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Textual Representations of the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Drama *Yuzan ji* (*The Jade Hairpin*)

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The late Ming period in China (1573-1644) was a golden age for drama and woodblock printing. This is a study of textual representations of the *chuanqi* drama *Yuzan ji* (*The Jade Hairpin*) composed by Gao Lian in 1570.[2] In this preliminary investigation, I focus primarily on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and on four types of representations, namely, full-length editions of the drama, selections of acts in anthologies, technical manuals, and cards for drinking games.

I will first present the background to the author and play, and then give a brief history of the textual representations of this work. Next I will analyze these texts and ask various questions, such as "why do some texts contain dialogue, musical notation, and/or stage directions and others do not?"; "what was the function of illustrations?"; "who read the texts and why?"; and "why were only selections published?" and "what criteria determined which selections were chosen?"

Notes on the Playwright Gao Lian

Gao Lian hailed from a merchant family in Qiantang (present-day Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province).[3] He failed twice in the provincial

[1] All figures that accompany this article may be seen in the eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org.

[2] For a stimulating study that discusses textual representations of Tang Xianzu's *chuanqi* drama *Mudan ting* (*Peony Pavilion*), see Swatek 2002.

[3] For a biography of Gao Lian, see Xu 1993:197-222.

examination and gave up hope for an official career, but his father left him well off. His *Zun sheng ba jian* (*Eight Discourses on the Art of Living*, 1591) has been studied by the cultural historian Craig Clunas (1991:13-20). He was also a noted writer of *sanqu* ("independent songs"), which may be found in anthologies such as Chen Suowen's *Beigong ciji* (*A Collection of Songs in the Northern Mode*, Wanli period [1573-1620]; see Du 1983:8/4b), Feng Menglong's *Taixia xinzou* (*New Tunes from the Clouds Above*, 1627), Zhang Chushu's *Wu sao hebian* (*Joint Edition of Encountering Sorrow in the Wu Style*, 1637), and so on.[4] Two of his *chuanqi* plays are extant, *The Jade Hairpin* and *Jie xiao ji* (*The Upright and the Filial*, 1571; see Xu 1993:212-13). This second work is divided into two parts: the first (in 17 acts) is about Tao Qian, the hermit par excellence; the second part (in 14 acts) is about the filial grandson Li Mi. Lü Tiancheng (1980:217-18) places Gao Lian in the sixth grade of dramatists out of nine. Qi Biaojia (1980:49-50) places both his works in the fifth grade of *neng* ("able"), after the categories of *miao* ("marvelous"), *ya* ("elegant"), *yi* ("otherworldly"), and *yan* ("beautiful").

Here I will concentrate on *The Jade Hairpin*. There are versions of the story in prose and in a Ming period *zaju* drama, but since this paper concentrates primarily on representations of Gao Lian's play, we will not go into the story's development in various genres.[5]

Synopsis of the *Jizhi zhai* Edition of *The Jade Hairpin* in 34 Acts

The story is set in the beginning part of the Southern Song period (1127-1279). Pan Su, former governor of Kaifeng Prefecture, sends his son Pan Kai to sit for the civil service examination at Lin'an (Hangzhou). Our heroine, Chen Jiaolian, daughter of the former Assistant Governor of Kaifeng Prefecture, had been betrothed to Pan Su's son even before they had been born, with an exchange of a jade hairpin and a mandarin duck ornament as betrothal gifts. Troops from the Jin Dynasty attack the Southern Song, and Jiaolian is separated from her mother. The mother seeks refuge

[4] Zhuang 1982:881-82.

[5] For versions of the story in prose form, see Zhuang (1982:618) and Huang C. (1956:119). There is also a manuscript copy of the Ming *zaju* drama entitled "Zhang Yuhu wu su Nüzhen guan" ("Zhang Yuhu Stays Over at Female Chastity Nunnery by Mistake") with a *xiezi* ("wedge prologue") and four acts. The manuscript copy was made by Zhao Qimei in 1615, and has been reset in a modern edition. See Zhongguo xiju 1958: vol. 3, no. 99.

with the Pan family, while Jiaolian finds refuge at Female Chastity Nunnery on the outskirts of Jiankang, and is given the Buddhist name Miaochang.

Zhang Xiaoxiang—historically a statesman and poet—stays in the nunnery incognito, on his way to Jiankang to take up his post of governor. He is impressed by Miaochang's beauty, and while playing *weiqi* ("encirclement chess") with her, tries to seduce her verbally and by writing a poem on her fan. He fails, and leaves the nunnery to go to his official post. Meanwhile our hero Pan is in Lin'an for the examination, but does not finish because of illness. He leaves Lin'an and decides to stay with the head of the nunnery, who is his maternal aunt.

At the nunnery, the beauty of Miaochang also captivates Dandy Wang. The nun Wang at the Convent of the Concentrated Spring agrees to introduce her for a sum of money. At this time Pan has tea with Miaochang and is also captivated. She plays the zither one evening, and Pan visits her and plays also. He hints at his longing for her, but she is offended and he leaves. Assuming he has gone, she sings out her fond feelings for him, which he overhears but does not fully understand. Miaochang writes a poem describing her desire for Pan. The nun Wang comes as matchmaker for Dandy Wang, but Miaochang refuses him. Pan visits Miaochang while she is asleep, and reads her poem on a piece of paper hidden in a Buddhist sutra.

[Figure 1][6]

Pan wakes Miaochang up, wishing to consummate their love. She refuses until Pan sings to her that he has read her poem. She turns her back to the audience and sings out, "I try bashfully many times, and untie my silk gown."

