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The Zhonglü Yun Repertoire in Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu Part III: A Historical Study of Zuiyu Changwan

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Abstract: Zuiyu Changwan, or A Drunken Fisherman's Evening Song, survives in two distinct guqin lineages associated with Sichuan and Lingnan. This article examines the Lingnan lineage through comparison of Ming and Qing tablatures, tracing changes in structure, fingering, and tonal designation. The earliest version appears in Xilutang Qintong in 1525. Dahuange Qinpu established a twelve-section form, Ziyuantang Qinpu changed the designation from zhi to shang and separated a concluding harmonic unit, and Mo Jizhao's detailed revision gave the Wuxue Shanfang version its distinctive Lingnan character. Reduced ornamentation and selective refinement produced the simplicity described by Huang Jingxing as untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns. The labels Zhonglü yun with a shang final and xiaogong tuning in vernacular music reveal how compilers combined inherited systems of tonal description. The piece records both regional stylistic formation and the negotiation of musical knowledge across elite and vernacular traditions through successive acts of transmission and revision.

Keywords: Zuiyu Changwan, Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu, comparison of tablature versions, Lingnan qin school

1. Introduction

Zuiyu Changwan [A Drunken Fisherman's Evening Song], hereafter *Zuiyu*, is widely transmitted in the repertoire of the guqin, a seven-string zither. Ming and Qing tablature collections preserve two distinct pieces sharing this title, one associated with Sichuan and the other with Lingnan. The better-known Sichuan version was transmitted by the Qing musician Zhang Kongshan and performed by Wei Zhongyue. It is a concise six-section piece whose theme develops melodic fragments from *Yuqiao Wenda* [Dialogue between a Fisherman and a Woodcutter]. The versions in *Dihuiguan Qinpu*, *Baipingzhai Qinpu*, and *Tianwenge Qinpu* belong to this line. The other is the Lingnan piece. Its appearance in *Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu*, hereafter *Wuxue Shanfang*, exemplifies how Huang Jingxing inherited earlier qin learning while developing a local Lingnan style. The two lines are referred to below as the Sichuan and Lingnan lineages.

Huang Jingxing compiled *Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu* in the Daoguang period, completing the manuscript in 1835; the complete printed edition appeared in 1842. Its repertoire derives mainly from *Ziyuantang Qinpu* of

the Qing Guangling school. Its tuning classifications use the *yun–yin* terminology represented by *Chuncaotang Qinpu*. Huang inherited aesthetic preferences from the Yushan and Guangling schools and developed distinctive Lingnan characteristics on that foundation. *Zuiyu* offers a representative example.

In her study of Huang Jingxing's *Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu*, Zhang (2022) demonstrates its relationship with *Ziyuantang* through a comparison of fingerings. Research on *Zuiyu* itself, however, has concentrated on the Sichuan lineage, with little dedicated study of the Lingnan piece. Its relationship between title and musical identity, historical position, and aesthetic character therefore requires closer attention. This article examines the Lingnan lineage in detail, clarifying its basic characteristics, tracing its sources and transmission, and interpreting its musical thought and style.

2. The Tablature Versions of the Lingnan Zuiyu

The earliest appearance of the Lingnan *Zuiyu* is in *Xilutang Qintong*, compiled by Wang Zhi in 1525, the fourth year of Jiajing. It has ten sections, while later circulating versions gradually developed a twelve-section form. Their modal designations also differ, variously identifying the piece with *gong*, *zhi*, or *shang*.

2.1 The Earliest Form of Zuiyu

The version in *Xilutang Qintong* of 1525 is the earliest. Its original colophon attributes the piece to the Tang writers Lu Luwang, also known as Lu Guimeng, and Pi Ximei, also known as Pi Rixiu, who “went boating on the Songjiang, saw fishermen singing drunkenly, and accordingly composed this piece” (Z. Wang, 2010, p. 161).

The piece comprises ten sections, each with a heading. They are *Yangbo* [Raising Waves], *Guzhuai*, *Minglang* [Sounding the Fish Beater], *Juwang* [Lifting the Net], *Ainai* [The Boatman's Call], *Liutan* [Drifting through the Rapids], *Wangshi* [Forgetting the World], *Wanshe*, *Diaogu* [Reflecting on the Past], and *Yilao* [Growing Old at Ease]. Its tonal designation is *zhi yin*, with *zhi* as the modal final. The right-hand vocabulary is extensive. Alongside the eight basic strokes, it includes *shuangtan*, *po*, *ci*, and *gunfu*. The left-hand vocabulary is simpler, comprising seven gestures, *yin*, *feiyin*, *zhuang*, *nao*, *zhuangnao*, *yinshang*, and *wanglai*. The comparatively plain musical style exemplifies an early preference for numerous articulated sounds with fewer gestures that elaborate their resonance.

