

Chinese Music and Translated Modernity in Shanghai, 1918-
1937

by

Joys Hoi Yan Cheung

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Joseph S. C. Lam, Chair
Professor Judith O. Becker
Associate Professor David Lee Rolston
Associate Professor Amy K. Stillman
Professor Lydia Liu, Columbia University

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To my Parents

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Table of Contents

Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Maps.....	xi
List of Figures.....	xii
List of Musical Examples.....	xv
List of Appendices.....	xvii
Abstract.....	xviii
Chapter	
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Prelude.....	1
1.2 Introduction.....	2
1.3 Shanghai in History: Becoming a Semi-colonial and Modernizing City.....	5
1.4 Shanghai and Musical Modernity: Documents and Memories.....	17
a) Primary Sources.....	18
b) Interview Sources.....	31
c) Secondary Sources.....	38
1.5 Ethnomusicological Scholarship: Musical Change, Modern Shanghai.....	47
1.6 Chapter Organization.....	56
2. Definitions and Hypothesis.....	58
2.1 Modernity and Its Manifestation in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Music.....	58
2.2 Semi-Colonialism and its Manifestation in Shanghai.....	67
2.3 Musical Translation of Chinese Modernity.....	70
3. The Musical World of Shanghai.....	79
3.1 Performance Venues.....	84
3.2 Musical Systems.....	125
3.3 Sound Media.....	144
3.4 Musical Institutions and their Network.....	155
4. Chinese Music Advocates in the Social- Intellectual Networks of Shanghai.....	181
4.1 Reformers.....	182
4.2 Music Defenders.....	217
5. Intellectual Discourse and Musical Knowledge in Chinese Translated Modernity.....	237
5.1 The Technological Discourse of Music as	

Airplanes.....	238
5.2 The Evolutionary Discourse of Chinese Music History.....	262
5.3 The Moral Discourse of "Music Masters" (<i>Yinyuejia</i>).....	290
5.4 The Discourse of Chinese Essence.....	308
6. Musical Creation and Translational Creativity In Chinese Modernity.....	326
6.1 A Heuristic Framework of Analysis.....	327
6.2 "How Can I Help but Think of You" (1926).....	331
6.3 <i>In Affliction</i> (1915-23).....	350
6.4 <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i> (1934).....	366
6.5 <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River</i> (1925).....	392
6.6 <i>The King Says Farewell to his Concubine (1922)</i>	409
7. Conclusion.....	430
Appendices.....	448
Bibliography.....	465

List of Maps

Map 1.1 Shanghai (ca. 1930) (Dong, *Shanghai*).....9

Map 3.1 Road Map of Shanghai (ca. 1926) (Crow, *Handbook for China*), and the route of the hypothetical trip.....85

Map 3.2 Performance Venues Visited (I).....86

Map 3.3 Performance Venues Visited (II).....87

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 A 1922 comic strip in <i>The St. John's Dial</i>	80
Figure 3.2 Two newspaper advertisements for Formamint, a German throat medicine, featuring Chinese and Western music-making of Chinese musicians (<i>Shenbao</i> , June 2, 1930 and May 4, 1930).....	81
Figure 3.3 An advertisement for the Music Department at the Sincere Department Store, describing the variety of Western and Chinese musical instruments the section sells (<i>Sincere</i>).....	89
Figure 3.4 The Sincere Company, Ltd. (Wu, <i>Shanghai bainian</i> , p. 82). The Music Department is located on the fourth floor.....	90
Figure 3.5 The Roof Garden of Shanghai Emporium, an amusement center located on the roof of the Sincere building complex (<i>Sincere</i>).....	90
Figure 3.6 The Green Lotus Pavilion building (Pan et al., <i>Shanghai, a Century of Change</i>); the teahouse is on the second floor.....	93
Figure 3.7 A Photo of a <i>Changsan</i> Prostitute, or "Sing-Song Girl" (Barz, <i>Shanghai: Sketches</i> , p. 52).....	93
Figure 3.8 The International Settlement Town Hall (Henriot, ed., <i>Virtual Shanghai</i>).....	94
Figure 3.9 Heavenly Toad Opera Theater (Tianchan wutai) (Tang, <i>Jindai Shanghai</i> , p. 280).....	95
Figure 3.10 Great World Amusement Center, 1919 (Tang, <i>Jindai Shanghai</i> , p. 220).....	96
Figure 3.11 An advertisement for Venus Café (Lethbridge, <i>All About Shanghai</i> , p. 51).....	99

Figure 3.12 The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra performing at the Public Park inside the International Settlement (Barz, <i>Shanghai: Sketches</i> , p. 43).....	101
Figure 3.13 The Bund of the International Settlement (Tang, <i>Jindai Shanghai</i> , p. 63).....	102
Figure 3.14 Complacency Chamber (Deyi lou) (Barz, <i>Shanghai Sketches</i> , p. 84), a popular teahouse for <i>sizhu</i> gatherings.....	104
Figure 3.15 An advertisement of Canidrome Ballroom (Lethbridge, <i>All About Shanghai</i> , p. 42).....	106
Figure 3.16 Lyceum Theatre, 1930s (Pan et al., <i>Shanghai, Century of Change</i> , p. 121).....	108
Figure 3.17 Shanghai Conservatory of Music on Route Pichon in the early 1930s (SYYZ).....	110
Figure 3.18 Grand Theater, ca. 1933 (Tang, <i>Jiu Shanghai</i> , p. 8).....	115
Figure 3.19 Shanghai Municipal Orchestra inside the Grand Theater, 1936 (<i>Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan</i> , p. 13)...	116
Figure 3.20 A private performance gathering of the Qingping Sizhu Club on a steamboat sailing along the Huangpu River (JSZ).....	123
Figure 3.21 A "refined gathering" (<i>yaji</i>) of Jinyu Qin Society at Awakening Garden, 1936 (<i>Jinyu</i> , pp.288-97).....	124
Figure 3.22 "Western Music in a Chinese Religious Ceremony" (1886); from <i>Dianshizhai</i> (Ye, <i>Dianshizhai</i> , p. 132).....	136
Figure 3.23 A Suzhou <i>pingtan</i> singer performing in an early broadcasting station, 1925 (SDS).....	147
Figure 3.24 "Go to Music Concerts": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in <i>Shenbao</i> (May 14, 1930).....	151
Figure 3.25 "How to Spend Leisure Time": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in <i>Shenbao</i> (May 29, 1930).....	151

Figure 3.26 "The First Gift of Grace for Modern Families": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in <i>Shenbao</i> (May, 8, 1930).....	152
Figure 3.27 Musicians recording for the 1935 film <i>City Scene</i> (Zhuang, "Yinyue de bainian huixiang," p. 763); Mao Chu'en is the violinist on the left.....	173
Figure 5.1 Chinese airplane flying over China: an advertisement for the China National Aviation Corporation (CNAC) (<i>T'ien Hsia Monthly</i> 4, 1937).....	239
Figure 5.2 Feng Zikai's illustration of the twelve Chinese standard pitches on a Western keyboard (Feng, "Yinyue gushi," p. 168).....	245
Figure 5.3 Yang Zongji's new-styled <i>qin</i> notation (Yang, <i>Qinjing</i>).....	260
Figure 5.4 Li Shutong's 1906 sketched bust "Music Sage Beethoven" (Gao, "Yueshi lingsi," p. 92).....	305
Figure 6.1 Mei Lanfang as the noble Consort Yu (Mei and Xu, <i>Wutai Shenghuo</i> , p. 600).....	415
Figure 6.2 Mei Lanfang playing the violin at home (Mei and Xu, <i>Wutai Shenghuo</i> , p. 293).....	428

Musical Examples

Musical Example 6.1 The melodic design for the Chinese words "tou" and "fa," in "How Can I Help but Think of You?".....	342
Musical Example 6.2 Instances of strategic parallel fifths and open fifths in "How Can I Help but Think of You?".....	348
Musical Example 6.3 Linear melodic movement driven by tonal tensions in <i>In Affliction</i>	359
Musical Example 6.4 <i>Sizhu</i> melody in "The Fragrant Wind".....	360
Musical Example 6.5 Beginning phrase of Tchaikovsky's <i>Serenade Melancholique</i>	364
Musical Example 6.6 Motive (M) and countermotive (CM) in Bach's <i>Two-Part Invention No. 1</i>	375
Musical Example 6.7 Chinese-style melodic connections in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	377
Musical Example 6.8 Linear melodic style in Bach's <i>Invention No. 1</i> , beginning upper melody.....	377
Musical Example 6.9 Melodic elaboration of section A' in the Chinese "flower-adding" style in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	379
Musical Example 6.10 <i>Dizi</i> -style melodic ornamentations in section B, through the use of upper mordents in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	379
Musical Example 6.11 Western cadential progression at the end of section B in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	381
Musical Example 6.12 Sequence in section B, <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	382

Musical Example 6.13 Baroque-styled sequence from Bach's <i>Sinfonia No. 3</i>	382
Musical Example 6.14 Chinese-styled modulation in section B, <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	383
Musical Example 6.15 Blended counterpoint and heterophony in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	386
Musical Example 6.16 Contrary motion and oblique motion in Bach's <i>Sinfonia No. 6</i>	388
Musical Example 6.17 Contrary motion in <i>sizhu</i> music, "Medium Ornamented Six Beat" (Witzleben, " <i>Silk and Bamboo</i> " Music, p. 108).....	388
Musical Example 6.18 Balanced contrast of rhythmic differentiation in <i>sizhu</i> duet, "Medium Ornamented Six Beat" (Witzleben, " <i>Silk and Bamboo</i> " Music, p. 108).....	390
Musical Example 6.19 <i>Sizhu</i> -style rhythmic differentiation in <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	390
Musical Example 6.20 Polyphonic motions in a "homophonic" section, <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i>	391
Musical Example 6.21 From the <i>pipa</i> solo to the first "tutti" in <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River</i> (mm. 1-27, section 1).....	402
Musical Example 6.22 The extended <i>pipa</i> solo unit in section 7, <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River</i> (mm. 188-194).....	405
Musical Example 6.23 <i>Sizhu</i> -style heterophony blended with homophonic elements, <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River</i> (mm. 31-36).....	407
Musical Example 6.24 The melodic theme of <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River (JSZ)</i> (mm. 23-37), in a Chinese formal structure.....	409
Musical Example 6.25 Mei Lanfang's vocal melody in Verse 2 of <i>nanbangzi</i> aria, <i>The King Bids Farewell to his Concubine</i> (Liu Tianhua, <i>Mei Lanfang gequ pu</i>).....	423

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 "How Can I Help But Think of You?" (Chao, Zhao Yuanren <i>zuopin quanji</i>).....	449
Appendix 2 <i>In Affliction</i> (Liu, Liu Tianhua <i>quanji</i>).....	454
Appendix 3 <i>Buffalo Boy's Flute</i> (Wei, ed., <i>Zhongguo gangqin</i>).....	456
Appendix 4 <i>A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River</i> (JSZ).....	459
Appendix 5 <i>Nanbangzi</i> aria (first section) in <i>The King Bids Farewell to his Concubine</i> , transcribed by Liu Tianhua (Liu, <i>Mei Lanfang gequ pu</i>).....	463

Abstract

This dissertation examines how early twentieth-century Chinese of Shanghai "hosted" the musical West in their discourses on music, and in their musical production. Theorizing the processes involved as ones of "musical translation," this dissertation analyzes how the Chinese "musical hosts" asserted their cultural values and political agendas in their understanding and adoption of Western musical theories and practices. Chapter 1 introduces Shanghai, and the sources and methodology of the dissertation. Chapter 2 explains the concepts of musical translation and modernity. Chapter 3 re-constructs the musical world of Shanghai, tracing how Chinese musical translations emerged from the modernizing city where Chinese had unprecedented contacts with Westerners in semi-colonial conditions. The complex musical network of Shanghai cut across colonial boundaries, shaping participants' translated and modern practices. Chapter 4 traces how the intellectual and musical lives of major participants were tied to the socio-political network of Shanghai. Chapter 5 examines the ways in which Chinese intellectuals and musicians negotiated translated musical knowledge, including the discourses of technology, Chinese history, morality, and national essence. Through these discourses, Chinese projected their national needs and values on the Western music theories and practices they "hosted." Chapter 6 examines five modern Chinese musical compositions as cases of translational creativity, demonstrating their different translational levels and aspects. The five cases include a Chinese art song composed by Yuen Ren Chao, an *erhu* solo work composed by Liu Tianhua, a Chinese piano piece composed by He Luting, a *sizhu* ensemble piece arranged by Liu Raozhang, and a new Peking Opera play performed by Mei Lanfang. This dissertation concludes by addressing the problem of the continuity of translated modernity in the subsequent Communist era of Chinese history the need for future research on reception aspects of Chinese musical modernity.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Prelude

Growing up in colonial Hong Kong, both Chinese and Western music shaped my musical world. My learning of Western choral music, classical piano, and ballet did not stop me from engaging with a diversity of Chinese music. These included, to cite but a few, the children's choral songs that I learned to sing in Mandarin – the official dialect that I did not learn to "speak" until college; the Cantonese wind and percussion music performed in the makeshift funeral service hall across the street from home; Cantonese operas broadcast on the television and radio; and Westernized Chinese popular songs sung in Mandarin and Cantonese. Colonialism in Hong Kong did not turn off Chinese music.

Like Hong Kong, Shanghai flourished at a confluence of Chinese and Western musical forces. From its colonial condition, Chinese musical modernity emerged in the early decades of the twentieth century.

1.2 Introduction

This dissertation is a study of the Chinese musical modernity that emerged in Shanghai in the inter-war period of 1918 to 1937, when music advocates adopted Western practices to create new musical products and activities. The new musical practices of the cosmopolitan city defined much of modern Chinese musical culture. If the new musical culture thus generated included much that was Western and foreign, their producers maintained that it was Chinese. What was this new musical culture? What were the new practices that blended the Western and the pre-existing Chinese to embrace modernity? What were the creative processes through which Chinese elements were retained, and perhaps highlighted?

To answer these questions, I present the theoretical concept of "musical translation" – a concept that I have developed from Lydia Liu's idea of "translingual practice" in Chinese literary modernity (Liu, *Translingual Practice*). Through practices of musical translation, I posit, Chinese drew from pre-existing musical concepts, aesthetics, and ideals to interpret and use practices imported from the West. The modern Chinese musical culture thus generated, therefore, is a "translated modernity."

Chinese translated modernity emerged out of "semi-colonialism," a condition where the natives keep some control of their own land. Shanghai in the early twentieth century was such a semi-colonial site. Multiple colonial powers, which included Britain, America, France, and later, Japan, established their administrative "concessions," and Chinese immigrants from outside Shanghai brought a variety of regional Chinese cultures into the city. Shanghai was also a modern metropolis. Propelled by thriving economic development, Shanghai became the most advanced and prosperous city in modern China, one that featured the latest technologies in transportation and audio-visual media.

The time period between 1918 and 1937, during which defining forms of Chinese musical modernity emerged in Shanghai, was a time when China – along with many other parts of the world – underwent drastic socio-cultural transformations. The year of 1918 was also the beginning of the "modern age" in Western music (Morgan, ed., *Modern Times*, p. 1), a period during which Western musicians confronted their own modernity challenges and inspirations. The temporal scope of the dissertation ends in 1937, a year when the Japanese invasion brought a new set of social,

economic, and political changes, including the destruction of Chinese cultural establishments.

The producers of the Chinese musical modernity that emerged in early-twentieth-century Shanghai were music advocates. In this dissertation, they are examined as Chinese socio-cultural leaders, intellectuals, and musicians who contended that music was important for modern China. Representing different ideologies and practices, these music advocates did not make a uniform group. To underscore their historical role and the way they intellectually and musically transformed China, they are heuristically divided into two contrasting but not unrelated groups: 1) Reformers: those who denigrated pre-existing Chinese music as backward, and, through a series of musical reforms, promoted Western art music as the modern musical foundation of China; 2) Defenders: those who defended Chinese music, and strove to adjust and develop it as the music of modern China. The differences between the two groups were not rigid and impenetrable. Members from both groups would collaborate in their modern musical endeavors, ranging from performing at the same concert to producing sound tracks for the same movie. Also, both groups would agree on certain issues; for instance, many of them rejected the new popular love songs as "yellow music."

Also, members within each group held diverse, sometimes even conflicting, stances.

Chinese reformers and defenders constituted a joint force to seek modernity for "music," or "yinyue" 音樂, a new term that translated the Western concept of music as an art form, one that brings together cross-genre practices and products. In pre-modern Chinese musical culture, however, such an umbrella concept did not exist.¹ To assert parity with the musical West, Chinese music advocates found it necessary to adopt the foreign concept, and applied it to Chinese musical establishments and history. Using the graphics in the modern Japanese term "ongaku" 音樂,² which used classical Chinese characters to translate the Western concept of music as art, Chinese music advocates promoted music as a serious cultural component in Chinese modernity.

1.3 Shanghai in History: Becoming a Semi-colonial and Modernizing City

Shanghai became the site of Chinese musical modernity because of colonialism. Before Shanghai became the largest treaty port in colonial China, and the fifth largest city

¹ Although the Chinese compound word "yinyue" existed in classical Chinese, the usage did not carry the modern artistic connotations that originated in modern Europe. The words "yin" and "yue" were often used separately.

²In Chinese, 音樂 is pronounced as "yinyue."

in the world by 1930 (Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai*), the city had been "a lowly county capital in imperial China" (Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 3).³ Colonialism came to Shanghai after China was defeated in the Opium War (1839-1842), and was forced to sign a series of war treaties that gave the use of designated sections of Chinese land to foreign powers, where they held political, judicial, and economic rights and privileges. These designated land sections were generally known as concessions, which were first located in five port cities along the eastern sea coast (Johnstone, "International Relations"), the largest of which was Shanghai. Modern Shanghai was a city controlled by both Chinese and foreign powers. The British and the American controlled the International Settlement (*Gonggong zujie* 公共租界) of the city, and the French controlled the French Concession (*Fa zujie*) 法租界 there. The Chinese government held sovereignty over other portions of the city, and had limited rights in the foreign concessions. As a result of such an administrative and political set-up, Shanghai was semi-colonial; its colonial structure was never complete.

³ In the Tang dynasty, Shanghai was a small fishing village. During the Song dynasty, it became a market city (*shi* 市) and functioned as a commercial port. Under the Yuan dynasty, it was designated as a county seat (*xian* 縣). In the Ming era, it became a major center of cotton production. In the Qing dynasty, until it became the most important treaty port in China, it was a commercial port city in the lower Yangzi macro-region (Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 3).

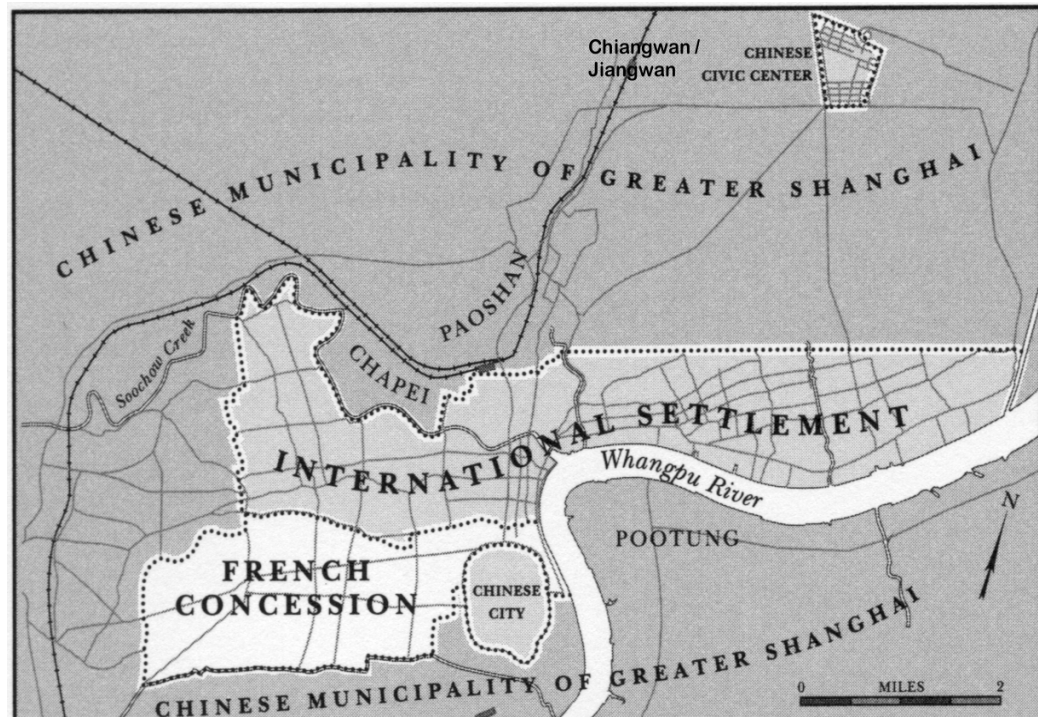
Governing officials of the concessions emerged from local foreign communities, not appointed by their home empires. They maintained the administrative, legal, and police institutions of the concessions, which expanded substantively throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It was a process partly driven by the colonial ambitions of the local foreign communities, and partly by their *ad hoc* responses to China's internal unrests that caused massive Chinese migration into Shanghai. In 1850, to accommodate the influx of Chinese immigrants, concession authorities began to allow Chinese citizens to reside in their foreign enclaves, generating a condition of "mixed" living. Such Chinese migration brought lucrative resources, as well as unprecedented social problems, to the concessions, causing rapid economic and cultural developments. As the economy and culture flourished, mutual dependence between Chinese and colonial forces grew in Shanghai.

The modernizing transformations of Shanghai thus involved colonial interactions with local Chinese forces, which can be summarized here. The two major foreign concessions, the International Settlement and the French Concession, were created as two independent political units. The International Settlement was first conceded to the

British. In 1863, the Settlement expanded to include the northern city area that had been claimed by the Americans. The Settlement was thereafter controlled by both the British and Americans, even though the former dominated the governance of the area. Located to the north of the Settlement's Western part was the Chapei (Zhabei 閘北) area, which was controlled by the Chinese local authority. The French Concession, which was granted for French nationals in 1849, was located to the south of the International Settlement. Adjacent to the eastern end of the French Concession was the Chinese City (Nanshi 南市), where Chinese local authority exercised its sovereignty (Map 1.1).

The concessions were defined by the privileges granted, which initially comprised the right of land use and jurisdiction. The right of land use included the right of leasing and purchasing land, which was stipulated in Land Regulations that the Shanghai local authority (*daotai* 道台) signed with the British and French consuls in 1854, with revisions in subsequent decades. The privilege of exercising foreign jurisdiction was granted as the right of extraterritoriality – a treaty right that the Americans requested in 1843, and was subsequently granted to the

Map 1.1 Shanghai (ca. 1930) (Dong, *Shanghai*)



British and French as well. Protected by extraterritoriality, foreigners in the concessions were exempted from the Chinese law, and were protected by colonial legal practices (Clifford, *Shanghai*; Stephens, *Order and Discipline in China*). As the judicial power of concessions grew, foreign authorities extended their

jurisdiction to trials of any subjects caught within their concession boundaries, including Chinese residents.

The concession administrative units grew into autonomous systems when the influx of Chinese immigrants from neighboring countryside created the need for stronger governing bodies. To strengthen the concession administrations, for example, the colonial police forces expanded. The massive Chinese migration was mainly caused by the social disturbances caused by internal uprisings and wars. The Small Sword Uprising of 1853 and the prolonged Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) led to the first wave of suburban immigration, and the Civil War that came after the downfall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 drove hundreds of thousands of families to Shanghai. Most of them flocked into the foreign settlements, which were protected from local riots. To cope with the emergencies, the two concession governments established their own independent Municipal Council as well as an organized local police force.⁴ To finance their expanded operations, the colonial authorities tightened their control of businesses by collecting their own tariffs. Allowing Chinese citizens to

⁴ In the International Settlement, the local police force was named, since the 1850s, Shanghai Municipal Police, and local militia reserve was known as Shanghai Volunteer Corps (Bickers, "Shanghailanders," p. 166). In the French Concession, order was maintained by the French Concession Police. See Frederic Wakeman's study of the Shanghai police forces (Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*).

rent and own property in their concessions (Li, "Cong 'huayang fenju,'" pp. 94-95), the colonial authorities also collected tariffs from Chinese businessmen and entrepreneurs.

As the number of Chinese immigrants increased, Chinese residents supplied significant economic resources for the metropolis to use as it grew and expanded. For example, wealthy gentry from the suburban areas brought their capital to invest in new industries and businesses there, and country farmers or workers supplied the huge labor force that the rapid industrial-capitalist development needed.

Economic resources and facilities shaped the way the concessions grew in Shanghai. Because the International Settlement monopolized the major waterfront docking facilities by the Huangpu River, manufacturing and commercial businesses concentrated their investments there. The French Concession, without advantageous access to the transportation network, was developed as an important residential and entertainment business area, and the land value there surged as demand increased. At the same time, wealthy Chinese businessmen and residents in concessions became increasingly significant taxpayers to the colonial authorities. A few of them even served on the

administrative board of the Shanghai Municipal Council in the 1920s.⁵ By 1936, the city of Shanghai became an industrial-capitalist metropolis that had a total population of about 3.5 million, almost half of which were Chinese who resided in foreign concessions.

The foreign population in Shanghai also grew as the concessions gained increasing prosperity. Nationals from different parts of the world came to the concessions as well, pursuing wealth and dreams. In 1936, for example, the population of foreigners in Shanghai who came from Japan, Russia, Britain, Germany, America, and France increased to about 60,000 (Murphey, *Shanghai, Key to Modern China*, pp. 22-23). Many Russian members of the foreign communities were White Russian refugees who fled to China in the 1910s, when the Tsarist regime collapsed. In the 1930s, Ashkenazi Jews who fled from Nazi persecutions in Europe added a large force to the multi-national foreign community in Shanghai – what Marcia Ristaino describes as “diaspora community” (Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*). The “diaspora community” in Shanghai continued to grow throughout World War II, until the Communists took over power in 1949.

⁵ See Bickers’s studies on the International Settlement for the power structure and operation of the administrative body (e.g., Bickers, “The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez”).

The Western cultures that foreigners brought to Shanghai became part of the cosmopolitan Chinese culture, which mixed with the local Jiangnan culture.⁶ The coexistence of different Western cultures in the concessions created a lively Western urbanized site. There Chinese residents could freely interact with Westerners and Western culture in their everyday life, without giving up their Chinese practices. The French cafés and Russian restaurants, for example, provided environments in which Chinese intellectuals could imagine, "taste," and try to understand the modern West in China.

To develop their concessions into modern urban centers, the colonial establishments brought in the latest technologies and media culture from the West. Through the steamship network, for example, phonographs and films from Europe and America circulated in Shanghai shortly after they became available for consumption in the West. Public infrastructure of modern urban life, such as telephone service, power supplies, and electric transport (e.g., trams), were promptly introduced to Shanghai (Tang, *Jindai Shanghai*; Lee, *Shanghai Modern*), providing a chance for Chinese to learn and embrace the material power of modernity.

⁶ Jiangnan refers to the region south of the Yangtze (Changjiang) River. Shanghai is located in the Yangzi River delta.

The Chinese administration in the new city of Shanghai, under central and local authorities, strove to establish a stronger Chinese presence and to unify the Chinese community there. In 1928, a centrally appointed political body, known as the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, was formed shortly after the Nationalist government led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石) established its new leadership in the new capital of Nanjing.

To secure its governance of China, the new Nationalist government launched numerous campaigns and established censorship mechanisms. One of its most important cultural campaigns was the New Life Movement, which aimed at strengthening and unifying China with principles drawn from Confucianism, Christian values, and the doctrines of Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan 孫中山; 1866-1925) – the founding figure of the Republic of China.⁷ The new government paid special attention to Shanghai for its political, military, and economic significance. Meanwhile, the Chinese Communist Party was founded in the city in 1921, strengthening the

⁷ The goal of the movement was "thoroughly to militarize the life of the people of the entire nation. It is to make them nourish courage and alertness, a capacity to endure hardship, and especially a habit and instinct for unified behavior. It is to make them willing to sacrifice for the nation at all times" (see Cheng et al., eds., *The Search for Modern China*, p. 356). Fascist elements in Chiang's ideology and his implementation created confusion, as well as resistance and dissension, against the Nationalist government.

emerging leftist circles there. To curb these anti-government forces, the Nationalist government exercised wide-reaching censorship. It also deployed oppressive means to jail or persecute arrested Communist Party members.

Aiming to build Shanghai as "the Great Port of the East," the Chinese municipal government launched the ambitious Greater Shanghai Project (Da Shanghai jihua 大上海計劃) in 1929. A series of new policies on education, public facilities, and other social affairs was implemented. The heart of the Project was to build a new civic center in the northern Chiangwan (Jiangwan 江灣) flat-land area (see Map 1.1), which was outside the current boundaries of the foreign concessions. By 1936, the municipal bureaus and offices were settled in the new civic center, along with the establishment of the new town hall, library, museum, and the gymnasium. The Project, however, did not re-locate the Chinese community successfully. The lack of transportation facilities that connected Chiangwan to the established districts caused a paucity of migration and investment responses from the Chinese community. After the

Japanese bombs demolished many of the new buildings in the new civic center in late 1930s, the Project came to an end.⁸

In contrast, local Chinese institutions and practices flourished in the foreign concessions. Charities and the guilds, for example, often played an important role in managing local construction works (Elvin, "Administration of Shanghai"). Gangster societies, which controlled narcotics and criminal enterprises such as opium dens and brothels,⁹ had developed an extensive membership network across Chinese and colonial districts. Both Chinese and colonial authorities of the city needed the gangsters' assistance in performing security work or enforcing censorship. For example, the famous Green Gang was so influential that the French and the British municipal authorities recruited its members to police their concessions. Huang Jinrong 黄金荣, a major leader of the gang, even served on the French police force (Martin, *Shanghai Green Gang*). Under the leadership of Du Yuesheng 杜月笙, the Green Gang also played a crucial role in uncovering Communist underground members for the Nationalist government. Both the colonial and Chinese

⁸ For a comprehensive study of the Shanghai Municipality, see Christian Henriot's *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*.

⁹ The licensed brothel system in Shanghai was officially terminated in 1924 (Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*).

authorities depended on social institutions rooted in the populace to secure order and administrative efficiency in Shanghai.

By the 1930s, the treaty port of Shanghai had developed into a distinctive semi-colonial city. The peculiar condition of "mixed living" between Chinese and Westerners in the metropolis rendered it both an "inferior" colonial site and a distinguished international urban center. It was from such a site that Chinese musical reformers and defenders employed translation practices to pursue Chinese musical modernity.

1.4 Shanghai and Musical Modernity: Documents and Memories

There is a wealth of historical and musical materials recording the development of Chinese musical modernity in Shanghai, registering not only what happened to the city but also what the practitioners thought and did. During my fieldwork, I was able to locate a number of senior Shanghai residents who were willing to talk about their musical memories and experiences of the 1930s. This wealth of primary material and interview sources constitute the data base with which I developed my historical, ethnographical, and musical analyses. Also, the large group of secondary sources on Shanghai and Chinese modernity, which multiplied

after China began to open its archive in the 1980s, provided my study with analytical frameworks and references. This section discusses these three kinds of research materials: primary sources, interview sources, and secondary sources.

a) Primary Sources

Including printed and audio-visual materials, the preserved primary source documents that I used can be bibliographically divided into seven types. They are:

(1) Discussions about music that were written in Chinese and presented in books, magazines, and newspapers published in Shanghai and in Beijing – the long-time capital¹⁰ and a center of early twentieth-century Chinese music development;

(2) Memoirs, autobiographies, or literary writings that record the authors' musical experiences in early twentieth-century Shanghai;

(3) Published notations of Chinese music;

(4) Chinese musical and sound film recordings;

¹⁰ After the Nationalist Party established its capital in Nanjing in 1928, the name of Beijing, which literally means "northern capital," was changed to Peiping (Beiping 北平), which means "northern peace."

(5) Unpublished official documents on musical institutions that were circulated among administrative units of colonial Shanghai;

(6) Announcements and reports of music retail stores, dance halls, and other business institutions, which have been preserved in company publications, advertisements, and tourist guides to Shanghai;

(7) Visual images of musical Shanghai, which include advertisements and photographs preserved in newspapers, magazines, and books.

Each of the above seven types of primary sources provides specific kinds of information. Below, I examine each in more detail.

(1) Published discussions about music. This type of document records musical theories, perspectives, and interpretations, as well as modernizing agendas that Chinese music advocates expressed using both Western and Chinese terms. These documents also provide a wealth of historical data about musical activities in Shanghai. Based on the data they preserve, these documents can be divided into two sub-groups: those written by reformers, and those written by defenders.

Documents published by reformers focus on a variety of issues, which can be classified into the following six groups:

The first group of documents discusses general definitions of music, which includes Xiao Youmei's *A General Study of Music (Putong yuexue; 1928)*,¹¹ Liao Shangguo's *A General Discussion on Music Itself (Yinyue tonglun; 1947)*, Feng Zikai's *Rudiments of Music (Yinyue rumen; 1926)*, and the series "Stories of Music" ("Yinyue gushi") published in the journal *New Teenagers (Xin shaonian)* in 1937.

The second group consists of musical biographies, many of which introduce European musical personalities as models for modern Chinese. They include Xiao Youmei's *The New Lives of Music Masters (Yinyuejia de xin shenghuo; 1934)*, Feng Zikai's *Great Music Masters and Famous Music in the World (Shijie da yinyue jia yu mingqu; 1931)*, and Hao Ru's "Does Music Belong to a Specific Class?" ("Yinyue shifou shiyu teshu jiejie de?") published in the journal *Music Magazine (Yinyue zhazhi; 1934)*.

The third group comprises evaluative criticism of Chinese music and calls for music reform. Published as journal articles, these include Fu Lei's "The Prospective

¹¹ For the Chinese characters for authors and their works, please consult the bibliography.

Development of Chinese Music and Opera" ("Zhongguo yinyue yu xiju de qiantu"), published in *Weekly Learning Light* (*Xingqi xuedeng*; 1933); Xiao Youmei's "The Power of Music" ("Yinyue de shili") and "Why People in China Do not Highly Value Music?" ("Wei shenme yinyue zai Zhongguo buwei yiban ren suo zhongshi?"), both published in *Music Magazine* (*Yinyue zazhi*; 1934); and two articles by He Luting: "After Listening to Great Unity Music Society's Ancient Music Performance at the Memorial Ceremony for Confucius" ("Tingliao ji Kong dianli zhong Datong yuehui de guyue yanzou yihou") published in *Music Magazine* (*Yinyue zazhi*; 1934), and "The Current Condition of the Chinese Musical Field and the Understanding that We Should Have on Musical Art" ("Zhongguo yinyue jie xianzhuang ji women duiyu yinyue yishu suo yingyou de renshi") published in *Bright Star Bi-Monthly* (*Mingxing*; 1936), journal of the Bright Star Film Company.

The fourth group includes published discussions on music appreciation and music interpretation, demonstrating how reformers discussed musical meaning in addition to or as independent of musical structures. These include: Huang Zi's "Appreciation of Music" ("Yinyue de xinshang"), published in the journal *Musical Art* (*Yueyi*; 1930), Liao Shangguo's "Come Listen to Music at Concerts of the

Shanghai Municipal Council in the International Settlement" ("Dao Shanghai Gonggong zujie shizheng ting yinyue hui ting yue qu"), published in *Sound (Yin: Guoli yinyue; 1930)*, journal of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, and "How to Understand Mozart's Greatness?" ("Zenyang renshi Mozart de weida?"), published in *Musical Art (Yueyi; 1930)*.

The fifth group includes the reformers' critical studies of Chinese music history, which reveal how reformers negotiated China's musical past with evolutionary ideas that they borrowed from the West. They include: Wang Guangqi's research monograph *Chinese Music History (Zhongguo yinyue shi; 1934)* and Xiao Youmei's "Chinese and Western Musical Scales in the Past and Present" ("Gujin Zhongxi yinjie gaishuo"), published in *Journal of the National Conservatory of Music in Shanghai (Yinyue yuan yuankan; 1929)*. There are two studies that are based on the Japanese studies of Tanabe Hisao: Miao Tianrui's *Historical Words on Chinese Music History (Zhongguo yinyue shihua; 1933)*, which is based on Tanabe's *On Asiatic Music (Tōyō ongaku ron; 1929)*, and Chen Qingquan's *A History of Chinese Music (Zhongguo yinyue shi; 1937)*, which is based on Tanabe's *History of Asiatic Music (Tōyō ongaku shi; 1930)*.

The sixth group consists of publications in which reformers affirmed the intrinsic values of Chinese music.

They reveal the reformers' attachment to Chinese musical sounds on the one hand, and their adoption of Western music and criticism against Chinese music on the other. These include: Wang Guangqi's "The Musical Life of German People" ("Deguo ren zhi yinyue shenghuo"), published in the journal *The Young China* (*Shaonian Zhongguo*; 1924), and Liu Tianhua's "My Plan in Establishing this Association" ("Wo duiyu benshe de jihua"), published in *Inaugural Publication of the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Music* (*Guoyue gaijin she chengli kan*; 1927).

The documents produced by defenders focus on the practices and history of Chinese music; most of them assumed a defensive stance against reformers' attacks on Chinese music as being backward. These documents include three general histories of Chinese music: Zheng Jinwen's *Chinese Music History* (*Zhongguo yinyue shi*; 1928), Xu Zhiheng's *A Small History of Chinese Music* (*Zhongguo yinyue xiaoshi*; 1933), and Shen Jiren's *A Guide to Chinese Music* (*Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*; 1921). These critical histories reveal not only what defenders identified as historical problems, but also what they saw as valuable in contemporary practices of Chinese music, views that sharply contrasted with those of the reformers.

The rest of the defenders' documents are devoted to specific genres. They include: Zhu Xiangshi's *A Guide to Chinese Silk and Bamboo Music* (*Zhongguo sizhu zhinan*; 1924), Yang Zongji's *Mirror of the Qin* (*Qinjing*; 1917), and numerous short essays published in the journal *Music Quarterly* (*Yinyue jikan*; 1923-1924), and *Jinyu Qin Journal* (*Jinyu qin kan*) of Jinyu Qin Society (1934). These publications show that some defenders used Westernized concepts to defend the value of Chinese music, on the one hand, while essentializing certain features of Chinese music as more superior than Western music, on the other.

(2) *Memoirs, Autobiographies, and Literary Writings.* This group of primary documents record personal memories of individuals who lived in semi-colonial Shanghai and experienced music in the city. They include Liao Fushu's *Talking about the Past in the Music Garden* (*Yueyuan tanwang*; 1996), which includes the author's memories of his mentor at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Huang Zi; Chen Dingshan's *Tales of Old Shanghai* (*Chunshen jiuwen*; 1978), which feature the author's miscellaneous recollections of the city before moving to Taiwan; Liu Raozhang's autobiographical essays, which are edited and posted by Chen Zhengsheng on the website *A Small Website for Winds and Drums: Chinese Music Exchange Website* (*Chuigu chui*

xiaozhan: Guoyue jiaoliu wang). These essays include: "How Did I Arrange *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River?*" "Wo shi zenyang gaibian Chunjiang huayue ye' de"), "Memoir of Liu Raozhang" ("Liu Raozhang huiyi lu"), and "The First Co-Performance Event of Chinese and Western Musicians" ("Shouci Zhong Xi yinyuejia huizou").

(3) Published Notations of Chinese Music. This type of document comprises notated scores published in the 1920s and 1930s. They include:

1. The notation of Yuen Ren Chao's song "How Can I Help but Think of You?" ("Jiaowo ruhe buxiang ta? 教我如何不想他?"), originally published in his *Songs for Contemporary Poems (Xinshi geji; 1928)*, reprinted in *Complete Musical Works of Yuen Ren Chao (Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji; 1987)*, edited by Rulan Chao Pian.

2. The notation of Liu Tianhua's *erhu* 二胡 solo piece *In Affliction (Bingzhong yin 病中吟)*, published in *The Musical Compositions of the Late Liu T'ien-Hwa: Professor of Music at the National University of Pei'ping (Liu Tianhua xiansheng jinian ce; 1933)*, the commemorative booklet that honored Liu shortly after his death.

3. The last notation page of He Luting's piano solo piece *Buffalo Boy's Flute* (*Mutong duandi* 牧童短笛), which Alexander Tcherepnin included in his essay "Music in Modern China," published in *The Musical Quarterly* (1935). The notation page in the essay was taken from the score that Tcherepnin published in Japan, which I have not seen.

4. Mei Lanfang's *nanbangzi* 南梆子 aria in the play *The King Bids Farewell to his Concubine* (*Bawang beiji* 霸王別姬), as transcribed by Liu Tianhua in staff and *gongche* notations, and published in *Selections from the Repertoire of Operatic Songs and Terpsichorean Melodies of Mei Lan-fang: Recorded in Both Chinese and European Notation* (*Mei Lanfang gequ pu*; 1930).

(4) Chinese Musical and Sound Film Recordings. This type of material comprises an unfortunately somewhat limited set of Chinese sound recordings, preserved originally on early phonographs and sound films produced from the 1930s to the 1950s. They include:

1. A duplicated cassette recording of Yuen Ren Chao's vocal performance of his song "How Can I," originally produced by Pathé Record Company, Shanghai, in the 1930s.

2. A recording of Liu Tianhua's performance of his *erhu* piece *Affliction*, originally produced by Odeon Records, Shanghai (1931).

3. Wei Zhongle's performance of *Affliction* recorded for the film *Song of China* (*Tianlun*; 1934), and a recording of Wei's performance of the piece released by Musicraft in around 1940, which was re-issued by Lyrichord Discs in an LP album titled *Chinese Classical Music Played on Ancient Instruments by Professor Wei Chung Loh* (1958).

4. A recording of Liu Raozhang's *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (*Chunjiang huayue ye* 春江花月夜) performed by the Chinese Cultural Theater Group, published by Folkways Recordings in *Chinese Classical Instrumental Music* (1950).

5. Two recordings of Mei Lanfang's vocal performance of the *nanbangzi* aria in *The King*, respectively produced by Beka-Record (1929) and Great Wall Records (1931). The former is posted on the website *Peking Opera Old Records*, and the latter is included in the recently published 58-CD set *Complete*

Records of Mr. Mei Lanfang (Mei Lanfang changpian daquan).¹²

6. Musical episodes recorded in commercially released sound films, including: *Spring Silkworms (Chuncan; 1933)*, *The Fishermen's Song (Yuguang qu; 1934)*; *Plunder of Peach and Plum (Taoli jie; 1934)*, *Song of China (Tianlun; 1935)*, *New Year Coin (Yasui qian; 1935)*, *Boatman's Daughter (Chuanjia nü; 1935)*, *City Scenness (Dushi fengguang; 1935)*, *Children of Troubled Times (Fengyun ernü; 1935)*, *Waves Washing the Sand (Langtao shai; 1936)*; *Song of a Loving Mother (Cimu qu; 1937)*, *Crossroads (Shizi jietou; 1937)*, and *Street Angel (Malu tianshi; 1937)*.

(5) Unpublished Official Documents on Musical Institutions. This type of document circulated among colonial and Chinese administrative units in Shanghai. They are now collected at the Shanghai Municipal Archive and include:

1. "Orchestra and Band Private Services: 1915-1930," an internal document of the colonial Shanghai Municipal Council, reporting on privately contracted

¹² *Complete Records*, however, does not include detailed production information. My identification of the 1931 Great Wall recording is based on information posted on the website *Peking Opera Old Records*, and published in Chai Junwei's *The Grand Compendium of Peking Opera Records (Jingju da xikao; 2004)*.

performances that the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra provided to companies, non-profit institutions, or individuals.

2. "On Municipal Music Hall," a file that contains internal correspondence between the Chinese-governed Shanghai Municipal Department of Education and the Municipal Government, which records the beginning and the abortive ending of a resident-initiated proposal to build a Shanghai Municipal Music Hall between 1929 and 1931.

(6) Published and Unpublished Information on Musical Businesses. This type of material includes announcements and reports of music retail stores and dance halls, which are preserved in company publications, advertisements, and tourist guides of Shanghai. They include:

1. *The Sincere Co., Ltd. Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, 1900-1924 (Xianshi gongsi ershiwu zhounian jinian ce)*, an anniversary booklet published by the Sincere Department Store (1924), which records how the store designed and promoted its music section. A copy of the booklet, which was not for sale, is available at the Shanghai Municipal Archive.

2. Advertisements for music retail businesses published in: college student journals, such as *The*

Johannean and *St. John's Dial* (St. John's University), and *The Shanghai* (Shanghai University); and city guidebooks of Shanghai, such as Sun Zongfu's *Shanghai Touring Guidebook* (*Shanghai youlan zhinan*; 1935) and Liu Peiqian's *Greater Shanghai Guidebook* (*Da Shanghai zhinan*; 1936).

3. Business information of dance halls, especially their music bands, as published in their advertisements found in *Shenbao*, the major Chinese newspaper in Shanghai; Wang Dingjiu's *Ways of Doing Things in Shanghai* (*Shanghai menjing*; 1935), a city guidebook written for Chinese readers; and Henry J. Lethbridge's *All About Shanghai* (1934-1935), an English-written city guidebook.

(7) Visual Images of Musical Themes. This type of document includes printed images in advertisements and photographs, published in newspapers, magazines, and books. They include *Shanghai: Sketches of Present-Day Shanghai*, a photo collection published by the journalist R. Barz (1935), college student journals, and *Shenbao*. Many photographic images are also included in recent studies on Shanghai. They include: *Sources on Shanghai Local History: 5* (*Shanghai difang shi ziliao: Wu*; 1986), Tang Zhenchang's *A Record of the Prosperity of Modern Shanghai* (*Jindai*

Shanghai fanhua lu; 1993), and *Grand Collection on Jiangnan Silk and Bamboo Music (Jiangnan sizhu yinyue dacheng*; 2003).

b) Interview Sources

To supplement historical data, I conducted interviews with surviving participants of Shanghai's musical world. Between July and December 2004, I interviewed thirteen senior Chinese informants in Shanghai, Beijing, Taipei, and Hong Kong. These informants can be divided into four groups: (1) musical professionals who studied music at music institutes in Shanghai (four persons); (2) *sizhu* 絲竹 musicians (four persons); (3) Peking opera performers – one *huqin* 胡琴 player and one actor; and (4) non-musical professionals who received high-school or college education in Shanghai (three persons).

To elicit both ethnographic and evaluative/experiential data from informants, I asked them questions about musical facts that most impressed them, their musical activities, their evaluations of those participatory experiences, and their responses to particular musical genres or compositions that I brought to their attention. To seek data specifically related to the colonial context of Shanghai, I asked them about their living and working places in Shanghai, and inquired about informants'

interactions with Westerners or impressions of Western music.

The four musical professionals who had formal musical training in Shanghai were Mao Chu'en 毛楚恩(1915-2006), Chen Chuanxi 陳傳熙(b. 1916), Zheng Deren 鄭德仁(b. 1922), and Miao Tianrui 繆天瑞(b. 1908). They informed me of different kinds of Western or Westernized musical influences that nurtured musical professionals in Shanghai. Mao Chu'en was a violinist at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in the 1940s, though he was first hired as a piccoloist in 1939. He enrolled as a violin student at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music between 1934 and 1937, during which he also studied Finance Administration at Jiaotong University (1933-1935), worked as a secretary in a law firm (1935), and studied at the Comparative Law School of China (1936-1940). Mao Chu'en played the violin in the film *City Scenes* (1935). My interview with Mao Chu'en informed me how a Chinese musician who was committed to Western classical music and its style evaluated the music of Shanghai.

Chen Chuanxi was born to the family of a frontier supervision official in southwestern China. His early musical training was with a French music teacher and the French military band in Vietnam. With a full scholarship,

he studied music at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music between 1935 and 1943. Chen showed to me the diverse musical background of students at the Conservatory, and informed me about details of student life there.

Zheng Deren was a jazz celloist and bassist, and co-founder of a Chinese jazz band in 1942. In 1943, he enrolled at the Conservatory to study Western classical music, while he continued to play jazz at night clubs and dance halls. Zheng Deren was Cantonese-Shanghainese, and grew up with Cantonese ensemble music in Shanghai. His favorite childhood memories of the 1920s and 1930s were at movie theaters and entertainment centers. Zheng Deren provided information on the influence of Filipino bands on the jazz scene of Shanghai in the late 1930s. His memory of music at movie theaters also revealed that Chinese ensemble music was a popular musical practice at showings of silent films.

Miao Tianrui studied music at the Shanghai Teachers Training College in the mid-1920s. To earn a living, he translated numerous Japanese and English musical publications into Chinese. My interview with Miao provided data on the competition between Chinese and Russian musicians in the small job market of professional music in

Shanghai, and why he consulted a Japanese source to publish a book on Chinese music history.

The four *sizhu* musicians in the second group of informants were Zhou Hui 周惠 (b. 1922), Zhang Zhengming 張徵明 (b. 1925), Gao Zhiyuan 高志遠 (b. 1920s), and Lu Chunling 陸春齡 (b. 1921). Through the interviews, I learned about the family and professional background of *sizhu* musicians. Zhou Hui came from an urbanite family; his father worked for the HSBC Bank in Shanghai. Zhang Zhenming was a civil engineer with a college education in Shanghai. Gao Zhiyuan was an accounting clerk when he moved to Shanghai in 1945. Lu Chunling did not have a similar urbanite background; he had more connections with the farming community in the southern part of Shanghai.

The interviews with the *sizhu* musicians provided useful information on the institutional affiliations of *sizhu* clubs. The *sizhu* club that Zhou Hui's father directed was originally a social club of a travel agent company, located in the International Settlement. Zhang Zhenming's high-school and college experiences showed the popularity of *sizhu* clubs in schools and colleges in Shanghai. Lu Chunling's frequent participation at *sizhu* gatherings in

the City God Temple area inside the Chinese City showed the popularity of *sizhu* in the Chinese-governed district.

The Peking Opera *huqin* player was Zhu Shaolong 朱少龍 (b. 1919) and the male martial-role actor Zhang Yikui 張義奎 (b. 1929). Both Zhu Shaolong and Zhang Yikui moved to Taiwan when the Communists took over Shanghai. The interview with Zhu Shaolong gave me details on the close interaction between the *huqin* player and the singing actor/actress in Peking Opera, and between the *huqin* player and the audience. His impression of the Western music that accompanied staged tap dancing, among others, showed the receptiveness and curiosity of Chinese musicians to musical organization of Western musical sound. Zhang Kihui came from an actor family and acted in Shanghai as a child in the late 1930s. He provided some information on the social connection between Peking Opera actors and gangs. His comments on Mei Lanfang's personal musicians gave insight into the popular reception of Mei Lanfang's music in Shanghai.

The three urbanites who were not musical professionals were Ms. Lin 林 (b. 1921), Ms. Ou 歐 (b. 1922), and Ms. Zhang 章 (b. 1920s). The interviews showed the popularity of modern Chinese film songs and popular songs,

and how they appealed to the listeners' musical senses. Lin graduated from Women's College of Shanghai in the late 1930s. Growing up in Changshu of Jiangsu Province, a town outside Shanghai, she was a regular movie-goer in Shanghai and appreciated film songs presented in familiar folksong style. Ou attended Qixiu Girls' Secondary School in Shanghai in the early 1930s. Her late husband was a graduate from St. John's University, and worked for an American telephone company until the Communists took over Shanghai. She is Cantonese-Shanghainese, and loved to listen to Cantonese opera. Zhang came from an official family in a part of Zhejiang Province not far from Shanghai. She attended elementary school in Beijing, and high school in Nanjing. She spent a year's time in Shanghai after getting married in the early 1940s, during which she frequented movie theaters and entertainment centers. Zhang's musical sense was nurtured by listening to her father's Peking Opera singing lessons at home, and she enjoyed singing Chinese popular songs and film songs with the piano in high school.

My interview methodology stressed motivating the informant to recollect and to evaluate. I tried to identify her/his musical interests early in the interviews, asked questions related to them, and encouraged the informant to

speak about her/his musical favorites; this process nurtured rapport between my informant and myself. This strategy worked well with informants who were musical professionals. For informants who were not musical professionals, musical questions did not motivate responses easily. My rapport with them was usually built upon conversation on non-musical life issues.

This was how I worked with Ms. Ou, the senior Cantonese-Shanghainese, who informed me that she did not like music lessons in school, but was fond of sports. The interview began with her recollections of sports in school, and proceeded with various non-musical aspects of personal and family life. Toward the end of the interview, the image of a phonograph machine as a possible item of "furniture" in her home crossed my mind. So I asked if she ever owned a phonograph machine. To my surprise, she did not only own a phonograph machine but also used it very often – to listen to Cantonese Opera. Also, she was attracted to the *yangqin* 洋琴/揚琴 (hammered dulcimer) which she saw in the Cantonese music ensembles that accompanied live opera performance on stage. In the case of this interview, had I let the informant dominate the whole interview process with her idea of music, and not searched for ways to lead her to

broadly-defined musical experience, no real insight into the informant's musical interests would have been elicited.