[Figure 2]

The aunt suspects the affair between Pan and Miaochang, and forces Pan to go to Lin'an to prepare for the examination. She sees him off at the ferry, but Miaochang hires a boat and catches up with Pan after his aunt has gone. She gives him a green jade phoenix hairpin as a good luck piece for success in the examination, while he gives her a white jade mandarin duck fan pendant, hoping that they will be united in the future.

Dandy Wang and the nun Wang accuse Miaochang at court of cheating Dandy Wang in a proposed marriage, but Zhang Xiaoxiang sees

[6] See the eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org for figures not present in the print version of this article.

through the two of them and gives them a beating. Pan passes the examination and marries Miaochang. There is a happy reunion with Pan's parents and Miaochang's mother, and a realization that Pan and Miaochang had been betrothed to each other since before they had been born.

Full-Length Editions

We next proceed to look at full-length versions of the drama. The modern scholar Fu Xihua provides a useful listing of 13 extant editions of the work (1959:117-18):

1. *Jizhi zhai* (Studio for Continuing the Ambition) edition, National Library, Beijing. Two *juan* ("chapters"). At the end of the Table of Contents for the 34 acts is a line that reads, "Edited by Chen Dalai from Moling [Nanjing, Jiangsu Province], in the first month of summer of the *yihai* year [1599]".[7]

2. *Wenlin ge* (Hall of the Forest of Letters) edition, National Library, Beijing. Wanli period (1573-1620). Two *juan*.

3. *Changchun tang* (Hall of Everlasting Spring) edition, private collection of Fu Xihua. Wanli period. The front page reads, "Edited and punctuated [?] at *Huanya zhai* [Studio of The Return to Elegance]. *The Jade Hairpin*, newly printed and illustrated. Blocks kept at *Changchun tang*." The first column—at the beginning of Act 1—reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, Newly Collated." The center of the folio page reads "*The Jade Hairpin*, complete with illustrations and notes." There is a Table of Contents in front of each *juan*.

4. Wanli period edition entitled *Sanhui Zhenwen an yuzan ji* (*Three Meetings at Zhenwen Nunnery and the Jade Hairpin)*. Location unknown.

5. *Shide tang* (Hall of the Virtue of Generations) edition, private collection of Nagasawa Kikuya. Wanli period. Two *juan*.

6. Xiao Tenghong edition, private collection of Fu Xihua. Wanli period. Two *juan*. The first column reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, newly printed." The following columns read respectively, "Commentary by Chen Jiru [1558-1639], courtesy name Meigong, from Yunjian [in modern Jiangsu Province]. Read by Yu Wenxi, courtesy name Yonghui, studio name Yizhai. Printed by Xiao Tenghong, courtesy name Qingyun [from Shulin, Fujian Province?]." The center of the folio page reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Chen Meigong." There is a Table of Contents in front of

[7] This has been reprinted. See Gao 1954.

each *juan*, beginning with the line "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Mr. Chen Meigong."

7. Late Ming edition, with commentaries by Li Zhi. Former Nanyang High School.

8. *Ningzhi tang* (Hall of Attainment of Peace) edition, Kunaichō Library, Japan. Chongzhen period (1628-44). Two *juan*. The first column of *juan* 1 reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by I li an [Li Yu] (late Ming period)." Another title reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Mr. Xu Wenchang [Xu Wei] (1521-93)." This edition has been reprinted in *Chuanqi sishi zhong* (*Forty Chuanqi Dramas*).

9. Original first *Jigu ge* (Hall of Drawing from the Past) edition. Two *juan*. The front page is entitled "*The Jade Hairpin*, definitive edition." Published by the bibliophile Mao Jin from Changshu, modern Jiangsu Province.

10. Edition in *Liushi zhong qu* (*Sixty Plays*), published by *Jigu ge*.

11. Palace manuscript, National Library, Beijing. Kangxi period (1662-1722). Only second *juan* extant.

12. 1745 manuscript edition (*Zhongguo xiqu yanjiu yuan* collection).

13. Reprint of Xiao Tenghong edition in *Liuhe tongchun* (*Spring in the Whole Universe*), printed by *Xiuwen tang* (Hall for Literary Cultivation), National Library, Beijing and Beijing University Library. Qianlong period (1736-95).

Unfortunately, I have only had access to the *Guben xiqu congkan* edition (No. 1) and a woodblock edition from the *Liushi zhong qu* in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London; but even from the list above and the two editions that I have seen, I am able to ascertain the following points:

(i) There were numerous editions in the late Ming period, and some were illustrated. For example, in the *Jizhi zhai* edition, there are the following fine illustrations:

- a full-folio page illustrating the farewell scene in Act 2 (*shang juan* 2b, 3a)
- a half-folio page illustrating the head of the nunnery expounding on the *Lotus Sutra* to the nuns in Act 8 (14b)
- a half-folio page illustrating the chess scene in Act 10 (19b)

Figure 3. The chess scene, Act 10. The official Zhang Xiaoxiang is trying to seduce Miaochang verbally while playing the elegant game of *weiqi*. This is a rare depiction of a man and woman who are not from the same family playing *weiqi* together.

- a full-folio page illustrating the tea-drinking scene in Act 14 (28b, 29a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the zither scene between the two future lovers in Act 16 (31b, 32a)
- a full-folio page illustrating Pan's page staring at Miaochang in Act 19 (*xia juan*, 9b,10a)

- a half-folio page illustrating Pan kneeling in front of Miaochang and vowing that he will never forget her in Act 19 (11a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the reunion of the two lovers in the boat in Act 23 (19b, 20a)
- a half-folio page illustrating Miaochang and a friend in Act 27 (26a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the reunion scene in Act 34 (35b, 36a)

(ii) Some of the editions have commentaries. The *Jizhi zhai* edition has commentaries at the top of the page to explain the pronunciation of Chinese characters, difficult vocabulary, and allusions. Educated scholars would not have required these types of commentaries.