The *Zuiyu* in Xiao Luan's *Xingzhuang Taiyin Buyi* of 1557 has a similar structure and identical section headings. Its introductory note connects the piece to a lyric by Zhang Zhongzong.

> The bright moon and the great void share a single radiance. A floating home, a drifting dwelling, forgets dusk and dawn. Drunken eyes coolly regard the bustle of court and marketplace. Growing old among mist and waves, who could be troubled by idle vexations? (Xiao, 2010, p. 368)

The lyric conveys the expressive meaning attributed to the music.

Both early versions contain ten sections with the same headings. This agreement provides an important point of reference for identifying relationships among later tablatures bearing the title *Zuiyu*. Figures 1 and 2 reproduce excerpts from these two tablatures.



Figure 1: Facsimile Excerpt of Zuiyu in Xilutang Qintong

Note. From *Xilutang qintong*, by Z. Wang, 2010, in *Qinqu jicheng* (Vol. 3), Zhonghua Book Company.



Figure 2.1: Facsimile Excerpts of Zuiyu in Xingzhuang Taiyin Buyi

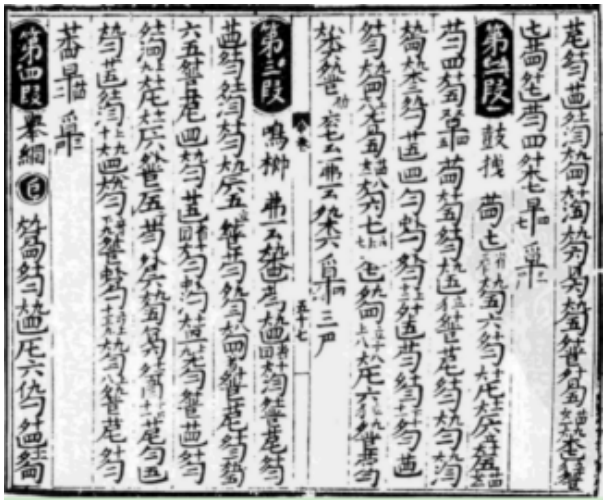


Figure 2.2: Facsimile Excerpts of Zuiyu in Xingzhuang Taiyin Buyi

Note. From *Xingzhuang taiyin buyi*, by L. Xiao, 2010, in *Qinqu jicheng* (Vol. 3), Zhonghua Book Company.

2.2 The Establishment of a Twelve-Section Form

Dahuange Qinpu of 1673 is the source of the twelve-section *Zuiyu*. Its compiler, Xu Shangying, represents the late Ming Yushan tradition. This version first divides the piece into twelve sections by splitting each of the original fifth and eighth sections in two, while removing the section headings. The change reflects a shift in

structural understanding from narrative divisions guided by verbal headings to instrumental divisions shaped by musical development itself. The twelve-section form subsequently became common to most versions and offers another important criterion for tracing their descent.

The fingering in *Dahuange* (Figure 3) is especially detailed, with close attention to the left-hand inflections *yin*, *nao*, *chuo*, and *zhu*. These include *da yin*, *da zhuang*, *ji nao*, *da tuifu*, and *shuangzhuang*. Although the piece remains labeled *zhi yin*, its opening changes from the eleventh *hui* position on the fourth string in *Xilutang Qintong* and *Xingzhuang Taiyin Buyi* to the tenth *hui* on the same string. Most subsequent collections retain this opening, until *Qinxue Chujin* of 1894 restores the eleventh *hui*. Here, *hui* refers to a position marker on the qin. Ling Qizhen considers the tenth-hui reading an error introduced by *Dahuange*. In his comparison of the two pieces called *Zuiyu Changwan*, he writes the following.