Besides asking motivating questions, another strategy that I used was to show the informant a film clip with music. I brought with me my laptop and a selection of VCD copies of historical sound films to the interviews, and picked the one(s) that interested the informant most. This strategy motivated Ms. Lin to deliver several musical comments that revealed her emotional responses to film songs.

c) Secondary Sources

The large group of secondary documents, from which I developed my analytical frame and musical analyses, can be divided into two groups: studies of modern Chinese culture, history, and music in Shanghai, and studies of pre-existing musical and aesthetic practices in China and the West. I will discuss ethnomusicological studies on musical change caused by Western musical forces and on modern China in the next section.

A number of publications on modern China and Shanghai, written by scholars in literature, political science, and history, provided me with analytical insights and theoretical inspirations. They include: Leo Lee's *Shanghai*

Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945 (1999), Lydia Liu's *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity in China, 1900-1937* (1995), Andrew Jones's *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (2001), Richard Kraus's *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music* (1989), and Joshua Goldstein's *Drama Kings: Players and Publics in the Re-Creation of Peking Opera, 1870-1937* (2007).

Leo Lee's *Shanghai Modern* examines how the urban sensibility of Shanghai, emerging from the city's material sense of space, shaped the formation of Chinese literary and cultural modernity. Although my musical study of Shanghai finds a more nuanced view of the urban-ness of Shanghai by connecting it to musical influences from the suburban regions, Lee shows an innovative approach to studying Shanghai as a site of modernity. In particular, Lee's re-mapping of the city's urban milieu, encompassing architecture, department stores, coffeehouses, dance halls, race clubs, public parks, and the Chinese alley courtyards (*nongtang* 弄堂), inspired me to re-construct the musical milieu of Shanghai based on musical venues. Integrating Lee's delineation of the city's "cultural matrix," which

focused on interactions between elitist and popular culture, and manifested in print culture, cinema, and bookstores, my musical re-construction seeks to include both classical and vernacular musical establishments.

Lydia Liu's *Translingual Practice*, from which I developed my theoretical frame of musical "translation," demonstrates an approach to restore Chinese agency in the complex modernity processes of "domination, resistance, and appropriation" (Liu, *Translingual Practice*, p. 25).

Focusing on discursive practices that gave rise to new linguistic modes of thinking, Liu locates Chinese modernity neither within an essentialized West or China, but in-between, through Chinese reinventions and negotiations of the West. My discourse analysis of Chinese musical modernity, inspired by Liu, emphasizes the new musical and discursive realities that Chinese music advocates' created through their "translated" mode of thinking, one that valorized the musical West for modern Chinese agendas.

Andrew Jones's *Yellow Music*, which focuses on sound media of Chinese modernity in the interwar period, provided me with insights on the emerging phonograph, radio, and sound film culture, and on the complex colonial hierarchies in the early Chinese sound recording industry. Identifying modern Chinese media culture as "a musical, technological,

financial, linguistic, and racial transaction," Jones reveals the complex interactions between the colonial and Chinese locals, and the conflicts among the Chinese elitists, leftists, and popular music promoters. Such an approach exemplifies a multi-directional engagement with the complexities of Chinese musical modernity, which I seek to apply to my study. Instead of focusing on popular music and its controversy among Chinese intellectuals, however, the scope of my study extends to other musical genres, and focuses on the rivalry between promoters of Western classical music and defenders of Chinese music.

Richard Kraus's *Pianos and Politics in China*, written from a sociological perspective, examines the relations between capitalism and Western classical music – symbolized by the piano – among Chinese "middle-class." Although more than half of the book features Chinese musicians who underwent struggles in the Communist regime, it traces their musical visions to the Republican period, attributing the Chinese piano craze to a sociological explanation of "middle-class ambitions." Kraus's understandings of Chinese piano culture as driven by socio-political forces that emerged with colonialism and transformed under Communism was visionary in his time. While my study is inspired by his sociological analysis, I see beyond the driving force

of class, and expand the musical scope to include both Western and pre-existing Chinese music.

Joshua Goldstein's *Drama Kings* examines how the seemingly "traditional" genre of Peking Opera engaged with modern theatrical experiments, the new dynamics of urban sociability, and new representations of gender. Showing the transformation processes in Peking Opera and how it became a national theater in the interwar period, Goldstein's study provided me with insights into how to connect modernity with pre-existing musical genres, especially Peking Opera music.

Musical information and perspectives in a number of other publications provided me with historical data to reconstruct the musical world of Shanghai. Among this group of sources, there are studies of musical activities in interwar Shanghai. They include: Enomoto Yasuko's *The City of Musicians, Shanghai: The Beginning of Western Music Development in Modern China* (1998; 2003), which provided information for my discussion on music reformers' activities; Han Kuo-Huang's "A Study of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra" ("Shanghai gongbuju yuedui yanjiu", 1999), which includes archival data on the composition and public concert performances of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra; and Sheila Melvin and Cai Jindong's *Rhapsody in*

Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese (2004), a journalistic-style account of Western classical music in China.

Another group of musical publications consists of biographical studies, which I consulted to understand the Chinese-Western background of music advocates. The wealth of Chinese-written sources include: miscellaneous essays written by the late Liao Fushu (e.g., *Yueyuan tanwang*), the retired music scholars Chen Lingqun (e.g., *Chen Lingqun yinyue wenji*) and Dai Penghai (e.g., "Yinyuejia Ding Shande"), and Li Yan (e.g., *Shuofeng*); the four-volume *Biography of Modern and Contemporary Chinese Music Masters* (*Zhongguo jinxindai yinyuejia zhuan*; 1999), a grand collection of biographical essays on major Chinese musical figures. For English-written sources, Jacob Avshalomov's *Avshalomovs' Winding Way* (2001) and Chang Chi-jen's dissertation "Alexander Tcherepnin, His Influence on Modern Chinese Music" (1983) examine the two prominent Russian composers in Shanghai; Geremie Barme's *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)* (2002) studies the painter-music educator Feng Zikai.

Apart from these, Christian Henriot and Gail Hershatter, in their respective studies, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History (1849-1949)* (1997;

2001) and *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (1997), illuminated the musical life of late-Qing courtesans and musical prostitutes in Shanghai.

In addition, a number of research institutes in China have published "comprehensive records" (*zhi 誌*) and "grand collections" (*jicheng 集成*) on different performing arts in Shanghai, including *sizhu* music, Peking Opera, Kun Opera, Yue Opera, and other regional operas. These studies, along with statistical studies on such topic as entertainment venues (*SYLZ*), provided ethnographic information for my musical re-construction of Shanghai.

The flourishing of scholarship on historical and cultural Shanghai in the past two decades or so has offered cross-disciplinary insights and data. They shaped my understanding of Shanghai as a complicated site where diverse Chinese local forces were mixed with localized colonial forces. These studies, mostly written by historians, cover a variety of topics, including: police and power control of colonial concessions, in Frederick Wakeman's *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937* (1995); Chinese administration amid colonialism, in Christian Henriot's *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization* (1993); and ethnic diversity of foreign

diaspora communities, in Marcia Ristaino's *Port of Last Resort: Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (2001). Among Chinese-written publications, Tang Zhenchang's *A History of Shanghai* (*Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, 1989) offered ethnographic and historical details, Li Tiangang's *Cultural Shanghai* (*Wenhua Shanghai*; 1998) and Luo Suwen's *Idle Shots by the Shanghai River* (*Hubin Xianying*; 2004) offered varied reflections on and analyses of Shanghai's "mixed-living" conditions from the local intellectuals' point of view.

The second type of secondary documents, which comprises studies of pre-existing musical and aesthetic practices in China and the West, offered references for my translation analyses of compositional procedures, notation practices, and aesthetics in modern Chinese musical works. For general structural practices of Chinese music, for example, I consulted the study of musical modes by Mainland Chinese scholar Li Yinghai, *Hanzu diaoshi*, and the studies of Chinese instrumental music by Mainland Chinese scholars Gao Youyong (*Minzu qiyue gailun*) and Li Minxiong (*Minzu qiyue gailun*), and by Alan Thrasher ("Melodic Structure") and Lawrence Witzleben. Witzleben's *"Silk and Bamboo" Music in Shanghai: The Jiangnan Sizhu Instrumental Ensemble Tradition*, in particular, provided detailed information on the musical operation of *sizhu* music. For structural

features of *qin* 琴 music, I consulted Joseph Lam's "Analyses and Interpretations of Chinese Seven-String Zither Music: The Case of the *Lament of Empress Chen*" (1993). For Peking Opera music, I consulted Liu Jidian's *A General Discussion of Music in Peking Opera* (*Jingju yinyue jieshao*, 1981), Elizabeth Wichmann's *Listening to Theater: The Aural Dimension of Beijing Opera* (1991), and Nancy Guy's *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (2005).

Several studies on *qin* music, which represents the most refined musical culture in pre-modern China, helped my comparative examination of classical music practices in China and the West. These *qin* studies include: Robert van Gulik's *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (1940), Xu Jian's *Preliminary Study of Qin History* (*Qinshi chubian*; 1982), Yip Mingmei's *The Art of Qin Music* (*Guqin yinyue yishu*; 1991), Joseph Lam's "Analyses and Interpretations," and Bell Yung's "Not Notating the Notatable: Reevaluating the *Guqin* Notational System" (1994).

For analyses of aesthetic translation processes, I consulted publications that discuss Chinese aesthetic philosophy and landscape painting aesthetic canons. They include Kenneth DeWoskin's *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China* (1982) and Qian

Zhongshu's *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*, translated by Ronald Egan (1998).

1.5 Ethnomusicological Scholarship: Musical Change, Modern Shanghai

Among the vast repertory of secondary sources, ethnomusicological studies on musical change caused by Western musical forces and on music of modern China and Shanghai are directly related to the issues I address in this dissertation.

The identification of Western and non-Western musical forces in world cultures has been an enduring issue in the field of ethnomusicology. In his review of the field in 1985, Bruno Nettl examines ethnomusicologists' interests in musical changes that are caused by Western influences (Nettl, *Western Impact on World Music*). The two major concepts that ethnomusicologists had used to study musical changes were Westernization and modernization, which were borrowed from the anthropology of culture change (p. 20). The prevalence of the two concepts in the 1980s marks a time when ethnomusicologists who appreciated the innovations and musical change in non-Western cultures attempted to confront Western influences. Due to the limitation of available analytical frameworks at that time,

however, many of their studies implicitly located agency not in the societies being studied but in the West. The title of Nettl's book – *The Western Impact on World Music*, for example, unintentionally presented the non-West as passive receivers of Western influence. Nonetheless, Nettl's problematization of the motivation in musical change was insightful. While the process of musical change can be studied through the products of change, analysis of motivation requires access to substantial numbers of thoughtful informants (p. 25), who are not always easy to find. This dissertation, written more than twenty years after *Western Impact*, continues to address the presence of the West in a non-Western culture. Different from earlier studies, I use the concepts of modernity and translation in order to restore agency to the non-West. Also, my focus on a historical period in modernity that is well studied by scholars in literature, history, and cultural studies gives me the vantage point to examine the "motivation" of change from diverse perspectives.

A few ethnomusicologists have published articles on Chinese adoption of Western musical influences in the twentieth century. Many of them focus on modern song creations. Isabel Wong's "*Geming Gequ: Songs for the Education of the Masses*" (1984) is a study of revolutionary

songs, examining how the modern genre emerged in the chaotic time of wars in Republican China, and how the Communist authority canonized the modern genre for the purpose of "education of the masses." Sue Tuohy's "Metropolitan Sounds: Music in Chinese Films of the 1930s" (1999), which studies music in early leftist films, contextualizes the production of film songs as related to the emerging Chinese school songs and popular songs outside the cinema. Using "intertextuality" to conceptualize the congruous musical relationship inside and outside the early Chinese cinema, Tuohy describes how both kinds of songs functioned as cultural commentary on Chinese society. Su Zheng's "Female Heroes and Moonish Lovers: Women's Paradoxical Identities in Modern Chinese Songs" (1997) is informed by gender studies and examines the often paradoxical identities of women in modern Chinese art songs. The dissertation of Nancy Chao, "Twentieth Century Chinese Vocal Music with Particular Reference to Its Development and Nationalistic Characteristics from the May Fourth Movement (1919-1945)" (1995), contextualizes the emergence of Chinese art songs in the socio-cultural context of the May Fourth Movement and Chinese nationalism in the Republican period. Stimulated by these studies, I connect modern songs to other musical genres in the Chinese musical

world. Through identifying common and unique negotiations of Chinese and Western forces across genres, we will be able to better grasp the complexity of musical creations and realities in Chinese translated modernity.

Among other ethnomusicological studies on modern China, two monographs are on musical genres developed in Shanghai.¹³ Jonathan Stock's *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* (2003) examines how the modern conditions of Shanghai gave rise to the "traditional" and local genre of Shanghai Opera, or *huju*, in the Republican period. Stock shows how Shanghai Opera actors adopted musical "resources and networks" that the commercialized entertainment industry in Republican Shanghai offered – modern theaters, media of phonograph and radio, and new transmission practices, contending that "traditional elements were not replaced by modern ones but reshaped in an increasingly modern system" (p. 133). While Stock's connection of a "traditional" genre to modern forces could have been further developed to nuance the phenomenon of modernity, as

¹³ There are several studies on Chinese solo instrumental music that include historical information on the Republican period; none focus on the site of Shanghai explicitly, however. They include: John Myers's monograph on the *pipa* 琵琶 (four-stringed pear-shaped lute) (Myers, *The Way of the Pipa*; 1992), Frederick Lau's dissertation on the *dizi* (transverse bamboo flute) (Lau, "Music and Musicians"; 1991), Terrence Liu's dissertation on the *erhu* (two-string bowed fiddle) (Liu, "Development"; 1988), and two dissertations on the *zheng* 箏 (board zither with bridges), by Te-yuan Cheng (Cheng, "Zheng"; 1991) and Yan-zhi Chen (Chen, "The Zheng"; 1991).

I try to do in this dissertation, Stock sets a different aim for his study: to "introduce the history and music of Shanghai opera to students and scholars of ethnomusicology" (p. 4). But his theoretical eschewing of the problem of modernity allows the dichotomy of the traditional and the modern to dominate. The modern condition, in his book, mainly refers to the institutionalization and resources opportunities of Shanghai cosmopolitanism. The Western factors in "traditional" practice are underplayed. For example, Stock rejects Colin Mackerras's attribution of actors' improved social status to the Chinese adoption of Western attitudes, which were more tolerant – a view that continues to be held in recent publications on Chinese theatrical actors (e.g., Duchesne, "Chinese Opera Star"). Dissolving the dichotomy of China and the West in modernity, my musical analysis of Peking Opera seeks to examine how Chinese processed Western practices and aesthetics in their translation practices.

Lawrence Witzleben, in *"Silk and Bamboo" in Shanghai*, examines *sizhu* ensemble music, which he studied and performed in Shanghai in the 1980s. Looking closely at the procedural, performance, and aesthetic practices of this instrumental genre, Witzleben discusses such subjects as: instruments, repertory, form, variation in performance

practice, texture, and aesthetics. In his brief discussion of *sizhu*'s historical background in Republican Shanghai, Witzleben includes a 1927 tobacco advertisement that compares the pleasing qualities of *sizhu* music to those of cigarette smoking. The advertisement informs how pre-existing aesthetic ideals – "harmoniousness and blendedness" – prevailed among the Chinese populace in modern Shanghai. His detailed organizational analyses, illustrated with meticulous transcriptions, provided inspiration for my own musical analyses.

Nancy Guy's *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (2005), which before discussing the uses of Peking opera in Taiwan shows how Peking Opera became a national theater on the mainland, offered insights on how the essentialized Chineseness of this "traditional" genre was really a modern projection. Describing this projection as a packaging "for the foreign gaze," Guy shows the subtle transaction processes through which Peking Opera promoters adopted and resisted Western influences in nationalistic terms. Although Peking Opera matured in Beijing (Peking), performers of Beijing and Shanghai had frequent exchanges in the early twentieth century. More importantly, new theatrical practices with which modern Shanghai performers experimented influenced reform-minded performers based in

Beijing, among them Mei Lanfang. Exploring how Mei and his playwright Qi Rushan incorporated the "foreign gaze" in one of their new productions, I examine possible translation processes informing their creativity.

Musicologists and ethnomusicologists from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong have been actively publishing on the modern art music that emerged in the Republican period. Among their research activities, the seminar series on "Chinese new music" held in Hong Kong since the 1980s has produced numerous essay collections and conference proceedings, under the directorship of Liu Ching-chih (Liu Jingzhi). Organized by the Chinese Music Research group at the Center of Asian Studies of Hong Kong University,¹⁴ the series gathers scholars or music critics from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and sometimes Germany and the United States. Four meetings of the series concentrated on or included the Republican period. The series defined "Chinese new music" (*Zhongguo xin yinyue*) as Chinese musical works "in which Chinese musical sources are expressed through compositional techniques, styles, forms and 'musical language' that developed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries." At least one meeting, however, was on

¹⁴ The Chinese Music Research group was established in 1992.

"thoughts on national Chinese music" (*guoyue sixiang*) (Liu and Wu, eds., *Zhongguo xinyinyue shi lunji*; 1994).

Publications of the series offer a diverse range of historical information on modern Chinese music history. With regard to theoretical frameworks, the idea of translation is mentioned by Guan Jianhua 管建華, a music scholar from Mainland China. In his "Cultural Philosophical Foundation of Interpretation Multiplicity of Chinese New Music" ("Zhongguo xin yinyue duoyuan jieshi de wenhua zhaxue jichu"), collected in the 2000 volume of the series, Guan Jianhua mentions W. V. Quine's ideas of translation in relation to the nature of "uncertainty" and "relativity" in studies of linguistic philosophy. Invoking these two concepts, Guan Jianhua attempts to explain the two different perspectives of modern Chinese musical development: "Europeanization" (*Ou hua* 歐化) and "nationalization" (*minzu hua* 民族化) (pp. 67-68). Guan Jianhua seems to argue that the difference between the two concepts is a matter of focus. But his discussion is so brief that the relation between Quine's translation and his argument is not clearly articulated.

"Europeanization" and "nationalization" are commonly used by Chinese scholars and critics to characterize modern

Chinese musical phenomena in which Western musical elements register their influence. These characterizations have very different affective connotations, however. "Europeanization" is an often pejorative characterization used by scholars to criticize the loss of pre-existing Chinese elements in new compositions. For those who defend the adoption of European elements in new Chinese music, however, the more desirable concept of "nationalization" serves as the legitimatization of change, one that emphasizes continuity with pre-existing Chinese practices. Supporters of "nationalization," such as Liu Zaisheng 劉再生 and Song Jin 宋瑾, commonly endorse the idea that Western functional harmony is a product of universal progress¹⁵ – an evolutionary view that was first adopted by Western music reformers in the early twentieth century. Different from ethnomusicology in the United States, it is common for Chinese music scholars to deliver value assessments of changes that took place in Chinese history; national agenda is often an important, and expected, component of their scholarship. This dissertation does not aim at participating in the controversy of "Europeanization" and "nationalization." Rather, it examines the complex and multiple socio-political forces

¹⁵ The papers of Liu Zaisheng and Song Jin are collected in the 2000 series volume, edited by Liu Ching-chih and Li Ming.

that caused early twentieth-century Chinese music advocates to look to the musical West. The goal is to reveal the diverse, often rival, modes of thinking through which music advocates adapted Western practices to Chinese ones. The current controversy in China, indeed, is a continuation of the conflicted musical modernity that emerged in modern Shanghai.

1.6 Chapter Organization

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 defines the issues of modernity, semi-colonialism, and musical translation, which are the major theoretical concepts for my analyses. Chapter 3 presents a musical ethnography of Shanghai based on these issues and concepts. Chapter 4 examines the key Chinese music advocates who were the agents of musical "translation" in modernizing Shanghai. The fifth and sixth chapters examine their musical translation practices with regard to two different aspects. Chapter 5 analyzes how music advocates negotiated translated musical knowledge, which comprised the discourses of technology, Chinese history, morality, and national essence. Chapter 6 analyzes five modern Chinese musical compositions as representative cases of translated musical creativity, demonstrating their different

translational levels and aspects. Chapter 7 concludes by re-locating my translation analyses in Shanghai, showing the continuity of the Shanghai musical modernity in the subsequent Communist era, and suggesting future studies along the line of Chinese musical reception.

Chapter 2

Definitions and Hypothesis

2.1 Modernity and Its Manifestation in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Music

This chapter defines the major concepts of modernity, semi-colonialism, and musical translation. Modernity is a global phenomenon that involves different kinds of transforming socio-political, cultural, and economic forces and conditions. Modernity in Europe generally encompasses the new "modes of social life or organization that emerged ... from about the seventeenth century onwards ..."
(Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity*, p. 1); revolutions in science, industrialization, and technology drove these new modes and forms of organization to emerge. Europe's foreign relations, especially those defined by colonialism, also shaped the European condition of modernity – though this aspect tends to be overlooked. The changing orders of the globe driven by colonialism posted challenges to both the Western and non-Western worlds, forcing them to transform according to their unequal relations.

In the process, especially beginning in the nineteenth century, new modes of life arose mostly in the emerging urban cities. In Europe and America, migration caused by industrialization and mechanization brought people to the newly arisen urban centers, where new social realities emerged in the most extreme and intense forms. The expanded government bureaucracies and public facilities, such as sanitary hospitals, came in tandem with the massive re-ordering of the physical environment in the cities. There, contrasting political and cultural movements nurtured and disseminated new ideas that prompted social changes.

Like its counterparts in the West such as Paris and New York City, Shanghai was a site of modernity, but one that happened to be located in the non-Western world. Propelling and reflecting a massive and rapid growth, its population, light industry, and commerce multiplied during the course of the nineteenth century when Shanghai became a treaty port with concessions given to foreign powers. In the early decades of the twentieth century, new technologies arrived in Shanghai soon after their invention in Europe and America. By the 1880s, electric power and the telephone had arrived in Shanghai. In 1896, experimental cinema took place in Shanghai, an event that echoed the display of the Cinématographe Lumière in Paris only months

earlier. Since 1901, automobiles began to run on the roads of Shanghai. In 1908, the first record company in China launched the mere decade-old business in Shanghai.

These unprecedented developments transformed the conditions of social and cultural life in Shanghai in many ways, stimulating Chinese citizens to develop a new temporal consciousness, and a new sense of urgency. The citizens realized that they had to, on the one hand, embrace progressive changes for national survival and, on the other hand, retain and develop a distinctive national character that could stand in the new world order.

This new sense of time privileged the modern moment. Identifying "now" as the "modern," a linear vision of human progress pitted the present against the past. A new vision of history emerged, which not only focused on the present moment, but also depended on a "reflexivity" of the pre-modern – what we generally refer to as "tradition." Through this act of reflexivity, modernity was constituted in and through applied knowledge, which led to an irreversible departure from the pre-modern. Modernity, therefore, was not only based on new modes of life and order, but also a new temporal consciousness that unprecedentedly breaks the present from the pre-modern past. In Chinese modernity,

this break from the pre-modern past was most evident in Shanghai.

It was a dramatic and distinctive break, one that involved a set of socio-political conditions that was absent in the West. Science, industrial-technological revolutions, and the concomitant social transformations developed at their own pace within the Euro-American world. But they came to the non-Western worlds as the result of coercion backed by military force, which created a new power structure in new global and colonial contexts. With its military victories, the Euro-American West assumed a dominant position and became the main provider of the sources of modernity. As a contrast, China was shockingly downgraded from a dominant player in global politics to a dominated subject in a colonized Asia. Imperial China ended in 1911, after being crushed by domestic and international forces. For Chinese to survive and to create a new social order, embracing modernity became essential and unavoidable.

Modernity brought new aesthetic ideas, which in turn, produced defining qualities and conditions for the new social and political order. Matei Calinescu describes this development as "an irreversible split" with the earlier kind of modernity (Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, p. 41). The first kind of modernity was about the new

industrial-capitalist conditions. Calinescu describes it as the "bourgeois idea of modernity," because its doctrine of progress, and confidence in science and technology, were largely promoted and guarded by the middle-class. Drastic changes in the living order and material environment that accompanied celebrations of reason and pragmatism in this bourgeois modernity, however, induced critical reflection on both the transient and the immutable. As a result, Westerners saw the inadequacies of rationality and utilitarianism, and they responded by reinvigorating the immanent potentials and qualities of aesthetics – though often with ambivalent attitudes. For example, for the French poet Baudelaire, "the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent" of the changing world promoted a novel aesthetic imagination with a poetics of ephemerality (Baudelaire, Charvet tr., *Selected Writings*, p. 403). Calinescu refers to this second kind of modernity as "aesthetic modernity."

In early twentieth-century China, "aesthetic modernity" neither flourished nor impacted the new Chinese republic. Shocked by the power of the Western military and its imperialistic threat, China was fixed at bourgeois modernity. The urgency to embrace the power of modernity did not allow Chinese to critically reflect on its

ephemerality and inadequacies. Their commitment to change to bring betterment sealed the forms and ideals of Chinese modernity. The material splendor of the city of Shanghai would, for example, dazzle modern writers as an embodiment of a new epoch of human progress (Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, p. 37), and they valorized it in their writings. As Leo Lee points out, Chinese modern writers "had not yet developed the detached and reflective mentality characteristic of the Parisian *flaneur*,"¹ because they were "much too enamored of the light, heat, and power of the metropolis" (pp. 37, 39).

The Chinese fixation with bourgeois modernity was comparable to what happened in Russia and India, countries that occupied low positions in the new world order. For example, China's focus on material power and social development is comparable to the Russians' modernization "of underdevelopment" (Berman, *All that is Solid*, pp. 174-76). Also, both the Chinese and Russians emphasized modern transformations in the self and social dimensions (Daruvalla, *Zhou Zuoren*, p. 18). The Chinese and Indian focuses on modernization of the nation are comparable. Both modernized as a nation-state, and both engaged in nationalist

¹ For Baudelaire in France, the modern city of Paris was a lyrical subject to be gazed at by an alienated stroller – the *flaneur*, who, while strolling along the Parisian streets and interacting with the city crowd, "still stood at the margin of the city" (Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 170).

discourses that accepted the "modern' framework of knowledge" as universal (Chatterjee, *Partha Chatterjee Omnibus*, p. 11). As Partha Chatterjee points out, nationalist thought was a discourse of power that simultaneously rejected the colonial claim to political domination, and accepted a universal framework of modernity brought by colonialism.

When these modernization discourses and developments reached the Chinese musical world, Chinese musical modernity emerged. In this development, a major issue that music advocates confronted was how to embrace Western and modern music within a nationalist discourse. In other words, Chinese musical modernity developed with the premise that Chinese should embrace Western musical practices, while continuing native ideals and producing music and musical meanings that Chinese listeners could embrace.

As music advocates enthusiastically adopted Western music and music practices, they had neither the ability nor the time to develop a detached and critical mentality, one that allowed Western musicians to develop their "aesthetic modernity." As a result, it was the Western musical practices created during "bourgeois modernity" that Chinese music advocates adopted and accommodated. These Western musical products and practices, which were developed

between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries, are now generally known as Western classical, or art, music. Chinese reformers found this music appealing because it was deemed scientific and progressive. They understood the Western system of well-regulated "tonal centrality, harmonic stability ..., and goal-directed chordal progression" (Morgan, *Modern Times*, p. 5) as musical embodiments of universal reason and rationality, principles and values of modernity that enabled the colonial West to dominate the world.

Chinese music advocates chose to ignore contemporaneous composers in the West who had been challenging the classical tonal system² and its ideals of stability and permanence since the late nineteenth century. The Western "aesthetic modernity" that explored sonic expressions of instability and disorder did not appeal to the majority of Chinese music advocates. The orderly nature of Western classical music, many music advocates believed, was the "medicine" that modern China needed to create a new stability amid the unprecedented social and political turmoil of the times. Modern China, they believed, needed not only tonal music but also its social institutions.

² For example, in 1908, the Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg abandoned classical tonality, "emancipating" dissonance from the hierarchical system of pitches and tonality of the former.

These included public concerts and institutionalized music education through schools and conservatories, institutions that fostered social order and modernity.³ To bring these institutions to China, Chinese music advocates imported the practice of musical concerts, which promoted staged musical performances and listening among the bourgeois audience. The same advocates also promoted and practiced the teaching of music as a serious enterprise to nurture the civilized behaviors and personalities that modern China needed.

Nonetheless, Chinese music advocates were not uninformed about the brutality of World War I that left Europe devastated, and they were not unaware of the problems of modern developments. Nevertheless, they chose to believe in the modern value of Western classical music and embraced it with distinctively Chinese perspectives.

These perspectives had two distinctive attributes: the integration of morality with the concept of autonomous art, and an insistence upon pragmatic applications of music for nation-building. When music reformers promoted music as an autonomous art, a fundamental concept in Western art music, they only appropriated the ideal to justify their belief that music was a unique and indispensable component of

³ See Michael Chanan's *Music Practica* for the bourgeois origin of concert life (pp. 132-42).

modern living. "*Duli yishu*" 獨立藝術, their translation of "autonomous art," did not exclude the need of modern music to serve moral needs and agendas. Liao Shangguo's promotion of "musical autonomy" illustrated such a Chinese reading. Rejecting Schopenhauer's metaphysical view of music aesthetics, Liao argued that musical beauty was both concrete and non-abstract (Liao, *Yinyue tonglun*, p. 6). For Liao, "autonomous art" was merely an "independent art" that contrasted with pre-existing Chinese music that served ritual and other "non-musical" purposes. As much as Liao intended to leave behind the Confucian baggage of pre-existing aesthetics, his idea that music, as an "independent art," was "a language of the soul" operating in the "higher plane of life" (*shangjie* 上界) continued to relate music to social and moral transformation (p. 11). His emphasis on nurturing Chinese people's ethical and nationalistic being ironically reinforced the fundamental Confucian conception of music's primary function.

This Chinese and modern focus on the pragmatic values of music did not promote the hearing and understanding of musical structure as embracing "disengaged reason," (Subnotnik, *Deconstructive Variations*), a concept that allowed Western musicians and audiences to formulate an "abstracted interpretive frame" for their music (Morris,

"Musical Virtues," pp. 50-51). Chinese music reformers did not see music structures as pure and abstracted procedures of logic. This is vividly attested by He Luting (a.k.a., Ho Rodin), who turned the "disengaged reason" of music into an effective principle of "aircraft" production (He, "Tingliao ji Kong," p. 20). He argues that a piece of music, or an aircraft, was a tool for people to efficiently live their modern lives; the value of music was contingent upon how it could better advance the Chinese nation as a political, social, and moral entity.

2.2 Semi-Colonialism and its Manifestation in Shanghai

As Shanghai developed under foreign and local governmental control, it experienced "semi-colonialism," as defined by Jurgen Osterhammel in his study of colonialism in China (Osterhammel, *Imperialism and After*). As further developed by the literary scholar Shu-mei Shih, "semi-colonialism" highlights the "fractured, informal, and indirect character of colonialism [in China], as well as its multi-layeredness" (Shih, *Lure of the Modern*, p. 34). The "semi-" in semi-colonialism is meant not so much to describe a half-half situation as emphasize an incomplete state or condition. The incomplete and fragmented condition of colonialism in Shanghai rendered Chinese agency as not

simply a subordinated self or a resistance force against colonial hegemony. Rather, Chinese agency operated as a discursive force that operated and interacted with both foreign and local authorities.

Musically, the fractured condition of semi-colonialism allowed Chinese to cope with Western political influences while pursuing their pre-existing musical interests. In this context, various kinds of Chinese music received new energy to develop among the Chinese communities in Shanghai. For example, leaders of the Green Gang, Du Yuesheng and Huang Jinrong, managed to promote Peking Opera by running modern Chinese opera theaters inside colonial concessions. Colonial authorities did not stop such developments, but manipulated them for their own benefit. As an example of this kind of such "give and take" interaction, the colonial administrators allowed the Green Gang leaders to take charge, and the Green Gang on their part tapped into colonialism as one of their main power sources, asserting their demands on and control over individual actors and actresses.

Chinese immigrants living inside Shanghai also benefited from their semi-colonial conditions. Musicians from regions such as Canton (Guangzhou) and Chaozhou, for example, established modern musical societies to pursue

their regional musical interests. The fractured society provided many sites and opportunities for native-place societies (*tongxiang hui*) to develop modern musical societies, which in turn fostered new developments of regional music. The unprecedented growth of music societies of Silk and Bamboo music, or *sizhu*, shows how urban prosperity brought by semi-colonialism advanced local musical forces. The developed *sizhu* style of Shanghai became a model for modern Chinese ensemble or orchestral music. Many musical practices of modernized Shanghai became national standards or institutions of Chinese musical practice.

The launching of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, arguably the most influential school of music in the twentieth-century China, provides an illustrative case. Despite the decadence that colonialism and industrialization brought to Shanghai, reformer Xiao Youmei applauded the cultural and social function of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, which provided many opportunities for Chinese to hear Western classical music, opportunities that could not be found elsewhere in China. For this reason, Xiao Youmei recommended that the first Chinese national conservatory of music be established in the semi-colonial

city of Shanghai – before then, it should be noted, Xiao Youmei had been a key member of music reform in Beijing.

As western music became a standardizing force in musical Shanghai, the questions of what to adopt from the West, and what to keep from pre-modern Chinese music became contentious. Defenders often saw their fellow reformers' attacks on Chinese music as more threatening than the invasion of colonial oppressors, while reformers blamed China for being musically and culturally backward, and thus looked to the West. Searching for answers and solutions to the question of musical modernity, Chinese music advocates negotiated between the musical West and China with processes of "musical translation."

2.3 Musical Translation of Chinese Modernity

As Lydia Liu theorizes, translation is a form of transaction that arises from contacts between two different systems. As a language phenomenon, it involves movement of a word-related object from one language system to another. Linguists have commonly identified the two systems as the "source language" and "target language," examining the change and non-change that the translation object experiences in the linguistic movement. Liu theoretically rejects the "source/target" relationship, and moves her

examination beyond the word object. She presents the concept of "translingual practice" that focuses on "the condition of translation and of discursive practices that ensue from initial interlingual contacts between languages" (Liu, *Translingual Practice*, p. 26). Liu also identifies the two parties involved in the process as the host and the guest. The translator, as the host, is the agent of the transaction.

This transaction can be theorized as comprising different forms of exchange that produce hypothesized "equivalent" meanings between languages (Liu, "The Question of Meaning-Value"). In the process, making meaning equivalence relies on an assumption of value that defines the possibility of exchange, hence Liu's idea of "meaning-value." Translation, in such a theoretical frame, involves "abstraction" processes that project, or deny, "commensurability" and "reciprocity" of exchange values between languages. This kind of measurement is made possible only by drawing upon a value basis beyond the involved parties, a basis that easily invokes the universals (Liu, "The Question of Meaning-Value," p. 22). To examine translation, then, is to study the invention and appropriation of the trope of equivalence.

Power relations play an important role in such transaction processes. In colonialism, the unequal power relations between the dominator and dominated condition how the commensurability and and reciprocity of meaning-values arise from political struggles or clashes. Politics in colonialism, however, flows beyond the simplistic frame of domination and resistance. The

inferior in the power hierarchy may actively emulate the superior in order to move up the ladder, engaging in "co-authorship" (p. 36). Meanwhile, the practices of domination, resistance, and emulation often rely on a play of difference. The strategic elimination, or assertion, of difference between self and the other(s) causes the making of translated equivalents to shift and vary. Translation analysis, therefore, needs to trace the valorization logic of equivalence and difference, and to identify the agenda that propels the transaction.

The concept of "translated modernity" features modernity as arising from such translation processes and productions between cultures. In the Chinese colonial context, examining "translated modernity" bypasses the question of how "Westernized" or "traditional" modern China is. Focusing on the Chinese translators, the question to ask is how the Chinese hosts invented the hypothesized equivalence between Chinese and Western cultures, and how they played with effacing or narrating Chinese difference vis-à-vis the West. Specifically, we need to examine transactions "in which intellectual resources from the West and from China's past are cited, translated, appropriated, or claimed in moments of perceived historical contingency so that something called *change* may be produced" (Liu, *Translingual Practice*, p. 39).

In the light of these theoretical ideas and principles of translation, my study of Chinese musical modernity sees the Chinese adoption of Western music as making strategic equivalent

meaning-values with the West, not as passive absorption of a frozen dominating model. Musical translation, similar to the translation of language and other expressive practices, arises from a desire to assert parity with the West. The processes of valorizing commensurable values between the Chinese and Western musical systems encompass different kinds of musical transactions, including taking up Western musical practices, or interpreting pre-existing Chinese musical practices with Western-inspired concepts. There are also cases where the values of Chinese music are presented as distinct from Western music, suggesting incommensurability between the two systems. Claiming nonequivalence in a China-West comparative framework, however, is only the other side of the same "token" of translational exchange.

Through translation, new practices of musical thinking, acting, and experiencing emerge. Their manifestations can appear in many different ways and forms, which include, for example, musical concepts, discourses, choice of sound materials, notational method, genre organization, aesthetics, performance practice, structural stylistics, and mode of musical presentation. While the discursive processes of musical translation – which bring about new concepts and discourses – are directly comparable to language-related phenomena, the non-discursive realm of musical phenomena involves numerous practice aspects that are idiosyncratic.

The primary communication medium of music is sound. Unlike visualized symbols, objects, or bodily gestures, musical sound

itself speaks to our aural sense – without excluding other senses, of course. Unlike fixed symbols and objects, musical sound unfolds its expressive organization in time. The unfolding process entails sound movement and its structural organization that follows socially recognizable stylistics, involving aspects such as the melody, tonality, rhythm, texture, and formal procedure. Meanwhile, the unfolding process of music takes place in a socially-charged space, with a particular manner of operation and of aesthetic communication. The performance factor thus involved, encompassing the social, technical, material, and aesthetic aspects of sound execution and presentation, is integral to the realization of music. The transmission of these factors involves notational and/or oral practices. Different kinds of musical classifications, such as genre, shape the processes of musical production and transmission. During translation processes, all these individual idiosyncratic musical practices are potential platforms for negotiation. But of course, for the resultant translated practices to operate meaningfully, the individually negotiated platforms are meant to participate in the new productions together.

In modern Chinese musical productions, the translated aspects of these various idiosyncratic musical practices manifest diverse and complex ways of engaging with Chinese and Western establishments. The translational engagement underlines making musical equivalence between the two systems by such various procedures as adoptions of Western practices, projections of

Chinese concepts and needs, modifications of Western practices to adapt to Chinese conventions, or revisions of Chinese conventions to realize selected Western practices. As an attempt to show the diversity and complexity of these various translational processes within a common frame, I present an analytical device that identifies the major kinds of procedures involved.

Differentiating the procedures into the literal, adjusted, and transformative levels (see Chapter 6), I present a heuristic spectrum that reveals the various Chinese wrestlings with Western practices in creating Chinese musical equivalents. This spectrum urges us to examine both Western and pre-existing Chinese establishments, with their different established tendencies and ideals, to see how valorizations of exchange-values take place in translated musical works that are effectively new and Chinese.

My theory of musical translation offers a new discursive framework to understand musical exchanges between China and the West. Theories of westernization and modernization that prevailed in the field of ethnomusicology the 70s and 80s inevitably located the West as the "source," and implied a teleological goal for musical changes in non-Western cultures. By focusing on translation practices of the "musical host," we avoid unnecessary fixations on teleological goals. Also, different from the framework of sinification – the flip side of westernization – translation conceptually probes into the tremendous Western impact. The analytical focus here is to see how Chinese

translators changed Chinese musical thinking and practices to assert equivalent, exchangeable values with Western music.

The pitch system, for example, is a fundamental part of musical thinking and practice that underwent such equivalence-making transactions in Chinese modernity. The Western tuning practice of equal temperament, which divides an octave into twelve equal semi-tones, appeared to many Chinese translators as the universal standard. Although the calculation theory of equal temperament was found by the Ming-dynasty prince Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉 (1536-1610), who was arguably the first theorist of this tuning method,⁴ equal temperament was not known or widely practiced in Chinese music. The tuning system as a coherent theoretical and performance practice came to modern China as an achievement of Western musical evolution, bearing a universal significance. To match the universal standard, many Chinese translators saw the twelve Chinese pitches identified in ancient time as directly commensurate with the Western twelve-unit system.

Figure 5.2 shows how the Chinese pitches – which are named as *huangzhong* 黃鐘, *dalü* 大呂, *taicu* 太簇, *jiazhong* 夾鐘, *guxi* 姑洗, *zhonglü* 中呂, *ruibin* 蕤賓, *linzhong* 林鐘, *yize* 夷則, *nanlü* 南呂, *wushe* 無射, and *yingzhong* 應鐘 – are projected as equivalent to the twelve tones (C to B) on a Western keyboard. Any tuning

⁴ A Flemish mathematician, Simon Stevin (1548-1620), also found the theoretical calculation method around the same time period, probably a few years later than Zhu's publication in 1584 (Robinson, *A Critical Study*). For hypotheses concerning how Zhu's discovery might have influenced the Western theory of equal temperament, see Tao Yabing (*Ming Qing jian*, pp. 27-33).

differences between the Chinese and Western practices are thus eliminated. The common Chinese tuning practices of just intonation and division by thirds method, which are in tension with equal temperament, are absent from the keyboard representation. The commensurability projection here exemplifies how practices of musical translation operated at the heart of Chinese modernity.

The analytical framework of musical translation allows us to vigorously trace the processes of "becoming" in modern Chinese thinking and practices, how they emerged from unequal relations in colonialism. To invoke Pierre Bourdieu's "field of cultural production," the production of Chinese musical modernity involved and manifested a "field of power" where a "relative autonomy" exists for the actors.⁵ Chinese musical agents operating in Shanghai needed to deal with the colonial authorities and agendas, central Chinese officials and government campaigns, and local Chinese social institutions and immigrant practices. As Chinese musical agents were limited by semi-colonial realities, and continued to operate with a set of pre-modern Chinese values, they had to negotiate with both. Only with successful negotiation could they embrace modernity, and overturn the current subordination of China. This is why they crisscrossed musical Shanghai, navigating a physically complex, dynamic, and well-connected metropolis.

⁵ Although Bourdieu does not explicitly use these concepts in colonial contexts (Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 37-38), I regard them as applicable to power relations that involved colonial forces.

Chapter 3

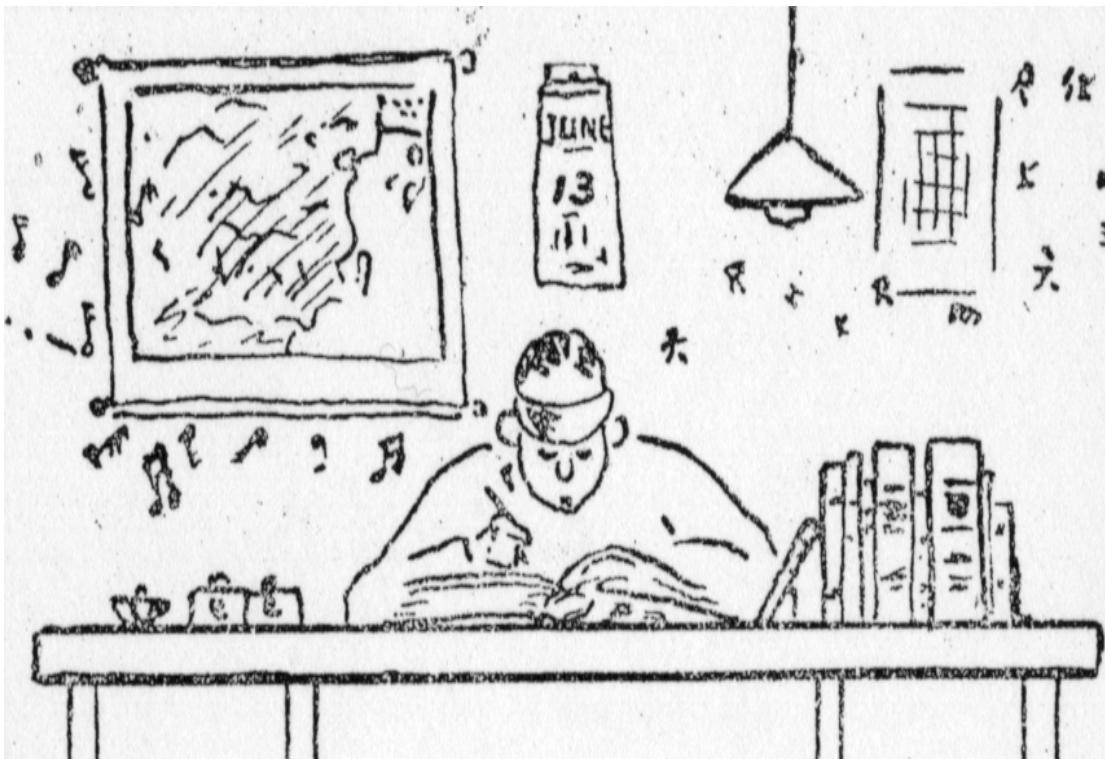
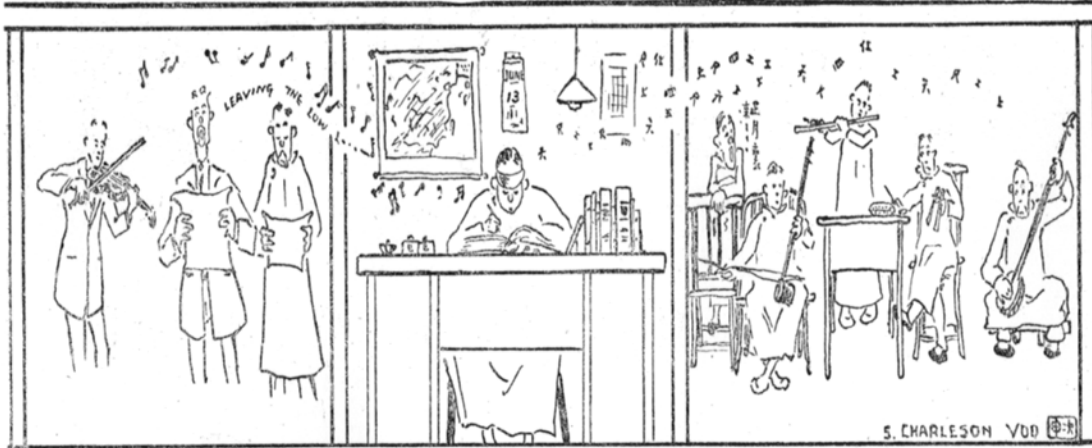
The Musical World of Shanghai

Chinese and Western music thrived in separated but connected conditions in Shanghai. A 1922 comic strip published by Chinese college students epitomizes the Chinese bi-musical experience in such conditions.¹ (Figure 3.1) The comic strip makes fun of a crazy situation where a student, stressed by the upcoming final exam, needed to perform in both Western and Chinese music clubs on campus. Decrying the situation as "Intolerable," the comic strip emphasizes that Chinese and Western music were two different systems, with different notations, musical instruments, and languages. But both systems functioned in the single Chinese mind. Indeed, both were crucial to modern Chinese life in Shanghai. When Chinese residents opened their daily newspapers, they often found advertisements that visually reinforced their bi-cultural condition. For example, in 1930, a German throat tablet company used performance images of both Chinese and Western

¹ The comic strip was published in *The St. John's Dial*, an English-language weekly journal produced by Chinese students at St. John's University.

Figure 3.1 A 1922 comic strip in *The St. John's Dial*.

INTOLERABLE!



music to advertise its products in *Shenbao* 申報, the largest Chinese newspaper in Shanghai (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Two newspaper advertisements for Formamint, a German throat medicine, featuring Chinese and Western music-making of Chinese musicians (*Shenbao*, June 2, 1930 and May 4, 1930).



The co-existence of things from both China and the West often appeared as a desirable state, as the modern Chinese adjective of "Zhong-Xi" 中西, meaning "Chinese-Western," attested. The modern term signifies a harmonious

condition that balanced progressive and national elements. That the concept found wide acceptance is evidenced by its commercial derivatives, such as the advertising slogan "Chinese-Western [goods] both presented" ("*Zhong-Xi xianbei*" 中西咸備). It was with such a slogan that the music department of Sincere Department Store (*Xianshi baihuo gongsi* 先施百貨公司; hereafter, Sincere) proudly announced that it sold both Chinese and Western musical instruments (*Sincere*).²

That Sincere sold not only Western but also Chinese products is significant. The "Western" (*Xi* 西) clearly signified the modern, which manifested itself in not only music but a wide range of Western products, ranging from medical products to clothing, things that appealed to modern Chinese urbanites. Possessing the "Western" and "modern" was, however, not enough; and Sincere could not afford to sell only western products. It was only with a mixing of the Western and the Chinese, and with a translating of the former into the latter, that Sincere could reach out to all modern Chinese consumers in semi-colonial Shanghai. The term "Zhong Xi" emerged from such a negotiation. The translated signifier "*Xi*," a new creation,

² Founded in Shanghai in 1917 by a Chinese businessman, Ma Ying Piu 馬應彪, who had recently returned from Australia, Sincere was located on Nanking (Nanjing) Road in the International Settlement.

referred to the foreign products and practices that belonged to, and were managed by, the Chinese. It is significant that the "Xi/Western" came after the "Zhong/Chinese," an order that reflects Chinese agency in the westernizing and modernizing musical world of Shanghai.

The Chinese-Western musical coexistence operated with its own distinctive logic of semi-colonialism. While musical Shanghai was divided into different locales of Chinese and Western music, they were connected through modern institutional links and Chinese musical residents could easily move among them. The fluid crossing of the colonial divides stimulated the emergence of new Chinese musical practices and establishments that mediated Western forces with Chinese ones. These new practices in turn further complicated and diversified the coexistent conditions and inter-connected relationships of Chinese and Western musical locales, which can be examined with respect to their performance venues, musical systems, sound media, and institutional networks.

In the following, I re-construct the musical world of Shanghai to show how the various musical practices and establishments between the Chinese and Western forces were simultaneously separated from and connected to one another. Through transportation and communication networks of the

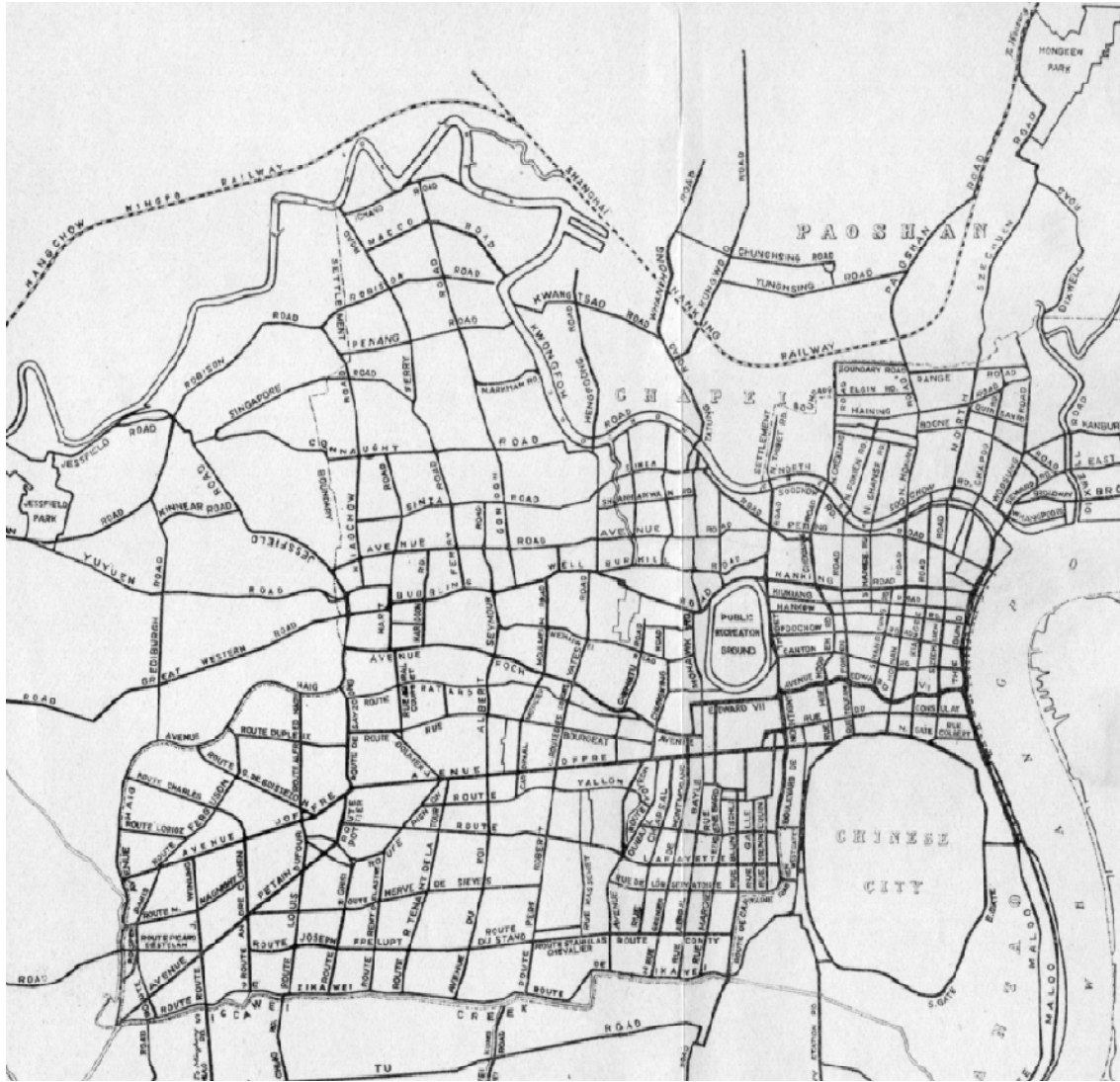
city, Shanghai residents could visit the various musical establishments, and participate in their mixed and stimulating musical activities.