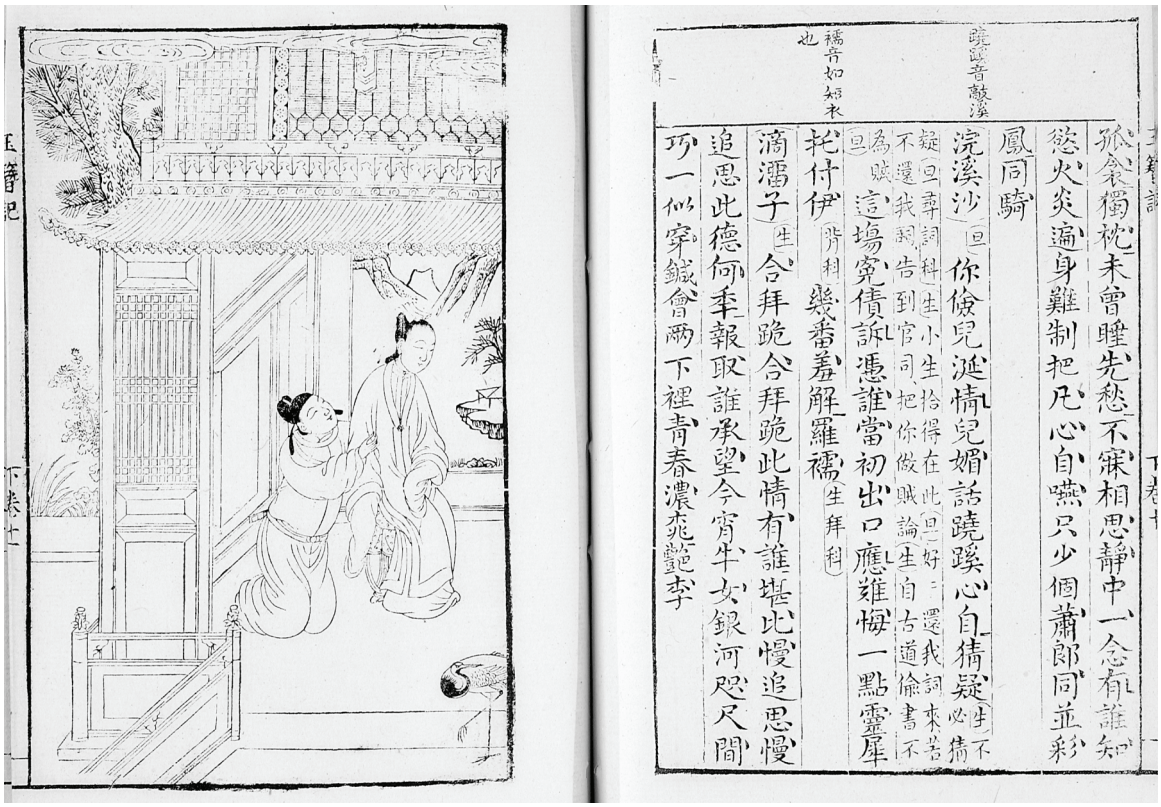

Figure 4. The first column of characters on the top right gives pronunciations of characters. The next two columns on the top right give the pronunciation and meaning of a character. The illustration is of Act 19. (Gao 1954:10b-11a).

(iii) Some of the editions have commentaries attributed to such famous literati of the late Ming period as Xu Wei, Li Zhi, Chen Jiru, or Li Yu. These may be attributions to attract customers, but they need further research.

(iv) The *Jizhi zhai* edition is punctuated, and musical beats are indicated for most of the arias. The titles of the arias and stage directions are bracketed. Also, the stage directions and dialogue are set in smaller type relative to the arias. (Note in Figure 4 the indication of different types of musical beats to the right of certain characters in the arias, for example, in column one on the right.[8])

(v) The reprinted *Jigu ge* edition is in plain text, without any commentaries. Only the titles of the songs are bracketed, and the stage instructions and dialogue are set in smaller type relative to the arias. The text is not punctuated, and no musical beats are indicated.

[Figure 5]

Differentiating the market for the *Jizhizhai* edition and the *Jigu ge* edition is not easy. One can probably say that the *Jizhizhai* edition published in Nanjing was aiming at a broad market, where the general public would appreciate all the packaging. While the educated would neither have needed nor minded the commentaries, they would probably have appreciated the punctuation and musical notation. It would have been cheaper than the *Jigu ge* edition, which came in a series of ten plays. The *Jigu ge* edition, in all its purity, would have been a greater challenge for any type of reader. The texts for these two editions have been collated and reprinted (cf. Huang C. 1956).

Selections of Acts in Anthologies

Independent songs (*sanqu*) and selected acts or arias from dramas were also anthologized together in the Ming period (1368-1644),[9] and scholars have noted at least 30 of these anthologies (Hu 1980:1-2). One of the earliest, but no longer extant, is the *Bai ershi jia xiqu jijin* (*Gems from the Plays of One Hundred and Twenty Playwrights*) of the Chenghua period (1465-87; see Zhou W. 1999:240). Some early extant anthologies include the following:

[8] For an explanation of musical beat notation, see Zeng 1991:143 and Zhou W. 1999:352.

[9] For an introduction to these anthologies, see Shanghai yishu 1983:540-44, Wang Q. 1984:series 1 and 2, 1-9, and Wang Q. 1987:series 4, 2-3.