> The Zuiyu in *Xilutang Qintong* uses standard tuning to play in Yize yun, avoiding the open tones of strings one, three, and six. The hui positions used for stopped tones therefore differ. Playing the eleventh hui on the fourth string as jue and the ninth hui on the fifth string as yu is customary in pieces in Yize yun. Changing the eleventh hui on the fourth string to the tenth hui disrupts the melodic progression of the entire piece. An examination of *Dahuange Qinpu* and subsequent collections shows that they all perpetuate this error. (Ling, 2023, p. 100)

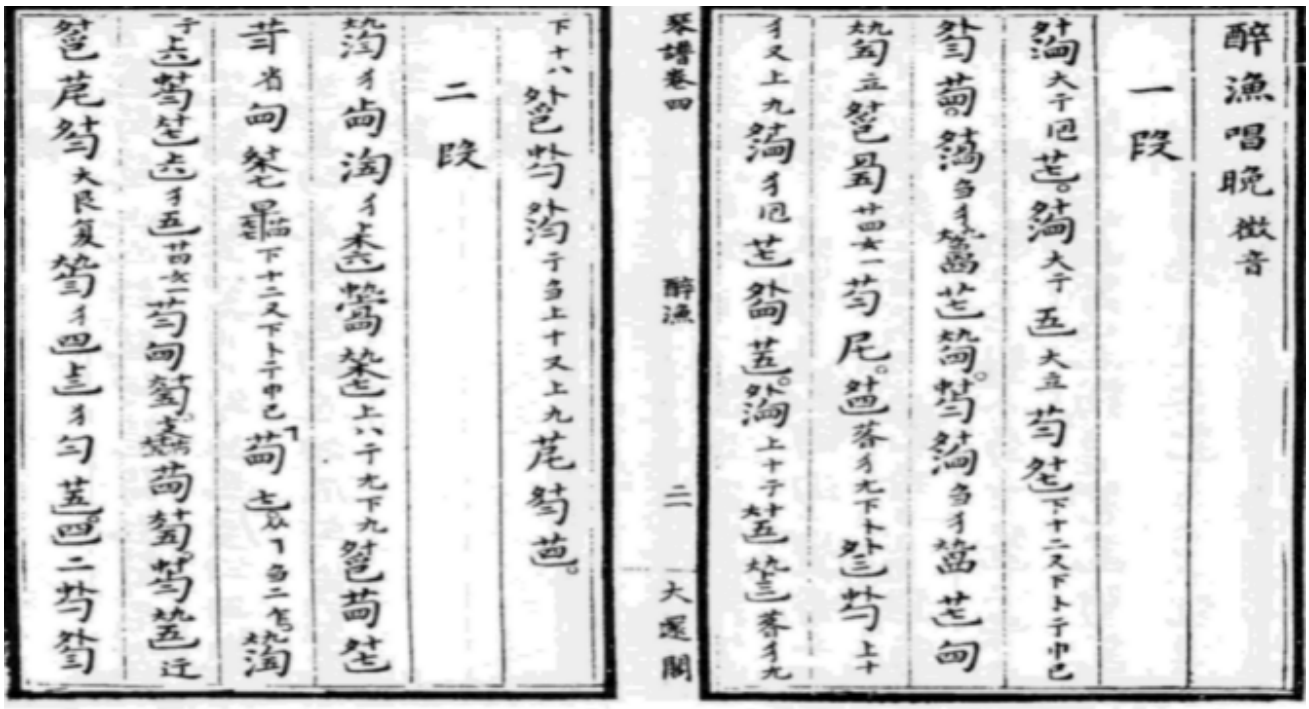


Figure 3: Facsimile Excerpt of Zuiyu in Dahuange Qinpu

Note. From *Dahuange qinpu*, by S. Xu, 2010, in *Qinqu jicheng* (Vol. 10), Zhonghua Book Company.

2.3 Early Qing Transmission and Guangling Changes

Many Qing collections include *Zuiyu* after its appearance in *Dahuange*, with both common and divergent structural features. Most retain twelve sections without headings, including *Chengyitang Qinpu* of 1705, *Chengjiantang Qinpu* of 1718, *Songfengge Qinpu* of 1677, and *Wuzhizhai Qinpu* of 1721. *Liaohuaitang Qinpu* of 1702 also has twelve sections but retains early headings such as *Guyi*, *Minglang*, and *Juwang*. The explanatory note in *Wuzhizhai* attributes the piece to "later recluses" and states that it "shares tones with Yuge but differs in diao." It also records that "the two tablatures of Master Xu Qingshan and Master Yin Zhixian were compared and combined" (Q. Xu, 2010, p. 506). By the early Qing period at the latest, compilers were deliberately comparing different versions, and multiple forms circulated concurrently.