3.1 Performance Venues

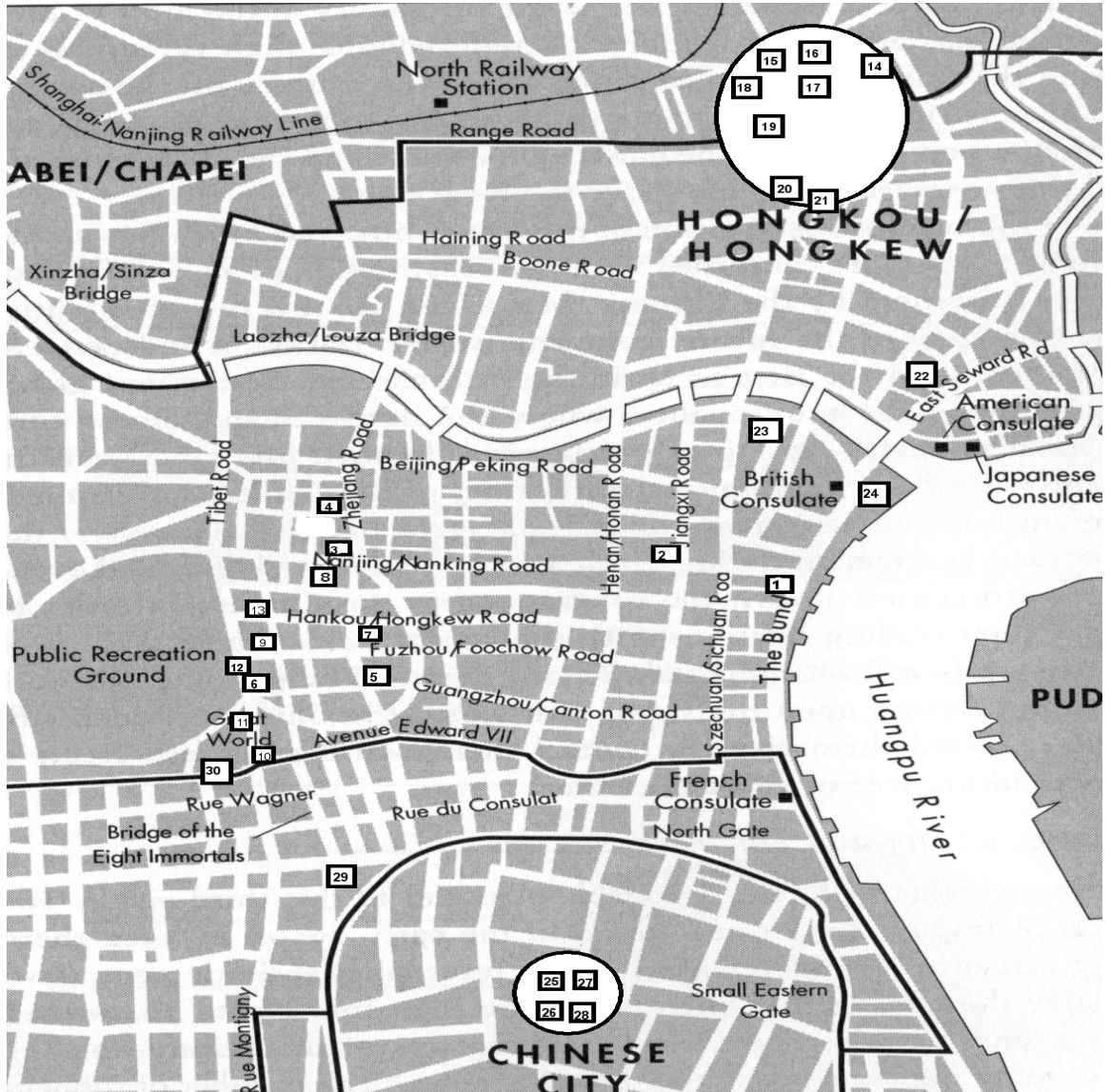
To demonstrate how Chinese residents of Shanghai could navigate among the divided musical establishments through the networks of modern streets and public transportation systems, I present a hypothetical tour of musical Shanghai. Through walking and riding the public tram cars, the tour travels from the International Settlement to the Chinese City, then to the French Concession, and returns back to the International Settlement (Maps 3.1 to 3.3). Traveling along the main streets of Shanghai and listening to the diverse musics performed there, one would experience how the "soundscape" of musical Shanghai unfolded across colonial divisions, blurring physical boundaries between the various Chinese and Western musical establishments.

One can begin the trip at a central point in the International Settlement, which is the corner where the east end of Nanking (Nanjing) Road 南京路 connects to the Bund. There, the Palace Hotel (Huizhong fandian 匯中飯店) stands and boasts performances of its Russian jazz band.

Map 3.1 Road Map of Shanghai (ca. 1926) (Crow, *Handbook for China*), and the route of the hypothetical trip.



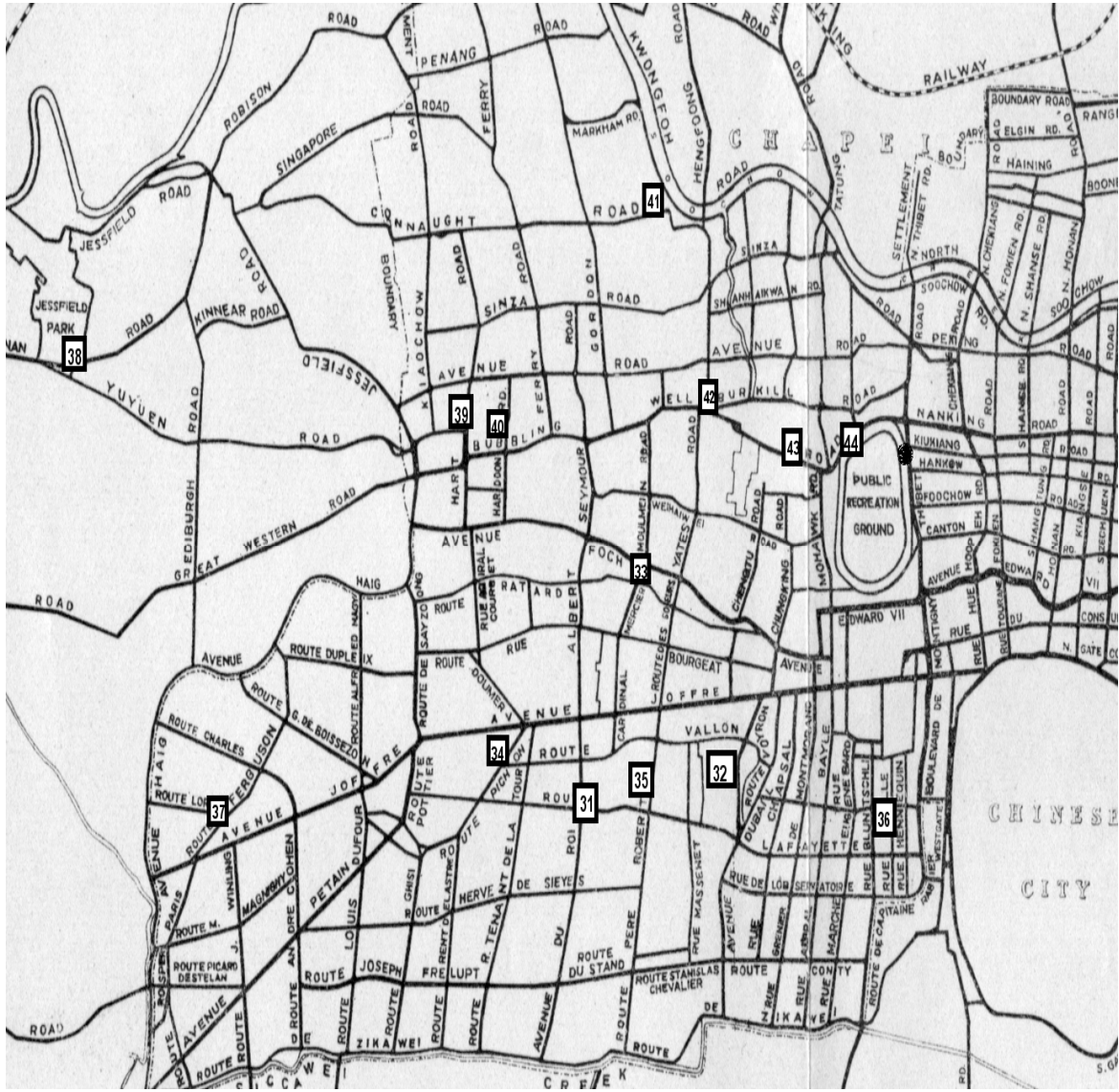
Map 3.2 Performance Venues Visited (I).³



1. Palace Hotel	7. Green Lotus Pavilion	13. Yangtze River Hotel	19. Renewal Opera Theater	25. Complacency Chamber
2. Moultre & Co. Ltd.	8. Town Hall	14. Guangdong Opera Theater	20. Yue Opera Theater	26. Confucius Temple
3. Sincere Department Store	9. Heavenly Toad Opera Theater	15. Moon Palace Dance Hall	21. T. Ichiki & Co.	27. Yeshi Garden
4. Three Star Opera Theater	10. Great World Amusement Center	16. Neishan Bookstore	22. Alois Suchochleb	28. Tianran Opera Theater
5. Chekiang Movie Theater	11. Golden Opera Theater	17. Venus Café	23. Lyceum Theater (first location)	29. Ningbo Guild
6. Eastern Narration Hall	12. Far Eastern Hotel	18. Dongfang Music Store	24. Public Garden	30. Casa Nova

³ This map is based on one published in Wakeman's *Policing Shanghai*, pp. 4-5.

Map 3.3 Performance Venues Visited (II).⁴



- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---|---------------------|
| 31. Canindrome | 34. Shanghai Conservatory of Music | 37. World Society | 40. Hardoon's Garden/Hardoon's University | 43. Carlton Theater |
| 32. French Park | 35. New China College of Fine Arts | 38. Jessfield Park | 41. Xu's Garden | 44. Grand Theater |
| 33. Lyceum Theater (new location) | 36. Shanghai College of Fine Arts | 39. Awakening Garden | 42. Olympic Theater | |

⁴ This map is based on one in Crow, *Handbook for China*.

Going along Nanking Road westward, one passes rows of Chinese retail stores that sell various sorts of products on both sides of the long road. The two finest music retail stores owned by Westerners are also located in this area. Robinson Pianos, located on Kiangse (Jiangxi) Road 江西路, and S. Moultrie & Co., Ltd, located nearby on Nanking Road, are selling high-quality musical instruments imported from the West.

For those who want to shop at a Chinese-owned music store that has a wide selection of musical instruments, phonograph machines, and phonograph records, Sincere Department Store's music section offers such a variety. It is located at the Chekiang (Zhejiang) Road 浙江路 intersection, inside one of the four towered buildings that housed the four major Cantonese-run Chinese department stores in the city. In Sincere's music department, Chinese and Western musical instruments are displayed adjacent to one another and as two complementary groups. The instruments include: "[Western] piano, upright organ, metal drum, trumpet, violin, accordion, and [Chinese] strings for operatic ensembles, mouth organ, bamboo flutes, reed flute, gongs and cymbals, dulcimer, and moon-shaped lute" (*Sincere Co. Ltd.*) (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 An advertisement for the Music Department at the Sincere Department Store, describing the variety of Western and Chinese musical instruments the section sells (*Sincere*).



The four towering department store complexes all have their entertaining teahouses or dance halls run on floors above the retail sections. To attend a performance of Suzhou *tanhuang* 灘簧 narrative-singing, for example, one can visit the Entertainment Paradise on the roof of Sincere's building (Figure 3.4 and 3.5). For those who want to join the fashionable dancing crowd, they can go to the Great

Figure 3.4 The Sincere Company, Ltd. (Wu, *Shanghai bainian*, p. 82). The Music Department is located on the fourth floor.

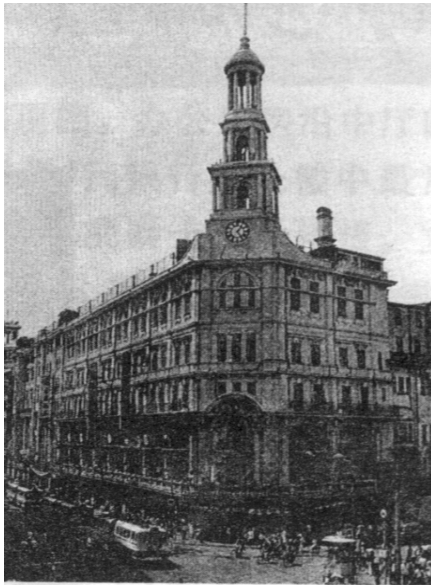


Figure 3.5 The Roof Garden of Shanghai Emporium, an amusement center located on the roof of the Sincere building complex (*Sincere*).



East Dance Hall (Dadong Wuting 大東舞廳) located inside the Wing On Department Store (Yong'an baihuo gongsi 永安百貨公司) complex across the street.

Going along Nanking Road to the west of the Chekiang Road intersection, one comes to another popular district where all kinds of Chinese and Chinese-invested entertainment businesses are located. For example, the Three Stars Opera Theater (Sanxing xiyuan 三星戲院), located on Chekiang Road north of Nanking Road (at the intersection with Newchwang (Niuzhuang) Road 牛莊路), stages Peking opera performances. Towards south of Chekiang Road and at its intersection with Canton Road, the Chekiang Movie Theater (Zhejiang dianying yuan 浙江電影院) shows recently produced Western or Chinese films. Other movie houses in the neighborhood screen different selections. Moving along Canton (Guangdong) Road 廣東路 and reaching Thibet Road 西藏路, one finds the Eastern Narration Hall (Dongfang shuchang 東方書場) that showcases Chinese narrative-singing. To visit a big teahouse with performances of *sizhu* instrumental music and with more narrative-singing, one can go to Green Lotus Pavilion (Qinglian ge 青蓮閣) located on Foochow (Fuzhou) Road 福州路, which runs parallel to Canton Road on the north, back to the east of Chekiang Road. This fancy teahouse is located on the second and third floors of the Green Lotus Shopping Building (Qinglian ge shangchang 青蓮閣

商場), above an amusement arcade on the ground floor (Figure 3.6). In the teahouse, one might hear a *changsān* 長三 (lit. long-three) prostitute singing to her client (Figure 3.7).⁵ Leaving the teahouse and moving forward, one finds numerous bookstores in the area. In addition to books, one can buy small Western musical instruments such as the harmonica at the bookstores. Zhonghuo Bookstore, for example, has a good selection of harmonicas for sale (Sun, *Shanghai youlan zhinan*).

Going back to Nanking Road and continuing westward, one approaches Kwangse (Guangxi) Road 廣西路. Amid Chinese teahouses, narrative halls, opera theaters, and movie theaters, one finds the Town Hall (Shizheng ting 市政廳) of the International Settlement there (Figure 3.8). In the 1920s, the Town Hall was the main performance venue for the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra's regular indoor rehearsals and concerts. For fans of Western classical music, the colonial building is probably their favorite musical site in Shanghai.

Going westward toward the Public Recreation Ground – previously the Horse Race Course – one finds numerous other

⁵ Meanwhile, famous *changsān* brothels were concentrated on Huile Li 會樂里, a lane off Foochow Road (Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, pp. 41-45).

Figure 3.6 The Green Lotus Pavilion building (Pan et al., *Shanghai, a Century of Change*); the teahouse is on the second floor.



Figure 3.7 A Photo of a Changsan Prostitute, or "Sing-Song Girl" (Barz, *Shanghai: Sketches*, p. 52).

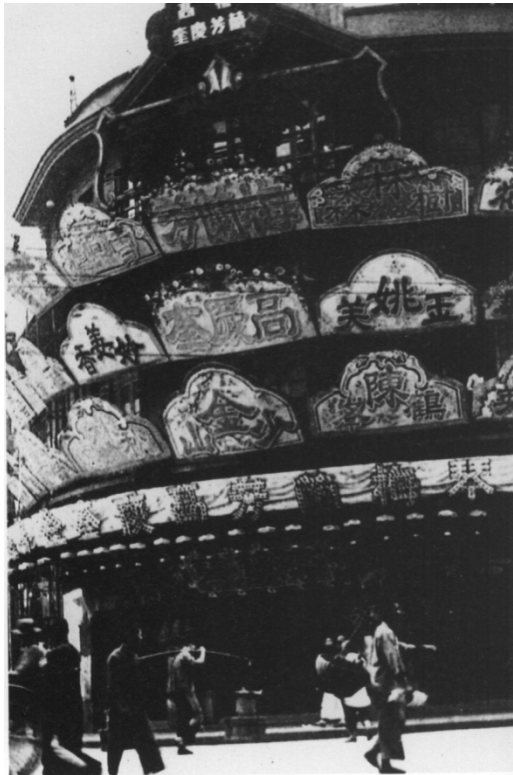


Figure 3.8 The International Settlement Town Hall (Henriot, ed., *Virtual Shanghai*).



Chinese theaters and amusement centers. These include the Heavenly Toad Opera Theater (Tianchan wutai 天蟾舞臺) on Yunnan Road 雲南路, which constantly hosts famous Peking opera troupes (Figure 3.9), and the New Light Opera Theater (Xinguang xiyuan 新光戲院) on Ningpo Road 寧波路, where the Kun Opera Preservation Association (Kunju baocun she 昆劇保存社) from Suzhou performed in 1934 (*SKJZ*, p. 48). Standing at the two intersections of Thibet road right outside the Public Recreation Ground are the New World 新世界 (intersection with Nanking Road) and Great World 大世界 (intersection with Avenue Edward VII 愛多亞路 of the French Concession), the two biggest amusement centers in Shanghai

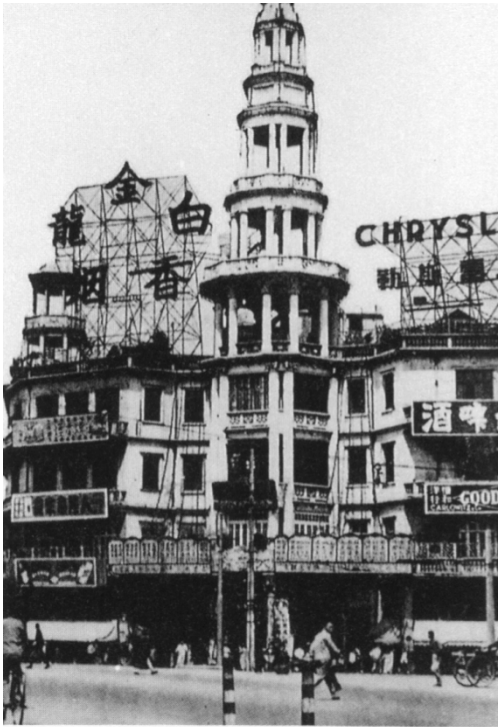
Figure 3.9 Heavenly Toad Opera Theater (Tianchan wutai)
(Tang, *Jindai Shanghai*, p. 280).



29

biggest amusement centers in Shanghai (Figure 3.10). The cluster of other theaters close to Great World includes Golden Opera Theater (Huangjin da xiyuan 黄金大戲院) and Nanking Movie Theater (Nanjing dianying yuan 南京電影院); they were in the boundary area between the International Settlement and the French Concession. In the same neighborhood, one also finds the Far East Hotel (Yuandong fandian 遠東飯店) and the Great China Hotel (Da Zhonghua fandian 大中華飯店), both run by Chinese. These

Figure 3.10 Great World Amusement Center, 1919 (Tang, *Jindai Shanghai*, p. 220).⁶



hotels not only accommodate dance halls (like the Westerner-invested Palace Hotel), but also narrative-singing venues (at Great China Hotel) and Chinese opera stages (at Far East Hotel).⁷ At Yangtze River Hotel (Yangzi fandian 揚子飯店) on Yunnan Road nearby (at the Hankow Road 漢口路 intersection), one may find an all-Chinese jazz band (Jones, *Yellow Music*, pp. 100-101). In these Chinese dance

⁶ The small pieces of boards written with Chinese words that hang outside the building on the ground level are probably names of various kinds of performers and the works to be performed.

⁷ Far East Hotel hosted performances of Yue opera, among others (Sun, *Shanghai Youlan zhinan*, p. 122).

halls, new Chinese popular songs such as "Drizzle" ("Maomao yu" 毛毛雨) are played to accompany their dancing customers.

Next, one can take the tramway on Nanjing Road, moving northward, then eastward, in the International Settlement. By the Bund, having crossed the Soochow (Suzhou) Creek 蘇州河 to the north, one enters the area known as the Hongkew (Hongkou) 虹口 district. There one would encounter the large Cantonese-Shanghainese community and the growing influence of Japanese nationals. Along the crowded North Szechuen (Sichuan) Road 四川路, the tramway takes its riders leaving the International Settlement and entering the Chinese-governed Chapei district. Near Hangpinkew (Hengbin qiao) 橫濱橋 south of Urga (Oujia) Road 歐嘉路, one finds the Guangdong Grand Opera Theater (Guangdong da xiyuan 廣東大戲院) that frequently features performances by professional troupes from Canton. Moon Palace Dance Hall (Yuegong wuting 月宮舞廳), also along North Szechuen (Sichuan) Road 北四川路, hires Cantonese ensemble bands to play the earliest Chinese dance hall band music for customers. The Japanese-run Neishan Bookstore 內山書店, which is located at the northern end of the road, specializes in Japanese publications,

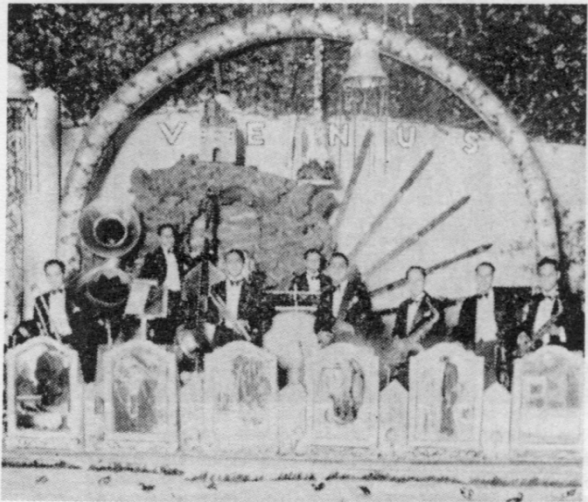
serving as the Japanese window to Chinese music advocates.⁸ Along the road, one passes several movie theaters and dance venues. Odeon Movie Theater 奧迪安電影院, for example, which is located at the Jukiang (Qiujiang) Road 九江路 intersection, is frequented by Chinese students. Close by, one finds Venus Café 老大華舞廳, a cabaret popular among Westerners, where a jazz band named The Venus Rhythm Boys performs (Figure 3.11).

The neighborhood has a number of Chinese-run music retail stores, including Shanghai, Dongfang 東方, and Yongxing 永興. Many name themselves as "qin stores" (*qinhang* 琴行) distinguishing themselves from the modern Chinese musical retail businesses that usually depend on selling the piano and other Western musical instruments, along with Chinese ones.

Going back to the southern portion of North Szechuan Road that belonged to the International Settlement, one can visit performance venues that stage regional Chinese operas other than that of the Cantonese. For example, Yue opera – which is popular among immigrants from the Shaoxing district of Zhejiang province – is frequently staged at

⁸ Chinese musicologist Miao Tianrui (b. 1908) obtained from the bookstore the original copies of publications that he translated (Interview with Miao in Beijing, August 17, 2004).

Figure 3.11 An advertisement for Venus Café (Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai*, p. 51).



The last round up at the Venus.

The Venus Rhythm Boys.

Shanghaianders say the

VENUS CAFE

IS THE MOST OUTSTANDING CABARET IN TOWN

●

The Venus is located in the world-famous spot—CHAPEI, scene of the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1932, at the rear of the Isis Theatre on North Szechuen Road.

●

All food is prepared in a Model Kitchen under scrupulous conditions of cleanliness.

S. H. LEVY is the Proprietor and his 10 years' experience is always at the service of patrons.

老
舞 大
廳 華

Renewal Opera Theater (Gengxing xiyuan 更新戲院), located on Boundary Road 界路, and Yue Opera Theater (Yue xiyuan 越戲院), located on Haining Road 海寧路.

Right at the intersecting corner of Haining Road and North Szechuan Road, one can see a music store named T.

Ichiki & Co. (Yimu yanghang 一木洋行). Probably owned by a Japanese dealer, T. Ichiki sells music records of Western classical masterpieces and some musical instruments (*Shanghai University*, 1928). For those who want to look at the musical selections of a Western dealer in this northern area of the International Settlement, one can take the southbound tramway on North Szechuan Road and follow the route to Seward Road on the eastern end of Soochow Creek. There on Seward, Alois Suchochleb offers a good selection of Western musical products, especially stringed instruments (*Shanghai University*, 1930).

Crossing Soochow Creek to the south and walking westward along Southern Soochow Road, one finds the famous Lyceum Theater 蘭心戲院 on Museum Road 博物院路. Lyceum hosted Western drama, opera, and concert performances until 1930, when it began to specialize more in showing movies. From there, walking toward the Bund, one arrives at the Public Garden (Waitan gongyuan 外灘公園), where colonial restrictive conditions for Chinese visitors were lifted in 1928. In the garden, there are bandstands where the Municipal Public Band or other military bands perform Western music (Figure 3.12).

To go to the Chinese City located down to the south, one can take the south-bound tramway outside Public Garden. As the tram runs along the Bund, an assortment of office buildings display their neo-classical and colonial architectural styles on the right (Figure 3.13). On the port side, one can see steamships transporting passengers and goods from around the globe to Shanghai. Streams of Chinese moving workers are busy loading or unloading cargo almost all the time; some of them would sing *haozi* 號子 work songs to accompany their labor.

Figure 3.12 The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra performing at the Public Park inside the International Settlement (Barz, *Shanghai: Sketches*, p. 43).

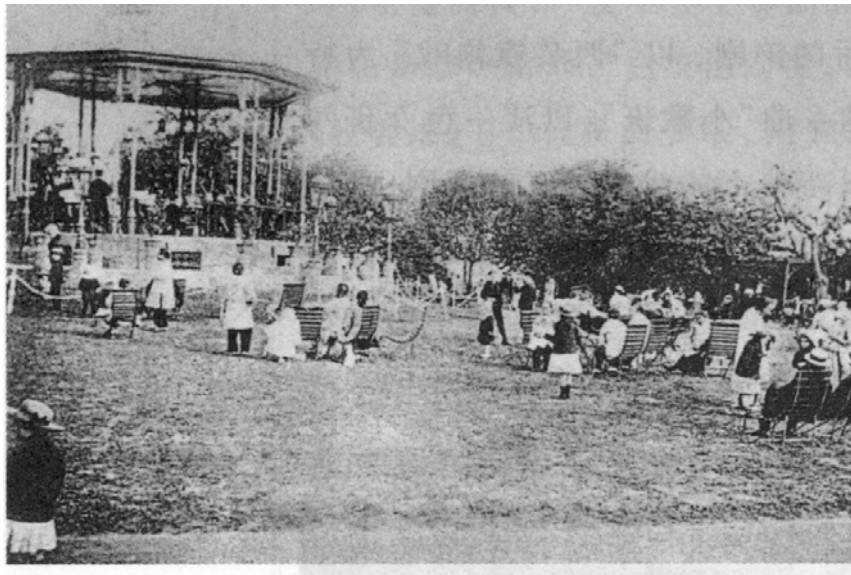


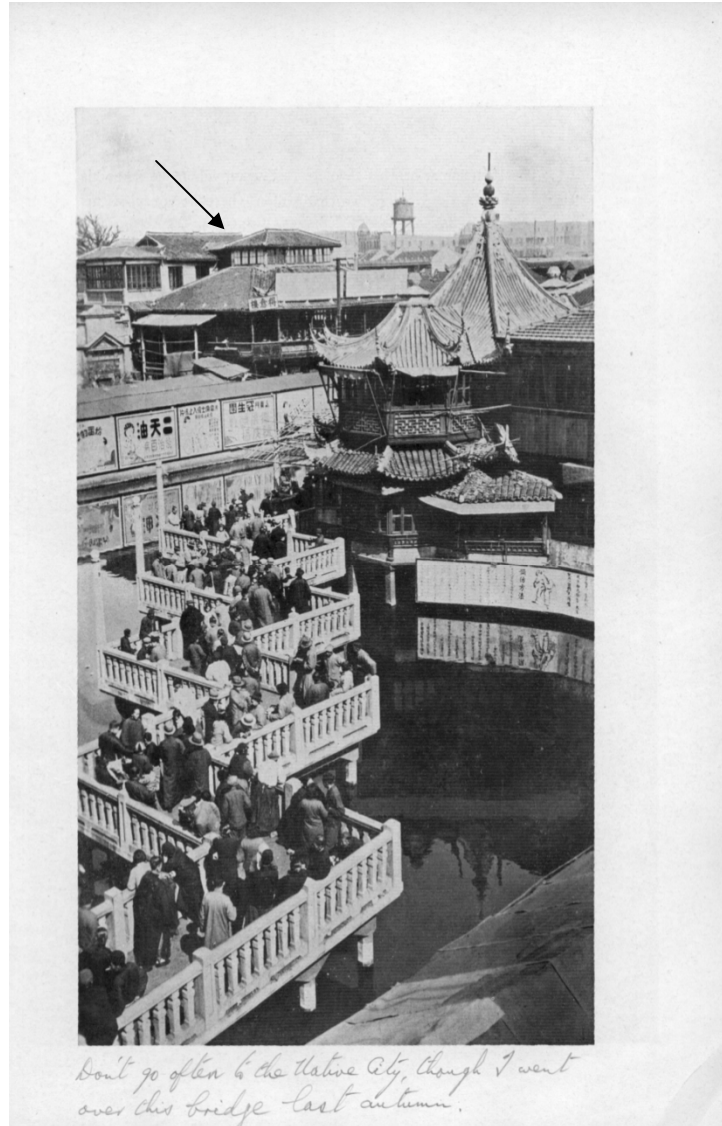
Figure 3.13 The Bund of the International Settlement (Tang, *Jindai Shanghai*, p. 63).



Having passed both the International Settlement and French Concession along the Bund, one enters the Chinese City through its East Gate. Here, different kinds of Chinese music flourish. In the boisterous market district that surrounds the City God Temple, one will encounter numerous teahouses standing close to one another. These teahouses are frequented by *sizhu* musicians, narrative-singers, and opera singers of various kinds. Among them, Spring Breeze Complacency Chamber 春風得意樓, usually referred to as

Complacency Chamber (Deyi lou 得意樓), is a popular gathering place for *sizhu* ensemble players from inside and outside the city of Shanghai (Figure 3.14). The Cuixiu Hall 萃秀堂 nearby is meeting place for the Pingsheng Kun Opera Singing Club (Pingsheng qushe 平聲曲社) (*Shanghai Kunju zhi*, p. 47). Walking toward the West Gate area, the Confucius Temple (Wenmiao 文廟) appears. Shortly after the Chinese Nationalist government took control of Shanghai in 1928, the Ministry of Education turned the temple into the Education Center of the People. Visiting the Education Center, one sees the ancient Chinese musical instruments re-constructed by Great Unity Music Society (Datong yuehui 大同樂會) that are on display, and if the timing is right, one can hear the performances of the three *sizhu* ensembles that perform there on shift. The temple would sometimes resume its original ritualistic function. For example, in 1934, the Chinese government conducted a Confucius commemoration ceremony, in which a musical performance by Great Unity was open for public attendance. For those who want to shop for musical instruments, a few small stores in the area have selections for sale (Sun, *Shanghai youlan zhinan*, p. 170). A few blocks away, the famous Yeshi Garden

Figure 3.14 Complacency Chamber (Deyi lou) (Barz, *Shanghai: Sketches*, p. 84), a popular teahouse for *sizhu* gatherings.



也是園 hosts singing performances by courtesans and professional musical entertainers (p. 59; *SQZZ*, p. 243).

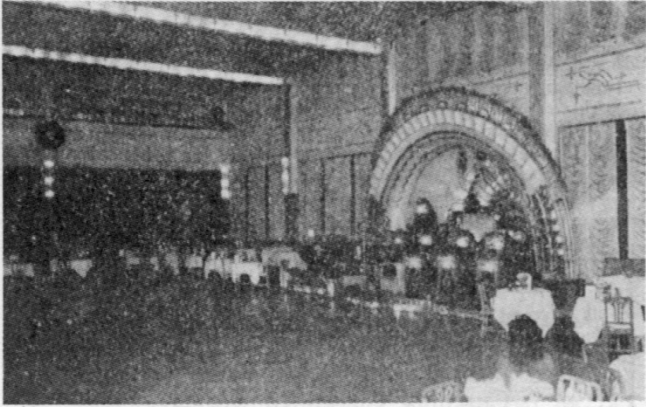
Another few blocks away, Natural (Tianran) Opera Theater 天然戲院 hosts Peking opera performances regularly.

Leaving the West Gate of the Chinese City, one enters the French Concession. Taking the tram northward, one will easily find the huge Ningbo Guild 寧波同鄉會 outside the north-western corner of the old city. The guild was formed by traders who came from Ningbo, another treaty port that is not far from Shanghai. The guild often rents out its hall, which has a spacious performance area for entertainment functions and opera staging. For example, Kun opera singers and performers held a performance there in 1933 (*SKJZ*, p. 47).

In the French Concession, numerous first-class and second-class ballrooms, cabarets, and nightclubs entertain their Western and Chinese dancing customers. The second-rated ballrooms are frequented by middle-class Chinese. They include Casa Nova's Ballroom 卡薩諾瓦舞廳, which is run by an American-Chinese and is located close to Great World Amusement Center on Avenue Edward VII. To visit the first-class Canidrome Ballroom 逸園舞廳, which is attended almost exclusively by Westerners and is located on Rue Lafayette 勒斐德路, one can take the tramway westward along Avenue

Joffre 霞飛路, and get off before reaching the Rue Du Roi
Albert 亞爾培路 intersection (Figure 3.15).

**Figure 3.15 An advertisement for the Canidrome Ballroom
(Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai*, p. 42).**



**Canidrome
Ballroom**

•

The Rendezvous of Shanghai's Elite
OPEN ALL THE YEAR ROUND—
BALLROOM IN WINTER; LOVELY
GARDEN DURING SUMMER MONTHS

Always Something Different in Floor Shows
First-class Cuisine

•

Music by Teddy Weatherford
Presenting *Buck Clayton & his Harlem Gentlemen*

You must visit the CANIDROME BALLROOM

Tels. 73966
73969 J. A. ANDREW, *Manager.*

Along Avenue Joffre, one can visit the French Park 法國公園 by getting off at Avenue Dubail 呂班路. The park, located between Rue Lafayette and Rue Vallon 環龍路, is a site where the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra 上海公部局交響樂隊 often holds its outdoor concerts. Other musical groups also perform there. In 1928, for example, a variety of Chinese musical groups performed there to raise funds for the Chinese flood relief effort. At that event, *sizhu* players, Chinese opera actor-singers, comic actors, and dancers performed along with pianists, violinists, and vocalists trained in Western classical music (Li, "Jiangnan sizhu gaishu," p. 12).

The new location of Lyceum Theater, moved from the International Settlement to the French Concession in 1930, is located on Moulmein Road 茂名路 (Figure 3.16). One can reach there by getting off the tram at the Route Pere Robert 金神父路 intersection or the Rue Du Roi Albert intersection, then transfer to a northbound route. The Lyceum not only provides a concert venue for the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra but also for Chinese musicians. For example, the *pipa* master Li Tingsong 李廷松 guest-performed in a concert by the renowned violinist Joscha Heifetz in the 1930s (Zhuang, "Yinyue de bainian huixiang," p. 768).

Also, Xiaozhao Sizhu Club 霄雩樂團, which is based inside the Chinese City, hosted its tenth anniversary concert there in 1935, and gave another concert there two years later (JSZ, p. 1057).

Figure 3.16 Lyceum Theatre, 1930s (Pan et al., *Shanghai, Century of Change*, p. 121).



Taking the tramway along Avenue Joffre westward again, one will pass the intersections where the first and second sites of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (Guoli yinyue

yuan 國立音樂院) are located.⁹ The Conservatory is still located in the neighborhood. It was first established on Route Louis Dufour 巨福路 in 1927, then moved to Route Pichon 畢助路 shortly afterward. (In 1936, it left the French Concession, and moved to the new town center of the new Chinese Municipality located up north at Chiangwan, in the Chapei district) (Figure 3.17). A handful of Chinese colleges of fine arts are also located on nearby streets off Avenue Joffre. For example, the New China College of Fine Arts (Xinhua yishu xueyuan 新華藝術學院) is on Route Pere Robert.¹⁰ The Shanghai College of Fine Arts (Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao 上海美術專門學校), located on Rue Bluntschli 平濟利路 since 1922,¹¹ is not too far away. One only needs to go back along Avenue Joffre to find them.

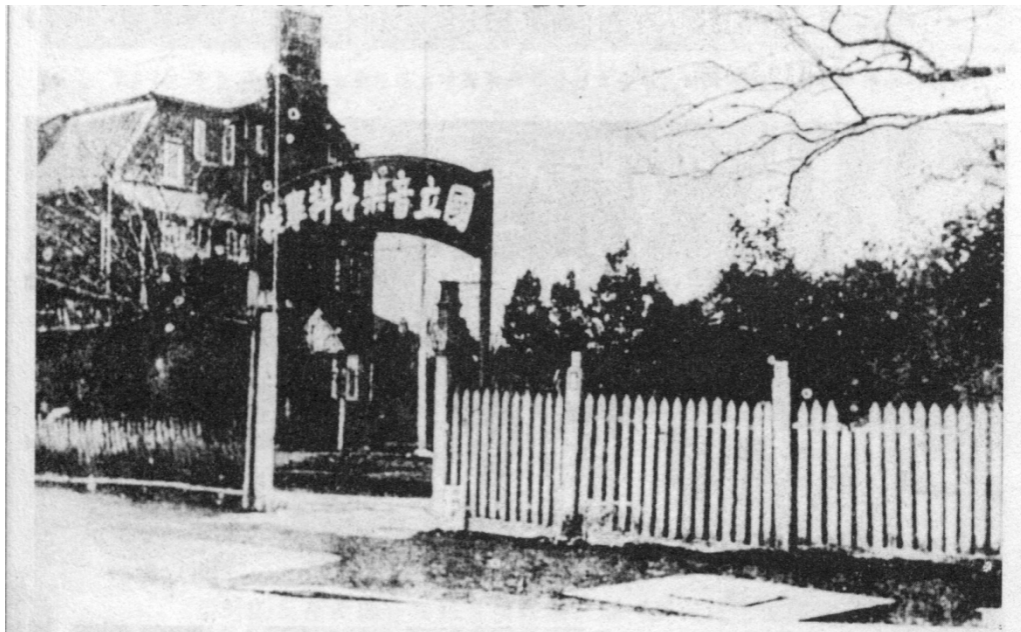
⁹ The Chinese name of the Conservatory changed a number of times before it became Shanghai yinyue xueyuan 上海音樂學院, directly translated as the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, in 1956. When it was established in 1927, it was named Guoli yinyue yuan 國立音樂院, translated as The National Conservatory of Music. In 1929, the name was changed to Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao 國立音樂專科學校, translated as The National College of Music. The changes in name reflect, among other things, how the first formal music training institute was new to the Chinese educational system.

¹⁰ The New China College of Fine Arts was founded in 1926. In 1929, its name changed to Xinhua yishu zhuanke xuexiao 新華藝術專科學校.

¹¹ The Shanghai College of Fine Arts was first named as Shanghai meishu yuan 上海美術院 when founded in 1912, then changed to Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan 上海圖畫美術院 in 1915, to Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao 上海美術專門學校 in 1921, and to Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao 上海美術專科學校 in 1930 (Shanghai Meishu Zhuanke Xuexiao, *Sinzhi De Shiba Jie Biye Jiniankan*, 1936).

Toward the west end of Avenue Joffre, World Society (Shijie she 世界社), an important private intellectual and social reform organization, is located on Route Ferguson 福開森路. Besides introducing modern science and Western culture into China, the society often hosts musical performance events with Great Unity Music Society to promote Chinese culture. For example, the *pipa* soloist Wei Zhongle gave his first recital there (*Wei Zhongle Pipa Yanzou Quji*, p. 7).

Figure 3.17 Shanghai Conservatory of Music on Route Pichon in the early 1930s (SYYZ).



Taking the tramway northward to Yuyuen Road 頤園路 and traveling westward, one will reach Jessfield Park 兆豐公園, the biggest public park in not only the French Concession but also the whole city of Shanghai. The park is a popular performance venue. It is where the summer outdoor concert series of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra is often held, and where brass bands of military units, such as the visiting Band of the French Man of War "Jules Ferry," the Music Band of the Habarovsk Cadets, and the Fourth Regiment Band of the US Marine Corps, performed.¹² To the northern side of the park is the campus of St. John's University 約翰大學, where many students are practicing Chinese and Western music in their various music clubs.

Traveling eastward on Yuyuen Road, one leaves the French Concession and re-enters the International Settlement. At the eastern end of Yuyuen Road is the Hart Road intersection, on which one can find the Awakening Garden (Jue yuan 覺園), one of the important Buddhist organizations of Shanghai,¹³ where *qin* 琴 players of the Jinyu Qin Society 今虞琴社 met for their "refined gatherings"

¹² See Shanghai Municipal Archive U38-1-2379(3), a file on the French Municipal Council.

¹³ This Buddhist organization was named Fojiao jushi lin 佛教居士林. The garden was originally a private garden of the wealthy business family that ran the Nanyang Tobacco Company (Zhao Fei, "Kaichuang xianhe").

(*yaji* 雅集) in the 1930s (*Jinyu qinkan* , pp. 288-97). Riding the eastbound tramway on Avenue Road 愛多亞路, one passes the large private garden of Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851-1931)—known as Hardoon's Garden 哈同花園 or Aili Garden 愛儷園 — at the intersections of Hardoon Road 哈同路, Ferry Road 小沙渡路, and Seymour Road 西摩路. Hardoon, the wealthy Baghdadi-Jew millionaire of Shanghai, once sponsored an exhibition of ancient Chinese musical instruments by Great Unity Music Society there; when Hardoon passed away and the garden closed in 1931, these musical instruments were moved to the Education Center inside the Confucius Temple of the Chinese City. In his private garden, Hardoon established Hardoon University, or in Chinese, Cangsheng mingzhi daxue 倉聖明智大學 (Sage Cangjie, or Enlightenment University).¹⁴ There, Zheng Jinwen, who would establish Great Unity Music Society in 1921, was hired to teach ancient Chinese music and direct Confucian rituals until the university was closed in the early 1920s.

Continuing on an eastbound tram on Avenue Road, one can transfer to a northbound line at Carter Road 卡德路. At

¹⁴ The Chinese title of Hardoon University honored the legendary sage Cangjie, the inventor of Chinese characters. Founded in 1915 but closed in 1923, the university was probably the idea of Hardoon's wife Loo Kar Lin (a.k.a., Lisa Hardoon or Lisa Roos; 1864-1941). Of French-Chinese extraction, Loo was the chancellor of the university.

the end of Carter Road south of Soochow Creek, when the tram turns into the eastern part of Connaught Road 康腦脫路, one can find Xu's Garden 徐園. This private garden of the Xu household frequently hosts Chinese opera performances. For example, the Kun opera singing club of Xiao Society 嘯社 met there to sing Kun opera arias from 1929 to 1937 (SKJZ, p. 47).

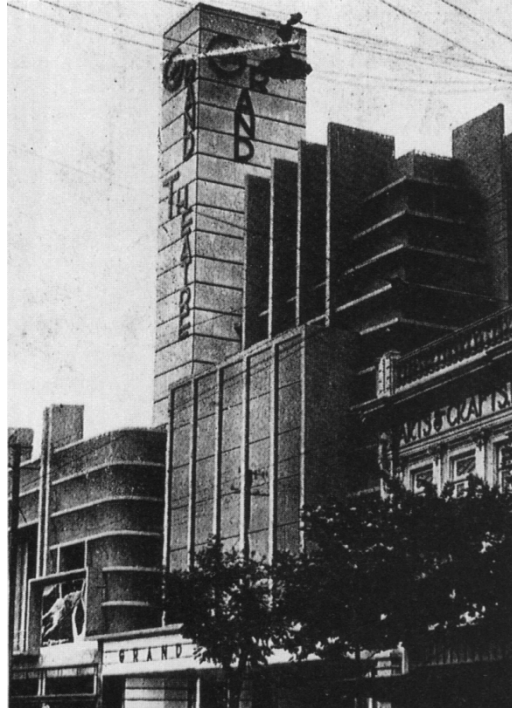
Going back onto Carter Road and moving to its southern end that connects to Bubbling Well Road 靜安寺路, one reaches Olympic Theater 夏令匹克影戲院 – the first movie theater in Shanghai that installed a sound system to play sound films in 1929. In addition to movies, the theater also hosts various kinds of Chinese and Western musical performances. For example, students from St. John's University hosted a variety entertainment event there in 1922, featuring performances by their Western Music Orchestra, Chinese Music Orchestra, Western Drama Society, and Chinese Musical Play Society (*The St. John's Dial*, p. 2). The Kun Opera Preservation Club from Suzhou gave Kun opera performances at the theater between 1922 and 1926, and later, in 1931, the Russian-American violinist Jascha Heifetz gave a recital there.

Riding the tram further eastward along Bubbling Well Road, one can reach the Carlton Theater 卡爾登大戲院 at the intersection with Park Road 派克路, right opposite to the Public Recreation Ground. Carlton was lauded as the grandest movie theater in Shanghai when it was established early in 1923 (Shanghai tongshe, *Jiu Shanghai*, v.1, p. 535). Like other major movie theaters, Carlton not only shows movies but also serves as a concert hall venue. For example, in 1926, the Ningbo Guild hosted an entertainment fair there, in which the *pipa* solo master Shi Songbo (1875-1928) was invited to perform (Li, "Jiangnan sizhu gaishu," p. 70).

Close to Carlton Theater is the Grand Theater 大光明戲院 (Figure 3.18), where the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra frequently held their regular indoor concerts in the 1930s (Figure 3.19). For Chinese who were concerned with Chinese music in relation to modern China and Western classical music, the orchestra's 1933 concert – titled "Grand Chinese Music Evening" 大中國音樂之夜 – captured their attention because Great Unity Music Society was invited to perform in the event.

The hypothetical trip described above shows how different kinds of Chinese and Western music charged, and shared, the sonic spaces of Shanghai. The hypothetical trip

Figure 3.18 Grand Theater, ca. 1933 (Tang, *Jiu Shanghai*, p. 48).



only mentions part of the major musical establishments in Shanghai, glossing over numerous others. According to published statistics, Shanghai had over 200 commercial musical venues. By 1937, Shanghai had over 22 movie theaters that had staged musical performances, over 50 Chinese opera theaters, over 36 professional sites for narrative-singing performances (including teahouses), over 22 private gardens for commercial and private entertainment

Figure 3.19 Shanghai Municipal Orchestra inside the Grand Theater, 1936 (*Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan*, p. 13).



businesses, over 21 amusement centers (*SYLZ*), and over 50 dance halls, cabarets, and nightclubs (Zhuang, "Yinyue de bainian huixiang," p. 773). Whereas Westerners ran most of the top-rated movie theaters and dance halls, the majority of the venues were run by Chinese businessmen, who collaborated with their Western counterparts whenever possible and profitable.

Most of the commercial venues that hosted professional performances were built with Western-style stage and audience seating arrangements, which, as a modern practice,

oriented the audience to concentrate on what happened on the stage. Even the opera theaters that housed performances of Peking opera and other regional Chinese operas adopted Western theater architecture. Peking opera, the most popular theatrical form in the nineteenth century, used to be performed at teahouse theaters (*chayuan* 茶園) (Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, pp. 55-62), where the audience seats were clustered around tables where tea was drunk and snacks eaten. Depending on their social status, the audience members sat in front of the stage, on both sides of the stage, or – for officials and persons of dignity – in the compartmentalized private boxes on the second floor. The stage, which was a wooden, square-shaped platform that protruded into the audience, had a decorated roof that was supported by columns at the two front corners. The two side columns, however, often blocked the stage view of audience members – if they bothered to look at the performance amid their tea drinking and socializing. A similar stage and seating arrangements also characterized other public performance venues in the late nineteenth century, among them was the large performance halls known as *shuchang* 書場 (lit. book [narration] hall), where elite courtesans (*shuyu*

書寓) sang operatic arias, narrative-songs, or played musical instruments solo, including the *pipa* and *huqin*.¹⁵

By 1918, both teahouse theaters and courtesan's *shuchang* performance halls no longer existed.¹⁶ They were replaced by, respectively, modern theaters and performance halls built inside modern entertainment venues. In the modern theaters, the Western proscenium stage replaced the old thrust stage, and rows of seats facing the stage replaced the scattered tables in the seating area. Public commercial theaters began to serve a more specialized purpose of providing operatic performances for attentive spectatorship, losing their former sociality and marketplace functions (Goldstein, *Drama Kings*).¹⁷ These modern-style Peking opera theaters, the first of which emerged in 1908 in Shanghai,¹⁸ assumed the new names of "dance stage" (*wutai* 舞臺) or "playhouse" (*juchang* 劇場). Theatres of other operatic genres took up this practice as

¹⁵ The musical genres that *shuyu* courtesans performed underwent transformations in the late nineteenth century. Many opted for Peking Opera over Kun Opera, and the *pipa* became a popular musical instrument among them (Henriot, *Prostitution*, pp. 22-32).

¹⁶ The last teahouse theater closed in 1917 (*ZXQZS*, pp. 106-11), and the last *shuyu* performance hall closed in 1916 (Henriot, *Prostitution*, p. 38).

¹⁷ On how the teahouse theater functioned as social text and marketplace, see Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, pp. 63-76.

¹⁸ The first landmark modern opera theater in China was named New Stage (Xin wutai 新舞臺). It opened inside the Chinese City in 1908. Because of leasing problems, fire damage, or warlord occupations, it moved its location within the Chinese City several times; it was finally closed down in 1927 (*SYLZ*, pp. 288-89).

their standard as well. The new names, which featured the elements of "dance" and "play," alluded to the Western opera and drama practices that appealed to Chinese as refined and civilized. With their Western-style stage and seating arrangements, modern theaters embraced a Western regulatory order and structure that presented theatrical performances as art forms, to be consumed respectfully. The behavioral transformation of the Chinese audience members, though, underwent a gradual process of adaptation before they got used to the social manners established in Western modern theaters.

Modern *shuchang* performance halls were new musical venues located inside amusement centers and hotels. Despite their name of *shuchang*, these new venues had little to do with the elite courtesan's *shuchang* performance halls. As the elite class of courtesans – the *shuyu* – passed away, prostitutes who were trained in comparatively limited vocal and *pipa* repertoires continued the remaining courtesan musical culture, but in more private contexts. These musical prostitutes, known as *changsan*, performed for their individual clients at their brothels, or at banquets hosted by their clients (Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, pp. 43-44). *Changsan* did not perform at the modern *shuchang*, however. The modern venues were places where professional

performers of balladry (*shuoshu* 說書) and narrative-singing (*tanchang* 彈唱), many of them male, held their commercial performances. Similar to the modern theaters, modern *shuchang* embraced a stage and seating design that functioned to enforce Western-style spectatorship. Although proscenium stages were not necessarily part of the design of small modern *shuchang*, aligning the audience seats to face the designated stage area betrayed the adoption of new practices.

In modern institutions that organized musical performances for non-commercial purposes, Western stage design and seating were also the standard. Among these modern sites were schools and colleges, in which the assembly hall was built in a similar way as the Western concert hall. These educational institutes were established by Western missionaries (e.g., Shanghai University 滬江大學), or by Chinese intellectuals who adopted Western or Westernized-Japanese educational models. Students organized different kinds of musical clubs among themselves, with direction from invited music faculty, external musicians, or experienced musicians from the student body. For example, Yang Yinliu (1899-1984), the future Chinese musicologist giant, directed the Chinese music ensemble at St. John's

University in his freshman year in 1923. Whether these clubs organized their concerts in their school assembly halls or in rented venues, such as the Olympic Theater,¹⁹ student musicians easily adapted themselves to perform on a proscenium stage, facing the attentive audience.