1. *Shengshi xinsheng* (*New Sounds from this Prosperous Era*, 1517), compiler unknown. This contains *sanqu* and arias from drama of the Yuan and Ming period (Shanghai yishu 1983:541).

2. *Cilin zhai yan* (*A Selection of Beautiful Songs from the Forest of Words*, 1525), compiled by Zhang Lu and based on the above with modifications (*ibid*.:541-42).

3. *Fengyue jinnang* (*Love in a Brocade Bag* [*of Writings*], 1553), compiled by Xu Wenzhao.[10] This rare anthology is in the Royal Library of San Lorenzo, Escorial, Spain, and consists of a selection of songs and drama excerpts from the Yuan and Ming periods.

4. *Yongxi yuefu* (*Songs from the Bureau of Music in this Era of Peace and Joy*, 1566), compiled by Guo Xun (cf. Zhao X. 1988:279). This is partly based on *Cilin zhai yan*, and contains Yuan *zaju* drama and so on.

We now turn to drama anthologies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The vast majority has been collected in the *Shanben xiqu congkan* (*Collection of Fine Editions of Drama and Songs*), and the following 16 contain selections of acts from *The Jade Hairpin*[11]:

1. *Qunyin leixuan* (*A Selection of Songs in Categories*, c. 1593-96), compiled by Hu Wenhuan. Selections from *guan qiang* (the official singing style) (Kunqu), *qing qiang* (pure singing style of arias not from drama), *bei qiang* (northern singing style), and various local singing styles. The complete work should contain 46 *juan* ("chapters"), but seven *juan* are missing.

2. *Yuefu jinghua* (*The Essence of the Bureau of Music*, 1600), compiled by Liu Junxi. *Sanhuai tang* (Hall of the Three Chinese Scholartrees) edition, of Wang Huiyun, (of Shulin, Fujian Province?). Twelve *juan*. The text is divided into an upper and a lower section, each six *juan*, and contains selected acts of Ming period *chuanqi* dramas.

[10] For a detailed study of this anthology, see Sun 2000. For a modern annotated edition of this text, see Sun and Huang 2000.

[11] See Wang Q. 1984 and 1987. Anthologies 2-4 and 7-11 are from Series 1; 5, 6, and 13-16 are from Series 2; and 1 and 12 are from Series 4.

3. *Yugu xinhuang (New Tunes from the Jade Valley*, 1610*)*, compiled by Retired Scholar Jing. Printed by Liu Ciquan, (of Shulin?). Five *juan*. The pages are divided into three horizontal sections. The upper and lower sections contain 50 selected acts from 23 *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains songs.

Figure 6. This is the title page, and the scene of the couple with their eyes closed invites the reader to enter a gentle and soft realm (*wenrou xiang*). (Retired Scholar Jing 1984:series 1, vol. 2, p. 3).

[Figure 7]

4. *Zhaijin qiyin* (*Extraordinary Sounds of Selected Fine Tunes*, 1611), compiled by Gong Zhengwo. *Dunmu tang* (Hall of Cordiality and Harmony) edition, of Zhang Sanhuai, (Shulin?). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into

two sections. The upper section contains songs, wine games, and lantern riddles. The lower section contains 66 acts from 32 *chuanqi* dramas.

5. *Wu yu cui ya* (*A Collection of Elegant Songs from the Wu Area*, 1616), compiled by Zhou Zhibiao (Suzhou, modern Jiangsu Province). Four *juan*. Selections of Yuan and Ming *sanqu* suites and acts from Yuan Ming drama, with a total of 280 suites. The work also contains 18 items from Wei Liangfu's *Qulü* (*Rules for Songs*).

6. *Yue lu yin* (*Sounds [Fresh and Clear as the] Moon and Dew*, Preface dated 1616), compiled by Lingxu zi (Li Yuer). Four *juan*. Contains *sanqu* and selected acts from Ming *chuanqi*.

7. *Cilin yizhi* (*A Branch from the Forest of Songs*, Wanli period [1573-1620]), compiled by Huang Wenhua. Printed by Ye Zhiyuan, from Shulin, (Fujian Province). Four *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain 48 selected acts from 35 Ming period *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *sanqu* songs and *xiaoqu* tunes.

[Figure 8]

8. *Baneng zou jin* (*Beautiful Tunes from the Eight Accomplished Musicians*, Wanli period), compiled by Huang Wenhua. *Airi tang* (Hall of Love for Time) edition, of Cai Zhenghe, Shulin, (Fujian Province). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain 47 selected acts from 33 Ming period *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *xiaoqu* tunes. The work is missing some pages.

[Figure 9]

9. *Da Ming chun* (*Spring of the Great Ming Dynasty*, Wanli period), compiled by Cheng Wanli. Printed by Tang Jinkui, of Shulin, Fujian Province (see Xie and Li 1997:332). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain selected acts from *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains short tunes, miscellaneous poems, and dialectal phrases. It includes 54 acts from 31 *chuanqi*.

[Figure 10]

10. *Hui chi ya diao* (*Elegant Tunes from Huizhou and Chizhou* [in modern Anhui Province], Wanli period), compiled by Xiong Renhuan. Printed by the Master of Yanshi Lodge (Xiong Renhuan), of Shulin, Fujian Province (see Xie and Li 1997:301). Two *juan*. The upper and lower sections contain 38 selected acts from 12 *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *xiaoqu* tunes.[12]

11. *Yao tian le* (*Joy in this Grand Era of Peace and Prosperity*, Wanli period), compiled by Yin Qisheng. Printed by Xiong Renhuan of Shulin, Fujian Province. Two *juan*. Format identical to *Hui chi ya diao*. The upper and lower sections contain 60 selected acts from 43 *chuanqi* dramas, and one act from the Yuan *zaju* drama *Xixiang ji* (*The Western Wing*). The middle section contains wine games, lantern riddles, jokes, and so on.