The mid-Qing *Ziyuantang Qinpu* provides the direct source for the *Wuxue Shanfang Zuiyu* (Wu, 2010). Its version was transmitted by the Guangling musician Wu Hong and revised by Li Tingjing. Guangling performance is known for finely differentiated fingering and pronounced rhythmic fluctuation. *Ziyuantang* replaces such *Dahuange* left-hand gestures as *da yin*, *da zhuang*, *shuangzhuang*, and *da tuifu* with characteristic Guangling gestures, including *shuangnao*, *ji zhuang*, and *ji nao*. It also reduces sliding tones considerably, giving the piece rhythmic rise and fall while retaining an antique character. Wu's version expresses the Guangling pursuit of articulated sound and resonant inflection in equal measure. Building on the *Dahuange* transmission, it introduces two changes that directly shaped later versions. First, it changes the designation inherited from the Ming, *zhi yin*, to *zhengdiao shang yin*, or standard tuning with a *shang* final. Naming a piece by a particular *diao* and a particular *yin* follows Wang Tan's conventions in *Qinzhi* (T. Wang, n.d.). From the Song and Ming periods onward, qin musicians had used *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi*, and *yu* to designate the modes of pieces. Second, *Ziyuantang* creates a separately marked *shouyin*, or closing unit, by setting apart the harmonic passage at the end of section twelve and giving it an independent concluding function.

The twelve-section form continued across later transmission. *Yiluxuan Qinpu*, preserved in a manuscript copied after 1802, *Yiliu Zhengwu Zhizhai* of 1875, and *Tianlaige Qinpu* of 1876 also contain the piece. *Qinxue Chujin* of 1894 preserves twelve sections, but its compiler Chen Shiji proposes a different modal attribution. He identifies the piece as *Taicu gong*, rejecting both the *zhi* and *shang* designations as inconsistent with "the original intent of this piece" (Chen, 2010, p. 344). *Shayan Qinbian* of 1946, the last collection in the twelve-section transmission, retains the *shang* designation.

Table 1 brings together the principal versions for comparison.

Table 1: The Transmission and Development of the Lingnan Zuiyu

Collection	Date	Sections	Tonal designation	Structure	Place in transmission
Xilutang Qintong	1525	10	—	Section headings	Earliest surviving tablature
Xingzhuang Taiyin Buyi	1557	10	—	Continues Xilutang	Continuation of the early Ming form
Dahuange Qinpu	1673	12	Zhi	First division into 12 sections; headings removed	Source of the 12-section form
Liaohuaitang Qinpu	1702	—	—	Continues the Dahuange line	Differentiation within the lineage

Collection	Date	Sections	Tonal designation	Structure	Place in transmission
Chengyitang Qinpu	1705	12	Zhi	Continues Dahuange	Convergence within the lineage
Chengjiantang Qinpu	1718	12	—	Continues Dahuange	Convergence within the lineage
Wuzhizhai Qinpu	1721	12	Zhi	Compares and combines two tablatures	Major stage in the 12-section lineage
Ziyuantang Qinpu	1802	12	Shang	First change from zhi to shang; separate closing unit	Guangling revision and direct source
Yiluxuan Qinpu	After 1802	—	—	Continues the Ziyuantang line	Links earlier and later versions
Wuxue Shanfang Qinpu	1835	12	Zhonglü yun with a shang final	Retains shang and the closing unit; Mo Jizhao's detailed revision	Formation of a Lingnan version described as untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns

Note. A dash reproduces an unspecified entry in the source table. Tonal labels are historical designations used in the respective collections.

Modal disagreement runs throughout this transmission. The *zhi* designation of *Xilutang Qintong* gives way to *shang* in *Ziyuantang* and *Wuxue Shanfang*, followed by *Taicu gong* in *Qinxue Chujin*. Musicians reached no settled agreement on the piece's modal identity. Two principal stages organize its development. In 1673, *Dahuange* recast ten sections as twelve and removed the headings, establishing its structural form. In 1802, *Ziyuantang* changed *zhi* to *shang* and introduced a distinct closing unit, providing the tablature basis of the *Wuxue Shanfang* version.

3. The Zuiyu Version in Wuxue Shanfang

The *Wuxue Shanfang Zuiyu* has a distinctive style. Following its “detailed revision” by the Lingnan musician Mo Jizhao, Huang Jingxing praised it as “untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns.”