For recently formed music societies, giving concert performances on the modern stage was an index of achievement. Reformers and many defenders held the same view. Art song composers affiliated with the Association of Music, Arts, and Literature (Yinyue yiwen she 音樂藝文社), for example, would hope to see their songs performed at Western concert venues. Beyond societies of classical Western music genres, harmonica societies were popular among Shanghai urbanites. Members of two major harmonica societies – the Harmonica Society for the Masses (Dazong kouqin hui 大眾口琴會) founded by Shi Renwang 石人望 in 1929, and the Shanghai Harmonica Society (Shanghai kouqin hui 上海口琴會) founded by Chen Jianchen 陳劍晨 in 1935 – also seized any chance to bring their performances on the modern stage. For defender societies, such as Great Unity Music Society, having the opportunity to perform in modern musical venues

¹⁹ For example, the music and drama clubs of St. Johns University organized a two-day "Variety Entertainment" event to do fundraising (*The St. John's Dial*, p. 2).

was an act asserting parity with their reformer and Western musical counterparts.

Coexistent with the modern stage venues were public and private places where non-professional musicians played music for leisure or artistic exchange. At teahouses crowded with customers from all walks of life, *sizhu* music, the most popular instrumental ensemble genre in Shanghai, was often played by members of a visiting *sizhu* club. Many *sizhu* clubs, which increased in great number since the 1911 formation of the Civilized Club (Wenming yaji 文明雅集),²⁰ held their regular meetings at designated teahouses. *Sizhu* musicians sat around a table or two to play with fellow club members, a practice that continues in present-day Shanghai. Elite *sizhu* clubs, which consisted of well-educated members, usually preferred meeting at private locations. In 1934, for example, the Qingping *Sizhu* Club 清平集 held a meeting on a private steamboat; members played and exchanged music while the boat slowly sailed along the Huangpu River (Figure 3.20).

²⁰ Civilized Club was named after the teahouse, located on Foochow Road, where members first held their meeting. Historical studies of *sizhu* in China usually date the club to 1911 (Li, "Jiangnan *sizhu* gaishu," p. 4; Xu, "Shanghai minzu yinyue shihua," p. 61), though Zhang Pingzhou, a senior *sizhu* musician, dates it back to 1897 (Zhang, "Shanghai de Jiangnan *sizhu*," p. 239).

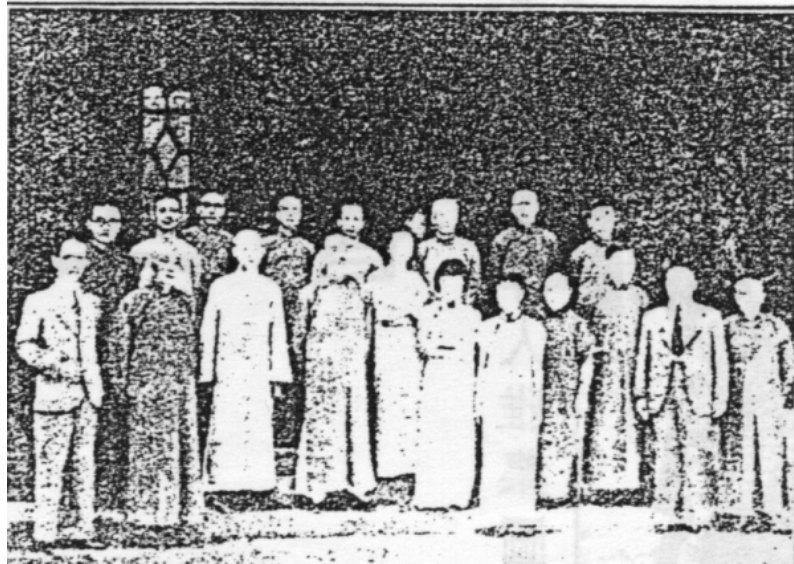
Figure 3.20 A private performance gathering of the Qingping Sizhu Club on a steamboat sailing along the Huangpu River (JSZ).



Meetings of classical *pipa* solo musicians and *qin* societies usually took place at private locations only. Many *pipa* soloists had close relationships with elite *sizhu* clubs. The Huangpu River meeting of Qingping Sizhu Club, for example, was joined by *pipa* soloist Wang Yuting 汪毓廷 (1872-1951). *Qin* musicians, in general, enjoyed meeting at secluded venues. Members of the Jinyu Qin Society, the

largest *qin* society in the 1930s, liked to meet at secluded gardens (Figure 3.21).

Figure 3.21 A “refined gathering” (*yaji*) of Jinyu Qin Society at Awakening Garden, 1936 (*Jinyu*, pp. 288-97).



In Shanghai, modern theaters and music halls housed staged performances while brothels, teahouses, and private venues continued to host performances conducted according to the practices of pre-existing Chinese music. For *sizhu* and *pipa* defenders who wanted to connect their music to the modern venues, giving concert performances on the proscenium stage was celebrative. Their concert performances took place on the same stage where Western classical music groups held their performances; the same

musical space was thus shared by musical sounds of both Chinese and Western musical systems. The mixed soundscape stimulated Chinese musical senses and imaginations, nurturing their intermingling of the two different musical systems, and their negotiation of translated musical practices.

3.2 Musical Systems

Chinese and Western music in Shanghai inherited practices and ideals that came from the histories of two different cultures – or using Bourdieu's term, "*habitus*." Although some of their practices or ideals may be similar, Chinese and Western music functioned with different conceptual associations and focal tendencies. Evolved from separate historical and cultural ambiances, their different practices and ideals formed two distinctive musical systems. To understand how the two Chinese and Western musical systems co-existed in Shanghai, I first examine musical practices and ideals that characterized each system, then examine new Chinese practices that emerged when Chinese musicians came into contact with the Western system. My examination focuses on two aspects: musical genres and the notational practice in relation to transmission goals.

The arrival of Western colonialism in Shanghai caused the importation of various Western musical genres into the city. Western classical music of the late seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was performed regularly by professional musicians for the appreciation and recreation of the Western and Westernized Chinese communities. Western classical music was also played to accompany the screening of silent movies. Classical piano and other Western solo instrumental music were taught in private lessons as means of self-edification. Sometimes, Western classical music such as Ravel's *Bolero* was played by bands in the first-class dance halls (Clayton and Elliott, *Jazz World*, p. 70). Music of Western opera was performed when traveling opera troupes from Europe visited Shanghai (Huang, "Traveling Opera Troupes"). Western choral music was performed by amateur groups. Catholic and Christian hymns were sung by church congregations. Western military band music, performed by bands of different military units,²¹ could be heard during the bands' street parades and their staged performances in concession parks.

²¹ For example, the French military band "Jules Ferry" (Forces Navales en Extreme Orient, "Jules Ferry"), performed "Allier's *Marche des Sultanes*, Gillet's *Serenade*, Ganne's *Les saltimbanques*, Haydn's *Menuet de la Symphonie Militaire*, and Popy's *Sphinx*," during their visit in 1924 (Shanghai Municipal Archive U38-1-2379(3)).

Besides, different kinds of Western popular music were played in dance halls and night clubs. These popular genres included, as described in the tourist guidebook *All about Shanghai*: sentimental songs,²² American jazz, as well as dance music of Hawaiian hula, Russian mazurka, Parisian apache, and tango (Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai*, p. 75).²³ The popularity of jazz seems to be particularly prominent.²⁴ Various jazz bands, for instance, The Harlem Gentlemen, provided dance music in the orchestral style of Duke Ellington or Paul Whiteman.²⁵ Before big band jazz became a fad, it is likely that the rhythmic influences of ragtime had arrived in the dance music culture of Shanghai in the early 1920s. Such influences could be felt in the syncopated rhythm that musicians widely infused in their

²² In the author's description, the song singers were "dusky crooners and torch singers."

²³ According to Buck Clayton, the jazz trumpet player and the leader of The Harlem Gentlemen, bands of different nationalities played at nightclubs in Shanghai. These bands included: "Filipino bands, Russian bands, East Indian bands and of course the oriental bands" (Clayton and Elliot, *Jazz World*, p. 28). Clayton mentioned that these bands played on many different kinds of musical instruments, and he would have liked to know more about Russian music. While we can assume that these bands could play American jazz or American popular tunes with ragtime syncopated rhythm, Clayton's description suggests that these bands also featured non-American tunes.

²⁴ The American journalist Burnet Hershey claimed in 1922 that "Shanghai without jazz, ... would not be Shanghai. Jazz is the very essence of its existence" (Hershey, "Jazzing around the Globe," p. 28).

²⁵ Teddy Weatherford recounted that the records of Duke Ellington were beginning to become popular in Shanghai in around 1933, and "black bands were the big thing at the time" (Clayton and Elliott, *Jazz World*, p. 60).

music, including Tin Pan Alley songs,²⁶ and music for new social dances such as the fox-trot.

After the first sound films appeared in 1926, music in Western sound films filled the Shanghai movie theaters that had sound systems installed. European classical music, Tin Pan Alley songs, American show tunes, and big band jazz used in films were heard.

Co-existing with these Western musical genres in Shanghai were various kinds of Chinese music. The most popular ensemble music was *sizhu* music, which probably became established in the rural and suburb areas in the vicinity of Shanghai before it flourished in the city. *Sizhu*, which literally means "silk and bamboo," is an ensemble genre in which different kinds of strings and winds musical instruments play together. The instrumentation commonly included the *erhu* (two-stringed fiddle), *pipa* 琵琶 (four-stringed plucked lute), and *sanxian* 三弦 (three-stringed plucked lute), with *dizi* 笛子 (traverse bamboo flute with membrane), or *xiao* 簫 (vertical bamboo flute). *Sizhu* ensembles usually had four to ten members. Its repertory was usually developed from popular instrumental *gupai* 曲牌 "tune types" or other folk

²⁶ According to Robert Walser, in the press of 1921 "jazz" referred to "Tin Pan Alley popular songs that had absorbed some of the rhythmic influences of ragtime" (Walser, *Keeping Time*, p. 25).

instrumental sources. Among regional ensembles that had their origins outside Shanghai, Cantonese ensemble music (Guangdong *yinyue* 廣東音樂)²⁷ enjoyed a wide popularity among the Cantonese community and some *sizhu* clubs in the city. It was also played at movie theaters frequented by Cantonese to provide musical accompaniment to silent films.²⁸

The instrumental music that was most closely connected to Chinese literati culture was solo music of the *qin* (seven-stringed fretless zither). Scores in *qin* handbooks (*qinpu* 琴譜) that were used by *qin* players can be dated back to the early fifteenth century, though many *qin* pieces were known to have existed before then (e.g., *Clouds over Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (*Xiaoxiang shuiyun* 瀟湘水雲) and *The Drunkard's Rhapsody* (*Jiukuang* 酒狂). As *qin* players of different stylistic schools gathered together in Shanghai and interacted with one another,²⁹ they expanded their own repertoire.

²⁷ Before the term "Guangdong *yinyue*" was standardized, the genre was known as "Guangdong *qingyin*" 廣東清音 as well as by other terms (*SQZWHZ*, p. 251).

²⁸ Senior jazz musician Zheng Deren (b. 1922) recalled that Cantonese ensemble music was often played to accompany the screening of silent films in movie theaters (interview with Zheng in Shanghai, September 16, 2004).

²⁹ Regional schools (*pai* 派) of *qin* music began to be formed at least in the Tang dynasty. By the early twentieth century, two important *qin* schools had been established in Jiangsu province near Shanghai: the

Another prominent solo instrumental genre in Shanghai was classical *pipa* music, which had adopted influences from *qin* practices.³⁰ The earliest *pipa* solo pieces have been dated back to the fifteenth century (Myers, *The Way of the Pipa*, p. 119).³¹ In the nineteenth century, three *pipa* solo masters published their notation collections in the vicinity of Shanghai. Despite these published sources, many *pipa* soloists used notation collections and editions that they copied or inherited from their mentors; these private sources, however, might be related to the published sources. In the Republican period, *pipa* solo music continued to grow in the vicinity of Shanghai, and two more *pipa* masters published their notations – Shen Zhaozhou (1857-1929) published his *Old Melodies of Yingzhou* (*Yingzhou gudiao*) in 1916, and Shen Haochu 沈浩初 (1899-1953) published his *Yangzheng Studio Pipa Handbook* (*Yangzheng xuan pipa pu* 養正軒琵琶譜) in 1926. Wang Yuting (1872-1951), through observing and learning from different masters' performances at

School of Mount Yu (*Yushan pai* 虞山派) from Changshou, and the Guangling school (*Guangling pai* 廣陵派) from Yangzhou.

³⁰ For example, the *pipa* master Hua Qiuping 華秋蘋 (1784-1859) and his brothers affiliated *pipa* music with meditative practices of the *qin*, which he expressed in the foreword of his notation collection, *Nanbei erpai miben pipa zhenchuan* 南北二派秘本琵琶譜真傳 (1819) (Myers, *The Way of the Pipa*, p. 20).

³¹ Based on literary accounts, the Chinese musicologist Yang Yinliu (1899-1984) has traced the piece *The Eagle Seizes a Swan* (*Haiqing na tian'e* 海青拿天鵝) further back to the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) (Yang, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue*, p. 734).

teahouse and private performance gatherings, formed his own performing style and repertoire arrangements. Through his students, Wang was later identified as leading a new school of *pipa* playing – the Wang School of Shanghai.³²

Besides instrumental music, different kinds of Chinese vocal music were performed in Shanghai. The various styles of narrative-singing that originated from urban towns in the vicinity of Shanghai were frequently performed by professional musicians. For example, the solo or duo performance of *tanci* 彈詞 and the small-group act-singing of *tanhuang*, which originated from Suzhou, enjoyed a wide popularity in Shanghai (*Zhongguo quyī*, p. 5).³³

The professional singing of urban folksongs, or “*xiaodiao*” 小調, was performed by sing-song girls, the musical prostitutes or *changsan* who were known by the title of “female collators” (*nǚ jiaoshu* 女校書) (*SQZWHZ*, p. 243;

³² The label of “Wang School” appears in contemporary publications on Chinese *pipa* solo music in Mainland China (e.g., Yuan, *Minzu qiyue*, pp. 180-81). As *pipa* scholar Chen Zemin emphasizes, *pipa* school labels emerged only after *pipa* masters had fostered a goodly number of students who carried on their styles (interview with Chen in Beijing, August 21, 2004). It was late in the 1942 that Wang published his *pipa* notation, which defined his stylistic and reportorial arrangements. Based on the five afore-mentioned notation publications and the master-student lineages, Chinese musicologists and *pipa* scholars have identified four *pipa* schools in the vicinity of Shanghai: the Wuxi 無錫 school, the Pudong 浦東 school, the Pinghu 平湖 school, and the Congming 崇明 school. Wang is regarded as forming his Shanghai school by absorbing influences from across these schools, especially Pudong and Pinghu (Li, “Jiangnan sizhu gaishu,” pp. 73-4).

³³ The genre of *tanhuang* was also developed in other regions, such as Wuxi and Changzhou (Stock, *Huju*, p. 42).

Henriot, *Prostitution*, p. 24). In the 1920s, different *xiaodiao* songbooks were published for interested listeners and singers; these songbooks reflected the repertoire that had already been popular among the people through oral transmission. Beyond *xiaodiao*, various other kinds of folk songs were sung by residents as part of their daily life or ceremonial activities. They included: activity songs such as "songs for playing cards" (*shupai diao* 書牌調),³⁴ "crying songs" (*kudiao* 哭調) for weddings and funerals, and *haozi* work songs sung by the porters at the docks (*SQZWHZ*, pp. 242-45).

Residents who had received classical Chinese education would probably be familiar with stylized poetry chanting (*yinshi* 吟詩) (*SQZWHZ*, p. 245).³⁵ Sizable members from this literate group were connoisseurs of Kun opera singing. Kun opera emerged in the Kunshan 昆山 area in the vicinity of Shanghai in the fifteenth century. Although by the 1920s,

³⁴ Mr. Li Zhihao 李志豪, Research Librarian at Shanghai Mass Art Center 上海群眾藝術館, recalled that he saw such performances when his relatives were playing card games when he was little (interview with Li in Shanghai, October 29, 2004).

³⁵ Chinese art song composer Yuen Ren Chao (Zhao Yuanren; 1898-1989), who grew up in Changshu in Jiangsu province, discussed poetry-chanting at length when he introduced his new song collection in 1928 (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*).

theatrical staging of Kun opera had long been in decline,³⁶ singing clubs continued to recruit members and held performance meetings.³⁷

In contrast to Kun opera's decline, Peking opera – commonly known as *pihuang* at that time – grew in Shanghai. Almost a hundred amateur Peking opera performing clubs (*piaofang* 票房) were established (*ZXQZS*, p. 115). Although Peking opera originated in the northern city of Beijing (Peking), it enjoyed large audience support in Shanghai. Large numbers of Peking opera performers went to Shanghai beginning in the late 1860s, after their invited performances were well received there. Meanwhile, Peking opera performers in Shanghai developed distinctive practices that came to be known as “the Shanghai school” (*haipai* 海派), though this southern style was despised by many Beijing competitors. The new Shanghai-school, for example, performed play cycles (*liantai benxi* 連台本戲), in which individual but related plays featuring the same characters were performed in separate installments. The new

³⁶ Unable to secure performance contracts in major opera theaters, professional troupes (*banshee* 班社) formed in Shanghai in the early twentieth century did not last long before they were disbanded.

³⁷ Through organizing singing clubs and publishing anthologies and research on Kun Opera music, Kun Opera performers and singers met the decline challenges and launched the “Kun Opera revival movement” in the Suzhou area (Wong, “Printed Collections of K'un-Ch'u” and “From Reaction to Synthesis”).

play *The Prince is Exchanged for a Fox* (*Limao huan taizi* 狸猫換太子), for example, was popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Some performers in Shanghai absorbed influences from Kun opera in developing their theatrical art. Others introduced new spectacle elements, e.g., spotlights, into their performances. Despite the formation of the Shanghai school, productions of visiting performers from Beijing were also popular among the Shanghai audience; Mei Lanfang, for example, was a popular star actor in Shanghai.

For other migrant performers who were from the vicinity of Shanghai, but from outside the metropolis itself, the theatrical environment and market in Shanghai provided them with ample opportunities and inspirations. They developed their regional performing practices into more organized theatrical forms. Many absorbed influences from Peking opera and Western-style drama performances that they saw in the metropolis. As a result, a number of regional operas were substantially transformed in Shanghai. These more recently developed opera forms were regularly performed at amusement centers and smaller opera theaters. They included: Shanghai opera, Yue opera, Shaoxing opera, Suzhou opera, Yangzhou opera, and Ningbo opera (*ZXQZS*). These regional operas were supported by their respective communities in Shanghai. Regional operas that originated

from outside the vicinity also thrived in Shanghai. For example, Cantonese opera, which had strong support from the Cantonese community in the city, was performed by visiting troupes from the Canton area (*ZXQZS*, pp. 150-53; Zhou, "Yueju zai Hu").

From the vibrant Chinese musical culture in Shanghai, many residents and musicians acquired musical experiences that defined their national identity vis-à-vis the modern West. With a strong sense of national identity, Chinese residents and musicians would employ Western musical instruments to perform Chinese musical genres, either out of curiosity or admiration. For example, since the late nineteenth century, wealthy households would employ a Western brass band to replace or to co-perform with a Chinese drum and gong procession ensemble in their weddings, funerals, and birth celebrations (Figure 3.22).³⁸ Some Chinese music lovers would use Western musical instruments such as the upright organ to play Chinese folk melodies or Peking opera tunes (Shen, *Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*; Wu, *Jingdiao fengqin pu*). For example, the senior *sizhu* musician Zhang Zhengming (b. 1925) loved to play the *sizhu*

³⁸ The film *Street Angel* (*Malu tianshi*; 1937) begins with a wedding with processions performed by both kinds of bands. When I showed this episode to my informant Ms. Lin (b. 1921), she told me that she also had had both kinds of bands play for her wedding in the late 1930s (interview with Lin in Shanghai, November 10, 2004).

Figure 3.22 "Western Music in a Chinese Religious Ceremony" (1886); from *Dianshizhai* (Ye, *Dianshizhai*, p. 132).



piece "Three Six" ("Sanliu" 三六) on the organ when he was in primary school.³⁹ At the same time, some *sizhu* musicians would also use Chinese musical instruments to play short Western march tunes, such as a piece named "Boy Scout" ("Tongzi jun" 童子軍) (Shen, *Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*). Also, there were Chinese Christians who created Chinese hymns with familiar Chinese local melodies, such as "Song of Joy" ("Huanle ge" 歡樂歌), and performed them on the upright

³⁹ Interview with Zhang in Shanghai, November 7, 2004.

organ or piano.⁴⁰ At the same time, some of those who were curious or admired European song tunes, but liked to keep the use of Chinese musical instruments, would experiment playing the foreign tunes with the *pipa* and *dizi* (Shen, *Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*).

For music reformers, part of their music advocacy was to create and promote modern Chinese musical genres by adopting the proper practices from Western classical music. They embraced the Western genres of art song, choral song, solo piano, solo violin, and orchestral compositions. To create new repertoire for music teaching in schools, reformers introduced the new genre of "school song" (*yuege* 樂歌) – a translation of the Japanese "*shoka*" 唱歌, a genre of school song which was an adoption of the American practice (Malm, "Modern Music in Meiji Japan"; Eppstein, *Beginnings of Western Music*). Part of the early Chinese school song repertoire was derived from military songs (*junge* 軍歌), which early Chinese military reformers used in their new-style military training.⁴¹ For music defenders,

⁴⁰ Senior *sizhu* player Zhang Pingzhou recalled that the *qupai* tune "Song of Joy" was arranged as a Christian hymn and he sang the song when he was a student in a missionary-run school (Zhang, "Shanghai de Jiangnan sizhu"). In *Hymns of Universal Praise (Putian songzan 普天頌讚)*, an influential Chinese hymnal published in Shanghai in 1936, 62 hymns out of 512 were original Chinese tunes (Charter and DeBernardi, "Chinese Christian Hymnody," p. 100).

⁴¹ Isabel Wong wrote that by the 1910s, the practice of singing marching songs during drilling have been well established. In the city of Canton,

Chinese musical instruments should remain in use in modern musical works. Inspired by Western solo violin music, the modern genre of solo *erhu* emerged. Adopting textural images of Western orchestral music, new *sizhu* ensemble music appeared. For music advocates who saw the power of popular music, such as Li Jinhui 黎錦輝 (1891-1967), Western popular music practices, especially jazz, inspired their creations of Chinese popular songs (*shidai qu* 時代曲) and children's musicals (Jones, *Yellow Music*).

To create music for the new medium of sound film, film music producers made use of various kinds of Chinese song compositions. These included Chinese art songs, revolutionary songs, urban folksongs, musical show tunes, and popular songs. Background music was scored for a few films, though the film scores have not been preserved. In other instances, recordings of European classical music or Chinese instrumental music – both old and new – were used. Mixing these various genres, musical practices in early Chinese sound films drew from both the “classical” and “popular” categories.

where her father was living at that period, “it was common for soldiers to march around town singing ‘new-style’ songs” (Wong, “*Geming Gequ*,” p. 115). It is very likely that military training in Shanghai also employed these songs. For studies on Chinese military songs, see Shi Lei’s *A Preliminary Study of Modern Chinese Military Songs* (*Zhongguo jindai junge chutan*).

Means of musical transmission and goals of musical performance are closely related to each other, and different musical systems have their unique characteristics and emphases. Chinese and Western music, although they co-existed, related their own musical practices to their own goals in different ways. To examine these, I will focus on the different notational practices and associated transmission goals of these two musical systems.⁴²

In Western classical music practices, the notated work of the composer enjoys a high level of authority in the transmission process. Performers have the duty to follow the composer's notated arrangement closely, and the audience expects musical performances to reflect the composer's musical ideas faithfully. Such transmission and performance practices are based on the ideal of "transcendence," which derives from "the belief that musical works can achieve a permanent artistic stature" (Crawford, *America's Music*, p. 142). In popular music

⁴² My characterizations of the two systems' distinctiveness draw from the classificatory attributes of the "classical" and "popular" categories, which are developed from Richard Crawford's methodology in his studies of American music. Crawford classifies American music into three categories: classical, popular, and traditional. To show the flexibility of their interactions, he conceptualizes the categories as "spheres." He defines the three musical spheres according to the use of notation in musical composition, performance, and transmission, and the musical relationships between composers, performers, and the audience. Each sphere is characterized by a particular ethos (Crawford, *America's Music*, pp. 142-43). Here I only draw from his concepts of the classical and popular categories.

practices, the stature-like importance of notated arrangements recedes and the arrangements become instead a basis to be modified. Performers have greater control of how to perform a piece of music, and they are expected to adapt and tailor performances according to particular audiences and circumstances. Such a practice is premised upon the ethos of "accessibility" (p. 143). In Shanghai, the performances of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra followed closely the notated arrangements of classical composers, presenting their compositions as "permanent artistic statures" for the Shanghai audience. Performances of Western dance music and jazz in dance halls and night clubs were tailored to suit particular sessions, embracing the ethos of "accessibility" that characterized popular music.

In Chinese classical music practices, the composer's notated arrangement rarely carries comparable authority with that in the Western system. The musical score by itself is inadequate to embody the permanent, transcendent values of music. Notated sources only supplement the teacher's oral instructions in the transmission process. Composers, or those responsible for notating musical pieces, seldom expect performers to follow the notated sources literally.

In Shanghai, the transmission of *qin* music, which followed pre-existing practices, provides a representative example. The rhythm of *qin* music is not prescribed directly in notated sources, and thus performers need to make their own rhythmic arrangements by following subtle rhythmic clues – a process called *dapu* 打譜 – in performing *qin* music (Yung, “Not Notating the Notable”). In the process, the musical teacher plays an important role in shaping the performer’s interpretation. The authority of the Chinese classical composer is mediated and shared by the teacher.

Literary elements play an important role in the notational practice of Chinese classical music. Not usually found in Western musical scores, literary descriptions and instructional details are often included in notated sources as essential musical information. *Qin* handbooks, for example, include different kinds of literary descriptions or discussions (van Gulik, *Lore of the Chinese Lute*), the topics of which range from meanings of particular pieces and musical modes, finger positions and hand gestures, to how to prepare the ideal environment in which to play the *qin*. The values of music, therefore, are not thought to be embodied by, or contained in, the musical scores, but are dependent on factors beyond or outside it, including stylistic and social ones. In general, the ethos of

transcendence in Chinese classical music is based on the expressions or ideas that music delivers – whether philosophical reflections, poetic moods, or programmatic settings. Without these extra-musical meanings, the structured flowing of musical sound itself does not bear much value.

In the Chinese popular music practice, the *gongche* notation 工尺譜 is used. *Gongche* notation, which is similar to the European *solfege* system, involves few or no literary elements on musical or performance details, and includes rhythmic markings. It was common to find published *gongche* notations in Shanghai, such as *New Notations of National Music (Guoyue xinpu)*, published in 1928. Chinese popular music shares a similar ethos of accessibility with its Western counterpart. Performers tend to regard notated sources as references or reminders, and adjust their musical performance according to particular circumstances and to the response of the audience. For example, *sizhu* performers delivered improvisational renditions of their individual parts based on other ensemble members' circumstantial performances, which were subject to influences of the audience at the site or the social function of the performance event. In Peking opera, the *hugin* player, who leads the melodic accompaniment of the

ensemble, would adjust their performance according to both the singer's singing and the audience response.⁴³

The different notational practices of the Chinese and Western musical systems, with their respective transmission goals and ethos, shaped the complexities of the Chinese-Western musical world of Shanghai, conditioning the possibilities of how musical translations took shape. The authoritative status of composers and their notated arrangements in the Western system appealed to many reformers and some defenders. Reformers accepted the Western musical transmission through fixed notation in the staff system as the standard practice, asserting transcendent artistic values that centered around the Chinese composers and their notations. Reformers attributed the authority of European composers to not only their artistic achievements but also their moral observations (see Chapter 5).

Defenders adopted the Western notational practice and subscribed to the composer's authority to demonstrate the "civil" value of their creations. The modern *erhu* solo

⁴³ According to the senior *huqin* player Zhu Shaonong (b. 1919), who grew up and performed in Shanghai before moving to Taiwan, *huqin* players would improvise melodic ornamentations ("flowers") during the interludes on stage, based on the audience response. During the interactive performance process, when the audience members shout *Hao* 好! ("Bravo!") to compliment the singer's singing, the *huqin* player may need to prolong the instrumental interlude to add time for the shouts to subside (interview with Zhu in Hong Kong, December 11, 2004).

genre embraced fixed notation as the standard transmission practice, for example, and *erhu* solo music soon emerged as a classical music in Chinese modernity. Some *sizhu* performers adopted the pre-arranged score to embrace the ethos of transcendence.

As new Chinese musical creations emerged, the "air" of Shanghai came to embrace all kinds of Chinese and Western musical sounds through modern sound media. The new sonic accessibility broadened residents' exposure to Chinese and Western music across past limitations of time and space, stimulating and enriching Chinese musical experience.

3.3 Sound Media

With the availability of modern sound media in Shanghai, divergent Chinese and Western musical sounds reached Chinese residents with less temporal and spatial restrictions. With musical sound reproduced and transmitted through radio signals in the air, the mixed Chinese-Western soundscape of Shanghai became one dynamic musical world. The radio and sound film, which relied on the phonograph and phonograph-derived technologies, were the fundamental public sound media. The first radio station in Shanghai, launched by an American journalist named E. G. Elliot, began its broadcasting of news and music in 1923. The first

Chinese radio station, the Radio Station at Xinxin Department Store (Xinxin wuxian dianhua tai 新新無線電話台), began transmission in 1927. By 1936, radio listeners in Shanghai could tune to programs they chose from some fifty-six radio stations (Xin, *Cong Shanghai faxian lishi*, p. 458), more than any city in the world of the time.⁴⁴ The music programs of these radio stations consisted of mostly Chinese vocal or instrumental music,⁴⁵ regardless if the stations were opened by Chinese or not.⁴⁶ There were also programs devoted to Western music. The Alliance of the French (Alliance Francaise) Station, for example, was highly recommended by Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), president of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. The station also broadcasted jazz music, which Xiao Youmei cautioned the Chinese against it (Xiao, "Yinyue de shili," p. 43).

By the 1930s, all radio stations in Shanghai broadcast both Chinese and Western music. In 1936, for example, the Shanghai Broadcasting Station featured dozens of kinds of Chinese and Western music in its programs; those musics included:

⁴⁴ New York City had only twenty-four radio stations in 1937 (Fung and Wu, "Jiu Shanghai wuxian guangbo," p. 119).

⁴⁵ A program list published in *Chinese Wireless Broadcasting* in 1934 is collected in *Jiu Zhongguo de Shanghai guangbo shiye* (pp. 113-33).

⁴⁶ In 1934, six among the fifty-four service stations were run by foreigners (*ibid.*)

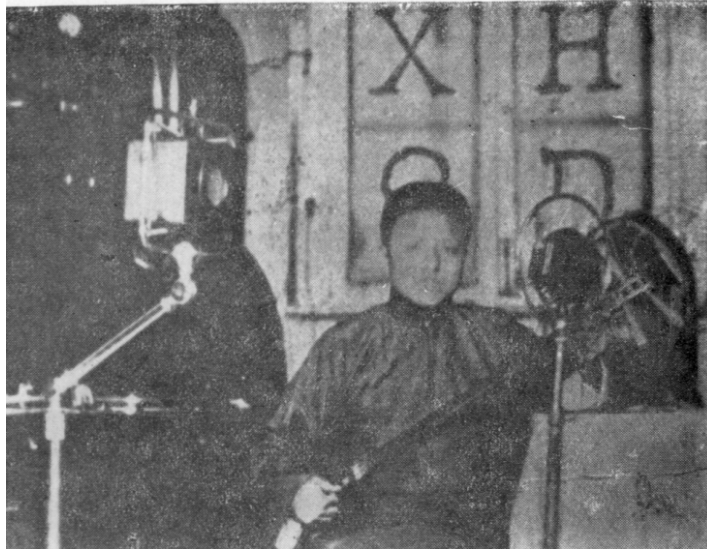
"...[live] native instrumental music (*guoyue* 國樂), Peking opera, Western music, all kinds of Chinese and Western music records such as Peking opera, Drum song (*dagu* 大鼓), *bangzi* 梆子 opera, Henan *zhuizi* 墜子 opera, Kun opera, Hebei *pingju* 評劇 opera (*bengbeng* 蹦蹦), school songs, film songs, Cantonese music, native instrumental music, harmonica music, *qin* music, Cantonese opera, organ music, piano music, tenor singing, soprano singing, bass singing, alto singing, band music, harmonium music, Western opera, trumpet music, string music, violin music, foxtrot music, waltz, tango, Hawaiian music, hymns, etc." (*SNJ* II, p. 166)

Radio stations broadcast many live performances from their own studios. Early in 1924, Kailuo Broadcasting Company featured the live singing of Peking opera star actors such as Cheng Yanqiu. Performers of narrative-singing, such as Suzhou *pingtan* 評彈,⁴⁷ gave radio performances frequently (Figure 3.23). In 1936, *qin* players of the Jinyu Qin Society broadcast a live performance of fourteen pieces at the Buddhist Sound Station (*Jinyu Qinkan*, p. 293), allowing *qin* music to reach the populace beyond their private gatherings.

Reformers also broadcast their musical performances through the radio. In 1934, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music held a broadcast concert at China-West Station, featuring new Chinese music works composed and performed by

⁴⁷ For the commercialization of *pingtan* in Shanghai in the 1930s, see Carlton Benson, "From Teahouse to Radio."

Figure 3.23 A Suzhou *pingtan* singer performing at an early broadcasting station, 1925 (SDS).



its students and faculty members. Through these broadcasts, people in Shanghai who could not afford the time and money to attend music concerts of the Conservatory could hear their performances. The 1934 concert program included the Chinese art songs "He" ("Ta" 他) and "Going Up on the Mountain" ("Shangshan" 上山) composed by Yuen Ren Chao (1892-1982), the modern songs "The Green Sky and White Sun with the Red Ground" ("Qingtian bairi mandi hong" 青天白日滿地紅) and "Listening" ("Ting" 聽) composed by Huang Zi (1904-1938), the piano solo *Buffalo Boy's Flute* composed by He Luting (a.k.a. Ho Rodin; 1903-1999), and the new *pipa*

solo *Resentment in the Autumn Palace* (*Qiugong yuan* 秋宮怨)
composed by Zhu Ying 朱英 (1889-1954).

What allowed the radio stations to broadcast a variety of musical genres was the new technology of the phonograph. And as commercial phonograph recordings became increasingly affordable, many Shanghai urbanites bought phonograph machines and records for their private enjoyment at home. "Play-back" music became almost ubiquitous in the air of Shanghai. The market featured a wide selection of recordings of Chinese music. The multinational record corporations Pathé-EMI and RCA-Victor, together with the Chinese-run Great China Records and several local "pocketbook record companies,"⁴⁸ catered to Chinese phonograph consumers with diverse musical interests. For example, Beka (Beikai 蓓開) and Odeon (Gaoting 高亭) under the Pathé-EMI merger issued many albums of Chinese operatic music. RCA-Victor (Meiguo shengli 美國勝利) issued a variety of Chinese operatic, folk, and popular songs. Baige Records, a "pocketbook label," produced recordings of the local Shanghai operatic genres of Shanghai opera and Yue opera.

⁴⁸ "Pocketbook record companies" (*pibao gongsi* 皮包公司) made contracts with local and regional musicians, and produced records by renting studio and equipment from major record companies (Jones, *Yellow Music*, p. 63).

Recordings of Western classical music were mostly imported from Europe and America, though a few albums were made featuring Shanghai musicians who had established international fame.⁴⁹ Imported records became important teaching and promotional materials for music reformers. In 1934, a promotional review of five vocal music records was published by Huang Zi, the influential specialist in music theory and composition on the faculty at the Conservatory. The recommended records, released by RCA-Victor, included American parlor songs and Italian opera arias that were performed by world renowned Western classical vocal performers (Huang, "Jieshao gei yiban tingzong").⁵⁰

Advertisements for phonograph records and players frequently appeared in newspapers and magazines, using pictorial and literary means to represent the styles and meanings of different kinds of recorded music. For example, RCA-Victor's "Victrola" phonograph advertisements appeared in *Shenbao* with three different themes throughout the month of May, 1930. The one titled "Go to Music Concerts" (*Fu*

⁴⁹ Catalogue information on these records is scarce. According to a record advertisement published in *Shenbao* in on May 23, 1930, Odeon released an album of a violin solo performance by Arigo Foa, the Italian violinist of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and the chair of the violin department at the Conservatory. Odeon also produced a vocal album performed by Mei-pa Chao (b. 1905), a Chinese tenor who had been studying vocal music at the Brussels Royal Conservatory of Music in Belgium.

⁵⁰ The vocal performers that Huang selected included Amelita Galli-Curci, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, Tita Schipa, Royal Dadmum, and Victor Chorus (Huang, "Jieshao gei yiban tingzong," pp. 3-8).

yinyue hui 赴音樂會) showed Chinese opera actors in costume to promote RCA-Victor's recording of Chinese opera arias (Figure 3.24). Another one, titled "How to Spend Leisure Time," featured the domestic use of Victrola phonograph players and records in entertaining family guests, capturing the pleasure-generating function of music playing at home (Figure 3.25).⁵¹ A related theme, "The First Gift of Grace for Modern Families," showed how Victrola enabled consumers to host dancing parties at home, promoting the sales of music for dances, which probably included the foxtrot and the waltz (Figure 3.26).

Sound films launched a new mode of music consumption in Shanghai. New productions from America and Europe were shown in Shanghai shortly after their releases. For instance, *Don Juan* (1926), the first Hollywood sound production, was shown in Shanghai four months after its release in America. Soon after the technology became available, Chinese sound film productions emerged, the first of which was *The Sing-Song Girl Red Peony* (*Genü Hong mudan* 歌女紅牡丹; 1930). The incorporation of sound recording in film affected not only how Chinese produced and used music, but also how Chinese audience experienced music,

⁵¹ The Chinese film *New Year's Coin* (1934) has a similar scene, where the hosts and guests listen to the singing of a Chinese popular song being broadcast live from a radio station.

Figure 3.24 "Go to Music Concerts": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in *Shenbao* (May 14, 1930).



赴音樂會 (1)

購置勝利原音唱機及時開奏。則足不出戶。可以常聞諧和之音。樂聲入耳。恍如置身音樂場之中。勝利唱機。乃集三十餘年製音經驗之大成。式有種種。美雅耐久。勝利紅心唱片。一經開奏。正確活潑。無異真人。而且備他家之所無。萃中西之精英。請即前往經理處為一度之試唱可也。

全國各地大樂器公司均有出售。惟有勝利公司製造勝利唱片。謹防請認明坐狗商標為記。

勝利公司新戲考業已出版
勝利唱機公司
 The New Orthophonic
Victrola

美國無線電勝利唱機合組公司
 上海南京路外灘沙遜大廈二樓二二三號

Figure 3.25 "How to Spend Leisure Time": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in *Shenbao* (May 29, 1930).



如何消閒 (2)

閒坐無事。最感寂寞。欲開消遣。怡神。宜購勝利原音唱機。日常開奏。樂在其中。有甚佳可為娛樂之用。

勝利唱機。品質精良。字樣耐久。其式不一。大能備。唱片係用電氣錄音。音證正確。樂聲之下。歷歷名歌。隨音樂家得微雅奏。此乃勝利公司三十餘年科學的經驗之結晶也。

全國各地大樂器公司均有出售。惟有勝利公司製造勝利唱片。謹防請認明坐狗商標為記。

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Figure 3.26 "The First Gift of Grace for Modern Families": a Victrola phonograph advertisement in *Shenbao* (May 8, 1930).



especially Western music. Early Western sound films commonly used European classical music. Chinese sound films, such as *Crossroads* (1937) and *Spring Silkworms* (1933), also used European classical music throughout. Sometimes, American popular music was heard as well. In *New Year's Coin* (1935), for example, Duke Ellington's recent instrumental recording of *Cocktail for Two* – produced for the Paramount film *Murder at the Vanities* of 1934 – was used in a restaurant scene.

When funding was available, Chinese film producers would recruit music directors to have original music for their productions. The music director then created the musical arrangement with or without the contribution of other composers. The directors also recruited musicians to play and record the music at the film studio. Because of limited budgets and resources, however, only a few Chinese films employed such a scoring practice – a practice that, in contrast, defined Classical Hollywood film music since the production of *King Kong* in 1931. *City Scenes*, a 1935 production, is the best representative of this scoring practice.⁵²

For the majority of Chinese productions, the most featured original musical element was film songs (*dianying gequ* 電影歌曲). They could be written in different styles, ranging from Chinese urban folksongs, Chinese school songs, Chinese revolutionary songs, American parlor songs of Anglo-Italian style, to Broadway show tunes. For example, He Luting's "Spring Dawn at the West Lake" ("Xihu chunxiao" 西湖春曉), composed for *Boatman's Daughter* (1935), adopted

⁵² The "Prelude" of the film, titled *City Scenes Fantasia*, was composed by Huang Zi. Music scored for the rest of the film, however, is attributed to He Luting (Zhuang, "Yinyue de bainian huixiang"), the music director of the film. It is arguable if the term "composed score," which was attributed to a single composer as in the Classical Hollywood practice, is fully applicable to *City Scenes*. While the score of Huang Zi's "Prelude" has been preserved as an independent orchestral piece, He's arrangement is no longer in extant.

the Anglo-Italian parlor song style in its vocal melody and piano accompaniment; it featured a soprano solo voice, with a lushly harmonized support from a choir. As in other modern Chinese musical works, many film songs blended different Chinese and Western musical styles to create new practices that worked for the modern filmic and musical imaginations. For example, another song of He Luting, "Song of the Seasons" ("Siji ge" 四季歌), which was written for *Street Angel* (1937), integrated Chinese folk melody with Western counterpoint. The melody of the song came from a popular urban folksong, but its instrumental accompaniment – played by Chinese musical instruments exclusively – embraced Western contrapuntal elements.

The modern sound media filled the soundscape of Shanghai with diverse Chinese and Western sounds. Despite their differences, the two musical forces were socially connected to one another through a network of modern musical institutions, which followed their diverse agendas to produce new musical performances, trainings, and ideas. They also interacted with one another, generating different kinds of network relationships. The emerging musical network of Shanghai shaped, channeled, and promoted Chinese translated practices and ideas.

3.4 Musical Institutions and their Network

Three major modern institutions were at the center of the musical network of Shanghai: the Great Unity Music Society (hereafter, Great Unity), the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (hereafter, SCM), and the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (hereafter, SMO).⁵³ They were central to the network because they obtained the most "attention space" in the media compared with other institutions that operated with similar respective goals. Great Unity and SCM represented the two major music advocacy orientations in Chinese musical modernity: the former represented the defenders' power and the latter represented the reformers'. SMO, the most formal Westerner musical institution, represented the colonial force in the network. The three major institutions formed network relationships among themselves while being interconnected with other groups: their respective "source groups" that supplied the majority of their members, and other institutions – which are labeled "minor institutions" here.

⁵³ The funding of the three major institutions came from different sources. SMO was primarily maintained by funds of the Shanghai Municipal Council that were allocated from tax revenues collected in the International Settlement. SCM was funded by the Nationalist government through the Ministry of Education. Great Unity, as a private organization, received substantive support from various sponsors. These include: Zheng Lisan 鄭立三, an official in the provincial government who was also relative of the founder of Great Unity; Li Shizeng 李石曾 of World Society, and numerous well-established local leaders who included Du Yuesheng, the leader of the Green Gang in Shanghai.

The network relationships can be theoretically divided into three different kinds: strong ties, weak ties, and conflictual ties. These different relational properties, which have been identified and conceptualized by social network studies in recent decades,⁵⁴ characterized different kinds of communications and their implications in the musical network of Shanghai.⁵⁵ Strong ties, based on frequent collaborations or exchanges, maintained the distinctive identity and operation stability of modern institutions in the musical network. Weak ties, the "organizationally less bounded or emotionally less committed relationships" (Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," pp. 1360-1380), were the indirect connections or occasional collaborations in the musical network; they played an important role in bringing in new resources and opportunities to institutions involved. Conflictual ties, which emerge from rival interactions, cause increased channeling of social-symbolic resources and creativity resources – what Randall Collins describes as "cultural capital" and "emotional energy" (Collins, *Sociology of*

⁵⁴ Network analysis, as defined by Monge and Contractor in their recent network studies, is "an analytic technique that enables researchers to represent relational data and explore the nature and properties of those relations" (Monge and Contractor, *Theories of Communication Networks*, p. 35).

⁵⁵ My identification of the three kinds of network ties is drawn from Randall Collins's *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*.

Philosophies, p. 29).⁵⁶ In the musical network, conflictual ties motivated institutions to better strategize their investment of their cultural capital and emotional energy in order to compete with rivals. Through these different kinds of network relationships, various Chinese and Western musical resources flowed among, and across, musical institutions in Shanghai.

Each of the three major institutions were distinctively separate from each other. Great Unity, the largest institution of the defenders, was founded by Zheng Jinwen (1872-1935) in 1921.⁵⁷ Its goal was to maintain and develop Chinese music in the modern age. It provided performance lessons of Chinese music to its members, reconstructed ancient Chinese music and musical instruments, and created new ensemble music with Chinese musical instruments. These activities were led by Zheng Jinwen and a number of musicians he invited or hired. Together, they connected Great Unity to their respective musical communities, including those of the *qin* musicians, *pipa*

⁵⁶ The concept of "cultural capital" can be traced to Bourdieu. In Collins's concept, it is the symbolic resources of social membership that an intellectual has. The intellectual would mobilize his/her "repertoire" during interactions with other intellectuals—what is theorized as "interaction rituals" (Collins, *Sociology of Philosophies*, p. 29). "Emotional energy," according to Collins, refers to "the kind of strength that comes from participating successfully in an interaction ritual" (*ibid.*).

⁵⁷ Great Unity was developed from the Qin and Se Music Society (Qin se *qin se* 琴瑟樂社) that Zheng Jinwen founded in 1920.

musicians, and *sizhu* musicians. Zheng Jinwen imparted to Great Unity members his *qin* learning inherited from Tang Jingxun, and conducted the Great Unity National Orchestra with his *sizhu* music background. Wang Yuting, the *pipa* instructor, passed along his mastery that integrated the stylistics of Wang Huisheng, Chen Zijing (1837-1920s?),⁵⁸ and Yin Jiping (Chen, "Dui Wang Yuting xiansheng").

SCM, the largest reformer institution, was founded in 1927 and headed by Xiao Youmei. It offered training in Western classical music. Xiao Youmei, a reformer who held a doctoral degree in musicology granted in Germany, recruited other Chinese reformers who had also received formal music education in the West. For example, Xiao Youmei hired Huang Zi to teach music theory after the latter's return from the United States. Xiao Youmei also recruited professional performers from the Westerner communities in China, many of whom came from Russia after the fall of the Tzarist regime in 1917.⁵⁹ Most of these Russian faculty members were trained at the St. Petersburg Conservatory of Music.⁶⁰ One of them was the pianist Boris Zakharoff (1888-1943), who

⁵⁸ The death year of Chen has been known as in 1891 (e.g., Li, "Pipa yinyue shulue," p. 67). However, in his recent study, *pipa* scholar Chen Zemin argues that it was actually late in the 1920s (Chen, "Dui Wang Yuting xiansheng").

⁵⁹ Many of the White Russian émigrés were concentrated in the north-eastern provinces, especially in the city of Harbin—where they numbered more than 100,000 (Avshalomov, *Avshalomovs' Winding Way*).

⁶⁰ They were Mrs. E. Levitin (piano), Mr. I. Shevtzoff (cello), and Mrs. All Tamsky (voice) (GYYL).

first came to Shanghai as a visiting performer (Enomoto, *Yueren zhi Du*, p. 120). Zakharov's decision to join SCM was probably influenced by Arigo Foa (1900-1981), an Italian violinist who chaired the violin department at the Conservatory. Through the Chinese musical professionals returned from the West, and European professional performers, SCM was tied to the Western classical music forces in the network.

The operation of SMO relied on its connections to European professional performers, especially after Mario Paci (1878-1946) took up the directorship in 1919. Before then, since its establishment in 1879, this colonial musical unit had relied more on Filipino musicians trained in Western classical music.⁶¹ In order to strengthen the European elements in his orchestra, Paci recruited European musicians from Europe and from Shanghai in an unprecedented way. Under his baton, SMO became the "greatest cultural asset east of Suez" in the British colonial empire (Bickers, "The Greatest Cultural Asset"). Members of this British colonial "asset" came from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. Paci himself was an Italian who studied with

⁶¹ SMO was first established as a "public band," which expanded to include an orchestra in 1907. Filipino musicians comprised the majority of its members until Paci recruited more European musicians and turned them into the majority (Han, "Shanghai gongbuju yuedui yanjiu," pp. 145-50, 158).

Giovanni Sgambati (1841-1914), a student of Franz Liszt. His joining the SMO in Shanghai was partly accidental; he would not have stayed on in Shanghai in the first place if he did not have to recover from a serious illness that struck him during a long performing tour in Asia. Among the European musicians Paci recruited, the violinist Foa was contracted from Italy, while most others were from the Russian émigré community. In the 1930s, as Ashkenazy Jews in Europe began to seek refuge in Shanghai, Jewish refugee musicians played an increasing role in SMO. One of these Jewish musicians was Ferdinand Adler, a famed violinist who served as the concert master at the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra before he fled Germany and came to Shanghai (Han, "Shanghai gongbuju yuedui yanjiu," p. 159).

Among the three institutions in the musical network, SCM had strong ties with SMO. Both focused on Western classical music and shared connections with European professional performers in Shanghai. In particular, SCM looked up to SMO as a precious resource that supported the realization of its reform program. According to the president of SCM, Xiao Youmei, the SMO was the treasure of China; since it was located in Shanghai, Xiao Youmei also recommended the first Chinese Conservatory of music to be established there, so that students could take advantage of

this musical treasure (Xiao, "Tingguo Shanghai shizhengting"). To help students take greater advantage of this treasure, SCM got from Paci to agree that SCM students could attend SMO's rehearsal performances free of charge. Maintaining strong ties with SMO was an asset to the Western classical music program of SCM. The colonial orchestra channeled Western musical resources to Chinese reformers in the musical network on a stable basis.

Between SCM and Great Unity, in contrast, the gulf between their visions of modernity visions generated mutual opposition. The defensive agenda of Great Unity, which contended that Chinese music as it had developed historically had to be the foundation of modern Chinese musical development, clashed with SCM's identification of Western classical music as the needed modern foundation. The conflictual nature of their ties became more pronounced when Xiao Youmei, declining Great Unity's invitation to join its administrative committee in 1930, openly criticized that institution. Xiao Youmei rejected Great Unity's imitative re-constructions of ancient musical instruments as blind-sighted, and as ignoring issues of scientific theory and performance practice (Xiao, "Duiyu Datong yuehui"). The conflictual ties between the two music advocacy institutions generated competition between them

that stimulated both sides to frequently renew their agendas by clarifying their thoughts and positions. In the 1930s, even members of their allied minor institutions presented their defensive or reformist programs in ways that attacked their rivals on the other side. Their attacks at times had sharper tone than criticisms that came from major institutions.

The minor institutions supportive of the reformer side include the Association of Music, Arts, and Literature (hereafter AMAL) and the Shanghai College of Fine Arts (hereafter SCFA). AMAL, established in 1934, was founded by reformers who either came from SCM or had close relationship with SCM leaders.⁶² SCFA, another tertiary institute that provided musical education, was founded by intellectuals who returned from studies of the arts, literature, and music in the West and Japan. It shared the modernity vision of SCM in educating Chinese intellectuals with advanced Western ideas and practices. On the defender side, minor institutions included the Jinyu Qin Society, which was founded by *qin* players in the greater Shanghai area in 1933. It shared the contention of Great Unity that there existed well-developed musical elements and practices

⁶² Founders of AMAL included Xiao Youmei and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), the former Minister of Education who was also, briefly, the first president of SCM before Xiao Youmei took over.

in Chinese culture that should continue to prevail in the modern age. Jinyu's members included Wei Zhongle 衛仲樂 (1908-1997), a Great Unity-trained musician of great versatility.