12. *Sai zhengge ji* (*A Collection to Compete with Those Inviting Singing Courtesans*, Wanli period), anonymous compiler. Six *juan*. Selections of acts from 27 Yuan and Ming period dramas.

13. *Cilin yixiang* (*Other Worldly Notes from the Forest of Songs*, 1623), compiled by Xu Yu. *Cuijin tang* edition. Four *juan*. 120 Ming *sanqu* suites and 121 suites from Yuan Ming drama. Contains Wei Liangfu's *Kunqiang yuanshi* (*On the Kunshan Mode of Singing*).

14. *Yi chun jin* (*Joyous Spring Brocade*, Chongzhen period [1628-44] edition),[13] compiled by Chonghe Jushi. Six *juan*. Selections of *sanqu* and 76 acts from 51 Ming *chuanqi* dramas. The anthology is also entitled *Xinjuan chuxiang dianban chantou bailian* (*A Hundred Bolts of Gifts of Brocade for Performers; Newly Printed, with Illustrations and Beat Notations*).

[12] For a study of this anthology, see Zhao Jingshen (1958:124-35). He notes the inclusion of acts from three Yuan period *nanxi* dramas.

[13] The title is from the saying "a thousand *taels* of silver to buy a smile, he does not begrudge the gift of brocade for the performer" (Chonghe Jushi 1984:1). I have checked Beijing University's electronic databases, and this couplet is not in the *Quan Tang shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Tang Period*) or the *Quan Song shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Song Period*).

15. *Shanshan ji* (*The Sparkling and Crystal Clear Collection*, end of Ming period),[14] compiled by Zhou Zhibiao (Suzhou, modern Jiangsu Province). Four *juan*. Selections of song suites from Ming writers and arias fromYuan and Ming period drama.

16. *Gelin shicui (Spring from the Forest of Songs)*, an anonymous Ming period compilation. Qing period reprints. Divided into a first *ji* ("collection") with selections from 16 *chuanqi* and a second collection with selections from 14 *chuanqi*. Not divided into *juan*.

The following lists the anthologies and the acts selected from *The Jade Hairpin*:

Anthology	**Acts**
(1) *Qunyin leixuan*	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34 (pp. 71-113) (punctuated arias only)
(2) *Yuefu jinghua*	16 (pp. 168-73); 23 (pp. 186-96) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(3) *Yugu xinhuang*	19 (pp. 72-81); 23 (pp. 81-90) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with some stage directions, illustrated)
(4) *Zhaijin qiyin*	19 (pp. 115-21); 23 (pp. 121-26) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(5) *Wu yu cui ya*	Nine arias from Act 19 (pp. 708-12); one aria from Act 31 (p. 788) (arias punctuated, with musical notation)
(6) *Yue lu yin*	Just arias from Act 16 (pp. 330-34) (not punctuated)

[14] The title comes from Scholar Pei's couplet: "A song without musical accompaniment is sung in the middle of the night; the bright moon is sparkling and crystal clear" (Zhou Z. 1984b:1). I have checked Beijing University's electronic databases, and the couplet is not in the *Quan Tang shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Tang Period*) or the *Quan Song shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Song Period*).

(7) *Cilin yizhi*	Act ? "Chen Miaochang kongmen si mu" ("Chen Miaochang yearns for her mother within the gate of emptiness"; pp. 31-39); Act 21 (pp. 39-45); Act ? "Chen Miaochang yueye fenxiang" ("Chen Miaochang burns incense on a moonlit night"; pp. 45-51)[15] (arias and dialogue, some punctuation for arias, dialogue not punctuated, no stage directions, illustrated)
(8) *Baneng zoujin*	19 (corrupt text) (p. 20); 21 (pp. 72-80); 23 (pp. 98-102) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(9) *Da Ming chun*	Act ? "Miaochang si mu" ("Miaochang yearns for her mother"; pp. 10-26); Act 14 (pp. 26-33); Act ? "Jianbie Pan sheng" ("A farewell drink to Scholar Pan"; in Table of Contents but not in main text); Act 23 (pp. 33-46) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, without stage directions, not illustrated)
(10) *Hui chi ya diao*	22 (p. 125-29) (arias and dialogue, some punctuation for arias, dialogue not punctuated, most stage directions omitted, not illustrated)
(11) *Yao tian le*	Act ? "Jiaolian nü kongmen simu" ("The maiden Jiaolian [Miaochang] yearns for her mother within the gate of emptiness"; pp. 38-46); Act 21 (pp. 46-51); Act ? "Chen Miaochang baiyue yi ren" ("Chen Miaochang pays homage to the moon and yearns for someone"; pp. 51-57) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, no stage directions, not illustrated)
(12) *Sai zhengge ji*	Acts 21, 19, 23 (pp. 307-38) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with some musical notation, with stage directions, illustrated)

[15] These two acts are not in the *Jizhi zhai* edition. Anthology 11 also contains the same two acts, and anthology 9 also has one of these acts.

