest that the Zither of Heaven's Edict is the earliest one, inherited from the time of the deities rather than from a human king. His explanation for the unpopularity of the *qin* even in Heian Japan—different from Suzuki's and Onoda's narratives—also implies a superiority of the ancient Japanese zither (i.e., the remainder of the Zither of Heaven's Edict) over the Chinese *qin*. To him, there would be no need to learn the Chinese *qin* if only the ancient Japanese zither and its music had been preserved. However, given the historical

58. Fujita Tōko, "Gushun kin ki" 虞舜琴記, in *Donggao Xinyue quanji*, 140–41.

gap between Fujita's era and the Heian period, and the fact that no one knows for sure how much the *wagon* resembles the Zither of Heaven's Edict in shape and sound, the essay goes on to argue for the necessity of learning the *qin*:

> The fact that our country is superior to the foreign country [China] is unarguable. If we adopt what the foreign country is good at, our country will be even more venerable. [. . .] In the future, the Great Way should flourish, and the elegant music should last long; to revive the abandoned, to carry on the lost, and to reach for the legacy of the Zither of Heaven's Edict, it is necessary to learn from the music of King Yao and King Shun and songs like the "South Wind."
> 夫神州傑出異邦，固亡論已。異邦所長，採而用之，神州益尊矣。. . . 他日大道之興，雅樂之寮，興廢繼絕，以及天詔琴之遺，則堯舜之音，《南風》之歌，必在所可採也。[59]

In Fujita's opinion, it was necessary to learn *qin* songs such as the "South Wind" because they had a connection to the ancient music that was lost in Japan. The mention of the "South Wind" had further implications in this context. According to the Chinese classics, King Shun used to sing this song while playing the *qin* and thus the world was regulated.[60] The lyrics of the "South Wind" can be found in the canonical commentaries to the *Book of Rites* by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648):

> The south wind is warm, easing my people's sorrow;
> The south wind is on time, enriching my people's wealth.
> 南風之薰兮，可以解吾民之慍兮；
> 南風之時兮，可以阜吾民之財兮。[61]

Considering the implication of the "South Wind" in the context of Fujita's argument, we realize that the purpose of learning *qin* songs was not only to "reach for the legacy of the Zither of Heaven's Edict," but ultimately, to make Japan not just comparable to the ancient China ruled by the sage-kings, but to surpass it.

Not surprisingly, the *qin* song "South Wind" ("Nanfeng" 南風, also known as "Nanxun" 南薰) was circulated in Japan through various editions of *Donggao qinpu*. In fact, one can find this song in almost all extant editions of this *qinpu*.[62] In Suzuki's print edition, for example, the song is indeed attributed to King Shun, and its lyrics are identical to the lines above.[63] When the Japanese tried to perform this song in a way as close as possible to the way the Chinese had performed it, what they aimed for was not simply imitating a Chinese musical performance, but restoring and enriching their own civilization.

CONCLUSION

Some might say that the music of Donggao's *qin* songs is "mediocre,"[64] but the transmission of these songs eventually became a milestone in the history of Japanese *qin* music. As I have tried to show in this paper, this was because of the songs' multiple layers of cultural significance in the particular historical background. Behind its multiple layers, the cultural significance of the *qin* songs is centered around the connections between the past and the present.

59. Fujita Tōko, "Yushun *qin* ji," 141.

60. See, e.g., *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 24.1235.

61. *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli ben* 十三經注疏整理本, ed. Li Xueqin 李學勤 et al. (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 38.1281.

62. See Yang Yuanzheng's chart on Donggao's repertoire; Yang, "Japonifying the *Qin*," 229.

63. *Qinqu jicheng*, 12: 248.

64. Van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 226. Later, on the same page, he writes that the tunes in *Donggao qinpu* seems to be what Donggao taught to "beginners," and may not represent Donggao's own level of *qin* playing.

The way that music mediated between past and present in this particular case was not simply recalling the past through old melodies. Admittedly, some of the songs might have been an expression of nostalgia by reminding Donggao of his days in China. However, both Donggao and the Japanese literati's pursuits of "ancient music" were more intent on inventing or reinventing rather than on representing the musical world of the past. The *qin*, the performing tradition, and the lyrics all served as authentic symbols of the past that could be woven into the present performances. In this way, music helped to realize the ideal of the past in the present reality. This process was made possible because of, not despite, the fact that the music of the past was not technically retrievable. The past in music always took shape in and for the present performance. Its performative nature distinguished music from other media such as texts and objects.

Meanwhile, two characteristics of *qin* song distinguished it from other musical forms. First, as a form of literati music with a connection to the ancient sages, *qin* song could both give give personal expression and have political-ideological implications. Second, it consisted of different communicative layers, including the material (the *qin* itself), the musical, the textual, the linguistic, and the bodily performative. These different components of the *qin* song form worked together in bridging the past and the present, as we have seen in the combination of *waka* and *qin* music, the singing of Confucian teachings, the attention paid to the pronunciations, the Japanese preference for "old" lyrics, and the reference to King Shun's "South Wind."

The transmission of these *qin* songs also shows that, in the cultural interaction between the Ming loyalists and the Japanese literati, the question of "what is Chinese" and "what is Japanese" was often negotiated through cultural memories that shaped and reshaped the past. For example, influenced by the Chinese narrative of *qin* history and the Japanese narrative of the ancient zither, Japanese literati turned the *qin* into something that was both Chinese and Japanese, and that symbolized the ideal society. For Chinese sojourners such as Donggao, remembering China in Japan helped to reshape their vision of the ideal society as both rooted in the Chinese past and compatible with the Japanese future.

In sum, Donggao and the Japanese literati were brought together by a shared belief that the ancient past was an ideal society with *qin* music being a symbol of its civilization. The vision of such an ideal society had a strong yet flexible connection to China: it was influenced by the cultural memory of ancient China even in the Japanese cases discussed in this paper, but it did not always have clear geographic, ethnic, or religious boundaries when manipulated in different contexts. This allowed Donggao to see affinity and hope outside of Chinese territory, on the one hand, and the Japanese literati, on the other, to connect a Chinese musical tradition to the past and future of their own country.