These supportive minor institutions, channeling different musical capital into SCM and Great Unity, established and maintained their distinctiveness. Not only so, they played an important role in deepening the rival relationship between the two camps. Two of the most extreme reformer attacks on Great Unity were connected to AMAL and SCFA. In the AMAL journal, *Music Magazine* (*Yinyue zazhi* 音樂雜誌), He Luting published his disapproving review of Great Unity National Orchestra's performance at the Confucian Temple of Shanghai in 1934. In the essay, written under the pseudonym Luo Ting, He Luting rejected Chinese musical instruments as obsolete "horse-carts" in the modern age of "aircraft," which called for scaling up Chinese musical instruments to reach the technological standards of Western musical instruments (He, "Tingliao ji Kong dianli"). Another extreme criticism was made by Fu Lei (1908-1966), a faculty member in Western arts and literature at SCFA. In his review of a 1933 concert in which Great Unity performed with SMO, Fu Lei rejected Chinese musical instruments as

lacking expressive power, something which he claimed Western musical instruments excelled at (Fu, "Zhongguo yinyue"). Because of this increasingly acute rival relationship, members of defender institutions in the musical network became more assertive in validating the strength of Chinese music vis-à-vis Western developments. Some members of the Jinyu Qin Society, such as Zha Fuxi (1895-1976), presented *qin* music as the most sophisticated form of Chinese music, an achievement that not only embraced the advanced tonal developments of Western music but also offered something beyond, something that excelled Western music (Zha, "Fukan ci").

Despite the conflictual relationship, SCM shared some of Great Unity's Chinese musical connections in the network, though indirectly. These weak ties between the two rival institutions allowed their common, but downplayed, musical resources and orientations to maintain their inter-connections, keeping new relational and creative possibilities open for organizationally "less bound" developments to take place.

While the SCM spent most of its institutional resources on four departments of Western classical music,⁶³ it kept a department of Chinese music. That department

⁶³ The four departments were composition and theory, piano, violin, and voice.

offered performance lessons on the *pipa*, *erhu*, *dizi*, and, for a short period of time, the *qin* and *bili* 簫栗 (double reed wind instrument) (*Guoli yinyue*, 1929, p. 6), which students could choose as their elective or minor subject of study.⁶⁴ The Chinese music program, though holding a secondary position in the curriculum hierarchy,⁶⁵ connected SCM to the Chinese music communities that nurtured Great Unity and other defender forces in the network. The *pipa* instructor Zhu Ying, head of the Chinese music department, was a student of the late-Qing *pipa* solo master Li Fangyuan 李芳園 in Zhejiang province. Wang Yuting, the *pipa* instructor at Great Unity, also inherited musical elements from *pipa* solo masters of the vicinity. The *erhu* instructor Wu Bochao 吳伯超 (1903-1949) was a student of Liu Tianhua (1895-1932), a solo *erhu* and *pipa* composer who incorporated *sizhu* practices of the greater Shanghai region into his Chinese music practice. The musical lineages of Zhu Ying

⁶⁴ Despite the secondary place of the Chinese music program in the Conservatory, the faculty attempted to promote the study of Chinese instrumental music among students. In a faculty meeting, dated February 27, 1930, it was decided that "All students who major in the piano performance or music theory are required to select a Chinese musical instrument to study, for at least a year" (*Yin: Guoli yinyue*, v. 3, 1930, p. 15).

⁶⁵ Exceptions happened, however. Ding Shande 丁善德 (1911-1995) entered in 1928 as a major in the *pipa*, because he had not yet studied Western musical instruments. Yet, after he made outstanding progress playing the piano, Ding switched the *pipa* to be his minor subject, and he became a piano major (Enomoto, *Yueren zhi du*, pp. 124-28).

and Wu Bochao, therefore, shared the lineages of the “source groups” of Great Unity.

The SCM recruitment of Zhu Ying and Wu Bochao was influenced by its president Xiao Youmei, who made their acquaintance when working at musical and non-musical institutions in Beijing before coming to Shanghai. Xiao Youmei met Zhu Ying when working at the Office of the President of the Republic of China early in the 1910s, while Zhu was a staff member at the Department of Foreign Relations.⁶⁶ Xiao Youmei met Wu Bochao later, when he taught at the Institute of Music Transmission and Practice (Yinyue chuanxi suo 音樂傳習所; hereafter IMTP) of the National Peiping University, where Wu Bochao studied the *erhu* and graduated with a degree. When IMTP was expanded from a music research society into a formal music institute in 1922,⁶⁷ it had both Chinese and Western music programs.⁶⁸ At SCM, in contrast, Chinese music studies subsided as a minor subject in the curriculum. However, even when the rivalry between reformer and defender institutions became

⁶⁶ Interview with pipa scholar Chen Zemin in Beijing, August 21, 2004.

⁶⁷ IMTP was developed from a music ensemble organization that was founded by Cai Yuanpei, president of the National University of Peiping, in 1916. Xiao Youmei played an important role in its expansion into a musical education institute in 1922.

⁶⁸ After Liu Tianhua joined the faculty in 1922, the Chinese music program included the teaching of the *erhu*, *pipa*, and Kun opera music (by Wu Mei 吳梅). Before Liu Tianhua came, Wang Lu 王露 (1877-1921), a master of *qin* and *pipa*, was the instructor. Besides, IMTP for a time also had a music division on Hunan Province, headed by Li Jinhui.

intensified in the 1930s, the Chinese music department continued to function, shaping the musical sense of many Chinese students at SCM. Such "weak" curriculum ties structurally worked against the predominant rival relationship between SCM and Great Unity, leading a similar pool of Chinese musical "capital" to circulate in both institutions.⁶⁹

Weak ties in the Shanghai musical network also emerged through occasional collaborations between defender and colonial musical institutions. In 1933, Great Unity and SMO collaborated in an unusual concert event, which would not only intensify rivalry between defenders and reformers as discussed above, but also stimulate more exchanges between Chinese and Western musical forces in the network.

The concert, titled "Grand Chinese Evening," was held as a special event in SMO's weekend concert series. It began with two Chinese musical pieces performed by Great Unity members: the first item was an ensemble piece which was probably *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River*, arranged by Liu Raozhang (1905-1996) around 1925; the second piece was a solo performance of the classical *pipa* piece *Ambushed from All Sides* (*Shimian maifu* 十面埋伏),

⁶⁹ The minor reformer institution SCFA also had a similar Chinese music program, maintaining similar ties with defender forces in the musical network.

played by Wei Zhongle. The rest of the concert comprised three symphonic pieces with Chinese themes, performed by SMO.⁷⁰ The performing presence of Great Unity in an SMO concert program was unprecedented, though the two did not perform any music together. The collaborative event generated diverse insights and sentiments among defenders and reformers. For Great Unity, performing at an SMO concert marked Westerners' recognition of its cultural capital, while for some reformers such as Fu Lei of SCFA, the concert increased their opposition to Great Unity. The clashing responses fueled the "emotional energies" of both sides to continue their distinctive modernity visions.

At the same time, however, the collaborative event also fueled the "emotional energies" of Westerner composers who had interests in Chinese music. They included the Russian sojourner composer Aaron Avshalomov (1894-1965), composer of the three symphonic pieces in the special concert. SMO's successful performance of his works brought recognition of his creative compositional approach, one that integrated Chinese musical elements with the Western symphonic medium. Directly or indirectly, the concert

⁷⁰ The three pieces were: "The Last Works of Tsin-Wen" ("Qingwen jue ming ci" 晴雯絕命辭; a poem for voice and orchestra), *In Hutings of Peipin* (*Beiping hutong* 北平胡同; a symphonic poem), and *The Soul of the Ch'in* (*Boguang qinxin* 波光琴心; a symphonic piece for dance).

created the inspiration for new musical creations, especially creations that blended Chinese and Western musical practices.

It was in the following year that Alexander Tcherepnin (1899-1977), another significant Russian sojourner composer in Shanghai, visited SCM, making a lasting impact on the musical network. Although the direct connection between the 1933 concert and Tcherepnin's visit remains to be verified, Tcherepnin's efforts to learn and to integrate Chinese music into his compositions reinforced the collaborative initiatives that the 1933 concert launched. Bringing the increased interests in Chinese-Western exchanges to a new direction, Tcherepnin sponsored a Chinese piano composition contest at SCM in 1934. The winner of the monumental contest, He Luting, became a young star reformer in the musical network of Shanghai. Well connected in the network, He Luting soon became a major music director in the rising film industry in the city, creating opportunities for members of all major musical institutions to collaborate in film projects. Operated through a set of weak ties, these films collaborations generated new interactional dynamics in the musical network.

While He Luting's films caused the reformer, defender, and Western forces to collaborate, they also connected the

musical institutions to leftist forces in the musical network. Most films that He Luting musically directed were leftist productions, which were influential in the 1930s. The leftists, a broadly and loosely defined intellectual group, consisted of Communists and non-Communists who were critical of the Nationalist government. Musical leftists, through wide underground networking, were connected with reformer and defender institutions in different ways. He Luting himself was an underground Communist when he was admitted to SCM as a part-time student in 1931. Through the introduction of the young Communist film songwriter, Nie Er 聶耳 (1912-1935), He Luting began a career in film music in 1935. Nie Er, who began composing leftist film songs in 1933, gained new importance in the musical network when he became an assistant at the Chinese music division of the Pathé Records Company in 1934, and led the Sensen Chinese National Music Ensemble 森森國樂隊 there. His accidental death in 1935, however, left open his film song position, which was filled by He Luting.⁷¹ Between 1935 and 1937, working with reformers, defenders, Westerners, and leftists,

⁷¹ Nie's song "March of the Volunteers," which was written for his last film *Children of the Storm* (1935), became the national anthem of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The music of *Children* was a collaboration of Nie Er and He Luting, who created the background music. The orchestration of "March" also involved contributions from Avshalomov, though it was completed by Nie Er.

He Luting created music for over twenty films (Shi, *He Luting zhuan*, pp. 83-84).

In some productions, He Luting also brought about musical collaborations with members of popular song-and-dance troupes, represented by Bright Moon Ensemble 明月歌舞團, which was founded by Li Jinhui.⁷² Although Bright Moon, along with its supporting groups, was rejected by all other institutions in the musical network, it shared part of the same pool of popular and commercial cultural resources with film,⁷³ which He Luting and the leftists could not totally ignore in their film productions. The film music collaborations under He Luting's directorship, therefore, involved complex interactions among major institutions, the leftists, and popular music forces in the network.

The musical production of *City Scenes* (1935), for example, was a collaboration of the SCM-AMAL reformer members and SMO Westerner members. The symphonic overture of the film, titled *Fantasia of City Scenes* (*Dushi fengguang huanxiang qu* 都市風光幻想曲), was composed by Huang

⁷²Before founding Bright Moon in 1922, Li Jinhui chaired the Hunan music division at IMTP, where he worked along with Xiao Youmei. At that time, Li Jinhui was a respected participant in the vernacular language movement, and his musical and intellectual background included ties to both reformers and defenders. It was when he adopted jazz and created popular love songs that his relations with reformers and defenders turned antagonistic. For a study of his complex life and contribution to Chinese colonial modernity, see Andrew Jones's *Yellow Music*.

⁷³ For example, the pioneering leftist songwriter Nie was a member of Bright Moon before turning to be its opponent.

Zi – He Luting’s mentor at SCM.⁷⁴ The score for the rest of the film, which was developed from the overture, was arranged by He Luting himself (Zhuang, “Yinyue de bainian huixiang,” p. 762). He Luting’s film score was composed for a small Western ensemble. Performers came from both SCM and SMO. The SMO participation was unusual; a harpist and a xylophonist were hired because the music studio of Denton Film Company did not have those two musical instruments (ZJX v.1, p. 537). The other ensemble members were Chinese musicians, mostly He Luting’s colleagues at SCM. As recalled by Mao Chu’en (1914-2006), the ensemble’s violinist, He Luting recruited him and other classmates at SCM to play for the film.⁷⁵ Figure 3.27 shows a photo of the musicians at the recording studio. The film song of *City Scenes*, “Song of the Peep-Show Man” (“Xiyangjing ge” 西洋鏡歌), was composed by Yuen Ren Chao (1892-1982), an AMAL member and a pioneering Chinese art song composer. Chao wrote the song with piano accompaniment and with an orchestrated accompaniment for the flute, piano, violin, cello, gongs and drum (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*). While supported by Western musical instruments and

⁷⁴ Creating symphonic compositions, let alone for film, was a rare practice in Shanghai in the 1930s. SCM reformers who had formal composition training in the West, such as Huang Zi, focused on teaching, school music education reform, composing songs, Western music promotion, and publishing musical discussions.

⁷⁵ Interview with Mao Chu’en in Shanghai, November 4, 2004.

Figure 3.27 Musicians recording for the 1935 film *City Scenes* (Zhuang, "Yinyue de bainian huixiang," p. 763); Mao Chu'en is the violinist on the left.



functional harmony, however, the song melody employed stylistic images of Chinese vernacular songs to work for the filmic context where the song is sung – a street peep-show vendor sings to attract passerbys to come and have a peep.¹ The song, sung by the director-actor Yuan Muzhi, was performed in a vernacular Chinese vocal style, betraying how Chinese vernacular musical forces were blended with reformers' Westernized music in this film collaboration.

¹ The text of Chao's song, written by Shi Yi 施誼, complained of social problems so explicitly that sections of it were banned by the Nationalist government. In the released version of the film, these sections are covered by the vocable "la," though the actor's lips are seen singing the original text.

In *Street Angel*, another collaboration case, Great Unity musicians accompanied the singing of a former Bright Moon member. To feature the life of a sing-song girl in the film, He Luting created songs such as "Song of the Seasons," which was based on the melody of the popular Chinese urban folk song, "Crying on the Seventh Seven-Day Cycle" ("Ku qiqi" 哭七七). In He Luting's arrangement, which adopted principles of Western counterpoint, "Seasons" was accompanied by Chinese stringed musical instruments – the *pipa*, *erhu*, and *sanxian*. Among the three instrumentalists, the *pipa* player Qin Pengzhang was a member of Great Unity, and the others were probably members of a defender institution as well, if not Great Unity. Despite his criticism of Great Unity three years earlier, He Luting maintained an occasional working relationship with individual members of that organization in his film productions. The female singer-actor, Zhou Xuan 周璇 (1918-1957), received musical training in Bright Moon, which He Luting denounced from a leftist point of view in the previous year (He, "Zhongguo yinyue jie"). In spite of her background, He Luting collaborated with Zhou Xuan and complimented her performance.

A short episode from He Luting's composition *Big World* (*Da shijie* 大世界), written for the wind band, was also used as background music in *Street Angel*. The recording of *Big World*, played by Western wind instruments including the flute, clarinet, oboe, and bassoon, was produced as a Pathé record. The piece was based on the beginning melodic phrase of a film song, "In Springtime" ("Chuntian li" 春天裡), which He Luting created for *Crossroads*, a film produced only a few months before *Street Angel* in 1935. Although the band musicians are not yet identified, they were likely to be SCM members, or members from other reformer institutions. With the inclusion of *Big World*, therefore, the musical production of *Street Angel* became a collaborative occasion for defenders, reformers, and popular song performers in the musical network.

Beyond leftist productions, members of SCM and Great Unity collaborated in an unusual film that was produced by an American. *Song of China* (1935), produced by Douglas MacLean (1890-?),⁷⁷ attested how the two reformer and defender institutions made use of a collaborative opportunity generated by the colonial capital and market in the musical network. The film features no spoken dialogue,

⁷⁷ Little biographical information of MacLean is known, except that he was a musical comedian before becoming a film producer.

but employs Chinese instrumental music to accompany the moving images and intertitles. In the final sequence, however, the female solo singing of the song "Song of the Heavenly Bliss" ("Tianlun" 天倫), accompanied by Western musical instruments and functional harmony, was heard. The Chinese instrumental music and the film song – creations of defenders and reformers respectively – were not only used in separate sequences, but were blended in the musical opening of the film, when the song melody was played by the Chinese ensemble. Such an integrative practice presented a unique form of collaboration that cannot be found in other films of the time.

The Chinese music ensemble for the film was led by Wei Zhongle, a versatile instrumentalist trained by Great Unity. His ensemble, referred to as the "Wei Chung-loh Orchestra,"⁷⁸ was mentioned in the film credits. After playing the *sizhu* arrangement of the song melody of "Heavenly Bliss," Wei Zhongle included excerpts of various solo and ensemble pieces to accompany the film. His selection included: the *erhu* solo piece *In Affliction*, composed by Liu Zhongle about ten years earlier; the classical *pipa* solo pieces *An Evening at Xunyang River with the Moon* (*Xunyang yeyue* 潯陽夜

⁷⁸ It is likely that Wei Zhongle's group was put together precisely for the film.

月) and *Song at the Frontier* (*Saishang qu* 塞上曲); and the new ensemble piece *Fanatical Dance of the Golden Snake* (*Jinshe kuangwu* 金蛇狂舞), arranged by Nie Er, the erstwhile director of the Sensen Chinese National Music Ensemble at Pathé Record Company.⁷⁹

"Heavenly Bliss" was composed by the SCM faculty member Huang Zi, who had produced dozens of art songs and school songs. In his work for this film, which featured the triumph of Confucian filial piety in modern China, Huang Zi employed pentatonic images and infused it with a march rhythm in the refrain section – stylistic elements that did not characterize his songs in general. The accompaniment, which embraced progressions and modulations of Western functional harmony, was played by Western musical instruments such as the violin, piano, and the flute, with the gong. The song was sung by soprano Lang Yuxiu 郎毓秀 (b. 1918), an SCM voice student, who was joined by a children's choir in the refrain section.⁸⁰

This unusual SCM-Great Unity collaboration ironically featured an orientalist image of China. In the version of

⁷⁹ Nie's ensemble piece was based on the popular instrumental *gupai* "Old Six Beat" ("Lao liuban" 老六板).

⁸⁰ The children's choir came from the Jiangsu Shanghai High School (Qin, "Fei Mu yingju zayi," p. 158). The *New York Times* film reviewer Frank S. Nugent named the children's choir "Shanghai Students' Chorus" (Nugent, "Song of China").

the film that was released in the United States – the only version available to this date⁸¹ – *Song* objectified Confucian China as static over the past thousands of years. The film begins with an English-written introduction that says,

For more than three thousand years, filial piety has remained the dominant force in China's history and culture. In their religion, philosophy, drama, literature and music, it is truly the 'Song of China.' This immortal theme is once again presented in this authentic picture of modern China, which was produced, written, directed, acted, photographed and musically scored in China by Chinese, and first presented at Grand Theater at Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China.

Song was packaged for the Western audience in Shanghai and in America. The absence of spoken dialogue eased the language barriers between the Chinese actors and the English-speaking audience, and the English translation provided alongside all the Chinese intertitles further made the film accessible for the English-speaking audience. The orientalist objectification of China with ancient images and values were, willingly or not, founded upon a prevailing colonial relationship between Shanghai and the

⁸¹ Although there are differences between the versions released in China and the United States, the musical elements of the two versions are likely to be the same stylistically. I regard the United States-version as an integral part of the production phenomenon of *Song*. See "Song of China Script, Divided into Scenes" ("Tianlun fenmu juben") for the script of the version released in China.

United States. The American perspective, which contrasted with the interests of Chinese film producers, did not care for progressive changes that modern China struggled to embrace, let alone resistance against colonial encroachments.

Although in this project the orientalist objectification overly simplified the project of Chinese modernity and silenced the voice of the Chinese actors and actresses, the Confucian value of filial piety appealed to both reformers and defenders. Approving the moral content of the production, members of SCM and Great Unity saw the film as a creative musical opportunity. Taking this orientalist endeavor as an occasion to present China musically, members of both institutions connected their musical resources in the Shanghai network in an unprecedented, and monumental way.

In the semi-colonial world of Shanghai, it was often the colonial forces that stimulated new nodes of musical collaborations and exchanges. The "Grand Chinese Evening" concert, the Chinese piano composition contest, and the orientalist production of *Song of China* were sponsored, organized, or produced by Westerners in colonial contexts. Their colonial power, however, was softened by their reliance on Chinese cooperation and consent. With the

contingency of their dependence and considering how infrequent such occurrences were, Chinese music advocates welcomed – even celebrated – the opportunities that these Westerner-initiated events offered. In the musical world, where the best musical fruits of Western culture were commonly taken as essential markers of Chinese musical modernity, Chinese music advocates discreetly distinguished an admirable musical West from the destructive colonialist West. Despite the fact that this desirable Western musical system was very different from the Chinese system, many modern Chinese connected the two as inter-translatable. As the comic strip published by students at the St. John University hints, both Chinese and Western musical forces were integral to the musical mind of modern Chinese.

Chapter 4

Chinese Music Advocates in the Social-Intellectual Networks of Shanghai

A generation of Chinese music advocates arose in semi-colonial Shanghai, pursuing their individual and political agendas. Their collaborations and competitions generated social and intellectual networks through which musical translations took place. Whether they promoted Western music or defended Chinese music, all the advocates strove to mediate Western music with Chinese practices. If they asserted different agendas from contrasting positions, however, they shared common experiences in studying Chinese language and classical literature, and in exposure to local Chinese music. They were also tied to a larger web of intellectuals and government officials, who supported or opposed their views. Many advocates were trained in non-musical professions, and pursued music as a second career and a personal interest. Whether the advocates had reforming or defensive stances, they all engaged music as a means of national and political advancement in Chinese modernity.

4.1 Reformers

Prominent music reformers in the Shanghai network included Xiao Youmei, Wang Guangqi, Yuen Ren Chao (Zhao Yuanren), Huang Zi, He Luting, Fu Lei, Feng Zikai, and Miao Tianrui. Their cultural-musical backgrounds and translation efforts can be introduced as follows.

Xiao Youmei (1884-1940) reformed Chinese music as an administrator, music educator, author, critic, and composer. He was a co-founder and important president of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (hereafter, SCM), the first national conservatory of China. Between 1920 and 1940,¹ Xiao Youmei published frequently to promote Western classical music, legitimizing its dominant role in modern China, with not only facts about Western music but also rhetoric couched in Chinese national and political terms. Illustrating his reform agendas were his compositions of school songs and art songs. His "Song to the Auspicious Cloud" ("Qingyun ge" 卿雲歌) was sung, during the years between 1921 and 1928, as the national anthem of the Republican government.

Xiao Youmei's promotion of Western music grew from his formal training in both Western classical music and classical Chinese studies. Born in the province of Canton

¹ Xiao's earliest musical writing is dated in 1907; it was published in a journal run by Chinese students in Tokyo, Japan (Xiao, "Yinyue de dingyi").

in southern China, Xiao Youmei as a child studied classical Chinese literature and history under his father, and passed the district exam to become a civil service degree-holder (*xiuca* 秀才) before the Qing-dynasty civil exam system was abolished in 1905. Also as a child, Xiao Youmei developed an interest in Western music; he first learned about organ music in the neighborhood Catholic church by his home in Macau (*ZJX* v.1, p.88). Attending high school and college in Japan, Xiao Youmei received formal training in Western music. For eight years in Japan (1901-1909), he took piano and voice lessons at the Tokyo National School of Music, while studying education as his major at Tokyo Imperial University. After a sojourn of three years in China, in 1912, Xiao Youmei went to Germany to further his studies. While reading education at Leipzig University, Xiao Youmei enrolled in various music courses at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music, which included piano performance, music theory, orchestration, composition, and music history. Having fulfilled course requirements and finished a music dissertation supervised by Hugo Riemann, Xiao Youmei earned his doctoral degree in Musicology in 1916. His dissertation examined the history of the pre-seventeenth-century Chinese orchestra.² In the following four years, he furthered his

² Xiao's dissertation, written in German, was titled "Eine

studies at Berlin University and the Stuttgart Conservatory of Music.

Xiao Youmei returned back to China in 1920, and began teaching at music programs of colleges recently founded in Beijing³ and at the Music Research Society of the National University of Peiping (Beijing) – a study organization formed in 1916.⁴ After joining the Society, Xiao Youmei formalized it into the Institute of Music Transmission and Practice (IMTP) in 1922. Expanding the Institute, Xiao Youmei also established and conducted an orchestra there. The Institute was shut down in 1927, however, by the anti-music warlord of the Beijing region.

Striving to establish a formal educational institution to reform Chinese music, Xiao Youmei moved to Shanghai and managed to open SCM in 1927, amid the turmoil of civil war. This accomplishment was made possible by the government support that Xiao Youmei successfully mobilized, making use of his previous connections with leading political figures of the new Republic of China government. These figures included Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), the first president of

Geschichtliche Untersuchung über das Chinesische Orchester bis zum 17. Jahrhundert" (A historical study of Chinese music orchestras before the seventeenth-century). A translation into Chinese, by Liao Shufu, was published in China in 1990, more than seventy years later.

³ For example, Xiao chaired the music programs at Women's Normal School and the Peking College of Fine Arts.

⁴ The Music Research Society was formed by Cai Yuanpei, the first chancellor of the National University of Peiping. The Society was developed from an ensemble organization.

China, and Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), the erstwhile Minister of Education. Xiao Youmei and Sun were "tongxiang" 同鄉 (lit. shared the same native place); both came from the same hometown near Canton. When Xiao Youmei assisted Sun's underground revolutionary movement earlier in Japan, the two befriended each other. To thank Xiao Youmei's help, Sun helped Xiao Youmei obtain government funding to further his studies in Germany, and upon his return, appointed him as the Secretary of the President's Office. Through Sun, Xiao Youmei became acquainted with Cai. As Xiao Youmei met Cai again while they were both studying at Leipzig University, their friendship grew further (Wang Yong, "Xiao Youmei zai Laibexi," p.69). When Xiao Youmei envisioned the establishment of a national conservatory of music, Cai became his main advocate in the government.⁵ Exercising his influence in the Ministry of Education, Cai helped Xiao Youmei secure funding and institutional support from the Nationalist government to open SCM in 1927. After presiding over the Conservatory for two months, Cai handed the presidency to Xiao Youmei, whose term lasted until he passed away in 1940.

⁵ Cai Yuanpei himself was an education reformist who promoted Westernized aesthetic education (Duiker, "The Aesthetics Philosophy").

As Xiao Youmei promoted Western music at SCM, he superimposed Chinese national identity and Confucian values at the new school. For example, he included the teaching of Chinese music performance at the Conservatory, hiring Zhu Ying (1889-1955) to teach the *pipa*, and Wu Bochao (1903-1949) to teach the *erhu*. Although Xiao Youmei criticized Chinese music as backward, he did not call for its abandonment. Instead, Xiao Youmei encouraged SCM students to learn a Chinese musical instrument besides their major Western musical instruments or vocal studies. With such administrative acts, Xiao Youmei ensured that professional training of Western music at SCM did not totally break from Chinese musical establishments. In his numerous books and journal publications, Xiao Youmei demonstrated compatibility between the Chinese and Western tone systems, and contended that Western art music shared the moral values of Confucian China (See Chapter 5).

Wang Guangqi (1892-1936), a social reformist-turned music scholar, was another Chinese musicologist trained in Germany. Between 1923 and 1937, Wang Guangqi published dozens of musical writings that systematically examined Chinese music history, and compared Chinese and Western music and cultures. He was the most prolific author and essayist among music advocates of his time; his music

monographs collected at the Shanghai Municipal Library in 1935, for example, outnumbered that of any other music advocate.⁶ Wang Guangqi was not affiliated with any educational institutes or music societies in Shanghai, however. Most of his publications were written in Germany, where he pursued his doctoral degree in musicology. Although his untimely death in Bonn in 1936 cut short his contributions, his musical studies represent some of the most revealing translation processes in Chinese musical modernity.

Wang Guangqi's Western music advocacy was based on his classical Chinese studies, his anarchist-inclined vision of social revolution, his local Chinese music experience, and his musicology training at the University of Berlin and the University of Bonn. Wang Guangqi was born into a Qing-dynasty official family in Sichuan Province in southwestern China. Both Wang Guangqi's grandfather and father held civil service degrees in the old civil service system of the Qing dynasty.⁷ His father, who had already passed away by the time Wang Guangqi was born, served in the inner

⁶ According to *Book Classification Catalogue of Shanghai Municipal Library* (1935), the municipal library had collected nine different books by Wang Guangqi, whereas other music advocates had had only one to three books collected.

⁷ Wang Guangqi's grandfather held the provincial degree of *juren* 舉人 and was a poet with fame. Wang Guangqi's father held the district degree of *xiuca*.

cabinet of the Qing imperial government. As a child Wang Guangqi learned classical Chinese poetry from his mother, and studied Chinese classics from a private tutor. He became a long-time admirer of the Tang-dynasty poet Du Fu 杜甫, and was himself a poet in the classical style (Zhou Taixuan, "Wang Guangqi xiansheng," p.20). Growing up in Sichuan, Wang Guangqi played the bamboo flute, and was fond of Kun opera and the regional Sichuan opera (ZJX v.1, p.200).

Wang Guangqi grew to be a revolutionist committed to promoting an independent and strong China through intellectual and social means. Between 1914 and 1918, Wang Guangqi studied law at China University of Beijing, specializing in diplomatic history of China and the West, and international law.⁸ After finishing his degree, in 1919, Wang Guangqi founded the Young China Association, an organization that envisioned young intellectuals as the major force for reviving the Chinese nation.⁹ Young China was possibly the most important student organization in the

⁸ During his college studies, Wang Guangqi financially supported himself by working as the secretary of the Qing Dynasty History Institute, and served as the Beijing correspondent of *Qunbao* 群報, a newspaper based in Sichuan (Wang, *Wang Guangqi lǚ De*, p.1).

⁹ The Young China Association focused on building and mobilizing young intellectuals. According to the declaration statement that Wang Guangqi drafted, Young China summoned Chinese youth to "pursue academic studies, commit to social enterprises, and transform social customs" (Zhou Taixuan, "Wang Guangqi xiansheng," p. 22).

New Culture Movement 新文化運動 (1915-1921) (Dirlik, *Anarchism*, p.191). Leading Young China, Wang Guangqi edited the journal of the Association, and published frequently on Western ideas of revolution, and on his idealist vision of modern China (Levine, *Found Generation*, pp. 43-48). He also worked as journalist for different news agencies, and was well connected to a group of reform-minded intellectuals, social critics, and book publishers, including those from Shanghai.

In 1920, Wang Guangqi went to Germany as the special news journalist of several Chinese news organizations, including *Shenbao*, the largest Chinese newspaper based in Shanghai. Shortly after his arrival in Berlin, Wang Guangqi became inspired by the thriving German musical culture in the city; he was impressed by how common it was for German people to keep musical instruments at home, for example (*ZJX* v.1, p. 200). In 1922, Wang Guangqi began pursuing private studies in Western music and musicology. He soon embraced a musical vision of renewing China, and subsequently undertook intensive studies on the violin, the piano, and music theory. He also attended lectures on comparative musicology at the University of Berlin, and started publishing his comparative studies of Chinese and European music in Shanghai and in Germany. In 1927, Wang

Guangqi enrolled in the musicology program of the University of Berlin. For seven semesters, he worked with Erich von Hornbostel, Carl Stumpf, Arnold Schering, and Curt Sachs at the Berlin Museum of Musical Instruments.

Without financial support, Wang Guangqi earned his living by publishing articles and books. Between 1927 and 1935, Wang Guangqi published hundreds of articles and over thirty books. Half of these publications were comparative studies of Western and Chinese music, and the rest were studies of European social, political, and economic subjects, including translations of German monographs on national security issues, such as Josef Seydel's *Handbuch für den Luftschutz* (A handbook on air defenses; 1931). Most of Wang Guangqi's writings were published in China, especially in Shanghai; about a dozen of them were written in German and published in Germany. In 1932, after being hired to teach Chinese at the Oriental and Asian Studies program of the University of Bonn, Wang Guangqi moved to Bonn. Two years later, in 1934, Wang Guangqi earned his doctoral degree in musicology there, after completing a dissertation titled "Die chinesische klassische Oper" (On

Chinese classical opera), which examined the history of Kun opera and Peking opera between 1530 and 1860.¹⁰

Wang Guangqi contributed to Chinese musical modernity mainly through his music scholarship and criticism. While his advocacy focused on adopting progressive Western musical practices as the universal standard, Wang Guangqi saw the Chinese "national spirit" (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神) as based on the Confucian ideal of "music as counterpart of ritual" (*liyue* 禮樂). Wang Guangqi's emphasis on social manifestations of the Confucian musical ideal echoed his earlier idealist commitment to social revolution. His publications on Western music theory and history were often creatively illustrated with Chinese national images, and his promotion of Western classical music came in tandem with his scholarship of Chinese music history. While Wang Guangqi criticized Chinese music as lagging behind the evolution of Western music, he saw potential for development as well as national values in Chinese musical practices. Residing in Germany, Wang Guangqi was nevertheless a promoter of Chinese music and culture.

¹⁰ The original German version of Wang Guangqi's dissertation circulated in China in the 1930s, and was translated into Chinese by Liao Fushu. But both the dissertation and the manuscript of the translation were lost during WWII. In 1981, the Chinese Music Research Institute obtained a photocopy of the dissertation from the Japanese musicologist Shigeo Kishibe 岸边成雄 (1912-2005), who was acquainted with Wang Guangqi in Germany. Wang Guangqi's dissertation was then translated into Chinese by Jin Jingyan (Wang, "Lun Zhongguo gudian geju," pp. 517-82).

Besides writing about Chinese music for European publishers and academic journals,¹¹ Wang Guangqi arranged a *qin* performance for the German audience at the International Music Exhibition in Frankfurt in 1929 (Zhou, "Wang Guangqi yu xiandai," pp. 74-75).¹² Although Wang Guangqi criticized the *qin* for not undergoing enough evolution in its physical structure, he nonetheless saw it as representative of the Chinese "national spirit."

Different from most other reformers, Wang Guangqi did not return to China to work for any Chinese music institute. His anti-government stance and his liberal leftist agenda caused him to eschew collaboration with the Nationalist government. In 1935, Wang Guangqi declined an offer of employment from President Chiang Kai-shek (ZJX v.1, p. 205) but instead chose to continue his "young China" vision through music scholarship and reform advocacy, which gained respect from music reformers back in China. After an illness took his life in the following year, SCM joined several other social reform societies to hold a memorial

¹¹ Wang Guangqi not only wrote about Chinese music in German publications, but also in *Encyclopedia Britannica* and *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Wang, *Wang Guangqi lü De*, p. 686).

¹² The *qin* performance was made possible after Wang Guangqi successfully persuaded his friend, Ling Chunsheng 凌純聲, to practice the *qin* again. Ling, an anthropology student at Paris, was reluctant to give the performance at first.

service for him, honoring his life-long dedication to the musical, cultural, and political renewal of China.

Yuen Ren Chao (1892-1982), a scientist and linguist by profession, was an influential Chinese art song composer who advocated the creation of a Chinese-style functional harmony. Chao's *Songs for Contemporary China*, published in Shanghai in 1928, was the first published collection of Chinese art songs by a single composer. In the preface, Chao provocatively argued that "China is not a museum," and should adopt progressive Western musical practices to embrace the current international standard.¹³ Urging his Chinese audience to adopt Western musical instruments and functional harmony, he experimented with the development of Chinese-style harmonies. Between 1928 and 1931, Chao published articles in Shanghai and Beijing to explain and promote his song style. His songs and his translated Chinese song style were well received at SCM. Chao was praised by Xiao Youmei as "China's Schubert," and his songs were sung by vocal majors at the national conservatory.

Chao's musical creativity and advocacy were nurtured by his experience in local Chinese music, his studies of classical Chinese, and his formal Western musical training in the United States. Chao grew up in Changshou, located in

¹³ My 1998 conference paper on Chao examines in detail his arguments in the preface (Cheung, "'China is Not a Museum'").

Jiangsu Province near Shanghai. His father's side of the family served as prominent government officials in the Qing dynasty for generations.¹⁴ As a child, Chao learned about classical poetry from his mother and received private schooling in classical Chinese studies, before enrolling in a modern school. Both his parents were fond of Kun opera music, and often performed together at home. Although they passed away when Chao was only eleven years old, their musical energies stayed with Chao, shaping his fondness for creating and playing music.

Chao was exposed to Western music during his high school studies, at Jiangnan Advanced School in Nanjing. As he recalled, he learned to sing "Home Sweet Home" and "Auld Lang Syne" from his American teacher's wife, who accompanied their singing on the piano (Chao, *Zaonian zizhuan*, p. 78). In 1909, Chao finished his high school education, and won a Boxer Indemnity Fellowship¹⁵ to go to the United States to study at Cornell University as a Mathematics major. After completing his college studies in 1914, Chao went to Harvard University to pursue graduate studies in philosophy, and earned his doctorate in 1918.

¹⁴ Chao's lineage was traced to the first emperor of the Song dynasty (Chao, *Zaonian zizhuan*, p. 2).

¹⁵ The Boxer Indemnity Fellowship was founded by the United States as reimbursement of the treaty indemnity that China was forced to pay after the Boxer Uprising in 1900.

During his years at Cornell and Harvard, Chao developed strong interests in Western classical music; he took formal music training and attended music courses. At Cornell, Chao had voice lessons and studied the piano. He joined the university choir, and conducted a Chinese student choral group in Ithaca. At Harvard, Chao attended music courses on harmony, counterpoint, and composition, learning from music professors such as E. B. Hill and W. R. Spaulding (Pian, "My Father's Musical Life," p. 67).

Between 1918 and 1921, Chao went to Chicago and Berkeley as a visiting researcher, taught at Cornell University, and briefly returned to China to teach at Tsinghua University in Beijing. In 1921, Chao returned to Harvard. While teaching as an instructor in Philosophy and Chinese, Chao began to study linguistics and develop research interests in Chinese linguistics. Four years later, in 1925, Chao went back to Tsinghua University in China, teaching Physics and Mathematics. Then, from 1928 to 1938, Chao, as a Fellow of the Academia Sinica in China, conducted field work on Chinese dialects, beginning his formal research in Chinese language and linguistics. Afterward, Chao left China, and taught at different

universities in the United States.¹⁶ He retired in 1962, after having taught Chinese language and linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley for fifteen years.

Traveling back and forth between China and the United States between 1914 and 1938, Chao, a scientist and later linguist by profession, composed over a hundred songs, and about two dozens of instrumental pieces, including harmonization of Chinese tunes for the piano. Chao's earliest harmonization piece, *Variation on Old Eight Beat* (*Lao baban yu Xiangjiang lang* 老八板與湘江浪), was arranged for the Cornell University organist J. T. Quarles – also one of his piano teachers – to perform in an organ recital in 1914 (Chao, *Zaonian zizhuan*, p. 95; *Zhao Yuanren zuopin*, p. 243). From 1915 to 1917, two of Chao's early short piano pieces were published in *Science*, a journal founded by Chinese students who were studying in the United States. Between 1922 and 1927, Chao composed music for a group of modern Chinese poems (*xinshi* 新詩), creating modern songs that became known as Chinese art songs. They were collected in *Song*, published in Shanghai in 1928. From 1928 to 1934, Chao wrote numerous family songs for his daughters at home. His interests in children's and educational songs led to

¹⁶ From 1938 to 1939, Chao taught at the University of Hawaii; his teaching included a course on Chinese music. Between 1939 and 1947, he taught at Yale University, then Harvard again.

his publication of *Children's Festival Songs* (*Ertong jie gegu ji* 兒童節歌曲集) in 1934. Chao's other songs included functional songs, anti-war songs, and songs that reflected social discontent, such as the theme song he composed for the sound film *City Scene* in 1935.

Chao's modern songs, especially art songs, were collaborations with poets and intellectuals in the modern Chinese language movement, which promoted vernacular Chinese to replace classical Chinese as the primary language medium for intellectual and literary communication, including poetry. The vernacular language movement was a counterpart of the Westernized music reform movement. While Chao pioneered in composing music for modern poetry with Western functional harmony and musical instruments, he created a Chinese musical style that coordinated music with the linguistic tones of the Chinese texts, and advocated a Chinese national character in music. His experimentation with "Chinese-style" harmony was noted by reformers, especially Huang Zi, who would use it in his music theory teaching at SCM (He, "Xu," p. 1).¹⁷

Huang Zi (1904-1938) was an influential music educator, song composer, essayist, and administrator in Chinese

¹⁷ As He Luting recalled, Huang Zi used Chao's music as teaching materials for functional harmony (He, "Xu Zhiheng," p. 1).

musical modernity. From 1930 to his sudden death in 1938, Huang Zi taught music theory and composition at SCM, raising a young generation of music professionals who would become leaders in their fields. Between 1930 and 1936, Huang Zi published articles in music magazines and newspapers to promote Western music to Chinese readers. He also created authoritative music teaching materials, including sixty-nine originally composed songs, and outlines of music history in the West and China. While Huang Zi was less vocal than Chao in advocating Chinese-style harmony, he impressed his SCM students as a patriot, and as an enthusiast for classical Chinese poetry, composing music for numerous classical poems. Although his contribution to Chinese musical modernity was cut short with his early death, Huang Zi's publications and songs transmitted his creative perspectives on Chinese musical translation.

Huang Zi's advocacy of Western music grew from his classical Chinese learning, his revolutionist family upbringing, and his school song experience. Huang Zi was born in the large household of a former Qing dynasty high official in Chuansha, located in the present Pudong area of Shanghai. Huang Zi's family lived in the huge residential complex of "Neishidi" 内史第, which was established by his

grandfather in the nineteenth century. With a rich collection of classical Chinese publications in the complex, Huang Zi as a child studied classical Chinese literature in general and developed a life-long fondness for classical Chinese poetry in particular. His parents were both reform-minded intellectuals who served the local community, and his uncle, Huang Yanpei 黄炎培, was a revolutionary against the Qing dynasty. Huang Zi as a child was familiar with modern school songs, which his mother, a founder of a local girls' school, frequently sang to him at home.¹⁸ Many of the songs were derived from European folksongs, which Huang Zi learned not as foreign music, but as music that accompanied his pre-school and school years.

Huang Zi began performing and learning Western music at Qinghua High School, which he attended from 1916 to 1924. He was a clarinetist in the school brass band and orchestra, a tenor in the school choir, and, beginning in 1921, studied functional harmony and the piano privately. Huang Zi gave his first piano solo performance at school in 1923 (ZJX v.1, p.533).

In 1924, winning a Boxer Indemnity Fellowship, Huang Zi went to Oberlin College as a Psychology major. He wanted

¹⁸ Huang Zi recalled that his mother loved to sing the songs collected in new school-song booklets that his father, a local administrator, bought for him (Huang, "Qianyan," ZJX v.1, p. 531).

to study music as his major, but the Fellowship did not support music degrees. Managing to complete the degree in Psychology in two years' time, before the Fellowship term ended, Huang Zi began studying music theory and composition at Oberlin in 1926, and soon transferred to Yale University, where he complete his music degree in 1929. His graduation composition, *In Memoriam* (*Huaijiu qu* 懷舊曲), was an orchestral work in the romantic style of the mid-nineteenth century, a work that Huang Zi dedicated to his late lover.

Returning back to Shanghai in 1929, Huang Zi became connected to the network of music and art reformers in the city. He taught music at Shanghai University, and gave a music lecture at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. In the following year, he was hired by SCM as the provost and the chief faculty member in music theory and composition. During Huang Zi's eight years at SCM, from 1930 to 1938, he taught a variety of courses on functional harmony, counterpoint, fugue, musical form, orchestration, composition, and later, music history.

Huang Zi soon established himself as distinguished music educator and composer in the semi-colonial public sphere of Shanghai. In 1934, the Education Ministry of the Chinese Municipality invited Huang Zi to organize a weekly radio concert program with SCM, and to edit its

corresponding musical discussion in *New Evening News* (*Xinye bao* 新夜報). Huang Zi was also recognized by the colonial institutions of the International Settlement. In 1930, SMO performed Huang Zi's *In Memoriam*, the first Chinese-composed symphonic work featured by the colonial orchestra. In 1932, Huang Zi was invited to serve as a Chinese representative on the music committee of the Shanghai Municipal Council, the administrative organ of the International Settlement. Helping his students to take advantage of his connections, Huang Zi obtained permission from SMO for SCM students to observe SMO rehearsals.

Huang Zi was also patriotic and politically active. In 1931, as the Japanese began invading north-east China, Huang Zi exhorted SCM students to collect donations for the Chinese army, and to show their support by performing national salvation songs that he composed. His *Patriotic Choral Songs* (*Aiguo hechang gequ ji* 愛國合唱歌曲集), a collection of these compositions, was published in Shanghai in 1934.

Between 1932 and 1935, Huang Zi composed several dozens of songs, which were published in *Teaching Guides for Reviving Junior High School Music Education* (*Fuxing chuji zhongxue yinyue jiaoke shu* 復興初級中學音樂教科書), a

series of music educational material that Huang Zi co-edited with a committee at the Commercial Press. About half of Huang Zi's songs in the series became the core vocal repertoire in the school music curriculum, whereas the other half comprised Chinese cantata and art songs, which SCM students and Chinese faculty performed regularly. In 1935, Huang Zi also composed an orchestral work, *Fantasia of City Scenes*, for the film *City Scenes*. He also wrote the theme song for the film *Song of China* in that year. Except for a few works, Huang Zi did not seek to invoke "Chinese" features in his music. His works, however, were often inspired by classical Chinese poetry. The title and text of his monumental cantata *Song of Everlasting Remorse* (1932-33), for example, was based on, and named after, his favorite Tang-dynasty poem, "Changhen ge" 長恨歌 by Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846).

Between 1932 and 1935, Huang Zi published journal articles on various subjects concerning Western classical music. Writing for the new school music curriculum in *Teaching Guides*, Huang Zi outlined music history and provided program notes on musical works. His promotion of Western music, however, was often illustrated with classical Chinese poetry. As recalled by one of his former students, Liao Fushu (1907-2002), Huang Zi liked to use

Tang and Song poetry to illustrate meanings of Western classical music (Liao, *Yueyuan Tanwang*, p. 85). In 1937, Huang Zi started compiling a book on Chinese music history, culling musical references from classical literature and poetry. His premature death in 1938, however, left the project uncompleted.

One of Huang Zi's SCM students who would become a reformer giant was He Luting (1903-1999), a member of the underground Chinese Communist Party. He Luting was a leftist critic, school music teacher, composer, film music director, and author. While studying at SCM, he published journal articles criticizing Chinese music and popular music. He Luting strongly advocated Western music, using quite extreme rhetoric, and created an acclaimed Chinese national style on the piano. His piano composition *Buffalo Boy's Flute (Mutong duandi)* won the first prize of the Chinese-style composition contest held by SCM in 1934. Afterward, for three years, He Luting became a major music director and theme song writer in the young sound film industry in Shanghai, creating "metropolitan sounds" that were stylistically diverse, and bringing musicians of rival camps together to participate in collaborative projects. After the Communists took over China in 1949, He Luting served as the SCM president for over two decades; excluding

the decade of the Cultural Revolution, his presidency ran until his retirement in 1984.

He Luting's promotion of Western music and his Chinese musical stylistics grew from his knowledge of local Chinese music, his revolutionist passion, and his Western music training inside China. He Luting was born to a rural family in Hunan Province, in southern China. He received education from a local tutor before going to a modern school. As a child, He Luting was fond of folksongs, Chinese instrumental music, and Chinese opera. He was exposed to organ music in a local elementary school (1912-1918). Finishing elementary school, He Luting gained experience working with industrial machines while studying at a technical school (1918-1919), an experience that shaped his fascination with modern machinery. After the technical school was closed, He Luting transferred to a local junior high school, and graduated from there in 1921. Afterward, He Luting became an elementary school teacher, teaching music and painting while looking for chances to receive further education.

In 1923, He Luting was admitted to Yueyun School of Arts 岳雲藝術學校 in Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan. At Yueyun, between 1923 and 1925, he received formal training in Western music theory and piano and violin

performance. His music teachers were music graduates from Shanghai.¹⁹ Learning Western music and theory, He Luting did not abandon his interests in Chinese music. He organized a *sizhu* music study club, giving regular performances on different Chinese musical instruments, including the *huqin*, *sanxian*, *yueqin*, and *dizi*. He Luting was also enthusiastic about Peking opera; it is reported that he once sang in a dream an aria of the play *Wu Family Hillside* (*Wujia po* 武家坡) (*ZJX* v.1, p. 486).

After graduating from Yueyun, He Luting stayed at the school to teach music and arts for a year. Then in the following year, in 1926, He Luting returned to his hometown of Changsha to lead social protests for factory workers, and subsequently became a member of the Chinese Communist Party. For the next three years (1926-1929), He Luting traveled among cities and villages to participate in revolutionary movements, until he was caught by the Nationalist government in 1929, and kept in jail for a year. Coming out of jail, He Luting taught music in an elementary school in Shanghai, and wrote books on children and music. In 1931, he was admitted to SCM as a part-time student. While taking courses on music theory, composition, and

¹⁹ They included Qiu Wangxiang 邱望湘 (music theory), Zheng Qinian 鄭其年 (piano, violin), and Chen Xiaokong 陳嘯空 (Shi, *He Luting zhuan*, p. 13).

piano performance at SCM, He Luting continued to work as a school music teacher to support himself. As He Luting struggled to pursue his musical studies at SCM, he received personal help and encouragement from Huang Zi, whom he regarded as an inspiring mentor.

In 1934, He Luting's *Buffalo Boy's Flute* won the first prize of the SCM piano composition contest, which was sponsored by the visiting Russian composer Alexander Tcherepnin, who aspired to encourage Chinese music students to create their own national music. He Luting creatively combined Western counterpoint with Chinese melodic characteristics in *Buffalo*. The award helped He Luting secure recognition in the musical network of Shanghai. His translation of Ebenezer Prout's *Harmony* (1903) was immediately accepted by a publisher that had earlier rejected it. Also, he was offered the music directorship for numerous sound film productions in the following three years (1934-1937). He Luting composed at least a dozen film songs, and arranged instrumental music for no less than twenty films. Episodes of his instrumental piece *Great World* (*Da shijie*), for example, were used in *Street Angel* (1937) and *Crossroads* (1937).

During his student years at SCM, He Luting directed his revolutionist energies to music advocacy and creation.

Fascinated by modern machines, he likened traditional Chinese musical instruments to horse-carts and Western instruments to aircraft to argue for the need of replacing the former with the latter. Despite such extreme rhetoric, however, He Luting never totally abandoned Chinese music. He kept folksong elements in his works, contending that they represented Chinese national essence (He, "Zhongguo yinyue jie," p. 6), and would use Chinese musical instruments to accompany some of his songs, such as "Song of the Seasons," a song in the film *Street Angel* (1937).

The films He Luting musically directed were leftist productions that criticized social problems. The diverse story-lines of these films caused him to employ various kinds of musical styles, ranging from that of the Chinese folk song, school song, revolutionary song, Western art song, Western classical music, to the American musical. Through film music directorship, He Luting brought different musicians of the Shanghai network together to collaborate in unprecedented ways.

Fu Lei (1908-1966) was a critic, translator, essayist, and expert of Western – especially French – art and literature, including music. He advocated Western classical music by applying Chinese art perspectives, which revealed complex translation processes in Chinese musical modernity.

Fu Lei artistically nurtured his son Fu Cong 傅聰 (a.k.a., Fou Ts'ong; b. 1934), an internationally renowned pianist, with a strict and critique-emphasized upbringing (Kraus, *Pianos and Politics*, pp. 73-75), hiring for Fu Cong the SMO conductor, Mario Paci, as his piano teacher when his son was only at the age of four. After the Communists took over China, Fu Lei, for a while, continued to be an active proponent of Western arts and literature. But he soon became the target of anti-rightist movements. In 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Fu Lei and his wife ended their lives together at home.

Fu Lei's radical advocacy of Western classical music not only came from his formal training in Western art and literature, but also his learning of classical Chinese literature and painting. His rebellious personal character also shaped his provocative views. Fu Lei was born in Nanhui, a county south of Shanghai. His father, a modern school teacher who inherited considerable land from the family, lost most of his family property due to malicious prosecutions (Jin, *Fu Lei zhuan*, pp. 2-3). At the time when Fu Lei was four years old, his father died shortly after his release from jail. His widowed mother then assumed a strict fatherly role to raise her only son, managing to provide him with a good education despite her own

illiteracy. Fu Lei studied classical Chinese from the family accountant for four years (pp. 8-9), while studying modern school subjects from another private teacher hired by his mother. Fu Lei first entered elementary school at the age of 11 (1919), but, in two years' time, he was admitted to Xuhui Catholic School 徐匯公學 in Shanghai, a renowned junior high school that offered French lessons. Despite his academic talents, Fu Lei was rebellious and critical, offending authority figures of different schools. His criticism of Xuhui's religious practices, for example, got him evicted in 1924. Fu Lei then transferred to another high school (Great Unity High School 大同大學附屬中學) in Shanghai, but his participation in the May 30th anti-colonial student protest almost made the school board hand him over to the Shanghai Municipal Police in 1925. Fu Lei withdrew from that high school in 1926, then enrolled at Chizhi University 持志大學. After finishing his freshman year, Fu Lei went to Paris to pursue a college education there.

Between 1928 and 1931, Fu Lei studied art and literature at the University of Paris. He became acquainted with a group of sojourning Chinese painters and artists in France, including Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994), founder of the Shanghai College of Fine Arts (SMFA) in Shanghai in

1922. Fu Lei also became an admirer, then translator, of Roman Rolland (1866-1944), a French romantic and idealist literary figure.²⁰

Returning to Shanghai in 1931, Fu Lei was hired by Liu Haisu to teach Western art history and French at SMFA. He left the College in 1933, however, in order to concentrate on translating French literature, editing art journals, writing criticism for newspaper columns, organizing art exhibits with his friends, and later, raising his pianist son, who was born in 1934.