(13) *Cilin yixiang*	Nine arias out of 14 from Act 19 (pp. 648-52); five arias out of 11 from Act 23 (pp. 652-54); one aria from Act 31 (p. 655) (arias punctuated, with musical notation)
(14) *Yi chun jin*	Act 19 (pp. 130-38); Act 21 except for first three arias (pp. 923-27) (arias and dialogue, punctuated, with musical notation, with stage directions, not illustrated)
(15) *Shanshan ji*	Five arias out of eight from Act 14 (pp. 287-88) (arias punctuated, and with musical notation, not illustrated)
(16) *Gelin shicui*	Acts 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23 (pp. 927-84) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, no musical notation, with stage directions, not illustrated)

From the 16 anthologies above, we are able to get a glimpse of some of the favorite acts from *The Jade Hairpin* during the late Ming period: Act 16 (four anthologies), Act 21 (seven anthologies), Act 19 (nine anthologies), and Act 23 (nine anthologies). These acts (most of them mentioned in the synopsis above) represent some of the highlights in the play. Act 16 centers on music performed within an opera, and brings the love between Miaochang and Pan almost to a crescendo. In this act Miaochang plays the zither one evening, when Pan visits her and plays also. He hints at his longing for her, but she is offended and he leaves. Assuming he has gone, she sings out her fond feelings for him, which he overhears but does not fully understand. Act 21 skillfully develops the tension between love and Buddhist meditation on emptiness. Pan is late for an appointment with Miaochang because his aunt orders him to study while she sits in meditation. Act 19 continues to develop the tension between love and Buddhist emptiness, when Pan visits Miaochang while she is asleep and reads the love poem that she has hidden in a Buddhist sutra. Filled with desire for her, Pan awakes Miaochang. She refuses him until Pan sings to her that he has read her poem. She turns her back to the audience and sings out: “I try bashfully many times, and untie my silk gown.” There follows a comic scene with the page Jin’an. Act 23 brings the agony of separation to a height when the aunt sees Pan off at the ferry. Miaochang hires a boat and catches up with Pan after his aunt has gone. She gives him a green jade phoenix hairpin as a good luck piece for success in the examination. He gives her a white jade mandarin duck fan pendant, hoping that they will be united in the future.

It is also interesting to note that at least two acts in anthologies 7 and 11 are not preserved in the 34-act edition.[16] All of the anthologies obviously contain arias. Five have musical notations, 11 include dialogue, and six include stage directions. Seven feature illustrations for *The Jade Hairpin*. Five have all the arias punctuated, and only one has the dialogue punctuated.

What then is the nature of these anthologies? From the different packaging of the content, marketing strategies are obviously different for some of the publishers. Anthologies 2-4 and 7-11 share a similar format, in that the pages are divided into either two or three sections and that some of these contain wine games, lantern riddles, and so on. These clearly were used for the amusement of the solitary reader or those at banquet gatherings. Other anthologies, such as the five with musical notation (5 and 12-15), would seem to be aimed at those who would like some help with the music.

In terms of musical style, the publishers advertise their anthologies with long titles, from which we can point out the following: (1) anthologies 3, 4, and 7 advertise the *gun diao* ("rolling melodies"), which refer to the *Qingyang qiang* (singing style from Qingyang Prefecture, modern Anhui Province)[17]; (2) anthologies 9, 10, and 11 represent the *Yuyao qiang* (singing style from Yuyao Prefecture, modern Zhejiang Province)[18]; and (3) anthologies 5 and 13 contain Wei Liangfu's treatise on the Kunshan (in modern Jiangsu Province) mode of singing, and anthology 15 should belong to the same group.

Six of the anthologies (5, 6, and 12-15) contain prefatory material, and in the following discussion we can glimpse the views (whether sincere or masking pecuniary interests) of the compilers and their friends.

Musical and Tonal Notation for the Arias

We would assume that tonal and musical notations are for those who wish to understand the pronunciation and the music. In the *Wu yu cui ya*, besides musical notations, closed vowels and nasal sounds are noted (Cai 1989:434).

[Figure 11]

[16] Zhao Jingshen (1958:134-35) notes these two extra acts.

[17] For an explanation of this style of singing, see Zhang et al. 1994:289-90.

[18] See Zhao J. 1958:125. For an explanation of this style of singing, see Zhang et al. 1994:549.

The compiler of *Shanshanji* notes that he has corrected musical notation, which is either wrong or partially missing due to the carelessness of the woodblock carvers (Cai 1989:437). The section on the organizational principles of the *Cilin yixiang* states the following (*ibid*.:443):

> There are single tunes and joint tunes. Singers do not understand what rules they have broken, and look bewildered. These have all been marked clearly. As for tones being level or oblique, characters with non-nasal or nasal rhymes,[19] and the use of different rhymes, we have carefully checked [Zhou Deqing's] *Zhongyuan yinyun* [*Phonology of the Central Plain*, 1324] and made notes, so that teachers can steer those out of the ford of delusion, and students can get on the precious raft [that heads towards enlightenment].

The section on the organizational principles of *Yue lu yin*, however, states that musical notations are not necessary (*ibid*.:429):

> To add musical beat notations is like adding circles next to prose compositions [to point out the fine phrasing]. It is extremely superfluous and incorrect. There is beautiful and ugly writing, but the singing style and musical beat are basically the same for the heart and for the arias. Someone who appreciates music will be able to follow the beats, while those who do not will only be like the person who looked for a fine steed with a picture as a guide. Can he rely on these notations [like a pictorial guide] and say he is a good singer?

Zhou Zhibiao writes in his preface to *Wu yu cui ya* that those who understand music criticize mistakes in the words used in current arias, and his purpose is to retrieve the elegance. He has picked the finest and added illustrations for the emotions and scenes to please the eyes and ears, noting (1984a:432-33): "One does not have to rely on fast wind instruments, or complicated string instruments. One can concentrate on the beauty in song unaccompanied by music and in tunes that are otherworldly."

With or Without Dialogue?

The arias are obviously the most important, but what about the dialogue? Those anthologies that include just the arias are appealing to an audience primarily interested in the lyrical experience of both the singing and the imagery in the arias. Those that provide dialogue care about the

[19] See, for example, Chen W. 1966:140-41.

development of the story also, and we find that seven of our anthologies provide dialogue. The section on the organizational principles of *Shanshan ji* notes that "the work contains some dialogue for understanding the plot, and this can provide material for discussions later, and readers are urged not to skip over them casually" (*ibid*.:437).