3.1 Sources of the Piece

Huang's colophon to *Zuiyu* in *Wuxue Shanfang* records the circumstances of its revision.

> Mr. Mo Jizhao, also known as Lanwan, studied fingering with me under Master He Qinzhai and his son. Quick in mind and dexterous in hand, he was a friend whose qin playing commanded my respect. After his detailed revision, this piece became untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns. Regrettably, his life was short. More than thirty years have now passed, but the feeling of having known one who understood my music can never be forgotten. (Huang, 2010, p. 353)

Zhang (2022) uses this colophon to argue that *Zuiyu Changwan*, *Gaoshan* [High Mountains], *Qingye Wenzhong* [Hearing Bells on a Clear Night], and *Yandu Hengyang* [Wild Geese Passing Hengyang] all belonged to He Luoshu's family repertoire. The colophon itself records Huang and Mo's study of fingering under He Qinzhai and the “untrammeled” character produced by Mo's revision. It does not directly state that

He transmitted the piece. Attribution to He Luoshu is therefore a reasonable inference from the two musicians' teaching lineage, rather than an explicit statement in the colophon. Whether the piece came directly from He Luoshu requires further examination.

The fifty pieces in *Wuxue Shanfang* have varied sources. Only four are explicitly identified as deriving from the Huang family's *Gugang Yipu*, namely *Bijian Liuquan* [Flowing Springs in a Verdant Ravine], *Huaigu* [Reflecting on Antiquity], *Oulu Wangji* [Gulls and Egrets Forgetting Worldly Designs], and *Yuqiao Wenda*. Six pieces are attributed to the father and son He Luoshu and He Wenxiang. Most of the remainder come from Jiangsu and Zhejiang collections such as *Ziyuantang*, alongside several versions transmitted by local teachers and friends. According to Zhang Huaying (2022), *Zuiyu* belongs to the He Luoshu line and thus has a different transmission from the family *Gugang Yipu*. This explains its presence in the Lingnan collection despite its absence from the *Gugang Yipu* repertoire.

3.2 The Content of the Detailed Revision

3.2.1 Fingering

The *Wuxue Shanfang Zuiyu* retains distinctive stopped-tone positions such as the eleventh *hui*, *hui* 10.8, and the eighth *hui*. Its left-hand gestures differ from *Ziyuantang*, which favors the distinctly Guangling *shuangnao*, *ji nao*, and *ji zhuang*. *Wuxue Shanfang* replaces these with finer gestures such as *changyin* and *changfu*, or prolonged inflection and return. It markedly reduces sliding tones compared with *Ziyuantang*, and still further compared with their abundance in *Dahuange*. The resulting spare style recalls the plain character of early Ming versions. Mo's detailed revision thus proceeded through simplification and a return to plainness, reversing the familiar expansion of traditional repertoire through added ornament. The music became restrained and free of worldly concerns, giving substance to Huang's assessment. If *Dahuange* represents a high point in the elaboration of resonance, *Wuxue Shanfang* deliberately moderates that elaboration. Its simplicity is an active stylistic choice, not a loss introduced through copying.

3.2.2 Tuning and Modal Designation

Wuxue Shanfang also revises the piece's tonal label. Where *Ziyuantang* gives “gong tuning, shang final,” it uses “Zhonglü yun, shang final.” Its prose discussion emphasizes “matching the seven pitch-standard tunings with the seven tunings of vernacular music,” and the title of *Zuiyu* carries the annotation “xiaogong tuning in vernacular music.”

Although both collections identify *shang* as the final, their classifications derive from different sources. *Ziyuantang* follows Wang Tan's *Qinzhi* in naming a particular *diao* and a particular *yin*. *Wuxue Shanfang* adopts the *yun–yin* terminology of *Chuncaotang Qinpu*. In his note to *Qiaoge* [Woodcutter's Song], Huang states that “Gengge, Zuiyu, and Yandu Hengyang are all appropriately designated shang yin” (Huang, 2010, p. 340). His labels therefore draw on three inherited accounts. They accept the *shang* attribution of *Ziyuantang*, adopt the *yun–yin* naming convention of *Chuncaotang*, and use the vocabulary of *ti* and *yong*, or constitutive basis and function, from *Qinzhi*, as in “shang establishes the basis.” Their convergence in one collection demonstrates the breadth and selective combination of Qing thinking about *yun* and *diao*.