Although Fu Lei criticized the Chinese nation as "lacking musical sense" (Fu, "Zhongguo yinyue," p. 98), and regarded Western functional harmony and musical instruments as necessary for Chinese musical development, he mediated Western music with a Chineseness projected from classical Chinese art.

Feng Zikai (1898-1975) advocated Western music as an educator, author, and translator. He not only published for adult general readers, but also children and youth, with pictorial illustrations in a style derived from his characteristic lyrical cartoons (*manhua* 漫畫), a modern

²⁰ Fu Lei published the first-volume of his translation of Rolland's ten-volume *Jean-Christophe*, a novel on a lofty, struggling artist who mirrored Beethoven's life, in 1937.

genre developed from Chinese and Japanese ink-and-brush sketches (Barme, *An Artistic Exile*).

Feng Zikai's promotion of Western music grew from his musical studies in China and Japan, and from his classical Chinese learning and childhood musical experiences at home. He was born in the town of Shimenwan, located in Zhejiang Province near Shanghai. For a year or so, in 1905 and 1906, as a child, Feng Zikai studied classical Chinese with his father, a provincial exam degree holder (*juren*) in the Qing dynasty civil exam system, who passed away in 1906. Feng Zikai's grandmother, who had high regard for education, was fond of Kun opera – both the singing and reading of playscripts. Feng Zikai's childhood was filled with Kun opera singing and with performances by professionals that his grandmother brought into their home to perform. Feng Zikai first encountered the Western upright organ in elementary school, in the music room where he was taught to sing modern Chinese school songs. In 1914, having finished four years' of elementary education, Feng Zikai studied at the Zhejiang No. 1 Normal School 浙江第一師範學校 in Hangzhou, a school taught by influential modern intellectuals such as Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936). For five years, Feng Zikai studied Western fine arts and music at Zhejiang No. 1, receiving

great inspiration from his life-long mentor Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942), a pioneering music educator, author, songwriter, dramatist, and artist who had recently returned from his studies in Japan.²¹

In 1919, having graduated from Zhejiang No. 1, Feng Zikai co-founded the Shanghai Teachers Training College 上海師範專科學校, teaching fine arts classes there.²² Two years later, in 1921, Feng Zikai went to travel and study in Japan. For ten months, Feng Zikai studied modern Western and Japanese painting with an art research group, studied the violin and Western classical music with a music research group and a Japanese tutor (ZJX v.1, p. 347).

Feng Zikai returned to Shanghai at the end of 1921. He resumed teaching at Teachers Training College, expanding his courses to include Western music. Feng Zikai also taught Western art at different schools and colleges in the vicinity, including Li Da Academy 上海立達學園. Meanwhile, Feng Zikai translated numerous Japanese musical publications, including works by Horiuchi Keizo 堀內敬三, and

²¹ Li made various contributions to Chinese musical modernity. For example, he published *Small Magazine of Music* (*Yinyue xiao zazhi* 音樂小雜誌), arguably the first modern Chinese music journal, in Japan in 1906. Li became a Buddhist monk in 1918, however, and after that retreated from mundane participation in modernity projects.

²² Feng Zikai co-founded the Teachers Training College with his classmates Liu Zhiping 劉質平 and Wu Mengfei 吳夢飛.

wrote about the rudiments of Western music theory. He liked to create musical stories to educate young children. Some of his publications were designed for school music teaching, most of which were published by Kaiming Books 開明書店, a leading educational publishing house where Feng Zikai worked as the graphic designer in 1926, and served on the editorial board in 1929. Apart from promoting Western music, Feng Zikai also created modern lyrical cartoons that illustrated Chinese poetry with ink-and-brush painting; his first collection was published in 1925. Many musical publications from Kaiming Books were illustrated by his sketches and paintings. His musical advocacy, resonating with his modern paintings, often illustrated Western musical concepts with Chinese historical material.

One of Feng Zikai's music students was Miao Tianrui (b. 1908), who would become a prominent Western music scholar, editor of Chinese music dictionaries, and conservatory administrator after the Communists took power in 1949. In the 1930s, Miao Tianrui was a music teacher, essayist, journal editor, performer, and translator of musical publications from Japan and the West. One of Miao Tianrui's earliest published translations was a Chinese music history book based on Tanabe Hisao's *On Asiatic Music* (1930). Although this publication of Miao Tianrui – *Historical*

Words on Chinese Music History (1933) – is little known in contemporary Chinese music scholarship, it shows the close but complex relationship between Chinese and Japanese musical modernities in the 1930s.

Miao Tianrui's reformist vision of Chinese music grew from his involvement with Chinese music of his hometown, and his formal training in Western music inside China. Miao Tianrui was born in Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province. As a child, Miao Tianrui was curious about religious ceremonial music played by Buddhist and Daoist monks, especially the sound of their bowed fiddle,²³ and learned to sing Chinese tune-types from them. Miao Tianrui also played with different Chinese musical instruments collected by his family. In 1919, at the age of 11, Miao Tianrui finished elementary school and went to study at a county high school, where he met the Peking opera aficionado Zheng Jianxi 鄭劍西, from whom Miao Tianrui learned to play Peking opera tunes on the *huqin*. Around this time, Miao Tianrui also began taking organ lessons outside school. Four years later (1924), graduating from his high school, Miao Tianrui moved to Shanghai to pursue musical studies at Teachers Training College.

²³ Interview with Miao Tianrui in Beijing, August 17, 2004.

Living in Shanghai, Miao Tianrui attended the weekly SMO concert, which broadened his understanding of Western symphonic music. Although Miao Tianrui could not afford the expensive concert tickets, he managed to find a back seat in the concert venue – the Shanghai Municipal Town Hall – that was free of charge. At the Teachers Training College, Miao Tianrui found his mentor Feng Zikai, who taught him not only musical knowledge but also the Japanese language, which allowed him to make some money by translating Japanese books. While learning Western music at the Teachers Training College, Miao Tianrui continued to pursue his interests in performing Chinese music there. He joined the Chinese ensemble music society organized by the students, and played the *hugin* in the opera society.

After three years of formal Western music training at Teachers Training College, Miao Tianrui began teaching music at several schools in Shanghai in 1927. Meanwhile, he published translations and edited books for school music teaching. Between 1930 and 1932, he left Shanghai to teach music theory and the piano at Wuchang Arts College 武昌藝術學院, in Wuchang, in Hubei Province. In the following year (1933), Miao Tianrui translated, and published, several Japanese and British music publications, including Tanabe's *On Asiatic Music*. Then, from 1933 to 1938, he joined the

Music Education Promotion Committee 音樂教育促進委員會 of Jiangxi Province, working as a pianist and the editor of the Committee's journal *Music Education* (*Yinyue jiaoyu* 音樂教育). There, Miao Tianrui became acquainted with Communist musicians and intellectuals, and began supporting their movements with music. After the Communists took power, Miao Tianrui continued translating foreign studies, while authoring studies on music theory, and assuming administrative positions. In 1958, for example, he became the president of the Tianjin Conservatory of Music 天津音樂學院.

When I interviewed Miao Tianrui in 2004, he confided in me that it was extremely difficult for piano graduates from Teachers Training College to find a job in Shanghai. The musical institution that offered the most, and best, openings for pianists was the movie theatre, but these positions were always filled by Russian émigrés. His difficulties in finding a job playing the piano drove Miao Tianrui to launch a career in translating foreign musical studies, especially Japanese publications, which at that time were common musical materials to learn.

4.2 Music Defenders

Competing against music reformers, defenders advocated the use of Chinese musical instruments and practices to embrace modernity. They included Liu Tianhua, Zheng Jinwen, Liu Raozhang, Zha Fuxi, Xu Zhiheng, and Mei Lanfang. Their cultural-musical backgrounds and translation efforts are as follows.

Liu Tianhua (1895-1932) defended Chinese music as a performer, composer, educator, fieldworker, and institution organizer. Liu Tianhua was the founder of the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Music 國樂改進社 in Beijing, and the first intellectual who studied with various classical and folk musicians with a modernist vision. His *erhu* compositions, which were played and taught in Shanghai by his students, gave a new, refined identity to the *erhu*, which had been despised as beggar's instrument, and did not have an established solo repertoire.

Liu Tianhua's defensive music advocacy grew from his Western music learning and his passion for Chinese music. His intellectual "family" played a role in shaping his vision of modernity. Liu Tianhua was born in Jiangyin, in Jiangsu Province, an area close to Shanghai. His father was a modern school educationist who held the district degree of *xiuca*i in the Qing dynasty civil exam system. As a young

child, Liu Tianhua studied in his father's school, which taught both classical Chinese and modern subjects. His elder brother, Liu Fu (1891-1934; pseudonym Liu Bannong), who grew up in this same intellectual environment, would become a modern poet and literary reformer of Chinese modernity. In Changzhou High School (1909-1911), Liu Tianhua played in the school band as a trumpeter and piccoloist, while frequently attending Kun opera performances organized by his school teacher Tong Fei, a music defender and author.²⁴ At the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty, Liu Tianhua joined a local youth military band as a trumpeter. In 1912, he moved to Shanghai to work for the music band of the Kaiming Drama Troupe 開明劇社, where he, for two years, obtained some experience with the piano and the violin. After the drama troupe was disbanded in 1914, Liu Tianhua returned to his home town, teaching music in elementary schools.

Encountering more local Chinese music, Liu Tianhua formed new comparisons between Chinese and Western music. He found that Chinese music was "more amicable and easier to understand" (Liu, *Liu Tianhua quanji*, p. 219). Liu

²⁴ Tong was the author of *Searching for the Origins of Chinese Music* (*Zhongyue xunyuan* 中樂尋源).

Tianhua also began to value Chinese music as having potential socio-political significance in modern China, despite its low esteem in the society. In 1915, while teaching at his *alma mater* in Changzhou, Liu Tianhua organized a military band and a *sizhu* ensemble in the school. In the following five years, Liu Tianhua learned to perform various Chinese musical instruments from different masters. He had private lessons on the *erhu* and *pipa* from Zhou Shaomei 周少梅 (1885-1938), a local *sizhu* master; studied the classical solo *pipa* with Shen Zhaozhou in Nanjing; and learned to play the *qin* from Yu Yongchun 郁詠春 and a master in the Henan province. During these years, Liu Tianhua composed his early *erhu* solo pieces. In 1921, he organized a summer class of Chinese music in his hometown, teaching his new *erhu* pieces.

Beginning from 1922, Liu Tianhua joined the IMTP at the National University of Peiping, teaching the *erhu* and *pipa*. While IMTP promoted Western music with faculty members such as Xiao Youmei, it also offered Chinese music classes. With musical resources at IMTP and in Beijing, Liu Tianhua continued to expand his musical learning, both Chinese and Western music. He not only sang Kun opera arias and studied local folk music, but he also took private violin lessons from his Russian colleague Tonoff, with the

violin that his brother Liu Fu bought for him in Europe. Liu Fu was pursuing his doctoral studies in linguistics from the University of Paris, and became a professor in Chinese language and linguistics at the National University of Peiping in 1925. Liu Tianhua also studied functional harmony with Bliss Wiant (1895-1975), an American music professor and missionary.²⁵ His new experiences with Western music in Beijing gave Liu Tianhua new compositional inspirations. His *pipa* solo composition *Song and Dance* (*Gewu yin* 歌舞引; 1925), for example, was based on his impression of a Western opera performance he recently attended there. The simulating environment and network also encouraged Liu Tianhua to establish the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Music (1927), which aimed at finding new ways to “blend and accommodate” the Western music tide (Liu, “Wo duiyu benshe”). In 1929, Liu Tianhua included the violin in his teaching in the music department of the National University of Peiping (originally IMTP).

Through his musicianship, composition, and directorship, Liu Tianhua became a defender authority with regard to bridging the gulf between Chinese and Western music. In 1929, Liu Tianhua was asked to transcribe, in

²⁵ For a biography of Bliss Wiant, see Allen Artz Wiant’s *A New Song for China* (2003).

staff notation, Peking opera arias to be sung by Mei Lanfang (1894-1961) for the performance tour Mei and his troupe were about to undertake in the United States; the staff transcription was intended to help the American audience understand Peking opera music. Liu Tianhua's advocacy gradually changed the negative evaluation of Peking opera among reformers, especially his brother Liu Fu, who revised his former rejection of Peking opera by affirming its value in his preface to Liu Tianhua's transcriptions (Liu Fu, "Liu xu"). Just as his plans for advancing Chinese music were taking a new turn, however, Liu Tianhua died suddenly in 1932, from scarlet fever that he contracted when conducting musical fieldwork in Beijing.

Zheng Jinwen (1872-1935), a literati-turned musical activist, was a performer, educator, author, and director of ancient Chinese music reconstruction and collection. He was the founder of Great Unity Music Society, the major defensive Chinese music institution in Shanghai. Zheng Jinwen's advocacy was based on his literati background, his musicianship of different kinds of Chinese music, and his basic understanding of the Western musical system. He was born to a gentry family in Jiangyin, the same town where Liu was born. Zheng Jinwen grew up studying Chinese classics, and was fluent in playing *sizhu* music since the

age of 12 (Zheng, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*). In 1888, Zheng Jinwen took the civil service exam that would allow him to study at the Imperial Academy. However, after returning home from the exam, Zheng Jinwen began concentrating on musical learning. He studied the *qin* with Tang Jingxun 唐敬洵, and began examining the culture of "civilized music" (*yayue* 雅樂) in Chinese history. In 1902, Zheng Jinwen became the assistant instructor of ceremonial music in the local Confucian Temple, where he became critical of the poor conditions and sound qualities of the musical instruments there (*ZJX* v.1, p. 23).

In around 1915, Zheng Jinwen was hired to be the instructor of "ancient music" at the Hardoon University, a private college run by the Jewish tycoon Silas Aaron Hardoon and his French-Chinese wife in Shanghai. While collecting ancient Chinese musical instruments and reconstructing Confucian rituals at the University (Lu, *Shanghai daban*, pp. 238-39), Zheng Jinwen learned about the Western scale and tuning system, which he found shared similarities with the Chinese ones. He also attended lectures given by prominent political reformers, including Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), whose Confucian-based utopian vision of "great unity" (*datong* 大同) greatly

impressed him. He saw the similarities between Chinese and Western tone systems as musical manifestations of the "great unity," and decided to promote Chinese music as an equal participant as the utopia unfolded. To implement his new vision, in 1921, he changed the name of his Qin and Se Music Club, which was founded in the previous year, to Great Unity Music Society. Great Unity was supported by Zheng Jinwen's cousin Zheng Lisan, a respected gentry-official who lobbied on his cousin's behalf to obtain sponsorship from social dignities, officials, and educationists for him.

Promoting Chinese music through Great Unity, Zheng Jinwen recruited master musicians of the *pipa*, *sizhu*, Kun opera, and Peking opera as instructors. Their teachings nurtured a new generation of Chinese music performers, aficionados, and defenders. Great Unity also networked with other ensembles, including regional ensembles of Guangdong music and Chaozhou music in Shanghai. Zheng Jinwen himself taught the *qin*, and reconstructed ancient music for the Great Unity Orchestra to perform. To further promote Chinese music and to legitimize his reconstruction efforts, Zheng Jinwen privately published his monograph *Chinese Music History* in 1928.

In the 1930s, Great Unity Orchestra's performances of reconstructed music became the target of reformers' criticisms against Chinese music. As the rivalry between defenders and reformers grew deeper in that decade, Great Unity grew more significant in its role of maintaining the influence of defenders in Shanghai, which continued even after Zheng Jinwen passed away in 1935.

Liu Raozhang (1905-1996), an influential member of Great Unity in the 1920s and early 1930s, defended Chinese music as a new-style *sizhu* arranger, musician, and teacher. His ensemble work *An Evening of Spring River and Flowery Moon* (hereafter, *Spring River*) helped popularize Great Unity. Although Liu Raozhang left Great Unity after eleven years' of membership, and subsequently established a music studio that performed Western symphonic music, *Spring River* led a life of its own, becoming a "traditional" instrumental classic in Chinese modernity.

Liu Raozhang's defender creativity grew from his Chinese musicianship and Western music learning. He was born in Ningbo, in Zhejiang Province. As a child, Liu Raozhang learned to play different kinds of Chinese musical instruments, including the *pipa*, *erhu*, *xiao*, and *ruan* (moon-shaped lute), from his father, a *sizhu* lover who was a businessman by profession. At the age of 12 (1916), Liu

Raozhang went to Shanghai to pursue a high school education, studying at Xuhui Catholic School, the same school that Fu Lei would come to study at a few years later. There, Liu Raozhang became interested in Western classical music. Taking formal lessons from Father C. Vanara, the school chancellor and missionary, he learned to play the piano, violin, and cello. Studying Western music did not diminish Liu Raozhang's interest in Chinese music, however. After his high school studies, in 1923, Liu Raozhang joined Great Unity, an institution that he knew about by reading Zheng Jinwen's newspaper article. Shortly afterward, Liu Raozhang began learning to play the *pipa* from the *pipa* solo master at Great Unity, Wang Yuting (1872-1951).

After attending a performance of Zheng Jinwen's reconstructed ancient music, which was not well received, Liu Raozhang aspired to create a different kind of new Chinese ensemble music, one that would be easier to appreciate. Integrating the popular *sizhu* style with a Western orchestral style, Liu Raozhang arranged new ensemble music based on classical *pipa* solo tunes. His first creation, *Spring River*, arranged in 1925, became a signature ensemble work of Great Unity. In that year, Liu Raozhang also taught the subject of "vernacular music" at Shanghai Teachers Training College, and later at New China

Academy of Arts. Meanwhile, Liu Raozhang also instructed college student *sizhu* societies, including the one at Jiaotong University 交通大學. Two years later, in 1927, Liu Raozhang arranged another ensemble piece, *The Moon is High* (*Yue'er gao* 月兒高) (Liu and Chen, "Guqu chu xinyun").

Due to a dispute with Zheng Jinwen over the issue of staff notation in 1931 (Liu and Chen, "Liu Raozhang huiyi lu"), Liu Raozhang left Great Unity, and shifted his focus to promoting Western music. He opened his own Chinese-Western Music Studio 中西音樂研究室 in 1932, gathering members to practice, under his baton, pieces from the Western symphonic repertoire such as Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*. Liu Raozhang also trained his son, born in 1927, to be an accomplished violinist. Despite his later shift of music advocacy, Liu Raozhang's new-style *sizhu* music revealed complex translation processes in defenders' new musical creations.

Zha Fuxi (1895-1976) defended Chinese music as a *qin* performer, journal editor, essayist, publicist, and researcher. He founded, and financially sponsored,²⁶ Jinyu Qin Society, the largest organization that connected *qin* players of different regions in modern China. Under his

²⁶ According to *Jinyu Qin Journal*, Zha Fuxi often paid the meeting expenses out of his own pocket.

editorship, *Jinyu Qin Journal* 今虞琴刊 publicized the various voices of *qin* defenders and their musical activities, which otherwise went largely undocumented.

Zha Fuxi's *qin* advocacy was based on his passion for *qin* music and his familiarity with Chinese vocal music, his professional Western education, and his financial sponsorship. Zha Fuxi was born in Hunan Province. He received several years of classical Chinese education before going to elementary school at the age of 11 (1906). In his early childhood, Zha Fuxi was fond of folksongs and narrative-singing (ZJY v.1, p. 292). Although following his father Zha Fuxi moved a lot during his school years, he learned different kinds of Chinese music wherever he lived. In his elementary school, Zha Fuxi was exposed to modern school songs, while learning to play folk tunes on the *xiao* after school. When he moved to the town Nanjin in 1908, Zha Fuxi learned about the song-style of *qin* music from his classical Chinese tutor Xia Boqin. Although he did not study with Xia Boqin 夏伯琴 formally and soon moved to Dayong, Zha Fuxi, in 1910, received from Xia Boqin a *qin* with some notations of *qin* songs, which allowed him to play the musical instrument, and to learn more song-style *qin* music from local *qin* players. Meanwhile, Zha Fuxi also learned to sing local folksongs, narrative-singing, local

opera, and Kun opera, and continued to play the *xiao*. Entering the Jiangxi No. 1 High School 江西省立第一中學, in Nanchang, Zha Fuxi was inspired by his Chinese language teacher to study Chinese music theory, with a perspective informed by the mathematics and physics that he learned at school.

Finishing high school in 1917, Zha Fuxi enrolled in the Marine Academy in Yantai 烟台海軍學校, in Shandong Province. There, he first heard purely instrumental *qin* music, which became more appealing to him than the song-style repertoire. However, as the Academy did not allow music playing, Zha Fuxi only had a chance to more formally learn the instrumental repertoire after he was evicted from the Academy in 1919, for leading a student protest to support the May Fourth student protesters in Beijing. Leaving Yantai, Zha Fuxi came to Shanghai, where he studied the instrumental repertoire of the *qin* from his friend Shen Caonong 沈草農 (d. 1972), and began writing articles to introduce *qin* music to the public. In 1921, Zha Fuxi, having joined the Nationalist Party (KMT), enrolled at the newly established Aviation Academy in Canton 廣東航空學校.

Finishing his aviation studies in 1923, Zha Fuxi became a high school teacher at his first *alma mater* in

Hunan. While teaching English, Mathematics, and Physics, Zha Fuxi continued to play the *qin* as a leisure activity. Meeting *qin* players such as Peng Qiqing and Gu Meigeng 顧梅羹, who inherited *qin* notations and musicianship from their own families, Zha Fuxi's *qin* learning continued to grow. In 1925 and 1926, he published essays on the tone system of the *qin* and of Chinese music in *Eastern Miscellany* (*Donggang zazhi* 東方雜誌), a popular magazine among Shanghai urbanites. Zha Fuxi's *qin* studies and advocacy were interrupted in 1927, however, during which he was jailed for participating in a protest organized by the Communist Party, which Zha Fuxi had joined three years previously. Upon his release from jail, Zha Fuxi worked as an aviation specialist at government transportation agencies. In around 1931, having settled as the secretary of the Asia-Europe Airline Company 歐亞航空公司, a new Chinese-German corporation established in Shanghai, Zha Fuxi resumed promoting *qin* music.

Zha Fuxi aspired to organize a national *qin* players gathering that was comparable to the two held at, respectively, Chengang Studio 晨岡廬 and Yi Garden 怡園 in 1919. But in the 1930s, intellectuals and educationists who were once supportive of *qin* music turned indifferent to Zha

Fuxi's idea, for they regarded *qin* music as out-dated. With limited support, Zha Fuxi co-founded Jinyu Qin Society in Suzhou in 1934. Two years later, in 1936, Jinyu opened a branch of the society in Shanghai. Gathering more than two hundred members in its registry, Jinyu established an unprecedented network of *qin* players and supporters across the nation. Through editing the society journal, Zha Fuxi led *qin* players to defend themselves against the reformers' increased criticism, to assert progressiveness in *qin* music, and to validate its essential role in Chinese musical modernity.

Xu Zhiheng (1877-1935) advocated Chinese music as a Chinese music theorist, historian, Kun opera scholar, poet, dramatist, and a professor of Chinese literature and drama at the National University of Peiping. Xu Zhiheng's *Small History of Chinese Music* (1931), which was based on his classes at the National University of Peiping, showed how a literary scholar, with a former literati background, defended Chinese music with modern concept of "music."

Xu Zhiheng's musical advocacy was based on his classical Chinese learning, Kun opera expertise, and certain Western learning in Meiji Japan and late-Qing China. Xu Zhiheng was born in Panyu, in Guangdong Province. His grandfather was a high official in the Qing government. Xu

Zhiheng and his father both held an exam degree that allowed them to study at the Imperial Academy (Li, "Xu Zhiheng"). Trained as a literati, Xu Zhiheng received Western learning at the Guangya Academy 廣雅書院, a new-style school that the Qing reform-minded officials established in 1888, and at Meiji University 明治大學 in Japan. In 1905, having formed his defensive vision of Chinese culture, Xu Zhiheng began to publish in the journal *National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報). He advocated using Confucianism to resist foreign religions, including Christianity and Buddhism, and contended that classical Chinese learning was essential for maintaining a cultural foundation amid the rising tide of Western learning. In that year, after the civil service exam system was abolished by the Qing government, Xu Zhiheng had difficulties finding employment. In the 1910s, after the fall of the Qing dynasty, he went to Beijing, making acquaintance with aficionados and performers of Chinese opera, including Wu Mei 吳梅 (1884-1939), a professor of Chinese literature and drama at the National University in the city.

In 1923, Xu Zhiheng replaced Wu's position at the National University. Subjects that Xu Zhiheng taught there included opera history, opera aria composition, opera

singing appreciation, and a course named "*shenglü xue*" 聲律學" which included the study of tones and pitches. Although "*shenglü*" had more commonly been dealt with in connection to issues of prosody in Chinese literature, Xu Zhiheng focused his teaching of the subject on music theory in Chinese history and in opera music. Between 1925 and 1926, Xu Zhiheng divided the course into "Studies of Chinese Ancient Music" and "Theory of Chinese Operatic Arias" (Li, "Xu Zhiheng," p. 41).

Based on his theoretical and operatic studies, Xu Zhiheng recognized a progressive development in Chinese music history, one that he felt was of comparable value to similar developments in Western music. When the Shanghai Commercial Press invited Xu Zhiheng to publish a book on Chinese music history, Xu Zhiheng revised his course lectures into a book, presenting the subject matter as "*yinyue*" – the modern Chinese term for music, which he had not used to name his courses. Whether the term was originally the publisher's idea or not, Xu Zhiheng's historical studies of music theory became part of the modern Chinese discourse on music, one that posited Chinese music as being comparable to Western music.

Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), a renowned Peking opera female-role actor, defended Chinese music with his operatic

mastery and new styles. His advocacy of Peking opera music grew from not only his inherited training in Peking opera acting, singing, and *hugin* playing, but also his interests in new plays and his learning of Western classical music. Mei Lanfang was born in Beijing. His grandfather and father were both Peking Opera actors. His father's elder brother, Mei Yutian 梅雨田 (1869-1914), was a famed Peking opera *hugin* player. Although Mei Lanfang lost his father when he was three, he received help from acquaintances of his grandfather, who were well respected in the Peking opera community. After studying classical Chinese from a tutor, Mei Lanfang began formal acting training at the age of nine (1902). He did not make outstanding progress in the beginning, but was able to develop his talents with guidance of his different teachers, including Wu Lingxian 吴菱仙 and especially Wang Yaoqing 王遥卿 (1881-1954) – a pioneer of the new female-character role of “flower costume” (*huashan* 花衫). Mei Lanfang staged his first performance in 1904, and soon began establishing his reputation as an outstanding young female-role actor (Mei and Xu, *Wutai shenghuo*).

In 1913, visiting Shanghai to give a performance at Dangui No. 1 Opera Theatre, Mei Lanfang was impressed by

the new-style stage design and actors' make-up styles in the semi-colonial city. He was encouraged to create new plays. Between 1914 and 1915, Mei Lanfang experimented with a number of new style plays, which made use of contemporary costumes and focused on more on dialogue than singing. Although these plays were very popular at the time, new developments and trends soon left them obsolete, and Mei Lanfang turned in a different direction.

From an early point Mei Lanfang developed an open mind to experiment with changes in his performances. He accepted the advice conveyed to him in piles of performance comments that Qi Rushan (1875-1962), who had studied abroad and become an advocate of western theater, wrote to him beginning in 1912. In 1914, after two years of exchanging letters with each other, the two finally met. Mei Lanfang then began collaborating with Qi Rushan, acting in the new plays that Qi Rushan created for him. Between 1915 and 1932, Mei Lanfang and Qi Rushan collaborated for dozens of new plays, which were well received not only in China, but also Japan, and later, the United States. In 1919 and 1924, Mei Lanfang was invited to perform in Japan. In 1930, he toured the United States for more than ten weeks, receiving honorary doctoral degrees from both Pomona College and the University of Southern California.

Especially after the success of the American tour, Mei Lanfang became a celebrated and patriotic national icon of Chinese theatre. Between 1938 and 1945, Mei Lanfang refused to perform for the Japanese during their occupation of China. After the Communists took over China in 1949, Mei Lanfang was treated with high regard by the new political regime. He became not only the leader of Peking opera institutions, but also a member of the toothless but prestigious People's Representative Congress. In 1961, Mei Lanfang was appointed the first president of the Chinese Opera Academy, though a heart attack took his life shortly after the appointment.

Mei Lanfang was credited for moving forward the development of Peking Opera, while maintaining its national essence. His motto of "stepping forward without changing the basic form" ("yibu bu huan xing" 移步不換形) delivered in 1950, epitomized the principle he had been using to integrate new elements with the old. One of these new forward "moves" was his addition of the *erhu* to the Peking opera orchestra in 1922. Many of Mei Lanfang's changes are still practiced in today's Peking Opera.

The social-intellectual networks of semi-colonial Shanghai, which linked up musical resources from neighboring regions, shaped and empowered a diverse group

of music advocates who sought to advance Chinese music under the challenges of the modern West. With their individual backgrounds and focuses, these music advocates collaborated with and resisted one another in different ways. For all of them, music did not exist as an abstract structure of sound, but was inseparable from the Chinese nation, culture, history, and society. Their agendas shaped their diverse ways of translating Western concepts and practices into Chinese musical modernity.

Chapter 5

Intellectual Discourse and Musical Knowledge in Chinese Translated Modernity

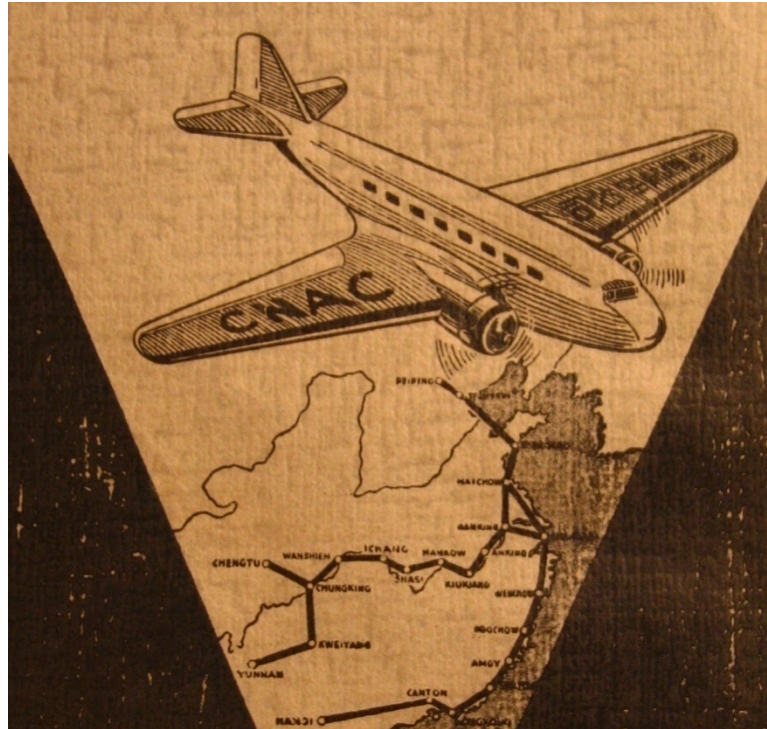
To study how Chinese music advocates intellectually “hosted” Western influences, this chapter examines their discourses of modern musical knowledge. Specifically, it examines published discussions on musical technologies, evolutions of music history, biographies of admirable composers, and the national essence of Chinese music; these were topics that music advocates either learned from Western sources, or were urged to develop by the growing power of Western music. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section shows how the music reformers’ technological discourse interpreted the facts of technological evolution and progress to justify the use of a Westernized standard for modern Chinese music development. It also shows how music defenders adopted the Westernized standard implicitly to legitimize the maintenance of Chinese music in modernity. The second section examines how music advocates appropriated the translated idea of evolution and progress to evaluating Chinese musical

developments in history. Seeing the rise and loss of musical progress in Chinese history from different perspectives, reformers – and defender – historians presented different agendas to redeem Chinese musical progress in their time. The third section shows how reformers projected Confucian moral values in their biographies of European composers, rendering Western music as an expression of Chinese civility. Defenders presumed the importance of Chinese moral values in their studies of Chinese musicians, though biographers placed a different emphasis in their discourse. The discourse of national essence, which is examined in the fourth section, engaged Chinese aesthetics and cultural traits that music advocates essentialized to assert a “Chineseness” in their translated visions of modernity.

5.1 The Technological Discourse of Music as Airplanes

Western music fascinated Chinese music reformers as being as technologically superior to Chinese practice as the modern airplane was to earlier means of transportation. This provocative image was raised by He Luting. In He Luting’s view, Western musical instruments were like airplanes (*feiji* 飛機) (Figure 5.1), whereas Chinese musical instruments were like horse-carts (*mache* 馬車): “China’s

Figure 5.1 A Chinese airplane flying over China: an advertisement for the China National Aviation Corporation (CNAC) (*T'ien Hsia Monthly* 4, 1937).



horse-carts are far more inferior than airplanes; we'd better use airplanes instead" (He, "Tingliao ji Kong dianli," p. 20). This comparison underlined a foundational understanding of music in Chinese modernity, one that was predicated on measurement of technological progress. The first half of the twentieth century in China was a period of scientism (Kwok, *Scientism*, p. 3). Knowing the power of Western science in applications, and realizing their own

technological weakness, Chinese intellectuals generally regarded science and technology as essential for modern China. Like He Luting, Xiao Youmei measured Chinese musical development against that of the West. He concluded, and complained, that China's technological condition had lagged behind the West for five hundred years (Xiao, "Yinyue de shili," p. 41).

The metaphorical appeal of the technological discourse had an experiential basis, as George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, James Fernandez and others have pointed out in their cultural studies of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*; Fernandez, *Persuasions and Performances*). The metaphor of airplane connected reformers' discourse on music to the Chinese experience of modern machines, which had a relevance that extended beyond the matter of technological convenience to that of maintaining national security. Appearing as a message of urgency, the metaphoric connection of music and modern machines called for an immediate Chinese emulation. For many reformers, China needed Western musical instruments, functional harmony, and staff notation. Translating these Western technologies with Chinese terms and aesthetics, reformers constructed modern Chinese knowledge.

He Luting published his metaphoric comparison between Chinese and Western musical instruments in *Music Magazine* in 1934. In the essay, He Luting criticized the defender institution Great Unity Music Society and its recent musical performance at a Confucian sacrificial ceremony in Shanghai. He disapproved of the Chinese musical instruments used in the performance because they presented a myriad of deficiencies and coarse noises to his ears: imprecise tuning, weak sounds, limited range of pitches, and unrefined timbres (He, "Tingliao ji Kong dianli," p. 19). These backward musical instruments, He Luting argued, could not represent the national character of Chinese music. Thus, He Luting rhetorically urged musicians to replace the Chinese *dizi* and *huqin* with the Western flute and violin. Musical instruments were just tools (*gongju* 工具), He Luting argued; what defined the national identity of Chinese music, he declared, depended on expressions of "national essence" (*minzu texing* 民族特性) (p. 21), not the use of tools.

Western musical instruments were the right tools because, in the minds of reformers, they embodied scientific and verifiable progress. He Luting compared Western musical instruments to airplanes, which had great transportation capacity and efficiency in terms of physical size, moving speed, and mobile accessibility. Seeing

musical instruments as mechanical tools, He Luting regarded Western musical instruments as better tools than Chinese musical instruments: they had greater dynamic power, more precise intonation, and more refined timbres. Emphasizing communication efficiency and acoustic capacity, He Luting embraced a set of new technological values: large was better than small, loud was better than subtle, and the ability to control unpredictable inconsistencies was desirable and essential.

He Luting's technological call was based on his experience of the cultural and military war unfolding in China. From this experience, he connected airplanes to warships, and to Western musical instruments, which were cultural "cannons." Many music reformers identified Western musical instruments with an immense physical force, especially when they appeared in large groups and sizes. The Western military bands and symphonic orchestras generated a formidable visual and auditory image of force and power. Realizing the symbolic and military value of Western military bands, the imperial court of the Qing dynasty formed a modern military band early in 1898 (Tao, *Zhong Xi yinyue jiaoliu*, p. 200). To reformers such as Xiao Youmei, "the highest value" of the Western orchestra lay in its capacity to produce a great variety of instrumental

sounds, which indexed a technology of sophistication (Xiao, *Putong yuexue*, p. 157), and which generated an acoustic power that Chinese musical instruments could not deliver.

The advanced development of musical instruments was only one manifestation of Western musical progress for music reformers. Looking at the organization of musical tones, many regarded Western functional harmony as a crucial sign of modern science and progress – not of the West only, but of the world. The evolutionary development of Western music from monophony to polyphony and to functional harmony was taken as a universal path of progress. In Xiao Youmei's view, the absence of functional harmony in Chinese music was a sign of backwardness; he declared boldly that Chinese music had not progressed for the past thousand years (Xiao, "Yinyue de shili," p. 41; "Zuijin yiqian nian," p. 21). Searching for reasons to explain this evolutionary absence, Xiao Youmei identified three Western musical inventions that drove the emergence of functional harmony, but did not happen in China. They were the practice of equal temperament, the emergence of keyboard instruments, and the use of staff notation.

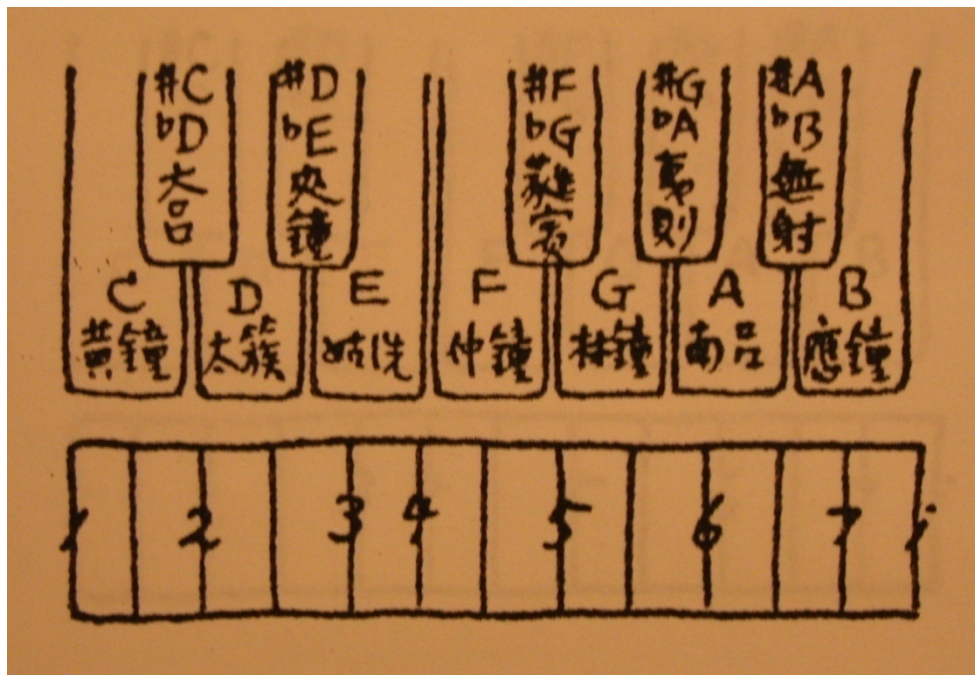
The Western practice of equal temperament in keyboard instruments appeared to many music reformers as the necessary condition for functional harmony to develop. In

their translated description, the ability for well-tempered keyboard instruments to “play half-steps” facilitated the theoretical evolution of functional harmony because it allowed free modulations to take place.¹ The Chinese idea of “half-steps” (*banyin* 半音) and their emphasis on its practical value was a translation shaped by the Chinese theory and practice of the twelve-pitch (*lülü* 呂律) system. Similar to equal temperament, the Chinese pitch system was based on an identification of twelve tones. However, different from the Western practice of equal temperament, the Chinese musicians did not divide an octave into equal semitones in practice. Even though the Chinese music theorist Zhu Zaiyu (1536-1610) found the theoretical calculation of equal temperament early in 1584, equal temperament did not become a standardized practice in Chinese musical performance – not at least in the music that music theorists studied. A perennial question in pre-modern Chinese music scholarship was to solve problems caused by unequal temperament. The Western practice of equal temperament fascinated music reformers for it overcame what they viewed as the inherited flaws of the Chinese system. Among all Western musical instruments, the

¹ Examples of discussions of “half-steps” can be found in Fu Yanchang’s “Hesheng tiyao” and Zeng Yuying’s “‘Hesheng’ de gongyong,” besides numerous publications by Xiao Youmei, Wang Guangqi, and Feng Zikai.

structure of equal temperament was most readily seen and heard in the keyboard family, which China never developed. The keyboard, therefore, appeared to reformers as a tangible embodiment of Western musical progress. A pictorial illustration of the Western keyboard drawn by Feng Zikai in 1937 shows how reformers conveniently translated the twelve-tone arrangement of Western equal temperament in terms of the ancient Chinese pitch terminology (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Feng Zikai's illustration of the twelve Chinese standard pitches on a Western keyboard (Feng, "Yinyue gushi," p. 168).



The Western staff notation also appeared to reformers as crucial to the evolution of functional harmony. The graphic representation of musical tones impressed reformers as not just an alternative form of notation, but as an advanced system that manifested the scientific and objective natures of musical evolution.² In the reformers' view, staff notation – what Xiao Youmei described as “the international notation system” – enabled functional harmony to evolve “naturally” in the West (Xiao, “Zuijin yiqian nian,” p. 22). Its vertical representation of musical notes, for example, facilitated the development of chords, a fundamental concept of functional harmony.

As a sign of Western modernity, functional harmony had a central place in Chinese understandings of the musical West. Reformers understood Western tonal theory not only as a historical device that structured European classical music from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, but also as the highest form of tonal development in the whole of Western music history. Such a perspective is best illustrated in Wang Guangqi's *The Evolution of European*

² The idea of notational objectiveness has been challenged in recent Western music scholarship. Michael Chanan has examined the relationship between notation and performance practices in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea that the notation objectively reflected the artistic creation of the composer became prevalent as late as in the nineteenth century (Chanan, *Musica Practica*, pp. 72-75). For a study of how Chinese *qin* notation leaves room for the performer to exercise individuality and creativity, see Bell Yung's “Not Notating the Notatable.”

Music (1924; hereafter *Evolution*) and his two-volume *An Outline of Western Music History* (1937; hereafter *Outline*).³ In both books, Wang Guangqi presented Western music history as an evolution of tonal organization in musical texture, or, in his German term, *tonform* – i.e., the relationship between musical parts. Based on the development of *tonform*, Wang Guangqi divided Western music history into four periods (Wang, "Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun"):

- (1) period of monophony (*Einstimmigkeit*): ancient to 900 AD
- (2) period of polyphony (*Mehrstimmigkeit*): 900 AD to 1600 AD
- (3) period of melody with separate accompaniment: 1600 AD to 1750 AD
- (4) period of melody mixed with accompaniment: 1750 AD to [present]

In *Evolution*, Wang Guangqi urged his Chinese readers to adopt evolution as their historical philosophy, and to adopt Western musical evolution as a standard for the development of Chinese music. The most advanced *tonform* in the evolutionary scheme was what he called "melody with accompaniment" (*begleitete Melodie*). In an expanded view presented in *Outline*, Wang Guangqi attributed the emergence

³ Other than Wang Guangqi's two publications, Chinese historical studies on Western music history were mostly in the form of book chapters that tended to be short and brief (e.g., Xiao Youmei, *Putong yuexue*, pp. 162-168; Zhang Ruogu, *Yinyue ABC*, pp. 95-102). Although Huang Zi (1904-1937) launched a book project on Western music history and had written six chapters of it, his untimely death left the project unfinished (Liao, "Qiangu wenzhang," p. 108).

of this advanced form to the theoretical invention of functional harmony,⁴ which defined a scientific relationship between the "accompaniment" and the "melody" (Wang, *Xiyang yinyue shi*, pp. 45-46, 50-51). In his evolutionary scheme of music history, Chinese music remained in the primitive stage of monophony, where the theoretical invention of harmony was not yet evolved.

Wang Guangqi's idea of evolution came from both social Darwinism and its adoption in Western music scholarship. Social Darwinism was part of the Western science that came to China since the late nineteenth century; the first Chinese translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* appeared in 1898.⁵ Music reformers, like their non-musical counterparts, adopted social evolutionism for its supposedly scientific understanding of the human world. They accepted the explanation that music, as a social form of human societies, progressed from a primitive stage to an advanced stage. In fact, Wang Guangqi's evolutionary view of music echoed Edward Dickinson's work which, like that of

⁴ Wang Guangqi discussed Zarlino's theory of major and minor thirds that emerged in the sixteenth century, and regarded Zarlino as the inventor of functional harmony (Wang, *Xiyang yinyue shi*, pp. 143-50). The theoretical evolution of Western music was completed when Rameau presented his structural theory on chords in his two monumental treatises in the 1720s (pp. 102-105).

⁵ The first Chinese translation of *Evolution and Ethics*, titled *Tianyan lun*, was by Yan Fu. By the time Yan published his translation, however, knowledge of evolution had already circulated in China through the missionaries (Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, pp. 345-51).

other music evolutionists, regarded functional harmony as a product of the "scientific revolution" in the West (Dickinson, *The Study of the History of Music*, p. 69), and thought that essential elements that allowed Western music to develop to its advanced stage existed only in "embryo" form in inferior races (p. 1).⁶

Translating his understanding of Western music history to his Chinese readers, Wang Guangqi illustrated the Western *tonform* practices with visual images of the Chinese national landscape and with sensual experiences of consuming Chinese food. For example, to explain that Western polyphony was the simultaneous movement of independent melodic lines, Wang Guangqi visualized the independent west-east running of the three major rivers in China. The Yellow River, Yangzi River, and Pearl River, Wang Guangqi pointed out, flowed across the nation's map, each along their own route. Although they did not seem to relate to each other directly, their paths flowed in a harmonious way: they complemented each other, and together, they generated gorgeous natural scenery that was "splendid

⁶ Similar publications by Western music evolutionists include C. Hubert Parry's *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1901). Like Dickinson, Parry contended that the scientific operation of functional harmony distinguished Western art music from primitive music of the world (Parry, *The Evolution*, pp. 15-46). Among these Western music evolutionists, Dickinson's work was listed among Wang Guangqi's references (Wang, *Xiyang yinyue shi*, p. 13).

as brocade" (*jinxiu* 錦綉) (Wang, *Xiyang yinyue shi*, p. 3).

The sonorous effect of Western polyphony, Wang Guangqi implied, was analogous to the splendor of the Chinese river-scape.

In another example, Wang Guangqi illustrated the Western musical relationship between the "melody" and its "accompaniment" with the Chinese common practice of eating rice and fried eggs. When the melody had a separate accompaniment, it was like eating Chinese white rice with an egg fried in a lotus-wrap style (p. 6); when the melody and the accompaniment became mixed together, it was like eating fried rice, in which white rice and eggs were blended together (p. 110). The two styles of preparing and consuming rice with eggs were commonly known and practiced among his Chinese readers. The analogy had resonances with Chinese everyday life, turning foreign structural organizations of sound into "familiar meals" to consume.

With such graphic and sensual images, Wang Guangqi projected a nationalistic attachment to Western *tonform*. He showed his readers that progressive Western musical principles existed analogously in China's living culture; the foreign principles were not foreign, but national and universal.

As reformers believed in the universality of Western principles and practices, they freely adopted Western terms in their discussions of music. In their publications that introduced music to the general public, reformers taught the Chinese readers to read the staff notation, rudimentary principles of functional harmony, and basic terminologies of Western musical instruments and genres.⁷ The implications were profound. The information did not simply increase Chinese understanding of Western music as a foreign music, but transformed the Chinese definitions and imaginations of “music.”

The practice of technological translation was not limited to music reformers only. Many music defenders also made use of translated Western concepts and practices in their technological discourse, even though the goal of their use was opposite to that of reformers. Defenders embraced, not attacked, the musical West to defend Chinese musical technologies, including musical instruments. They often took pride in the compatibility of the Western and Chinese tonal systems, especially their similar operations of equal temperament. In some cases, they even used elements of counterpoint and functional harmony to characterize structural features of Chinese musical pieces.

⁷ For example, in Feng Zikai's *Kaiming Lectures on Music* (*Kaiming yinyue jiangyi*), staff notation was the first thing to learn (p. 40).

Such discussions unprecedentedly claimed that Chinese music effectually embodied Western musical technologies.

In these defender discussions, the Western practice of equal temperament became a common guiding principle for describing the Chinese pitch system and musical scale. In *A Guide to Chinese Silk and Bamboo Music (Zhongguo sizhu zhinan, 1924)*, for example, Zhu Xiangshi presented the Chinese systems of absolute pitches and scale tones as the same as the Western systems; only their terminologies were different. In the table "Pitch Names in Chinese and Western Terms" (Zhu, *Zhongguo Sizhu Zhinan*, p. 15), Zhu Xiangshi interpreted the Chinese pitch "huangzhong" 黃鐘, the first pitch unit of the system, as equivalent to pitch G in the West. Each of the twelve pitch units in the Chinese system had its correspondence in the Western system. The table, which was similar to a chart of minerals giving both Chinese and Western names, interpreted both pitch systems as conforming to the laws of science. More importantly, it implicitly adopted the Western practice of equal temperament as the standard of natural science; the Chinese pitch system was shown to be scientific only because it corresponded to the Western standard. The assertion of parity, however, unavoidably subdued possible differences between the tuning and temperament practices of the two

systems. Besides absolute pitches, Zhu Xiangshi arranged the seven Chinese scale tones in the same heptatonic whole-tone/semi-tone order of the Western diatonic scale (p. 9, 13).⁸ Possible intonation discrepancies between the two scale systems thus appeared as irrelevant. In an implicit way, Zhu Xiangshi adopted the Western arrangement of pitches and tones to replace the Chinese practice, though he claimed the Western practice as inherently Chinese, and obscured the translational traces.

The translated discussion of Chinese pitches and scale tones laid the theoretical basis for Zhu Xiangshi to argue how eight Chinese musical instruments embodied scientific capacities.⁹ He continued to subscribe to the Western practice of equal temperament as the absolute standard, and argued that that standard applied to the effectual practice of Chinese instrumental music. The abilities of Chinese musical instruments to correctly produce the twelve pitches and to “sufficiently” modulate between musical modes were the focuses of Zhu Xiangshi’s discussions. For example, in the lengthy section on the *pipa*, Zhu explained in detail

⁸ The seven Chinese scale tones were named as: *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, raised *jue* 清角 (or lowered *zhi* 變徵), *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽, raised *yu* 清羽 (or lowered *gong* 變宮).

⁹ The eight kinds of musical instruments were: *pipa*, *xianzi* 弦子 (same as *sanxian*), metal-stringed dulcimer (*tongsi qin* 銅絲琴, same as *yangqin*), *huqin*, *yueqin* 月琴, *sheng* 笙 (mouth organ), *xiao*, and *dizi*.

how the construction of the musical instrument – four strings with four frets and fourteen bridges – could produce seventy-two stopped pitches and various sets of scale tones. The details of these pitches and tones, and their support of modulation between musical modes, for him, pointed to the advanced nature of the *pipa*, which sufficiently proved how the Chinese practice of equal temperament was similar to that of the West. The similarity mattered because it demonstrated the ability of Chinese musical instruments to play, and sound, “in tune.”

The intonation of Chinese instrumental music was attacked by many reformers, who regarded any tonal deviations from Western music as indices of Chinese technological inadequacy. Zhu Xiangshi acknowledged the existence of intonation problems in Chinese music, but refuted the reformers’ attacks. He argued that if any Chinese musical instrument sounded out of tune, it was the fault of Chinese instrument makers who ignored the standard intonation practice (p. 24). Technological deficiencies of Chinese musical instruments were thus a problem of manufacturing procedures, not of the inherent tone system.

The Chinese tone system also appeared as the main source of intrinsic value in the technological discourse of *qin* defenders. Such an evaluation was irrelevant in the

long pre-modern history of *qin* culture, but was crucial to its survival in the modern era. Zha Fuxi, in his introduction to the *qin* promotion publication *Jinyu Qin Journal*, credited the *qin* as enduring the "selection of progress" (*taotai* 淘汰) because it had undergone progressive developments (Zha, "Fakan ci"). Echoing Zhu Xiangshi's technological defense for Chinese instrumental music in general, Zha Fuxi argued that the twelve-tone structure of the *qin* and its use of modulation were evidences of the progressive nature of *qin* music. Beyond the pitch system, Zha Fuxi even identified instances of Western counterpoint – what he called "contrapuntal music" (*duipu yinyue* 對譜音樂) – in *qin* pieces such as *Chant in the Buddhist Temple* (*Pu'an zou* 普庵奏). These pieces, which had been in transmission since the Qing dynasty, used lots of double notes that were structured in intervals of major thirds, perfect fourths, fifths, or octaves (p. 1). Zha Fuxi also showed how *qin* music was equally sophisticated as Western music in its scale structure and rhythmic patterns. The feature of the pentatonic scale, which was often derided as simplistic by Westerners, was not enough to characterize all *qin* music pieces. Pieces such as *Song of the Woodcutter* (*Qiaoge* 樵歌), Zha Fuxi claimed, were based

on a nine-tone scale. In these pieces, besides the pentatonic scale of *gong-shang-jue-zhi-yu*, two kinds of the fourth and the seventh scale steps were used.¹⁰ Furthermore, rhythmically, *qin* music embraced such a variety of durational values that even Western rhythmic notation, which ranged from whole notes to thirty-second notes, was sometimes insufficient to represent its complexity (p. 2). The rhythmic sophistication of *qin* music, Zha Fuxi contended, would silence claims about the simplicity of Chinese music – especially those Westerners who despised Peking opera and Kun opera for not using note values higher than the eighth-notes. Asserting the progressive nature of the *qin* and *qin* music with translated Western technological terms, Zha Fuxi ridiculed accusations against the backwardness of the genre – by both Chinese music reformers and Westerners – as matters of blatant ignorance.