With or Without Stage Directions?

There are only six anthologies that give stage directions in the dialogue section.

Illustrations

At the simplest level, illustrations can help the reader visualize the world in the arias or arias with dialogue. Zhou Zhibiao writes in his *Wu yu cui ya* (*ibid*.:434): "Illustrations are just for ornament. Still, if they are all taken away, those with vulgar eyes will grumble. I have thus specially invited a marvelous hand to set out the emotions behind the topics. The fine artisan suffers alone, and I offer it to those with a fondness for such matters."

Qingyu Jushi writes in his preface to *Yue lu yin* (*ibid*.:428): "The illustrations of the emotions and scenes are extremely fine and beautiful, but they are just icing on the cake." Again, the section on the organizational principles of the same anthology notes (*ibid*.:430): "Illustrations are just for decoration. If they are all taken away, vulgar eyes will grumble. [Note the same wording in *Wu yu cui ya.*] For this collection, I have specially invited a marvelous hand to arrange something new and wonderful. Not too many illustrations will be given for emotions, scenes, and intentions that are similar."

Why Read These Texts?

Zhou Zhibiao writes in his Preface to *Wu yu cui ya* (*ibid*.:435):

> Alas! The ways of the world are turning for the worse, and people's hearts are similar. Genuine [*zhen*] writings and true enterprises [that come from the heart] are rare, and even for the lowest lascivious songs and erotic tunes, it is absolutely rare to find those that approach the genuine. Emotions and scenes are genuine for women who are pining away in their boudoirs, or soldiers who are beyond the frontiers, and these can be depicted. A poet can speak for someone with his own brush, . . . and in expressing it, is clearly genuine. Those who sing it are also clearly

> genuine. Thus, how can the eight-legged [examination] essay compare to the 13 modes of music? Scholars, instead of reading putrid contemporary examination essays, should read genuine contemporary songs.

Zhou Z. also writes (*ibid*.:433): "The present world does not lack people with emotions. They can keep this work on their low tables or high desks, and read it several times a day as a draft of cool medicine to ward off the heat of the world." On the selections, Zhou Z. observes (*ibid*.:435): "The 300 poems in the *Book of Poetry* praise the good and ridicule the bad, and are awe-inspiring in urging people to do good and to punish evil. *Chuanqi* drama is the same, and one or two acts from *chuanqi* drama serve the same purpose. Reading the anthology is like reading the complete versions of the plays." In addition to the Confucian function of inspiring readers to do good and to chastise evil, reading these anthologies, for Zhou Zhibiao, becomes an act of retrieving the genuine.

Criteria for Selection

The section on the organizational principles of *Cilin yixiang* notes (*ibid*.:443): "People are captivated by contemporary tunes and arias from drama, so the selections are almost equal."

In the *Wu yu cui ya* Zhou Z. explains (*ibid*.:435) why his anthology contains both contemporary songs (*shi qu*) and arias (*xi qu*). The events and emotions in dramatic arias are genuine, and that is the ideal. For contemporary songs, even if the events depicted may not be real, the emotions are genuine.

In Zhou Zhibiao's other anthology, *Zengding Shanshan ji* (*The Sparkling and Crystal Clear Collection*, *Expanded Edition*), it is mentioned (*ibid*.:436-37) that the first anthology, *Wu yu cui ya*, was very popular, and so this one came out with arias from new *chuanqi* drama.

Jingchangzhai Zhuren (Master of the Studio of Quietude and Constancy) also explains (*ibid*.:429) in the organizing principles of *Yue lu yin* that over half of the selections are new works, and 70 percent are from famous composers. However, old tunes are also included and, even though readers may not find this very exciting, it is necessary, like the staples of cloth, silk, beans, and millet.

He also notes the following (*idem*):

> Someone who selects songs is different from a composer. The composer wishes to connect the events, and arranges the plot like the intricate blood vessels of the heart. If the genuine emotions are brought out indirectly and completely, people will praise him for being outstanding and marvelous.

> As for the selection of arias, if they are not finely wrought like the carved dragons [ornate prose] of Zou Shi (Warring Stated Period),[20] or like those of Cao Zhi (192-232), the tiger of embroidered composition,[21] dare one try to fool people and include them? Please do not rule that the selections should be made using a standard based on the viewing of a stage performance.

If the selections have to be genuine and superlative, we also find anthologies that go one step further and classify the songs according to different types of emotion, for the convenience of the reader. Qingyu Jushi mentions in his Preface to *Yue lu yin* (1616) that in his day there was nearly one collected work for each poet and scholar, but there were no good collections of fine songs. Therefore the compiler Li Yuer gathered beautiful women on West Lake in Hangzhou, and in his boat laden with wine, spread out the beautiful songs and picked new ones, drank and sang, and anthologized them in one mighty gesture. The songs had to fit the emotions described, make sense, and conform to proper standards; thus the anthology was divided into four sections under the headings of *zhuang* ("robust"), *sao* ("wistful"), *fen* ("indignant"), and *le* ("joyful").

Li Yuer goes on to say (Cai 1989:428):

> He has selected songs to such a high standard, which are not merely arias sung on stage. . . . I am going to see its completion soon, and it will sing of the great peace [we enjoy in our time]. Do we necessarily need puppet [actors] from the Pear Garden [dramatic world] to show off their wares in the daytime? The illustrations of the emotions and scenes are extremely fine and beautiful, but this is just icing on the cake.