Annotations between musical passages serve both to explain tonal organization and to communicate expression. In section one, the second phrase is marked “shang establishes the basis,” and the last phrase “closes on shang.” At the end of the third phrase in section six appears “bian gong and bian zhi”; the second phrase of section nine begins with “bian gong”; and the final harmonic passage in section twelve is marked “closing unit.” These annotations accord with the judgment that *shang* establishes the mode, assisted by the auxiliary tones *bian gong* and *bian zhi*. Expressive directions include “the resonance accords with drunkenness” at the opening of section five and “a fluctuating close” at the end of section ten. A small-print note in section eleven reads, “This section is ethereal and mobile, without traces of antiquity.” It invokes the lines “Floating clouds and willow catkins have no roots; through the vast expanse of heaven and earth they drift with the wind,” conveying lightness and freedom. “Shang establishes the basis” follows Wang Tan's formulation in *Qinzhi* that “shang yin takes the shang tone as its constitutive basis,” while “the resonance accords with drunkenness” echoes the colophon's “untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns.” The editor thus joins explicit musical reasoning to the communication of expressive meaning.

The early designation of *Zuiyu* as *zhi yin* belongs to the tradition of naming modes by the five tones, *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi*, and *yu*, established from the Song dynasty onward. Already in the Song, however, musicians encountered the pattern described as “shang and zhi reversed, and jue attached to gong.” Ding Chengyun (2003) argues that pieces labeled *shang* and *zhi* from the Song onward were actually *gong*-mode pieces produced in standard tuning by avoiding particular open strings. This allowed a change of mode without retuning. Only the *gong* and *yu* labels consistently matched the actual modes. Ming practice inherited the five-tone naming tradition, explaining the *zhi* designation from *Xilutang* onward. Confusion in qin naming led to errors in modal classification across collections. During the Qing revival of antiquarian learning, writers sought to reorganize qin tunings through the twelve pitch standards. Representative works include Wang Tan's *Qinzhi*, Wang Shan's *Qinxue Lianyao*, and Su Jing and colleagues' *Chuncaotang Qinpu*. They replaced conventional names for string tunings inherited from Song and Ming practice, including *zhengdiao*, *ruibin diao*, *qingshang diao*, manjue diao and *mangong diao*, with pitch-standard designations. *Qinzhi* instead used *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi*, and *yu* for tuning categories and added a particular *yin* to identify a piece's mode. Thus *Ziyuantang* labels *Zuiyu* “gong tuning, shang final,” while *Wuxue Shanfang* uses “Zhonglü yun, shang final.” In each label, the first element identifies the tuning, namely standard tuning with the third string as *gong*, and the second the mode. Both collections therefore identify *Zuiyu* as *shang* on the basis of standard tuning. If the piece is instead understood as borrowing another tonal arrangement by avoiding the open tones of strings one, three, and six and making the fourth string *gong*, it becomes a *gong*-mode piece. This explains the change to *gong* in *Qinxue Chujin*.

The modal debates surrounding the Lingnan *Zuiyu* thus record historical changes in Chinese qin tuning thought and the influence of elite and vernacular classifications on judgments about a piece's mode.

4. Conclusion

The Lingnan and Sichuan *Zuiyu* share a title but differ in melodic organization, structure, and aesthetic style. They are distinct pieces bearing the same name. The Lingnan piece developed through successive revisions into an identifiable transmission of its own. Comparison of Ming and Qing tablatures clarifies its sources,

stylistic qualities, and musical thought, which previous research has seldom examined closely. Its earliest appearance is in *Xilutang Qintong*. Three stages shaped its development. *Dahuange* first established twelve sections; *Ziyuantang* revised its tonal designation; and Mo Jizhao's detailed revision in *Wuxue Shanfang* gave it a representative Lingnan form. Mo simplified the music and returned its style to plainness, realizing Huang's description of it as “untrammeled and beyond worldly concerns.” The annotations communicate both tonal reasoning and expressive meaning. They also record concrete Qing practices of distinguishing *yun* from *diao* and examining elite and vernacular musical knowledge together. Tracing this piece clarifies the differentiation of tablatures, the practice of musical classification, and changes in aesthetic preference, allowing a focused case to illuminate the historical transformation of guqin music.

Competing Interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

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