The modern image of the *qin* was likewise promoted by other defenders, including Peng Zhiqing, another crucial member of the Jinyu Qin Society. In Peng Zhiqing's "Discussion of the *Qin* from the Perspective of Modern Music" (Cong xiandai yinyue shang lun qin), the published script

¹⁰ The two kinds of the fourth scale step were "raised *jue*" (*qing jue*) – raising the third scale step – and "lowered *zhi*" (*bian zhi*) – lowering the fifth scale step. In a similar way, the two kinds of the seventh scale step were "raised *yu*" (*qing yu*) – raising the sixth scale step – and "lowered *gong*" (*bian gong*) – lowering the first scale step.

of a radio talk, Peng Zhiqing defined the “modern” qualities of *qin* music with technological terms developed in the musical West. These modern qualities of *qin* music included, in Peng Zhiqing’s view, elements of tonal harmony – the most powerful sign of Western musical modernity. The piece *Secluded Orchid* (*Youlan* 幽蘭), attributed to Qiu Ming 丘明 (495-590) of the sixth century B.C., featured tonal relations that were later identified by Westerners as consonants, major and minor chords, and even augmented and diminished chords. The reason that *qin* composers after Qiu Ming did not further develop these progressive tonal elements was therefore a matter of aesthetic choice, not deficiencies of their technological minds (p. 61).

For Yang Zongji (1864-1931), a *qin* master and scholar honored by the Jinyu Qin Society, the technological problem of *qin* music lay in its transmission inefficiencies. In *Mirror of Qin* (*Qinjing*; 1917),¹¹ Yang Zongji proposed to ease the problems of transmission by incorporating the accessibility principles of the Western staff system into the difficult *qin* tablature notation. His technological

¹¹ *Mirror* was part of Yang Zongji’s series of treaties on the *qin*, entitled *Collectanea of Qin Studies* (*Qinxue congshu* 琴學叢書). Although Yang Zongji did not publish *Collectanea* in Shanghai, both Yang Zongji and his work were highly regarded among members of the Jinyu Qin Society.

discussion of musical notation resonated with the airplane discourse of reformers, even though he did not literally adopt the Western staff lines and note symbols. Both Yang Zongji and reformers related Western musical technologies to modern machines. As much as reformers were fascinated with airplane, Yang Zongji was impressed by the camera. He compared the Western staff notation to the lens of the Western camera, which captured images as realistic as mirror reflections. For him, like a "mirror," staff notation recorded music as closely as photography captured visual images. Focusing on the practical value of staff notation, Yang Zongji accepted the Western musical technology as a universal musical tool that *qin* music needed. He contended that only with such a miraculous notational "mirror" could *qin* music be transmitted faster and reach more people.

To realize the "mirror," Yang Zongji employed notational symbols of the Chinese *gongche* system to translate the technological wonder of Western staff notation. The *gongche* system, which used a set of Chinese characters to indicate pitches and a set of graphic symbols to mark the rhythm, was the most widely practiced notational system in Chinese music. In *qin* tablature notation, abbreviated character symbols were used to

indicate finger performance techniques – which finger(s) to use, on which string(s) and stop position(s), and how to play. To help novice *qin* players visualize melodic representations easily, Yang Zongji placed the *gongche* characters next to the original *qin* tablature symbols.¹² To show rhythmic groupings to the novice players' eyes more directly, Yang adopted the *gongche* practice of marking the strong beats with a “反” symbol. This symbol referenced the “clapper” (*ban* 板) beat in the *gongche* system, though in *gongche* practice, the beat was actually marked by a small circle instead of a character. Although these *gongche*-derived notational symbols did not take the form of the Western staff lines and note-symbols, their use in *qin* tablature was a translated effort to embrace the transmission efficiency of the Western staff notation system – the miracle “lens” (Figure 5.3).

The few defenders who embraced Western musical technologies more directly are best represented by Liu Tianhua, who translated two English publications on functional harmony into Chinese. His translations of the works by Ebenezer Prout and J. E. Vernham reflected some acceptance among at least some defenders that Western tonal

¹² Early in 1864, Zhang He, in his *Rudiments to the Study of Qin* (*Qinxue rumen* 琴學入門), already experimented with the similar approach of adding *gongche* syllables next to abbreviated character-symbols.

Figure 5.3 Yang Zongji's new-style qin notation (Yang, *Qinjing*)

strong beat marker

gongche singing tones
qin tablature

theory was a universal science to learn. In Liu Tianhua's modernity vision, it was necessary for composers of new Chinese music to learn from Western music, especially the sophisticated tonal organization of the later (Prout, "Hesheng xue," p. 1).

As functional harmony was adopted as an important musical element in Chinese modernity, Chinese aesthetic engagement with music also underwent transformations. For reformers who embraced functional harmony, empty space in musical textures without the sonic support of tonal harmony became undesirable. For example, Liao Shangguo (1893-1959), a reformer-critic with the pseudonyms Qing Zhu, Li Qing, or Li Qingzhu, complained that Chinese music without harmonic support was so boring that it "caused drowsiness" (Liao, "Lun Zhongguo de yinyue"). On another occasion, a newspaper commentator described this boring feeling as a sensual monotony that could be compared to eating flavorless food without proper spices and marinades (Zeng, "'Hesheng' de gongyong"). The technology of functional harmony became so desirable as a musical and sensual ingredient that it transformed the aesthetic taste of these reformers. Their technological discourse of music, once coalesced with automatic sensual judgment, transformed into a testimony of presumed commonsense.

The technologies of Western music had such a compelling presence in modern China that it urged almost all Chinese music advocates to compare their nation's musical heritage with that of the West. A number of reformers and defenders endeavored to review Chinese music history in order to diagnose what had gone astray, if not wrong, and to identify ways to strengthen the nation's musical culture. These modern music historians engaged Western ideas of evolution and progress in diverse ways, offering distinctive narratives of China's musical past and competitive agendas for future changes.

5.2 The Evolutionary Discourse of Chinese Music History

Looking at China's musical past, music advocates saw glorious achievements at different historical moments. In the modern present, however, the music of China appeared to them as less developed than that of the West. While musical practices inherited from the glorious past continued in modern China, music advocates saw them as not yet realizing the best potential of musical development in Chinese culture. The discrepancies of the past and present, and of the potential and reality, puzzled music advocates. A few of them became Chinese music historians who sought modern

understandings of the nation's musical past in order to find a way to help to realize Chinese music's potential.

Modern Chinese notions of musical development and potential inevitably reflected Western concepts of progress and evolution. The fact that the musical West had appeared to many Chinese as a superior model of modern achievements made the imported ideas of progress and evolution common ideals. Reviewing China's musical past, modern music historians projected their idiosyncratic visions of these imported ideals. Depending on their reformer or defender orientations, and their sources, modern music historians translated progress as glorious musical achievements in China's past in different ways. Correspondingly, they also differed in locating evolutionary stagnation in Chinese music history. In order to overcome the evolutionary predicament, music historians envisaged different paths of musical change. Their narratives of progress and their agendas of change aimed at asserting parity with the musical West, both as an amicable standard and a threatening competitor. Chinese music history, therefore, appeared as a counterpart of Western musical evolution in these modern narratives.

In this section, I examine the discourse on progress and evolution in Chinese music history as presented in five

monographs that were published in Shanghai between 1928 and 1937. They are: Wang Guangqi's *Chinese Music History* (1934), a music reformer's narrative written in Germany; Miao Tianrui's *Historical Words on Chinese Music History* (1933) and Chen Qingquan's *A History of Chinese Music* (1937), both based on studies in Japanese of Tanabe Hisao – respectively, *On Asiatic Music* (1929) and *History of Asiatic Music* (1930); Xu Zhiheng's *A Small History of Chinese Music* (1933), a defender's narrative which was based on lectures given by the author at the National University of Peiping; and Zheng Jinwen's *Chinese Music History* (1928), a private publication of the Great Unity Music Society.

All of these monographs searched for China's past musical achievements while acknowledging the musical power of the modern West. They also addressed the Chinese musical problem of development stagnation that followed the period of great achievements, and continued to haunt the present. How did music historians reckon with modern notions of progress and evolution in their writings of the Chinese musical past? What were their agendas, with regard to needed modern changes, behind their historical accounts? How did they diagnose, and propose to solve, the modern predicament of Chinese musical development?

In Wang Guangqi's *Chinese Music History*, the invention of equal temperament embodied the highest musical progress in Chinese history. Such an assessment was based on an evolutionary set of criteria that Wang Guangqi adopted from the West, one that regarded the systems of pitches and tones as the primary factors to determine the level of progress of a musical culture. Comparing the musical evolution in China with that in the West, Wang Guangqi found that the Chinese theoretical development of pitch calculation had once achieved a progressive standard that surpassed the musical West of that time. The Western notions of progress and evolution, for Wang Guangqi, revealed the true conditions of Chinese music history.

A lengthy section of Wang Guangqi's book traced in detail the evolution of the Chinese absolute pitch system – the "lülü" system – from early history. The Chinese history of the Chinese pitch system did not stand alone by itself, however, but appeared as an evolutionary counterpart of the Western pitch system. For example, the pitch theory of Jing Fang 京房 in around the second century BCE was held by Wang to be comparable to the method of Pythagoras in Greece in the sixth century BCE; both based their pitch measurement on a vibrating string, and used the similar method of circle

of fifths.¹³ More importantly, Wang held that the Chinese theoretical evolution of equal temperament surpassed that of the West in around the fifth century, when He Chengtian 何承天 (369?-447) delivered his new theory. Even though it would take a thousand years before Zhu Zaiyu (1536-1610) of the Ming dynasty perfected the calculation of equal temperament, Wang Guangqi praised He Chengtian's theory as a noted theoretical breakthrough that first happened in China rather than in the West (Wang, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 367). Zhu Zaiyu's new theory of equal temperament, which was proposed in 1584, still preceded the similar discovery in the West by, according to Wang Guangqi's calculations, "a hundred years" (p. 382).¹⁴

Underlying Wang Guangqi's evolutionary study of the Chinese pitch system was a notion of the linear progression of time, a trajectory that was characteristic of the Western evolution narrative. This linear vision, however, was foreign to pre-modern Chinese music historians, who

¹³ Wang Guangqi highly regarded Jing's theory as laying a progressive foundation for the ancient Chinese musical system. Unfortunately, however, the theory was lost in practice and transmission a century after Jing Fang's death (Wang, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 359).

¹⁴ A document written by a Flemish mathematician suggests that the European theoretical discovery of equal temperament can be dated back to between 1585 and 1608, which was earlier than what was known at Wang Guangqi's time. The Flemish mathematician and Zhu Zaiyu may have formed their theories at around the same time. For a comprehensive study of Zhu's theory of equal temperament and perspectives on the earlier temperament development in China, see Gene Cho's *The Discovery of Musical Equal Temperament* (2003) and Kenneth Robinson's *A Critical Study of Chu Tsai-Yu's Contribution* (1980).

commonly regarded the greatest musical theories and practices as established early in the Zhou dynasty (1045-256 BCE), and held that recovering ancient but lost standards as the most important task for the present. Adopting the Western linear vision of time, Wang Guangqi placed the whole of Chinese music history in a new temporal frame that allowed him to present music histories in China and the West as moving along the same trajectory of progression. The Chinese and Western musical evolutions thus became not only comparable but also parallel to each other. The parity that Wang Guangqi asserted not only applied to the history of the past, but also to what was happening in the present and what would happen in the future.

Wang Guangqi also saw the Western notion of evolution as a scientific methodology of historiography. Studying musicology at Berlin University, Wang Guangqi learned to write history with a thematic approach that traced evolutionary changes of musical practices by focusing on specific musical subjects or forms, and examining their changes over a controlled time span. Such a Western scientific methodology contrasted, according to him, with the mere "events-listing" style of pre-modern Chinese music historiography (p. 314), which Wang Guangqi criticized as

undesirably descriptive. Applying a thematic and evolutionary approach, Wang Guangqi organized his discussion of Chinese music history into eight topical studies of "evolution" (*jinhua* 進化).¹⁵

While Wang Guangqi identified comparabilities between the musical evolutions of China and the West, he also saw that Chinese music stopped evolving at a relatively early stage of development. According to the Western evolutionary frame, human music history progressed from the primitive stage to the advanced stage, each characterized by distinctive sets of musical thinking. In Wang Guangqi's comparative view, the development of Chinese music had not yet entered the most advanced stage, in which music existed as a pure "aural art" (pp. 321-24). Chinese music remained in the primitive stage, where music functioned primarily as part of superstitious practices, and in an intermediate mid-stage, where music functioned as a means of cultivation and cultural transformation. In both of these less advanced stages, non-technical thoughts of music prevailed, which was, according to Wang Guangqi, evident in pre-modern Chinese musical culture. Wang Guangqi regarded non-

¹⁵ The eight evolution studies of Wang Guangqi's book were on the subjects of: pitch theory (Chapter 3), musical modes (Chapter 4), musical notation (Chapter 5), musical instruments (Chapter 6), and four short chapters on music ensembles (Chapter 7), dance music (Chapter 8), opera (Chapter 9), and instrumental music (Chapter 10).

technical musical understandings as deprived of advanced progressiveness; he disliked pre-modern Chinese music scholars' integrative view of technical and non-technical aspects of music (Lam, "Chinese Scholarship"). In Wang Guangqi's evaluation, the Chinese musical thoughts that correlated music with nonmusical elements, such as the five phases of metal, wood, water, fire, and earth (p. 128), were superstitious and primitive practices. As Chinese music progressed along the evolutionary scale, it came to a mid-stage, where music functioned as a means of ethical teaching. Confucius was a representative of the mid-stage in China, whereas Plato was the counterpart representative in the West. During this stage in China, music was a means of self-cultivation and governance, a concept that underlay musical arguments in the Confucian classics. In order to drive Chinese musical evolution forward, Wang Guangqi argued, contemporary music scholars and musicians should place primary focus on technical and structural aspects of music, for they embodied music in its highest form – as pure "aural art." The "non-aural" aspects of music, including both nonmusical correlations and ethical elements in the Confucian classics, must be left for the past.

But Wang Guangqi realized that Chinese music had not yet reached the stage of pure "aural art" as Western music

had. He lamented that even though the theory of equal temperament was highly developed in Chinese history, it did not have wide practice in musical performance. Also, functional harmony did not emerge from the stage of polyphony in Chinese history as it had in the West. The potentials for Chinese music to develop functional harmony, however, were detectable, according to him, in current musical practices. To show this potential, Wang Guangqi analyzed two pieces of Chinese instrumental music recorded in Shanghai in the 1900s¹⁶: a solo performance of the *sheng*, and a duet of the *dizi* and *yueqin*. As Wang Guangqi described them, both contained the polyphonic elements that represented Chinese musical evolution early in the first century AD, elements that emerged only centuries later in the West. Lamenting the fact that Chinese polyphony stopped evolving in the past two thousand years, Wang Guangqi concluded his book "with a sigh" (p. 514), a gesture calling for the adoption of musical technologies from the West, and the use of them to develop Chinese music.

In contrast, the narratives of Chinese music history by Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan did not focus on

¹⁶ These two music recordings were, at the time, part of the Berlin Phonograph Archive of the Department of Comparative Musicology at the University of Berlin. They were recorded by a German national residing in Shanghai in around 1908. They have been transcribed and analyzed by the doctoral dissertation that E. Fischer completed as a student in the department.

asserting parity with the West. They adopted another Western evolutionary theory to study Chinese music history, one that anthropologists and archeologists used to theorize human cultural origins and migration. Based on the Japanese studies of Tanabe Hisao, Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan envisioned musical evolution in Chinese history as successful processes of integrating musical instruments and practices that originated from central Asia – the place where human culture began. According to such a view, the highest Chinese musical progress happened at a historical time when China most embraced internationalism, and was most open to receiving Asian influences from the west of China; such a time was epitomized by the period of Tang Dynasty.

Both Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan used such a theory of human cultural origin to show that the “source spring” of Chinese music was central Asia. They began their studies by locating the earliest human culture in the center of Asia, which used to have an inland sea. As this sea in central Asia began drying out, human species migrated to different places of the earth along different paths. Those who went eastward and settled in the Yellow River region soon began Chinese culture, while others who moved westward and southward began the cultures of Egypt

and the Aryans, for example. Based on this theory, musical evolution was about how different cultures of the world adapted musical instruments and practices that originated in central Asia, processes that could be characterized by the evolutionary process of "selection" (Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, pp. 10-13). As cultures of the world maintained contacts with one another, their musical evolutions also engaged in absorbing foreign influences from one another. The historical narratives of Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan thus focused on how Chinese music evolved by absorbing foreign cultures, particularly those to the west of China. Chinese musical instruments, modes, theories, ideologies, and compositions were all results of absorbing influences from central Asia. Music progress of Chinese music, then, depended on its openness to foreign influences.

In such a view, the Chinese theoretical developments of musical pitches and tones composed only one evolutionary aspect in Chinese music history. The narratives of Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan, therefore, did not see the evolutionary achievement of Chinese music theory itself as particularly remarkable. Both located the origins of Chinese "lülü" pitch theory¹⁷ and the Chinese equal

¹⁷ According to the Chinese legend written in the early text *The Annals of Mr. Lü* (*Lüshi chunqiu* 吕氏春秋), the origin of the twelve absolute

temperament theories in Central Asia, not in China.¹⁸ In Chen Qingquan's narrative, the theoretical discovery of equal temperament by Zhu Zaiyu in the Ming dynasty was mentioned in one sentence (Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 194), or in a parenthesis (p. 239), and it was not even mentioned in Miao's narrative.¹⁹ Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan also thought the Chinese system of musical correlations based on the five phases originated in West Asia (e.g., Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 188). In contrast, as much as reformers such as Wang Guangqi rejected the practice of correlative thinking as backward superstition, they held to its Chinese origin and identity dearly.

The main progressive moment of Chinese music history that Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan celebrated was the Tang dynasty period. In their accounts, as Tang China openly

pitches began when Linglun 伶倫 picked a bamboo tube to determine the first pitch of *huangzhong* at a place to the west of Daxia 大夏, the ancient region of Turkistan. Based on this account, Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan located the origin of Chinese "lülü" pitches in Central Asia, not in China (Miao, *Zhongguo yinyue shihua*, p. 3; Chen, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 125).

¹⁸ In the narratives of Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan, the Chinese temperament calculation method proposed by Jing Fang in the second century BCE, which was based on a stringed instrument, originated from Pythagoras's method. They believed that the Greek method was brought to Central Asia and India through Alexander's invasion, and became known to Chinese when Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Han Dynasty conquered the Turkistan region of Daxia (Miao, *Zhongguo yinyue shihua*, pp. 12-13, 26; Chen, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, pp. 188-89). Such a view was rejected by Wang Guangqi, however.

¹⁹ The contribution of Zhu was not mentioned by Tanabe in *On Asiatic Music*, which Miao Tianrui used for his monograph.

absorbed musical practices and cultures from central Asia and India, Chinese music underwent flourishing developments in numerous aspects: the importation of new musical instruments, the evolution of music theory, and the emergence of musical compositions and dance productions created with new and sophisticated elements. Miao Tianrui described the music that was the beneficiary of these large-scale as a "music of the world" (*shijie yinyue* 世界音樂) (Miao, *Zhongguo yinyue shihua*, p. 32), and Chen complimented the extensiveness of world cultures that Tang China absorbed, which stretched across Asia to Rome (Chen, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 195). After the fall of the Tang dynasty, however, they thought, Chinese music stagnated. Beginning in the Song dynasty, Chinese music was reduced to a "music of the [Chinese] people" (*guomin yinyue* 國民音樂) with a small scale of organization (Miao, *Zhongguo yinyue shihua*, p. 32); the "liveliness" and "technical sophistication" of Tang music was lost (Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 226). This low evaluation of post-Tang Chinese music history was especially apparent in Chen Qingquan's narrative, as the discussion of this very long period was disproportionately short.

Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan concluded their monographs with a brief assessment of contemporary Chinese

music in the modern world, focusing on the importation of European influences from Euro-America and from modern Japan. Alluding back to the "world" nature of Tang music in China, Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan endorsed the Chinese adoption of European music as a process of receiving influences of the "world," and asserted a progressive value to the current musical changes unfolding in modern China.

Both Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan's books were based on selective translations from specific Japanese publications written by Tanabe Hisao – respectively, *On Asiatic Music* and *History of Asiatic Music*. Their arguments, therefore, were conditioned by Tanabe's research findings and perspectives. What implicitly underlay Tanabe's appreciation of ancient Chinese music was a political agenda that supported the empire-building of modern Japan. As Hosokawa Shuhei points out, Tanabe's idea of musical evolution was in tandem with his support of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" project. He saw Japan as leading the "Modern Age of Chinese music" (Hosokawa, "Sound of Empire", p. 10), a belief that he subtly conveyed in his studies on Asiatic music. When Tanabe wrote that progressive achievements of Tang music were lost in modern China, he was simultaneously claiming that modern Japan, on the contrary, had preserved them. More importantly, he

compared Tang China to modern Japan, which had undergone the Meiji reform and opened up to the world (Tanabe, *Toyo ongaku ron*, pp. 264-65; Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 195); both gained their strengths through absorbing progressive influences from cultures of the west – central Asia in the Tang dynasty, and Europe in more modern times. Since Japan possessed both the musical progress of historical Asia and of the modern West, it was justifiable that Japan should rise to be the leader of modern Asia.

It was not likely, however, that Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan were aware of Tanabe's political agenda, which was only subtly conveyed in his studies. Tanabe's studies appealed to Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan as worthy to translate probably because of their scientific values and source references. From the publications of Tanabe that Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan chose to translate, they took only the sections that were related to Chinese music, excluding chapters on Japan and Korea. As they focused on China only, both replaced "Asiatic music" with "Chinese music" in their titles. Their Chinese term for "China," "Zhongguo" 中國, which literally means "Middle-Kingdom," replaced the Japanese term "Shina" 支那 used in Tanabe's studies, a term that carried negative overtones toward China, and was popularly used by the Japanese.

However, not being cognizant of Tanabe's underlying agenda, Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan were not able to filter Tanabe's subtle claims, perspectives, and emphases that were meant to support the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" project. For instance, using material from Japanese *Tōgaku* and *gagaku* – the Tang-Chinese court music that was adopted in Japan – to represent Tang music of China, Tanabe implicitly claimed the modern Japanese ownership of the Tang-dynasty progressive strength. Chen followed Tanabe to include a long discussion of Japanese-Tang music in the chapter on Chinese music (Chen, tr., *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, pp. 205-26). Similarly, Miao included Tanabe's claim that after the Tang music of the Chinese court went to Japan, China lost the most progressive elements of her musical history. Tanabe's detailed discussion of Indian music and Tang music, which served to show how Japan had indeed kept the musical developments of the whole of Asia, also shaped the narratives of Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan. Also, Chen included Tanabe's subtle comparison of Tang China's enthusiastic reception of western Asian cultures to modern Japan's recent adoption of Euro-American cultures (p. 195), a perspective that legitimized modern Japan's leadership in the modern world order.

Despite inclusions of these perspectives in the two monographs, Tanabe's political overtones were not necessarily heard clearly by Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan, their publishers, or general Chinese readers. The fact that two individual publishers – the Young Companion Book Company and the Commercial Press, respectively – separately contracted book projects featuring translations from Tanabe's studies only reflects the lack of caution at the time among Chinese intellectuals concerning music scholarship from Japan, even though the modern Japanese military had been invading China since the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Chinese music reformers, together with many intellectuals, generally regarded Japan as China's immediate model of Western learning; many of them practically learned about Western science and scholarship in Japan, or through Japanese writings. When Miao Tianrui undertook the book project, he had been familiar with numerous other Japanese musical publications through studying with Feng Zikai at the Shanghai Fine Arts Academy.²⁰ The progressive and scientific values of Japanese

²⁰ For example, Feng Zikai's *Great Music Masters and Famous Music in the World* was based on Japanese studies published by Maeda Mitsuo 前田三男, Hattori Ryutarō 服部龍太郎, Ōtaguro Moto 大田黒元雄, and Koizumi Hiroshi 小泉弘 (Feng, *Shijie da yinyue jia*).

musical studies were widely acknowledged among Chinese music reformers.

With its scientific outlook, Tanabe's evolutionary theory of human cultural origin and migration was faithfully translated by Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan. Tanabe's use of Western theories of progress and evolution appealed to music reformers and their publishers. Also, his study offered an explanation of the problem of evolutionary stagnation in Chinese music history, a phenomenon that had perplexed Chinese music advocates in general. In addition, disregarding his political agenda, Tanabe's favorable views on absorbing foreign musical cultures, especially musical culture of the modern West, resonated with Chinese music reformers' advocacy of Western learning. Perhaps one might also surmise that Tanabe had been favorably received by music reformers because his music lecture on Tang music given at the National University of Peiping in 1923 impressed his audience – as Tanabe described in his memoir.²¹ But the reason that Miao Tianrui picked up

Tanabe's *On Asiatic Music* at Neishan Bookstore in Shanghai

²¹ The speech Tanabe gave in Beijing was on "the universal value of Chinese ancient music." He reported in his memoir that the speech silenced student protesters against Japan's illegal occupation of China's Port Arthur and Dalian, located in the northeast of China. The speech script was translated into Chinese and published in the journal of the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Music, which was established four years after Tanabe's visit. After giving the speech, Tanabe was invited to be one of the honorary advisors of the Association.

lay beyond Tanabe's lecture, persona, and agenda.²² It was surely Miao Tianrui's trust of Japanese music scholarship nurtured by his Western music training that persuaded him to translate Tanabe's study, without deciphering the latter's underlying political ambitions. The case of Chen Qingquan is likely to be similar. Both Miao Tianrui and Chen Qingquan concluded their narratives with optimism toward the future place of Western learning in modern China, facilitated by both the West itself and modern Japan. Their conclusions were not submissions to Japanese domination, but endorsements of Westernized Chinese music reform.

The defender narratives of Xu Zhiheng's *A Small History of Chinese Music* and Zheng Jinwen's *Chinese Music History* projected different relations with the musical West. Both located Chinese musical progress in the refined practice of "civilized music" (yayue 雅樂), which they posited was already well developed early in the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (1045-256 BCE). Their conception of time was thus more cyclical, as in pre-modern Chinese

²² As Miao recalled, he was a young music student at the Shanghai Fine Arts Academy when he was asked by the publisher to contribute a book on Chinese music history. Although Miao had already published two essays on the subject (Miao, "Zhongguo yinyue shilue," and its continuation, "Zhonggyo yinyue shilue (xu)"), he considered them not mature enough to be published as a book. He thus looked for relevant Japanese publications at Neishan Bookstore, and found Tanabe's *On Asiatic Music* – perhaps the only book at the bookstore that offered discussion of Chinese music history (interview with Miao in Beijing, August 25, 2004).

historiography; the Western linear vision of history that located progress in the future was irrelevant. Although ignoring Western theories of history, both Xu Zhiheng and Zheng Jinwen adopted the Western notions of progress and evolution in their narratives. With idiosyncratic interpretations of these modern concepts, they validated the progressiveness of China's musical past, asserting its parity with that of the modern West. The solution to overcome evolutionary stagnation in Chinese music, in their minds, lay in reviving "civilized music," not in learning from the musical West.

In *Small History*, Xu Zhiheng attributed the greatness of "civilized music" to its admirable moral-political effect, its well-ordered tonal system and performance practice, and its refined use of musical instruments. In his description, the "civilized music" of the early Zhou dynasty was "elegantly and comprehensively perfect" (*meibei* 美備). Xu Zhiheng's high evaluation gave this "refined" musical practice a progressive and evolutionary value that was comparable to Western music,²³ the implicit competitor of Chinese music in Xu Zhiheng's narrative. The evolution

²³ Although Xu Zhiheng did not use the common Chinese term "jinhua" to refer to the concept of "evolution," he wrote about "tuihua" 退化, or "reverse evolution." He advocated that Chinese musical development must avoid "reverse evolution" (Xu, *Zhongguo yinyue xiaoshi*, p. 197).

of Chinese music had lagged behind Western music because "civilized music" was increasingly replaced by "vernacular music" (*suyue* 俗樂) beginning, according to them, in the later period of the Zhou dynasty, and especially during the Tang dynasty. In order to re-insert progressiveness into Chinese musical evolution, Xu Zhiheng advocated reviving "civilized music" based on the progressive experience of the Chinese past, instead of looking to the West. The revival was possible because traces of "civilized music" were available to modern Chinese who sought to understand its perfect practice in Chinese music history.

In Xu Zhiheng's narrative, the culture of "civilized music" comprised both uniquely Chinese elements and elements that were implied to be scientific; the latter was meant to index a progress that was supposed to be comparable to that of the musical West. "Civilized music" was uniquely Chinese because it embodied the ideals of moral cultivation and political governance as defined by Confucianism, and the musical sounds it produced were performed by Chinese musical instruments. Meanwhile, the theories of musical pitches and tones in the "civilized music" culture, Xu Zhiheng implied, transcended Chinese boundaries. Refuting criticisms that Chinese music theory was confusing and poorly developed compared to Western

music, Xu Zhiheng emphasized the high level of development of Chinese music theory, suggesting that it carried sufficiently high scientific values.

In a subtle way, Xu Zhiheng adopted Western scientific values in his perspectives on Chinese music theory. His emphasis on structural and objective aspects of music came in tandem with his rejection of "non-scientific" theories in China's musical past. For example, he discredited Chinese theories that correlated musical and nonmusical elements as superstitious, which has its similarities with Wang Guangqi's idea of music as "pure aural art." He argued that "The five tones and the twelve pitches are simply musical markings of past musicians. There is no need to seek their [extra-musical] meanings" (Xu, *Zhongguo yinyue xiaoshi*, p. 150). Attacking these "superstitious" theories, Xu Zhiheng promoted the rational examination of musical structures. He interpreted textual and notational sources in ways that highlighted the structural aspects of Chinese musical sounds. For instance, he defined the difference between "civilized music" and "vernacular music" in terms of their organizational principle – the former was defined by a prolonged syllabic approach, and the latter by a melismatic one (p. 16). Xu Zhiheng's emphasis on musical structure also shaped the ways he clarified confusing

discussions made by music theory historians in Chinese music history. He complained that Chinese music theory historians often failed to distinguish the orders of scale tones between their absolute pitch arrangement and their performance practice arrangement, especially during modulation. Clearing up these confusions, Xu Zhiheng showed his readers how Chinese music theory had evolved in history.²⁴

However, Xu Zhiheng claimed the evolution of Chinese music had not best developed its potential. The perfect "civilized music" was constantly challenged by "vernacular music," which blocked the proper course of development. But "civilized music" could be revived, and it had been revived in different periods of Chinese music history – even after the Tang dynasty, the period when he thought "vernacular music" was most overwhelming (p. 45).²⁵ Amongst the various imperial attempts to recover "civilized music," Xu Zhiheng

²⁴ Different from Wang Guangqi, Xu Zhiheng's discussions of Chinese music theory did not emphasize the issue of equal temperament. Rather, Xu Zhiheng focused on the issue of correct pitch measurement (*dīnglǜ* 定律) – especially the measurement of the first pitch named *huangzhong*, which was at the heart of the perennial controversy over the authentic practice of "civilized music" for more than two thousand years (Xu, *Zhongguo yinyue xiaoshi*, p. 111).

²⁵ In Xu Zhiheng's assessment, Tang dynasty was the worst period of musical development in Chinese history – an assessment that directly contrasts with Tanabe's Japanese view. According to Xu, the influx of musical influences from Central Asia led to the rise of "entertainment music" (*yanyue* 燕樂), a new "vernacular" genre, in the Tang court, which adversely impacted the subsequent development of Chinese instrumental music (p. 45).

commended the one led by Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1662-1723) of the Qing dynasty as the closest to the authentic practice of the early Zhou dynasty. Accorded to Xu, Kangxi delivered the best pitch measurement (p. 87), manufactured and organized musical instruments in ways closely modeled upon ancient description (p. 143), and had the most creative method of arranging absolute pitches with scale tones (p. 117). However, Kangxi's successor, Emperor Qianlong 乾隆, did not maintain these excellent musical practices in the later years of his reign. As a result, in Xu Zhiheng's narrative, the Qing Dynasty became so flooded with "vernacular music" that this eventually caused the dynasty and the whole imperial system to topple in 1911.

Despite the surge of "vernacular music" in early twentieth-century China, Xu Zhiheng saw a continuing possibility of reviving the perfect "civilized music" in Chinese culture. In fact, he gave advice as to what musical practices the modern revival project should include, a program that basically followed that of pre-modern imperial music historians, who would present plans for the "interpretive reconstruction" of historic music based on certain positivistic understandings (Lam, "Analyses and Interpretations"). Although Xu Zhiheng did not engage in any actual projects of musical reconstruction of this type,

he advocated a modern reconstruction of ancient "civilized music" in *Small History*. He also stressed the importance of examining the sizable historical data on how the perfect "civilized music" was practiced in the early Zhou dynasty, despite the lack of notational sources (Xu, *Zhongguo yinyue xiaoshi*, p. 198). According to him, the revival attempts of the Qing dynasty offered helpful material and experience, especially in the examples of the musical instruments preserved from the Qing court collection (p. 69). In more practical terms, Xu Zhiheng suggested increasing the number and variety of musical instruments in modern ensembles, to a size that would effectively show the "grandeur and solemnity" that he felt characterized the highly developed orchestration of the imperial times (p. 197). The small operatic ensembles of the present time, in Xu Zhiheng's view, were too weak and small. Based on these various kinds of extant materials and information, Xu Zhiheng contended that Chinese could revive their national music using only their own national resources; there was no need to "look to the West and irresponsibly sigh" (*wang Yang qingtian* 望洋輕嘆) over the lack of musical strength and resources in modern China (p. 152).

In Zheng Jinwen's *Chinese Music History*, the comparability of the progressiveness of both Chinese and

Western music was treated more elaborately, though tensions inherent in such an assertion of parity also tended to surface in more elaborate form. Echoing Xu Zhiheng's narrative, Zheng Jinwen defined Chinese musical progress (*jinbu* 進步) in both native and universal terms, which he projected in his ideas of Chinese "civilized music" and the "ways of the heaven" (*tianran xingzhi* 天然性質). The assertion of a "heavenly" universality placed Chinese and Western music on an equal basis. In Zheng Jinwen's view, the major problem in the investigation of Chinese music's stagnation lay in Chinese notational practices, which did not provide the kind of musical detail necessary to successfully transmit musical performance and sound. To help Chinese music to thrive again, Zheng Jinwen applied the pitch and tone structure of the Western system to the performance practice of Chinese music, and contended that this could lead to a modern revival of "civilized music."

For Zheng Jinwen, "civilized music" was more than a refined musical organization. In his understanding, it was a manifestation of refined Chinese cultural "civility" (*ya* 雅), which was an essence inherent in Chinese culture since antiquity. According to him, the same cultural force of "civility" that propelled the development of "civilized

music" in the early Zhou dynasty had remained in, if not shaped, the post-Zhou evolution of Chinese music. Although the exact details of early-Zhou performance practice had not been transmitted effectively, one could still find the Chinese essence of "civility" in contemporary Chinese cultural practices. Zheng Jinwen thus urged an immediate revival of "civilized music" to best develop the Chinese essential strength; Chinese music must not be replaced by Western music. Based on his knowledge of pre-modern Chinese music, especially Qing dynasty practices, Zheng Jinwen led his Great Unity Music Society to reconstruct ancient "civilized music."

Besides the idea that the force of "civility" had shaped the cultural uniqueness of Chinese music, Zheng Jinwen also contended that it was the "ways of heaven" that configured the evolution of Chinese music (p. 1b). The "heavenly" way, in his view, was the same universal force that drove the development of Western music. The universal scope of this idea, which was based on the Confucian utopian vision of "great unity" (*datong* 大同) (p. 2a), justified the idea that the Chinese ability to develop musical progress carried the same value as that of Western music. For him, there were similarities between the Chinese and Western musical systems. For example, both systems had

developed twelve-pitch practices that, Zheng Jinwen claimed, were "completely the same" (p. 2b). The differences between the evolutions of Chinese and Western music, in Zheng Jinwen's view, lay in their different emphases in their manifestations of the same universal way. Western music emphasized scientific developments, whereas Chinese music emphasized the "natural" (*ziran* 自然) aspects. Thus, the Western musical system had developed a scientific notation system to record musical sounds, and a scientific musical theory to explain structures of pitch and tone operations. The Chinese musical system, in contrast, had developed elaborate theories to reveal the essential connections between music and "natural" principles, such as the five phases, *yin* and *yang* 陰陽, and calendrical cycles. These Chinese correlative musical systems, which both Wang Guangqi and Xu Zhiheng banished as superstitious and unfounded, were valorized by Zheng Jinwen as equally progressive to scientific musical theories developed in the West.

Zheng Jinwen's interpretations showed how a modern leader of the "civilized music" revival program wrestled with Western ideas of musical progress and evolution. Zheng Jinwen's application of equal temperament and Western tone structure to Chinese music, however, conflicted with his

description of the Chinese system as based on the method of “subtraction and addition of thirds” (*sanfen sunyi* 三分損一), which yielded a different temperament structure from Western practice. Zheng Jinwen’s eagerness to assert parity with the musical West led him to overlook discrepancies between the two systems. In addition, Zheng Jinwen did not include citations and his monograph circulated only as a private publication. In contrast, his leadership in the project to reconstruct “civilized music” captured wide public attention in Shanghai, inciting sharp controversy between him and music reformers, developments that further show the complexities of musical translation in Chinese modernity. For example, even though reformers rejected Great Unity’s reconstruction of pre-modern Chinese music, they projected pre-modern Chinese moral values in their advocacy of Western music. As the next section will show, their biographies of European classical composers delivered a moral discourse based on Confucian values.

5.3 The Moral Discourse of “Music Masters” (*Yinyuejia*)

Promoting biographical knowledge of European classical composers was an important part of music reformers’ advocacy. In their music biographies, European classical composers were not just musicians from a foreign culture,

but were "music master(s)" who were virtuous and worthy of admiration. The Chinese term for "music master(s)," "yinyuejia" 音樂家, was a modern concept that recognized the value of pursuing music in a professional manner.²⁶ In pre-modern China, professional musicians did not receive comparable kind of respect from scholar-officials or other members of the elite, who generally saw professional musicians as basically nothing but servants and entertainers. Scholar-officials, however, showed high respects for "masters and sages" who led exemplary lives that realized Confucian moral and social ideals. Pre-modern biographies paid honor to these seminal figures, passing along a mode of assessment that shaped the scholar-officials' social imaginations, and affected historiography. Music reformers inherited this mode of assessment, which led them to appreciate, in Chinese terms, the Western Romantic association of artistic greatness with a life struggle to successfully realize their visions. Projecting their Chinese moral expectations onto the "greatness" of European classical composers, music reformers translated

²⁶ It is possible that "yinyuejia" was a "return loanword" of the Japanese term "ongakka" 音樂家. "Return loanwords" are modern Japanese terms borrowed from classical Chinese, but then "returned" to modern China. The moral discourse of the Japanese "ongakka," however, remains to be examined.

lives of the foreign "music masters" into Confucian personalities.

This section focuses on examining the moral discourse of music biographies published by reformers, whose studies on European classical composers produced the major proportion of biographical knowledge in Chinese musical modernity. Defenders' biographical writings on Chinese musicians are, in contrast, brief and rare. Different from reformers, defender-biographers did not stress moral attributes. Toward the end of this section, I will briefly discuss the difference in what is emphasized in their evaluations. The cause of this difference, I contend, lies in their presumption that there was less need to morally legitimize Chinese figures.

Music reformers published more than a dozen music biographies on European classical composers in music magazines, journals, and newspapers.²⁷ The list of European "music masters" presented by these publications includes Bach, Beethoven, Berlioz, Brahms, Gluck, Haydn, Mendelssohn,

²⁷ These studies included, but are not limited to: Hao Ru's short essay "Does Music Belong to the Privileged Class?" (Yinyue shifou shuyu teshu jieji de?); Fu Yanchang's journal essay on Wagner ("Renjian fangmian"); Zhong Zitong's "European Music Masters" (Ouzhou yinyuejia); Zhang Ruogu's book chapter on Weber ("Weibo'er bainian jinian"); Zuo Mao's discussion of Mendelssohn's life ("Tantan Mendelssohn"); Huang Zi's biography of Brahms ("Bolamuxi Johannes Brahms"); Feng Zikai's *Great Music Masters and Famous Music in the World* (Shijie da yinyue jia); Xiao Youmei's *The New Lives of Music Masters* (Yinyuejia de xin shenghuo); and Zhang Zhenxun's *Music and Music Masters* (Yinyue he yinyue jia).

Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Wagner, Weber, and Wolf. Almost all of these biographies were hagiographies; reformers wrote about the chosen European composers to narrate their "greatness." Projections of Chinese virtues onto these foreign lives are most transparent in publications of reformers associated with the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, including Xiao Youmei and Huang Zi – members of the Conservatory's faculty – and a person known by the pseudonym Hao Ru, who was probably a student there.

Xiao Youmei was most outspoken in using Confucian moral ideals to evaluate musicians, both in the history of Chinese and Western music. In "Why Do People in China not Highly Value Music?," he attributed the problems in the development of Chinese music to musicians' loss of Confucian "propriety" (*li* 禮) (Xiao, "Wei shenme yinyue," p. 1). In Confucian ideology, *li* refers to the norms of social behavior based on proper moral constraint and rational guidance (Wright, "Values, Roles, and Personalities," p. 7); it is the "ritual action" through which an ideal social order is maintained (Ames, "The Meaning of Body," p. 152). Xiao Youmei complained that Chinese musicians ignored the moral practice of *li*. They indulgently followed their emotional needs, degrading their music into mere entertainment. Rather than educating the musicians, Xiao

Youmei opined, scholar-officials only despised professional musicians and their music, an attitude that impeded the evolution of Chinese music for a thousand years. Musicians in China remained as mere "music workers" (*yuegong* 樂工) or "music courtesans" (*yueji* 樂妓), who were the lowly servants or entertainers in the Confucian social hierarchy, and did not enjoy a respectable social status that was comparable to that of the modern artists in the West.²⁸ To redeem the social respectability of musicians in modern China, Xiao Youmei advocated learning from exemplary lives of European classical composers, who contributed to the thriving musical culture in the West.

Many music reformers argued similarly, presenting European composers such as Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven as "music masters" for their Chinese readers. Sometimes these three composers, and especially Beethoven, were even exalted as "music sages" (*yuesheng* 樂聖)²⁹ – a term suggesting that their achievements resonated with Chinese cultural sages such as Confucius, who provided the highest

²⁸ The low status of professional musicians in pre-modern China led to a certain reticence with regard to naming musical members of the literati who created and performed music non-professionally. Joseph Lam has proposed the use, for such persons, of the term "literati musician," and applies it to Jiang Kui, the "poet-composer-calligrapher-scholar" of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) (Lam, "Writing Music Biographies," p. 70).

²⁹ Mozart was also hailed as a "music sage" in a few publications, including those by Liao Shangguo (e.g., "Zenyang renshi Mozart de weida?").

musical guidelines for ordinary people. The modern concepts of "music masters" and "music sages" gave respectability to European classical composers, and simultaneously disassociated them from the lowly Chinese "music workers" and "music courtesans."

In *The New Lives of Music Masters* (1934), Xiao Youmei emphasized how European "music masters" and "music sages" endured various kinds of life hardships, including illness and poverty, and how their lives embodied Chinese virtues. He featured biographies of nine master composers; in each case their admirable characters were described (and praised) in their chapter titles. He characterized Bach as "diligent and long suffering" (*qinmian keku* 勤勉刻苦), and Beethoven as "dignified and serious" (*chonggao yansu* 崇高嚴肅). To write Confucian virtues into their lives, for example, Xiao Youmei lauded Schumann for not only "winning over illness," but also playing being a faithful student – he remembered to show gratefulness to his first piano teacher, B. Kuntsch, after earning achievement and reputation that had exceeded that of his teacher (pp. 63-64). Wagner, who is said to have led a life "with lofty ideals," is presented simultaneously as a loyal son; it is reported that he cared so much for his mother that without money to pay for transportation, he walked for hundreds of miles from

Dresden to Prague to visit her (pp. 67-68). Through these moralized narratives, Xiao Youmei demonstrated that music was not a mere entertainment "for fun" (*haowan* 好玩) (Xiao, *Yinyuejia de xin shenghuo*, p. 10), but was about aspirations, personalities, and transcendent joy beyond materialistic pleasure and worldly desires. Only those who were committed to the lofty goals of music and practiced moral ideals could overcome life hardships and make great musical contributions. Praising the European masters as exemplars, Xiao Youmei described these "music masters" and "music sages" as people who succeeded in "great endeavor[s] of the soul" for all human beings (*ibid.*).

Echoing Xiao Youmei's emphasis on the virtues of the "music masters," Hao Ru used similar biographical anecdotes to argue that music was not about the mere entertainment of the wealthy class. In "Does Music Belong to the Privileged Class?," Hao Ru wrote that most famous "music masters" in the world were Westerners because music – like science and other arts – evolved faster in the West than in China (Hao, "Yinyue shifou shuyu teshu jieji de?," p. 45). According to him, in the advanced West, music was an endeavor as serious as science and other social establishments; it required effort and determination to make contributions. Even top-rated Western "music masters," represented by Bach, Haydn,

Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, struggled with poverty, illness, or other life hardships in their lives in order to lead successful musical careers. Using their life stories, Hao persuaded Chinese readers to take music seriously. In the process, he reinforced a moral discourse that depicted European "music masters" as not only musically talented, but also morally admirable.

Huang Zi's biography of Brahms also argued in similar moral terms. In three consecutive issues of *Music Magazine*, Huang Zi portrayed the German composer as a tough stoic who was yet humble and honest (Huang, "Bolamuxi Johannes Brahms (1)," pp. 26-27). These characteristics, in Huang Zi's view, were commonly found among "great people" (*weiren* 偉人). Brahms endured poverty with a belief that, as Huang Zi wrote, even genius needed to be polished with adverse life circumstances before it could make great contributions – an idea that came from Mencius, another Confucian sage. Brahms humbled himself before "music masters" of previous generations and revered them heartedly. Although he sometimes used harsh words in criticizing others, he always spoke what he truly felt – even to the point of risking friendship with his supportive critic, Hans von Bulow. Compared to Xiao Youmei's more pronounced hagiographic appraisals, Huang Zi presented these laudatory character

remarks only in a relative small and localized section in his biography. Most of his discussion focuses on the musical characteristics of Brahms's compositions. Yet, however short the remarks on Brahms himself were, they were sufficient to color the life of the great "music master" with moral affirmations.

The common virtues that these music biographies projected onto European classical composers were realizations of different essentialized Confucian ideals. As much as reformer biographers intended to eliminate the differences between Confucian and Western morality, their accounts unavoidably highlighted Confucian morality as bearing distinctive features. A list of Confucian personality traits presented with similar essentialized distinctiveness can be found in Arthur Wright's study in *Confucian Personalities* (Wright, "Values, Roles, and Personalities"). A comparison of the moral values projected in these music biographies with Wright's list of thirteen approved attitudes and behavior patterns in Confucian personality reveals the biographers' moral negotiations (p. 8):³⁰

³⁰ For recent studies that challenge previous assumptions of differences between Chinese and Western ethics, see for example, *The Moral Circle and the Self: Chinese and Western Approaches*, edited by Kim-chong Chong, Sor-hoon Tan, and C. L. Ten (2003). For recent studies that offer new and comparative views of Confucianism across Asia, see

1. Submissiveness to authority – parents, elders, and superiors
2. Submissiveness to the mores and the norms of Confucian propriety (*li*)
3. Reverence for the past and respect for history
4. Love of traditional learning
5. Esteem for the force of example
6. Primacy of broad moral cultivation over specialized competence
7. Preference for nonviolent moral reform in state and society
8. Prudence, caution, preference for a middle course
9. Noncompetitiveness
10. Courage and sense of responsibility for a great tradition
11. Self-respect (with some permissible self-pity) in adversity
12. Exclusiveness and fastidiousness on moral and cultural grounds
13. Punctiliousness in treatment of others

The humbleness attributed to Brahms in his biography resonates with the “non-competitiveness” of this list (number 9). His reverence for past model composers shows his “esteem for the force of example” (number 5), and his honesty can be compared to “punctiliousness in treatment of others” (number 13). Schumann’s gratitude for his piano teacher and Wagner’s care for his mother, then, exemplify their submissiveness to authority as recognized in the Confucian norm of propriety (numbers 1 and 2); Schumann fulfilled the demands of propriety of being a student, and

Rethinking Confucianism, edited by Benjamin A. Elman et al. (2002). For studies of Confucianism and music, see Joseph Lam’s “Musical Confucianism: The Case of ‘Ji Kong yuewu’” (2002).

Wagner performed filial piety to his mother. Enduring poverty and illness, in these biographies, European master composers are shown to exhibit the Confucian qualities of courage (number 10), and strong sense of self-respect in adversity (number 11). Overall, in the reformers' biographical translations, the "greatness" of European "music masters" lay in their "fastidiousness on moral grounds" (number 12) in the Confucian social order.

In contrast, the artistic "greatness" that Western biographers attributed to master composers' life struggles focused on their music, not on the social order in which they lived. For example, Fuller-Maitland stresses the relationship between musical greatness and hardships in life at the beginning of his biography of Brahms,³¹ a text which Huang Zi consulted. The Romantic mystique of the suffering composer, which crowned the forbearance of personal misfortunes and struggles with artistic greatness, appealed to many Chinese music reformers. The heroic representations of Beethoven by Romain Rolland (1866-1944) – the Nobel laureate writer of 1915 – for example,

³¹ Fuller-Maitland wrote that had Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, and Handel not experienced the problems they encountered but had, respectively, a nice nephew, secured political affiliations, wealth, or strong eyesight, some people would have regarded their music as diminished in "greatness" (Fuller-Maitland, *Brahms*, pp. 1-2).

appeared as inspiring to numerous Chinese music reformers.³² However, in their adoptions of the Romantic mystique, reformers probably did not see Western master composers as morally foreign; these struggling Western music heroes were equated to the struggling Chinese sages and heroic scholars memorialized in Chinese biographies from pre-modern times. The Confucian personality values of "courage" and "self-respect in adversity," for example, could apply to struggling sages in both China and the West. More importantly, while music reformers joined their Western counterparts to celebrate these European music heroes, they shifted the Romantic focus on the "greatness" of the music itself to a Confucian focus on the personality traits thought to be most exemplary of moral individuals in general.³³

Music reformers' projections of Confucian virtues were processed through the practice of "praise and blame" (*baobian* 褒貶), an important pre-modern Chinese historiographic approach, which reformers used to

³² Rolland's 1903 biography on Beethoven was translated into Chinese by Yang Hui in 1927. At least three other Chinese translations of Rolland's work on Beethoven were published in the 1940s (*ZYSZ*, p. 58).

³³ For example, in his biography of Brahms, Fuller-Maitland discussed life events that "bear directly upon his music" (Fuller-Maitland, *Brahms*, p. 3). However, it was the musical genius of "great composers," rather than their moral superiority, that captured the focal attention of the Western art music world. As Janet Wolff wrote, the adoration of the creative genius was essential in defining the music's autonomous power (Wolff, "The Ideology of Autonomous Art," p. 3).

"translate" biographies of European classical composers into Chinese forms of knowledge. Since Sima Qian 司馬遷 compiled the monumental *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記; 109-91 BCE), writing biographies of exemplary figures became a central tool for historians to transmit didactic values (Moloughney, "From Biographical History"). Stories of exemplary lives permeated Chinese society, spreading Confucian model personalities as historical realizations, not as abstract ethical theories (Wright, "Values, Roles, and Personalities," p. 9). Music reformers' moral assessment of European classical composers was in a way a continuation of this pre-modern Chinese didactic practice. By showing how the foreign composers embraced ideals of the model Chinese person, reformers brought Western music into the Chinese moral order; Western classical composers were valorized for the ways in which they were presented as embodying Chinese national and moral values.³⁴

One might argue that the music reformers' Confucian-style writing of Western music biographies was more a political compromise with the New Life Movement imposed by

³⁴ As Western music was imbued not only with "functional" values but also with versions of Chinese "substance," the "function/substance" bifurcation, which underlay the social-economic reform movement of the Qing government in the late nineteenth century, subsided.

the Nationalist government in early 1934. This (in)famous movement took selected values of Confucianism and mixed them with values of Christianity and Republican political doctrines, in an attempt to secure ideological control over the divided nation.³⁵ As much as music reformers conformed to New Life-rhetoric, however, I contend that their valorization of Confucian moral ideals had always been part of their music advocacy, which inherited orientations from the modern school music education movement that emerged decades before the New Life revival of Confucianism.³⁶ The Chinese school music program was based on the Japanese model, which combined school-song singing and Western music learning with Confucian ethical teaching, especially after the 1880s (Kurozumi, "Tokugama Confucianism"; Tsurumi, "Meiji Primary School Language"). The Japanese association

³⁵ A failed political movement, New Life caused widespread social disturbances because the government enforced its politically-charged ethical values by censoring public and private activities by coercive means.