Influenced by the tradition of *sanqu* independent songs, Qingyu Jushi concludes that we do not need the actors.

Why Selections?

Why were there so many anthologies in the late Ming period that contained only selected acts instead of entire dramas? The anonymous writer (1987:series 4, vol. 46, pp. 1-4) of the Preface to *Sai zhengge ji* notes that *chuanqi* drama can be verbose and depict too many events; for this reason he applauds the selection of choice acts in anthologies. Another reason could be

[20] See Shih 1983:3.

[21] See Luo 1992:1037.

that publishers assume that the reader knows the plot of the whole drama and is just interested in the highlights. A practical reason should come from the tradition of actual performance, when only selected acts were performed.

There are questions concerning when this performance tradition began and when it became popular. Lu Eting (1980:175), in his *Kunqu yanchu shi gao* (*A Draft History of Kunqu Drama Performance*), observes the complicated process for the formation of *zhezi xi* ("single-act drama")—drama where certain acts from a longer play are chosen for performance. Lu places its beginnings in the late Ming early Qing period; such drama became the fashion from the early Kangxi period (1622-1722) onwards. He notes (*ibid*.:175-78) the origins in private performances in banquet halls to entertain guests, and gives instances discovered in jottings and diaries of scholar-officials for the years 1617, 1623, 1632, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, and 1644. However, if we turn to the earlier novel *Jinpingmei* (*The Plum in the Golden Vase*), which David Roy (1993:vol. 1, xvii, xlii-iii) prefers to see as a product of the Wanli period in the second half of the sixteenth century, we also find descriptions of performance of selected acts.[22] We may then ask the following questions. Do the anthologies of selected acts of Ming drama that appear from at least the mid-sixteenth century reflect the actual performance situation or were they one stimulus for the rise of *zhezi xi*? Once both the performance of *zhezi xi* and the practice of anthologizing became prevalent, did the two further stimulate each other? More research is required to answer these questions.

Selections of *The Jade Hairpin* (Acts 16, 21, 22, and 23) may also be found in the eighteenth-century drama anthology *Zhui bai qiu* (*The White Sewn Fur Coat*), published in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province.[23] This edition is notable for its use of the Suzhou dialect, and not Mandarin Chinese, for comic dialogue.

Technical Manuals

I do not know of any extant Ming period edition of *The Jade Hairpin* that gives all the musical, pronunciation, and tonal pattern notations. Shen

[22] Dai Bufan (1984:419-21) notes that in the novel only exciting or boisterous acts from *chuanqi* drama are chosen.

[23] Wang X. 1940:Fourth Collection, *juan* 4, pp. 227-31; Eighth Collection, *juan* 3, pp. 122-27; Second Collection, *juan* 1, pp. 19-32.

Jing's *Zengding nan jiugong qupu* (*Drama Manual of the Nine Modes of Southern Music, Expanded and Revised*) gives model examples for tunes from different musical modes, but does not give examples from *The Jade Hairpin*. His nephew, Shen Zijin, however, referred to one aria in his *Nan ci xin pu* (*A New Manual of Southern Songs*, 1655). At the end of the model song to the tune of "Xiu dai er" ("Embroidered Belt") from Gao Ming's fourteenth-century play *Pipa ji* (*The Lute*), there is a note to the effect that the aria to the same tune in *The Jade Hairpin*, Act 19, is missing lines 7 and 8 of the model aria, and should probably be regarded as another form (Shen 1984:series 3, vol. 29, pp. 424-26).

Cards for Wine Drinking Games

Cards used for wine-drinking games were very popular in the late Ming period. There are 26 cards from the Wanli period, given the modern title *Yuan Ming xiqu yezi* (*Yuan and Ming Drama Cards*; see Zheng 1988:vol. 4, 1-36). These measure 8.2 x 15.8 cm. and are printed in blue ink. The 15th card depicts a scene from Act 21 of *The Jade Hairpin*, where Miaochang is waiting for Pan Kai in the evening after their union the night before, with the aria to the tune of "Pomegranate Flowers" and a poem that explains the context for Miaochang's waiting. In the game, the person who draws this card reads out the instructions, which instruct, "those who are mumbling to themselves drink a huge cup" (*ibid*.:17).

[Figure 12]

There is also an assorted collection of 69 Ming period wine cards in the National Library of China in Beijing. Twenty-two of these illustrate scenes from drama. The cards measure 9.8 x 17 cm., and at the top horizontal section each card has a value according to money suits in regular Chinese playing-cards. A second section below gives lines from a drama, followed by drinking instructions. The third section is a scene from the drama.

Concluding Remarks

Through textual representations of *The Jade Hairpin*, I hope that I have demonstrated a fraction of the richness and complexity of dramatic culture in the late Ming period. Some of the texts help us to approximate

performance traditions on stage through the inclusion of dialogue, stage directions, punctuation, and illustration. Some help us to approach performance of a different kind, that is, the strong tradition of *qing chang* ("pure singing"), defined as performance with no make-up and no dialogue, where the tunes are sung to relatively simple musical accompaniment and where gestures and actions are allowed (see Luo 1991:1316).

Trying to read these texts myself, I found that they went very fast, since I know very little about music. Surely I was not appreciating the arias in the right or the best way. Again, to read dramatic texts as literary composition (*wenzhang*), we could turn for help from the editions with brief commentaries by late Ming literati, but it is only through the early Qing period full-length commentaries of Jin Shengtan on *Xixiang ji* (*The Western Wing*, 1658), and those of Mao Lun and his son Mao Zonggang on *Pipa ji* (*Story of The Lute*, 1665; see Chen X. 1995:9) that the appreciation of Chinese drama as literature takes a new turn.

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