³⁶ Nurturing Confucian morality in school children had always been an important goal in modern Chinese school education policy, which was officially implemented by the Qing government in the 1900s. Teaching Confucian virtues, especially values of loyalty, was emphasized along with teaching modern subjects that would strengthen the nation politically, militarily, and economically. Confucius was honored in modern schools through sacrificial ceremonies (Wu, *Zhongguo Jinxiandai xuexiao*, p. 10). The purpose of teaching the new genre of "school songs" (*yuege*) in schools was to "cultivate moral character" in students, as the Education Ministry of the new Republican government instructed in 1912 (Wu, *Zhongguo Jinxiandai xuexiao*, pp. 15-16). The vision of "aesthetic education" of Cai Yuanpei, the erstwhile Minister of Education, also manifested such an emphasis (Duiker, "Ts'ai Yuan-P'ei " and "The Aesthetics Philosophy"). It was ethical goals and values, not musical ones *per se*, that justified and guided the music curriculum in modern Chinese school education.

of Confucian values with modern music appealed to Chinese music reformers who studied Western art music in Japan.

The Japan-trained generation of music reformers kept and further developed this moral discourse in their music advocacy for Chinese audiences.³⁷ The ethical framework that music reformers took from school music education – and further developed in their professional training – guided their moral logic and projections. As great music was supposed to cultivate people's morality, "music masters" and "music sages" must have embodied great moral cultivations in their own lives. The early, if not earliest, Chinese biography on Beethoven came from a prominent member of this generation, Li Shutong (1880-1942), who honored the "music sage" with a sketched bust – probably the first Chinese honorific portrait of the composer (Figure 5.4).³⁸

But reformers rarely honored Chinese musicians. While European classical composers were presented with admirable

³⁷ In *A Discussion on Music Education* ("Yinyue jiaoyu lun"; 1904), for example, Zeng Zhiyan (1879-1929) cited from the ancient Chinese sage kings Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 and Confucius to argue for the necessity of music education in modern China. He retold the Confucian lore of how these two sage kings used music to enhance the people's morality, and how Confucius himself was deeply moved by the refined "civilized music" (Zeng, "Yinyue jiaoyu lun," p. 2).

³⁸ Li Shutong's essay, "A Small Biography of the Musical Sage Beethoven" ("Yuesheng Beiduofen Bennthoven xiaozhuan" 樂聖貝多芬 Beethoven 小傳) was published in *Small Magazine of Music* in 1906, during the time when he was studying in Japan. He made use of Japanese sources, especially *A History of Western Music* (*Seiyō ongakushi* 西洋音樂史; 1905) by Ishikura Kosaburō 石倉小三郎 (1881-1965). I could not locate Li Shutong's original essay, but have found pages of the essay in a 1941 journal article (Gao, "Yueshi lingsi").

Figure 5.4 Li Shutong's 1906 sketched bust "Music Sage Beethoven" (Gao, "Yueshi lingsi," p. 92).



Confucian character traits, Chinese were almost completely absent in reformers' narratives about "music masters" and "music sages." According to ZYSZ, no book titles were published for Chinese "music masters" in that period. For most reformers, the idea of "Chinese music masters" or

"Chinese music sages" were almost oxymora: professional musicians in Chinese history were unqualified to be honored as "music masters," not to mention "music sages." This absence of great musical figures in the writing of Chinese music history was at variance with the inclusive notion of "great people" (*weiren* 偉人) found in *Biographies of Chinese and Western Great People* (1971 (19??)), written by Liang Qichao (1873-1929), the prominent social-political reformist in the late Qing and early Republican periods.³⁹

Nevertheless, some music defenders applied the modern notion of "music master" to contemporary Chinese musicians with whom they were acquainted, though the biographical writing about them was sketchy and informal. For example, in *A Guide to Chinese Silk and Bamboo Music*, Zhu Xiangshi placed his short anecdotal sketches of about forty musical figures in the "Post-Musical" ("Yueyu" 樂餘) chapter named "Miscellaneous Records" ("Suolu" 瑣錄) (Zhu, *Zhongguo sizhu zhinan*). More importantly, in contrast to reformers' music biographies, defenders did not emphasize ethical values in the lives of contemporary Chinese musicians. When Zhu Xiangshi introduced four Chinese "music masters" in the journal *Music Quarterly*, he focused on the musical deeds

³⁹ Liang did not include "music masters" in the book. But he discussed both Chinese and Western "great people."

and abilities of these individuals (Zhu and Zhao, "Jindai yinyue jia xiaoshi," 1924, 1925). Zhu honored Li Rongshou for his contributions to school education and musical publications; Shen Zhaozhou was praised for his superb *pipa* musical performances that inherited from ancient practices; Situ Mengyan 司徒夢岩 was lauded for his excellence in performing and making the violin; and Hu Yuankai 胡元凱 was respected for his studies on historical Chinese music theories. In Zhu Xiangshi's view, knowledge of music theory was most essential among all admirable musical attributes. The possession of a theoretical understanding of music was the key to differentiating "music masters" from mere music performers. In contemporary China, Zhu Xiangshi complained, many Chinese musicians were not "music masters," but mere music performers (Zhu, *Zhongguo sizhu zhinan*).

Zhu Xiangshi's disassociation of "music masters" from "mere performers" resonated with Xiao Youmei's rejection of "music entertainers." Music biographies of both reformers and defenders emphasized that music was serious and noble, an important notion of music in Chinese modernity. For reformers, emphasizing the Confucian character of European classical composers legitimized the seriousness and nobility of Western music. Defenders, I contend, took for granted the observation of Confucian moral values in the

lives of Chinese "music masters." However, although they did not discuss moral character in their music biographies, they defended the character of the Chinese nation elsewhere. The subject of Chinese essence, about which both reformers and defenders held diverse visions, constituted another discourse in modern Chinese musical knowledge.

5.4 The Discourse of Chinese Essence

An integral part of Chinese translated modernity was the continuous need to define and re-define a Chinese essence vis-à-vis the West. The processes of translating the musical West and the concomitant emergence of new practices moved music advocates to formulate strategic visions of Chinese identity. Some essentialized Confucian or Confucian-derived cultural traits to assert a distinctive Chinese musical identity, while others projected Chinese essence as aesthetic properties. While music reformers such as Wang Guangqi criticized Chinese music as technologically backward, some of their visions on Chinese essence resonated with those of *qin* and *sizhu* defenders; Confucian values appealed to these reformers and defenders as best representing Chinese cultural traits, though both sides claimed different sets of Confucian values as the right kinds to be represented. Extreme

reformers, such as Fu Lei, in contrast, would go so far as to reject pre-existing musical Chineseness in that he derided the Chinese nation as “lacking musical sense” (Fu, “Zhongguo yinyue yu xiju de qiantu,” p. 98). Such ridicule, however, was driven by a deep engagement in identifying a desirable Chinese aesthetics and applying it to understand Western music. The discourse of national essence in Chinese musical modernity, which was divided by different visions and focuses, projected the Chinese self against the translated West in various provocative ways.

To examine the controversial discourse of Chinese essence, I analyze how Wang Guangqi projected Confucian cultural traits vis-à-vis Western ones, and how *qin* and *sizhu* defenders claimed different Confucian ideals in their musical practices to represent a Chinese essence. I also examine how Fu Lei, in a less noticeable way, essentialized Chinese aesthetics in his appreciative characterization of Western musical expression.

In an essay series titled “The Musical Life of the German People” (Deguo ren zhi yinyue shenghuo)⁴⁰ published in 1923 and 1924, Wang Guangqi presented his views on “the spirit of the Chinese nation” (*Zhonghua minzu jingshen* 中華

⁴⁰ The essay, consisting of two parts, was published in *The Young China* (*Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中國), the journal of the Young China Association.

民族精神). The Chinese spirit was superior and alive, a conclusion that he came to after having observed the different practices of life and musical culture in Germany in the early 1920s. Wang Guangqi compared the "national character" (*minzu xing* 民族性) of Chinese and Westerners, and used the German case as a representative of the latter. While complaining against the technological deficiencies and the absence of "individual art" practice in Chinese music, Wang Guangqi commended the current spiritual condition of Chinese people over that of the West. For example, he found admirable Confucian characteristics in living Chinese people, a view that reformer-biographers of European classical composers downplayed. Also, in an implicit way, Wang Guangqi saw the realization of Confucian-derived characteristics in current stylistic practices of Chinese music. In his view, the admirable Chinese personal qualities and musical characteristics should be treasured as the national spirit of modern Chinese music.

Wang Guangqi attributed the superiority of the Chinese national spirit to the Confucian culture of "ritual and civilized music" (*liyue* 禮樂) (Wang, "Deguo ren zhi yinyue shenghuo," 1923, p. 1), which manifested its noble

character through the Confucian spirit of harmony (*he* 和). The Chinese spiritual practice of harmony, in Wang Guangqi's view, generated the main difference between Chinese and Western personalities and musics. He interpreted the "authentic meaning" (*zhenyi* 真義) of the ancient "civilized music" as "to bring harmony in the human heart" (*xiehe renxin* 協和人心) (p. 3); for him harmony embodied the highest ideal of Confucianism. Even though he thought Confucius's high regard of music was practically lost among the Chinese people, Wang Guangqi held that the Confucian emphasis on harmony was still alive, and had shaped the personalities of the Chinese people so that they possessed a series of distinctive virtues. Compared to Westerners, Wang Guangqi claimed, Chinese people tended to love seeking peace, enjoy giving concessions, cherish inter-personal relationships, and eschew fame and profits (p. 4). For him, their overall peace-oriented and modest character contrasted with Westerners' penchant for fighting battles and inclination to compete for individual fame and profit. Wang Guangqi proudly presented Confucian-based personality virtues as defining the superior spirit of the Chinese nation.

Wang Guangqi also applied his vision of a Chinese essence to generalize the different national characters of Chinese and Western music. In his comparative view, the "warm and sincere" (*wenhou* 溫厚) character of the Chinese people generated the musical qualities of gentleness (*rou* 柔), affability (*ai* 藹), and harmoniousness (*he* 和). In contrast, music of the fight-loving Westerners exhibited courage-arousing (*ji'ang* 激昂) and robust (*xiongjian* 雄健) qualities. According to him, listening to Western music, people would think of brave soldiers, while listening to Chinese music, people would cease fighting.

Wang Guangqi's exclusive focus on the personality-based manifestations of harmony, however, ignored cosmological dimensions of the Confucian ideal. The term "harmony" ("he") occurs ubiquitously in early Chinese classics and entail intimate relations among music, the universe, and the human society.⁴¹ Confucians believed that playing music that was in accord with the cosmological structure of the universe could harmonize heaven and earth. Invoking such harmonization, music could bring a proper hierarchical order to society, and perfect the nature of

⁴¹ The term "he" possibly originated to indicate a desirable sonic relationship between musical tones. According to the Chinese musicologist Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬, the word may have derived from an earlier word form which denoted an interval of a fourth (DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, p. 45).

human members that inhabit it.⁴² Although during the Six Dynasty (220-581), the musical ideal of harmony was developed into evaluative theories of poetry, painting, and calligraphy, which focused less on moral and political concerns, its supposed cosmological aspects continued to be part of the underlying foundation of these evaluative theories. Cosmological theories, however, were rejected by Wang Guangqi as superstitious and primitive – a view that he adopted from the Western notion of musical evolution and progress (Wang, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, pp. 321-24). His social and moral notions of “gentleness” and “affability” in Chinese music, therefore, were disconnected from the foundational cosmology of Confucianism.

Music defenders also characterized the Chinese essence as imbued with Confucian moral qualities. However, the moral qualities they emphasized, and the means to realize them, differed from Wang Guangqi’s approach. While Wang Guangqi essentialized the ideal of harmony as the Chinese national character, *qin* and *sizhu* defenders, for example, emphasized the Confucian idea of music as a counterpart of “ritual”, or “*li*,” stressing the effects of moral

⁴² Similar ideal of “harmony” was discussed in various pre-modern documents, including the early classics *The Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü*, *The Book of Documents*, and Ruan Xi’s “Discourse on Music.” See Kenneth DeWoskin’s discussion of these documents (DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, pp. 56, 86).

edification that music delivered. Both *qin* and *sizhu* defenders contended that their respective musical practices embodied the Confucian ideal of moral edification. For example, the *sizhu* defender Shen Jiren regarded *sizhu* music as the best representative of the Chinese national spirit, which one could never find in Western music (Shen, *Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*). Similarly, for the *qin* defender Zha Fuxi, *qin* music retained moral elements that were "passed down from the ancient sages of Emperor Huang Di 皇帝 and Emperor Yan 炎帝." These elements embodied "the essence of the Chinese nation and its music, and should never be abandoned" (Zha, "Fakan ci," p. 4). Wu Xiangcen, another *qin* defender, located the value of the *qin* in its effectiveness toward rectifying ethical problems that afflicted modern Chinese society. To renew Chinese music with its essence of moral edification, therefore, was not a leisurely option for Chinese people, Wu Xiangcen contended, but a matter of national survival and death, something "impacting the future of the whole Chinese nation" (Wu, "Tichang guqin," p. 57).

In this line of thought, developed from pre-modern times, the moral edification power of *qin* music was conveyed through the Confucian meta-aesthetic of restraint, which was epitomized in the ideal of "ya" (DeWoskin, *A Song*

for *One or Two*, pp. 108-09). "Ya" is the condition of being refined or civilized. Music with the ideal qualities of "ya," however, did not necessarily appeal to the senses easily; different from vernacular music, it required a noble mind to understand its refined meanings. For example, as Wu Xiangcen acknowledged, *qin* music "does not please the ears easily" (Wu, "Tichang guqin," p. 57). To defend its seeming unattractiveness, Wu Xiangcen lauded *qin* music for its rare qualities of being "lofty" (*gao* 高) and "unworldly" (*kuang* 曠), which best embodied the noble ideal of being refined and civilized. To his mind, it was exactly this loftiness that purified the human mind by cleansing away wicked thoughts, transforming people with self-willed stubbornness to become gentle and calm, thus facilitating the realization in them of essential Chinese moral characters. The ideal of restraint and "ya" echoed among *sizhu* defenders as well. Shen Jiren, for example, commended *sizhu* music for its "graceful and refined" (*juanya* 雋雅) character (Shen, *Zhongguo yinyue zhinan*).

For many reformers, the restrained expressiveness of Chinese music indexed ineffectiveness and weakness, especially when compared to the persuasive effects that Western music was believed to possess. A look at the

contentious views of the reformer-critic Fu Lei shows the great divide between reformers and defenders in the discourse of Chinese essence.

Fu Lei's presentation of his conception of the Chinese essence was convoluted and subtle, for it was based on a rejection of Chinese music. He provocatively declared that "Chinese music perished at a time before it reached its climax of development"; he also claimed that the whole Chinese nation "lacks a musical sense" (Fu, "Zhongguo yinyue yu xiju de qiantu," p. 98). This harsh criticism, however, relied on a commitment to pre-modern Chinese aesthetics that Fu Lei selectively essentialized and projected onto Western symphonic music. Compared to Western music, Fu Lei contended, the inherent weakness of Chinese music lay in its lack of a powerful aesthetic "air" (*kongqi* 空氣) or "atmosphere" (*qifen* 氣氛). Without such an "air," for example, melodic tunes of Peking opera did not generate a "dense feel" (*nongyu qifen* 濃郁氣氛) in their expression, which disabled them to move the listener. The desirable moving power was what music could potentially generate. He believed, in contrast, that "atmospheric density" prevailed in Western music. The key element that enabled Western music to realize such atmospheric power was, in Fu Lei's view, an effective use of functional harmony.

However, Fu Lei argued that seeking “atmospheric density” was also an established aesthetic practice in pre-modern China, though in landscape painting and not in music. In his view, the Chinese aesthetics of “breath, resonance, and animation” (*qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動) that landscape painters developed wisely captured the similar, if not the same, atmospheric effect generated in Western music (p. 103).⁴³ To his disappointment, Chinese musicians lagged behind their fellow painters in developing the essential aesthetic power within their artistic medium. Modern musicians should embrace “breath resonance and animation” as elements of an essential Chinese musical aesthetics. They should learn from the way that Western music had realized this ideal – one that was, as Fu Lei implied, universal.

Focusing on the power of Western music, Fu Lei’s discourse of national essence was subtly embedded in a narrative of translation. The essence of “breath resonance and animation” was based on Western musical effects that Fu Lei projected as Chinese aesthetic expressions. In Fu Lei’s essentialized characterizations, the desirable musical

⁴³ Landscape painting masters that Fu Lei mentioned included Li Sixun 李思訓 (651-716), Wang Wei 王維 (699-759), and Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107). In Fu Lei’s view, there were no Chinese “music masters” who attained comparable artistic achievements in Chinese history.

effects were strong in their vivacity, richness, and fullness, and in their heartrending power (p. 102).

Fu Lei's interpretative emphasis on density and forcefulness, however, contrasted with the character of the suggestive sparseness that Chinese painters developed in pre-modern times. "Breath resonance and animation" seems to have first appeared as a canonic criterion for evaluating paintings in "Ranking of Ancient Painters" ("Guhua pin" 古畫品), written by Xie He 謝赫 (fl. 500-535) (Qian, *Limited Views*, pp. 97-118). "Breath," or "qi" 氣, which can also be translated as "vital air" or "configured energy" (DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, p. 37), was an important concept in Chinese cosmological, philosophical, musical, aesthetic, and medical discourses, among others; it carried an array of nuanced meanings depending on the context of use. Basically, "qi" was a motion in the air that signified potential energy. When critics of painting and other arts first used "qi" as an evaluative criterion, they looked at inanimate objects with an anthropomorphic approach.⁴⁴ Xie's aesthetic canon of "qi," for example, alluded to the phenomenon of human breathing to seek life

⁴⁴ My discussion of landscape painting aesthetics is based on the writings of Qian Zhongshu (1910-1998), a fiction writer, scholar, and polyglot who was well-versed in both Western and traditional Chinese classics, literature, and aesthetics (see in particular, Qian, *Limited Views*, pp. 101-03).

energies that a painting evoked. "Animation," or "*shengdong*" 生動, was the complementary quality that a lively flow of "qi" energy in a painting manifested.⁴⁵ The idea of "resonance,"⁴⁶ or "*yun*" 韻 was often used as an antithesis of the physical form (*xing* 形) or the body (*ti* 體) to describe a person; it was the subtle aura of a living person perceived beyond the ordinary physical realm. The term denoted an effect triggered by actions or something tangible other than the effect itself, which existed subtly and could not be easily captured. Xie's canon of "resonance" valued what a piece of painting did not physically depict.

After Xie, the canons of "qi" and "resonance" became further elaborated, especially in the Song dynasty, when influential critics such as Guo Xi 郭熙 (1020-1090) presented their now definitive interpretations and applications of these concepts. Since then, the interplay of "hiding and revealing," became a major guiding principle in the aesthetic canons of Chinese painting. A good painting would use suggestive means to express meanings

⁴⁵ According to Qian Zhongshu, Xie He's "animation" was originally used by him to explain the first two characters: "breath resonance." It was Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (fl. 847-874) who first combined the two terms into one compound (pp. 97-98).

⁴⁶ The concept of "resonance" probably originated as a term that described the acoustic effect of the echo, or the musical phenomenon of "residual sound."

beyond what was actually depicted (Qian, *Limited Views*, pp. 104-05).

In Fu Lei's musical projection of "breath resonance," however, the qualities of subtlety and suggestiveness transformed into musical effects that were direct, immediate, and forceful. The lively flow of "qi" energy, in Fu Lei's interpretation, became an atmosphere that enveloped the listener. Driven by functional harmony, all elements in the music joined a concentrated effort to express the musical theme, suffusing the "air" with lush sonic themes, densely-woven textures, and expressive sentiments. Just as an effective flow of "qi" energy in a landscape painting generated liveliness in what was depicted and suggested, the flow of "qi" in music delivered a living power that moved and agitated (*chandong* 顫動) the listener.

The landscape painting principle of "revelation through concealment," therefore, became irrelevant in Fu Lei's projection of "resonance" in Western music. In his conception, rather than "hiding" musical ideas in order to subtly reveal the artist's expression, Western music stretched and displayed sound materials amplified by functional harmony to weave out a dense "atmosphere." "Resonance," then, became the musical persuasiveness that

touched the immediate sense of the listener: the stronger the listener felt moved, the greater the "resonance" that the piece of music effectively delivered.

Despite the interpretative differences between Fu Lei and landscape painting theorists, the evaluative mobilization revealed Fu Lei's fascination with Chinese landscape paintings. His understanding of Chinese landscape painting allowed him to make aesthetic sense of the effects that Western music produced for him and which he prized, effects that he could not find in Chinese music, but could valorize as Chinese by what he claimed Western music shared with Chinese landscape painting. The musical effects of "breath resonance," therefore, became essentialized as a Chinese aesthetic achievement. Even though this Chinese aesthetic had been realized for him in Western instead of Chinese music, its embodiment in a form of music opened the possibility, for Fu Lei, that it could also be embodied in Chinese music. Although apparently unknown to Fu Lei, however, the same essential Chinese aesthetic had been applied and developed in *qin* music, in a more straightforward way, centuries ago. But even if Fu Lei had been aware of its application by *qin* players, he would probably have rejected their practices as not really capable of realizing the aesthetic canon; the sound of the

qin, Fu Lei would think, was too soft and ineffective in producing an immediate moving power.

Qin music, in practice, observed the painting aesthetics of "concealment and revelation" with its emphasis on fading sounds. Moments when the player was not plucking the strings were constitutive of this musical expression. For *qin* players and connoisseurs, nonplaying moments continued to deliver musical effects that came from resonations of tones played in the preceding moments, and these tones of resonance were appreciated as "yuyin" 餘音, meaning "residual sounds" or "after-tones" (DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, p. 141). The idea to reveal musical expressions through musical sounds that lingered in the air, but did not come from an immediate plucking action, resembled landscape painting practice: images not depicted in a picture, but suggestively invoked by depicted images, were constitutive to artistic expressions of the painting in its entirety. In *qin* music, fading sounds were constitutive of musical expressions in its entirety.

The *qin* realization of "breath resonance," which was based on the Confucian ideal of "restraint," ironically clashed against Fu Lei's emphasis on dense atmospheric expressiveness. According to *qin* aesthetics, extensive deployment of musical pitches produced an undesirable

"excess." Not directly concerned with pursuing vivacious strength, sonic fullness, or heartrending power, modern *qin* defenders took pride in their music in relation to moral edification on the one hand, and aesthetic enjoyment based on attending to subtle timbre variety and other kinds of delicacy on the other. The subtle sounds of *qin* music, however, annoyed reformers such as Fu Lei as embodying musical deficiency. The *qin* practice of "breath resonance," therefore, was lost in Fu Lei's translation.

Yet, *qin* defenders did not celebrate the painting canon in their discourse of Chinese essence. Would that be because the aesthetics itself did not appeal to *qin* defenders as persuasive to modern Chinese music advocates and listeners? In the absence of a decisive answer to this question, it suffices here to stress how landscape painting provided Fu Lei an aesthetic fulcrum by which he could domesticate the power of Western music in terms of Chinese essence. Even though, for him, Chinese music had not yet embraced this national essence properly, the national essence was alive elsewhere. Perhaps Fu Lei's obsession with painting aesthetics was influenced by his studies of Western art in France. In any event, the competing views of national essence in Chinese translated modernity were surely shaped by the different ways that music advocates

were connected to the Chinese and Western musical worlds and expressive cultures.

Facing the musical West that proclaimed itself a successful model of modernity, Chinese music advocates accommodated Western elements in different ways. As this chapter has shown, their presentations and representations of Chinese musical modernity were embedded in competing discourses of musical knowledge, social and aesthetic engagements, and political agendas. Their visions of creating a simultaneously modern and Chinese character in musical expression were divided by their interests and agendas, while being brought together by their shared life experiences in the cosmopolitan musical network of Shanghai. In the musical worlds of the creative individuals who made new music, pre-existing Chinese musical materials were essential to assert Chineseness in their musical creations, though the Chinese materials needed to be distilled or further developed properly. Among reformer-composers, Yuen Ren Chao made use of both folksong and Peking opera musical elements in his art songs, while He Luting drew upon folksong styles in his piano compositions. On the defenders' side, *sizhu* music provided the basis for the modern creations of Liu Tianhua and Liu Raozhang, and Peking opera practices embraced modern changes in the new productions of

Mei Lanfang and Qi Rushan. The creativeness of these various modern musical expressions lay in how Chinese individuals creatively connected Western musical compositional and expressive practices to Chinese ones – another translation aspect of Chinese musical modernity, one that the next chapter will examine in detail.

Chapter 6

Musical Works and Translational Creativity

Modern Chinese musical works involved translation processes. Creative individuals produced new musical sounds based on adopting and adapting Western practices, ranging from Western compositional principles, presentational stylistics, sound materials, notation, social functions, to aesthetic projections. Turning these foreign practices into Chinese ones, creative individuals produced new sonic expressions that might succeed in advancing their programs of musical modernity, and appeal to their targeted audiences in China and, sometimes, the West. The processes of selecting which Western practices to adopt, which idiomatic Chinese principles and styles to feature, and how Chinese and Western musical procedures could integrate with each other in a new form required not only the relevant musical learning and training but also original imaginations. The pool of possible selections and integrations was large, and different creative individuals used different approaches.

This chapter explores some of these translational procedures and the variety of creative approaches with analyses of five representative cases. They comprise a Chinese art song, a Chinese *erhu* solo composition, a Chinese piano solo composition, a Chinese *sizhu* ensemble piece, and a Peking opera production. They are, respectively, "How Can I Help but Think of You?" ("Jiaowo ruhe bu xiang ta?") composed by Yuen Ren Chao; *In Affliction* (*Bingzhong yin*) composed by Liu Tianhua; *Buffalo Boy's Flute* (*Mutong duandi*) composed by He Luting; *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (*Chunjiang huayue ye*) arranged by Liu Raozhang; and *The King Bids Farewell to His Concubine* (*Bawang bieji*) performed by Mei Lanfang.

6.1 A Heuristic Framework of Analysis

To analyze these cases, I present a heuristic spectrum that identifies three levels of translation: literal, adjusted, and transformative.¹ Operating as a continuum, these three levels overlap and their distinctions are

¹ My heuristic spectrum is inspired by music theorist Yaoyi Uno Everett, who, as an effort to analyze creative processes of contemporary Western art music that integrate East Asian elements, identifies three procedural categories: transference, syncretism, and synthesis. Under the three general categories, she identifies seven kinds of "compositional strategies" that composers employ in their music (Everett, "Intercultural Synthesis").

approximations. In literal translation, creative individuals host Western musical practices by keeping most of their formal appearances and/or underlying principles; the extent that creative individuals change them to adapt to Chinese practices is limited. In adjusted translation, creative individuals keep the basics of the Western underlying principles, but alter their appearances and/or usages in order to adapt to Chinese practices. The overall extent of change is moderate. In transformative translation, the extent of adaptive change is comprehensive. Creative individuals not only change the appearances and usages of adopted Western musical practices, but also significant parts of their underlying principles.

With the help of this heuristic framework, a common set of musical aspects will be analyzed. These aspects include both structural and non-structural features of musical practices. Non-structural aspects include the use of genre, the social function of musical performance, aesthetic expression, performance practice, and notation. Structural aspects include the use of melody, tonality, rhythm, functional harmony, texture, and formal procedure. Because all analytical aspects are results of practice and mediation of creative individuals, they are "practice aspects." Due to the idiosyncratic elements of each case,

and the different availability of primary sources, the translation relevance of each individual "practice aspect" and my scope of analysis vary from case to case.

The creative individuals involved in all five cases acknowledged their use of selective Western practices, though they rarely discussed their selection in detail; sometimes they even downplayed the adoption processes. All claimed a Chinese identity for their creations. Both Western and Chinese practice aspects are involved in the translation processes, and, with reference to the heuristic spectrum outlined above, I characterize the nature of the translation processes.

As with most analytical models, the heuristic spectrum of translational levels has its limitations. A number of caveats need to be made. Firstly, the heuristic spectrum does not claim to apply to all translation processes. For example, it does not apply to the timbral qualities of musical instruments, which crucially determine the materiality of sound and its articulation. The physical construction of musical instruments could have been a possible analytical aspect, but relevant historical data is rare. Based on limited sound recording material, the performance techniques of instrumental – as well as vocal – works are examined in some cases.

Secondly, translated musical features of each case unfold simultaneously. In order to discuss them as comprehensively as possible, my heuristic analysis treats all chosen practice aspects as being equal, without rendering them in an order of salience.

Thirdly, the three heuristic levels of translational change are approximations, not absolute measures. Also, they do not entail any measured degree of sophistication. One may find that the adjusted and transformative levels involve more complex mediations than the literal level of translation. But, *measurement* of artistic sophistication is not the intended goal of the heuristic device; its goal is to reveal the *variety* of complexities and the *possibilities* of mediations.²

Lastly, the analysis of each practice aspect and its relation to the heuristic spectrum is interpretive. The goal is to illuminate creative processes that took place in historical time and space. But as much as my analyses are informed by historical and musicological data, they are inevitably affected by my personal responses. Using the heuristic device as an analytical tool, however, reveals

² Different from Alan Lomax's *Cantometrics*, which measures culture by measuring musical style with a "protocol of measures" (Lomax, *Cantometrics*, p. 9), the heuristic spectrum purports to differentiate rather than to measure the translational nature of the musical cases.

important fluid processes in the translational creativity of Chinese musical modernity.

6.2 "How Can I Help but Think of You" (1926)

"How Can I Help but Think of You" (hereafter, "How Can I") is a modern Chinese art song that adopts the Western sound materials of the piano and violin, and the Western technique of functional harmony. Its "Western-ness" struck the general Chinese audience, especially at initial hearings. A close examination of the song, however, shows an engagement of Chinese musical elements, the result of complex translational processes.

"How Can I" was composed by Chao in 1926. Its text was written by Liu Fu, a pioneer of modern Chinese poetry. The song was published in Shanghai in 1928, in Chao's song collection *Songs for Contemporary Poems (Xinshi geji)*. Shortly afterward, it was performed by students of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music at examinations and concerts. "How Can I" adopts Western song practices in many aspects. Chao himself admitted that his modern songs emulated the art song style of Schubert and Schumann. As Chao advocated Western art song practice, he also translated it into Chinese actively. His translated style was so well received among music reformers that Xiao Youmei, president of SCM,

praised Chao as "China's Schubert" (Xiao, "Jieshao Zhao Yuanren"). Among his songs, "How Can I" is representative of those that carry a strong Chinese-style character.

The practice aspects of "How Can I" can be generally described in the following. As an art song, "How Can I" has a fixed instrumental accompaniment played by the piano and violin. Socially, the song functioned as concert music. Aesthetically, the song text, which is taken from a modern Chinese poem, expresses romantic sentiments of lovesickness. Although romantic expressions are commonly found in Chinese classical songs – represented by, for instance, Kun opera arias – the reflexive identification of "I" in "How Can I" is rare in classical Chinese practice. The performance practice of the song is illuminated by Chao's own vocal performance, traceable in an extant sound recording. Chao's melodic execution involves numerous ornamentations that are meant to better articulate the linguistic tones of particular words; these melodic ornamentations, however, are not notated in the score. The score, following Western art song practice, uses staff notation.

Regarding the structural aspects, the song melody matches the linguistic contour of the texts, with a few instances of melismatic design. Its tonality is presented as based on the Western E major key, but it also employs

the Chinese *gong* 宮 (dol)-mode in many parts. Rhythmically, the song is set in triple meter, and the phrasal structures of the melody and the text correspond; both practices are rare in Chinese music. Nonetheless, the beats sub-division style of the song invokes a common Chinese style. Western functional harmony is featured, but the harmonic idiom does not have the kind of lushness found in German *Lied*. The texture of the song, comprising a vocal melody with instrumental accompaniment, is not new in Chinese music. The formal practice of the song employs the Western "modified strophic form," with atypical features that can be explained with the Chinese formal procedure of "introduction-exposition-transformation-culmination." With reference to my heuristic spectrum, the following analyzes the translational complexities of these practice aspects.

The genre of "How Can I," a modern Chinese art song,³ is a literal translation of the German *Lied*. Composers of the *Lied* create vocal melody for a selected poem with a fixed instrumental accompaniment, usually played by the piano. Such a practice was almost unknown in the pre-modern Chinese musical world. Pre-modern Chinese song genres that

³ The naming of the genre did not come from Chao, but from reformers such as Xiao Youmei. Chao described his songs published in the 1928 collection as "songs for contemporary poems" (*xinshi ge* 新詩歌). The repertoire was quickly referred to as "Chinese art songs" (Zhongguo *yishu gequ* 中國藝術歌曲), however.

use poetry as sung texts include *ci*-poetry songs and operatic songs. Melodies of these songs are mostly based on pre-existing tunes types: the “cipai” 詞牌 of *ci*-poetry songs, and the “qupai” 曲牌 for operatic songs such as Kun opera arias. There are also operatic songs that are based on prescribed modal and melodic structures, such as those of the “*pihuang*” 皮黃 system of Peking opera. While instances in which musical literati composed new tunes for their poems existed – the most documented of which were done by Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1155-1221) who composed *ci*-songs, the practice was not representative. Even in Jiang’s exceptional cases, only the song melodies were composed and notated; the instrumental accompaniment, mostly created by instrumentalists during performance, is not part of the notated composition. The practice of fixing and notating accompaniment is rare in Chinese song culture. Also, the style of accompaniment in Chinese songs is different from that in Western art songs; it shares the same melodic basis with the voice without the use of functional harmony. As the genre practice of “How Can I” follows that of the German *Lied* closely, its translation is at the literal level of my heuristic spectrum.

This literal translation is nuanced with an instrumental adjustment, however. Besides using the piano as the accompanying instrument, Chao also included the violin, which is uncommon in the German *Lied*. The addition of the violin invokes the familiar practice of Peking opera, in which the *huqin* leads the melodic accompaniment of aria singing. With the added fiddle sound, then, "How Can I" adjusts the accompanying practice of the Western genre to re-enact a Chinese habit.

Socially, the concert practice of "How Can I" engages literal translation processes. In the early twentieth century, performance of the German *Lied* had become a concert-hall event, where esteemed vocalists performed solo singing on stage for attentive audiences. In early twentieth-century China, public performances of solo singing took place mainly in such venues as teahouses, and the professional singers were mostly sing-song girls who did not enjoy comparable social status to Western art song vocalists. They sang for customers who, sitting at dining tables, engaged in tea-drinking, refreshment dining, or socializing. In the somewhat private venue of brothels, courtesans performed solo songs for their male clients, some of whom might request the performance be held in the courtesan's *boudoir*. The concert practice of "How Can I,"

which related the professional singer to the audience in an unprecedented setting of attentive listening, is thus a direct adoption from the West; the social function of the song therefore involves translation processes at the literal level.

Aesthetically, the poetic text of "How Can I" expresses direct romantic sentiments that engage translation processes at the literal level. Meanwhile, the ambiguity as to whom the romantic sentiments are actually addressed adjusts the adopted Western expressive practice. The poetic text consists of four stanzas (translated by Hallis, in "Chinese Art Song," p. 65):

Clouds are floating in the sky,
The breeze is blowing on the earth.
Ah!
The breeze is stirring my hair,
How can I help but think of you?

The moonlight falls in love with the ocean,
The ocean falls in love with the moonlight.
Ah!
This sweetly silver night,
How can I help but think of you?

The fallen petals on the water flow slowly,
The fishes under the water swim gently.
Ah!
Swallow, what did you say?
How can I help but think of you?

The withered tree is shaking in the cold wind,
The bush fire is burning in the twilight.
Ah!
A few sunset clouds linger in the west,

How can I help but think of you?

While the theme of lovesickness is common in Chinese classical poetry, "How Can I" differs from classical poetry in its manner of expression. The four stanzas of "How Can I" all end with the same exclamatory gesture: "Ah! ... How can I help but think of you?" In classical Chinese poetry, such a direct revelation of romantic feeling is rare. Explicit verbalization of "thinking of" someone is more common in folk or vernacular poetry, which literati regarded as "vulgar." Also, the reflexive use of "I" in classical poetry is not common. In classical poetry, poets' feeling, experience, and intentionality usually appear as the lyric center of their poems without the self-conscious mentioning of "I" (Lin, *Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition*, p. 150). In contrast, the reflexive "I" is commonly used in European romantic poetry.⁴ With the presence of "I" and the direct exposé of romantic thoughts in its song text, aesthetic expressions of "How Can I" appears to be an instance of literal translation.

However, the poetic text of "How Can I" involves an expressive practice that is absent in European romantic poetry, one that adjusts the adopted Western expressive

⁴ For example, the reflexive "I" is used in the poetic texts of Goethe's "Gretchen am Spinnrade," Wilhelm Müller's "Wohin?," and Heine's "Der Doppelgänger."

practice. The Chinese title of the poem is ambiguous as to the gender of the addressee "ta," which is interpretively translated as "you." In modern Chinese, "ta" 他 is a third-person male pronoun. Its early modern usage – as in "How Can I" – was gender-unspecific; it could mean a male or a female. Although Liu Fu modified the character to create a feminine-"ta" 她 (also pronounced as "ta") in 1920,⁵ the term aroused controversy among literary reformers and was not yet in much actual use. The "ta" in "How Can I," therefore, remained gender-unspecific (Liao Fushu, *Yueyuan tanwang*, pp. 353-57). When Chao translated the title of the poem into English, he eschewed the gender controversy of the original, replacing the third-person "ta" with the second-person "you" instead. He explained that it was indeed more customary for Westerners to address their lovers directly with the second-person pronoun in poetry and song. In contrast, Chinese were more indirect in expressing their emotion, and seldom addressed their lovers directly (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*, p. 27). Therefore, while the reflexive "I" in the poetic text of the song betrays a practice of literal translation, the gender-ambiguous "ta" in the original Chinese text adjusts

⁵ For a discussion of the early use of feminine "ta" in modern Chinese literature, see Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice*, pp. 36-38.

the adopted practice with a Chinese indirect expressive practice. Also, as Chao recalled later, Liu Fu composed the poem during the time when he was a sojourner in London, missing his home country China. The "ta" in "How Can I," therefore, could refer to China as well (Yu Yuzi, "Ji zhuming yuyanxue jia," p. 41), which turns the romantic sentiments of the song into sentiments of homesickness. Such playing with the addressee's identity through the text, however, is rare in the *Lied*. From this perspective, the aesthetic practice of "How Can I" engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Regarding performance practice, Chao's vocal performance of "How Can I" adjusts the European *bell canto* vocal style with Chinese-style melodic ornamentations. Chao's singing is recorded in a Pathé Columbia recording released in 1935 (Pian, "My Father's Musical Life," p. 70). As we hear from the recording, Chao, in order to articulate the linguistic tones of the texts, adds grace notes to words that carry a rising or falling linguistic contour. For example, to articulate the falling tones of the word "piao" 飄 (lit.: flow) and "chui" 吹 (lit.: blow) in the first stanza (respectively, at mm. 5, 10), Chao adds the grace note of b before singing the notated note of g#. Sliding down quickly from the grace note to the assigned

note, which is a minor third below, creates a falling contour that imitates the falling tone of the Chinese words. Using such an ornamentation practice to reflect linguistic tones of the text, however, is absent in the vocal practice of the German *Lied*. In Chao's view, the adjustment practice should only apply to vocalists who were competent to articulate the grace notes. Not notating the grace notes on his score, Chao gave vocalists the liberty to choose if they wanted to assert linguistic inflections in the vocal melody. If a singer was not competent enough, Chao would rather the performance follow the notation.

For the notational practice, Chao wrote "How Can I" with Western staff notation, an instance of translation processing at the literal level. The notation that I use for my analysis is taken from the 1987 re-publication of Chao's notation, first published in *Song* in 1928 (see Appendix 1).

Regarding the melodic design, "How Can I" employs a distinctive style of Chinese vocal music that transforms the melodic style of the *Lied*. The vocal line of the song, which forms the basis of the song's overall melodic style, is designed in ways that match the linguistic tones of the Chinese text. Chao identified two established melodic principles in Chinese songs: one is to reflect the contours

of the four standard linguistic tones of the text,⁶ while the other is to reflect the oscillation of “level” (*ping* 平) and “oblique” (*ze* 仄) inflection types of the linguistic tones.⁷ Chao drew upon the latter principle, which he characterized as a “classical” approach (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*, p. 263). The bipolar opposition of “level” and “oblique” contours is fundamental to classical Chinese poetry and regulated poetry (律詩 *lǜshi*) in particular. The “classical” inflection-matching method appealed to Chao because of his “emotional attachment to the old convention,” and because he felt that it was more elegant (*ibid.*).

In “How Can I,” for example, the two words “tou fa” 頭髮 (lit.: head hair), which appear at the end of the fourth verse, first stanza, have a pronunciation that comprise a level tone followed by an oblique one. Chao set the two words to a rising melodic contour: it surges from the fifth scale step, at “tou,” to the high octave tonic, at “fa,” which then drops down to the third scale step in a minor sixth below the high tonic (Musical Example 6.1). The

⁶ The four basic linguistic tones of modern Chinese are: high-level tone (*yinping* 陰平), rising-level tone (*yangping* 陽平), “upper” tone (*shang* 上), and “falling” (*qu* 去) tone.

⁷ Level inflections comprise the two level tones mentioned in the previous note, while the oblique inflections include the “upper” and “falling” tones. Systems reflecting earlier pronunciation practice include an “entering” (*ru* 入) tone among the oblique tones.

Musical Example 6.1 The melodic design for the Chinese words "tou" and "fa," in "How Can I Help but Think of You?"

15

The image shows a musical score on a single staff in treble clef, key of D major (two sharps), and 3/4 time. The melody consists of the following notes: D4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter). The lyrics '微风 吹动了 我头 发,' are written below the staff. The characters '我头' are grouped under a bracket labeled '"tou"', and '发,' is grouped under a bracket labeled '"fa"'. The melody rises to a peak on the note '头' (A4) and then falls for '发,' (D4).

surging melodic contour that moves from "tou" to "fa" indeed contradicts the actual tonal contour formed by the pronunciation of the two words in modern Mandarin, for "tou" – a word with the "rising" tone – sounds in a higher register than "fa" – a word pronounced in a neutral tone when combined with "tou"; the two words form a falling contour instead of a surging one. Following the "classical" inflection-matching principle, Chao did not create a straight-forward falling contour; he first flew up the singing tone for "fa" before dropping it low.

In contrast, matching linguistic tones with the melody is not a major concern in the German *Lied*. Unlike the Chinese language, most European languages are not tonal. To reflect linguistic elements of the German texts, the vocal melody of the *Lied* follows the pronunciation accents rather than the tones of the texts. Although the Chinese language also has accent patterns, they tend to be more flexible than with European languages.

Also, vocal melody of the German *Lied* tends to be more syllabic than melismatic, whereas the melismatic style is characteristic of classical Chinese poetic songs, such as Kun opera arias. In "How Can I," while the vocal melody is basically syllabic, it incorporates melismatic elements. The melodic phrase set to the exclamation word "Ah" in each stanza is highly melismatic (mm. 12-14, 30-32, 52-54, 66-68). Functioning to musically extend the exclamatory expression, the melismatic design contrasts with the short, syllabic enunciations of "Ach" in Schubert's "Lied der Mignon" (Mignon's Song) and "Liebesbotschaft" (Love's Message), for example. The melismatic element in "How Can I," together with the factor of linguistic tones, thus transform the melodic practice of the German *Lied*.

For the aspect of tonality, "How Can I" adopts the Western major-minor keys while adjusting them to incorporate Chinese modal idioms. From the perspective of Western tonality, "How Can I" is in E major, with modulations to its related keys of E minor and G major. However, the pentatonic parts of the vocal melody and the modal harmony elements in the song are in the Chinese style of *gong-mode*. "Gong" is the first scale step in the Chinese tone system, corresponding to "do" in *solfege*. In *gong-mode*, tonal development is directed toward the "gong" tone,

or the first tone, of the anhemitonic pentatonic scale 1-2-3-5-6.⁸ The cadence tends to end on the "gong" tone as well. Featuring these Chinese modal characteristics, the tonality practice of "How Can I" engages processes of adjusted translation.

Regarding the practice of rhythm, "How Can I" adopts a characteristic Western meter and rhythmic style while adjusting them to invoke features of classical Chinese poetic songs, such as Kun opera arias. The triple meter of the song is a Western adoption, which contrasts with the quadruple and duple meters that prevail in Chinese poetic songs. With the Western triple meter, "How Can I" engages a new sense of motional flow to musically depict the moving images of breeze, wind, and river.

Also as an adoption from the *Lied*, the textual and musical phrasings in "How Can I" appear with a durational correspondence, which contrasts with the relatively flexible style of Chinese poetic songs. In the *Lied*, the ending of musical phrases usually correspond to the endings of textual phrases. But in the highly melismatic Chinese poetic songs, such as southern-style of Kun opera arias, a textual phrase usually takes more than one musical phrase to finish. As the textual and musical phrasings in "How Can

⁸ The anhemitonic pentatonic scale is a pentatonic scale that excludes the fourth and seventh scale steps.

I" basically correspond to each other, they betray adopted influences from the *Lied*.

In such a new corresponding structure, however, the beats sub-division in "How Can I" invokes a rhythmic style characteristic of Chinese poetic songs. In Kun opera arias, for example, quarter beats are frequently divided into eighth- and sixteenth-note patterns. Also, notes of relatively longer durational value would precede and follow sub-divided notes or patterns to give a brief sense of balance and stability.⁹ However, in the German *Lied*, sub-divisions of quarter beats with the use of the eighth- and sixteenth-note elements or patterns tend to be less elaborate. The Chinese rhythmic style of sub-division and balance continues in "How Can I," therefore, adjusting the Western swing effect caused by the triple meter to generate a Chinese-style motional flow.

The Chinese rhythmic style also comes from its conformity to the speech rhythm of the texts. For example, the dotted eighth-note beat at m. 5 articulates the verb "piao" (lit.: flow) with a longer note value than the following verb-modifier "zhe" 著, which imitates the speech delivery of the word-unit "piao zhe." The syncopated dotted

⁹ The frequently used sub-divided patterns include an eighth followed by two sixteenth-notes, and evenly divided sixteenth notes. Dotted values among them are also commonly used.

eighth-note beat for the word-unit “bu xiang” 不想 (lit.: not think), which appears in the last verse of each stanza (e.g. m. 17), also captures the speech rhythm closely. Conforming to the Chinese textual rhythm further adjusts the Western rhythmic practices in “How Can I.”

Regarding the practice aspect of functional harmony, its adopted use in “How Can I” produces distinctively Western sounds. But with Chao’s pursuit of a “Chinese-style” (“Zhongguo hua” 中國化) (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*, p. 262), the harmonic idioms of the song undergo translation processes at the adjusted level. In his preface to *Songs*, Chao wrote that he would deliberately violate the rule of avoiding parallel fifths in order to create a Chinese flavor (*ibid.*). In “How Can I,” such examples include the parallel fifths that occur in the instrumental prelude at mm. 1 to 2, and in the instrumental interlude at mm. 41 to 42. Similar sound effects are also produced with the use of open fifths – certain chords with the thirds omitted – at mm. 25, 29, 47, and 51 (Musical Example 6.2). When compared with Schubert and Schumann examples, “How Can I” has a slower pace of harmonic progression, especially in the first two stanzas. For example, in the first stanza, the sonority of the E major chord is sustained for twelve measures. Above the pedal point of E, diatonic chords come

and go, without generating the harmonic lushness that characterizes Schubert and Schumann's art songs. The relatively stable harmonic change in the first half of "How Can I" is partly due to the use of modal harmony, which is based on an anhemitonic pentatonic scale. The scale de-emphasizes the fourth and the seventh scale steps; among its diatonic chords, only the first and sixth chords do not consist of the two de-emphasized scale steps. Because of this pentatonic modality, the first half of "How Can I" has limited harmonic changes. The prolonged E-major-chord sonority, tinted with a few chordal changes, creates a gentle harmonic flow that supports the pentatonic movement of the vocal and violin melodies. As the practice of functional harmony in "How Can I" adapts to Chinese tonal flavor and modal idiosyncracies, it engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Regarding the textural aspect of "How Can I," the practice of having a vocal melody accompanied by two musical instruments is not a new practice in Chinese song culture. Whereas forming inter-part relations with functional harmony is a translation, the textural practice of supporting a voice with instrumental accompaniment is not.

Musical Example 6.2 Instances of strategic parallel fifths and open fifths in "How Can I Help but Think of You?"

Parallel Fifths

1

Open Fifths

25

For the aspect of formal procedure, "How Can I" adopts the practice of "modified strophic form" from the *Lied*, but adjusts it to accommodate Chinese formal features.

Following the Western "modified strophic form," the four stanzas of "How Can I" are melodically distinct from one another, while sharing similar phrase structure and similar accompaniment style. As in Schubert's practice of "continuous modified strophic songs" (Thomas, "Schubert's Modified Strophic Songs"), musical components in "How Can I" do not recur in stanza-units. Only the third and the fifth

phrases of the first stanza re-appear in different parts of the song. Such a formal design resembles that in Schubert's "Wohin," a song in the song cycle *Die Schöne Müllerin*, for example.

Different from "Wohin," however, the prelude re-appears in the interlude that separates the second and third stanzas, between m. 40 and m. 44. The return of the prelude in the middle of the song is not a standard practice of the *Lied*. The return, however, makes sense in the Chinese classical form of introduction-exposition-transformation-culmination (*qi cheng zhuan he* 起承轉合), in which the section of "transformation" could begin with a return of introductory materials. An example of such a return practice is found in the *qin* piece *Lament of Empress Chen*, which Joseph Lam identifies with a reduction analysis (Lam, "Analyses and Interpretations," p. 367). In "How Can I," similar to *Lament*, changes of modulations begin after introductory materials are re-stated. More importantly, the song fits into the sectional divides of the Chinese classical form: the four stanzas correspond to the four sections. As the unusual return of the prelude alters the Schubert-style modified strophic form to accommodate a Chinese style, the formal practice of "How Can I" involves translation processes in the adjusted level.

6.3 *In Affliction* (1915-23)

In Affliction (hereafter, *Affliction*) is a modern instrumental solo composition created for the *erhu*, a Chinese two-stringed lap fiddle. The distinctive timbre and materiality of the Chinese musical instrument gives the piece a strong sense of “Chineseness,” but a detailed analysis reveals that its compositional concepts and procedures engage complex translations of Western practices.

Affliction was composed by Liu Tianhua between 1915 and 1923.¹⁰ The composition process took many years to finish partly because composing original and solo music for the *erhu*, with fixed notation, was a new practice. Featuring the *erhu* in *Affliction*, Liu Tianhua employed Chinese musical practices as basic referential template to process his translational creativity. Specifically, Liu Tianhua’s creation of *Affliction* was based on his knowledge and experience of both local *sizhu* music and Western instrumental music.¹¹ *Affliction* is Liu Tianhua’s earliest

¹⁰ It took Liu a long process of revisions before he finalized the notation of *Affliction* in 1923. He completed the first draft of the piece in 1918 and began teaching it in 1921 (Chen, *Liu Tianhua de chuanguo*, p. 88).

¹¹ Liu Tianhua began taking *sizhu* lessons from Zhou Shaomei (1885-1938) in 1917. *Sizhu* music remained an important part of Liu Tianhua’s musical life, including his *erhu* teaching. According to Chen Zhentuo, a student of Liu Tianhua, Liu Tianhua required students to begin learning the *erhu* with *sizhu* pieces (p. 87). Liu Tianhua’s Western music experiences include participation in a youth military band in his hometown, and in the Western music ensemble of the Kaiming Drama Club in Shanghai.

work and one of his most famous pieces. In the 1930s, music students who took *erhu* lessons at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music would learn this important piece from Wu Bochao, a faculty member who was one of Liu Tianhua's students.

Affliction was included in the programs of student concerts and examinations at SCM.¹² Also, the piece was used in the film *Song of China* (1935), accompanying two important sequences.¹³

The practice aspects of *Affliction* can be generally described in the following. *Affliction* features the *erhu* solo, which is new to classical Chinese practice. Socially, the piece functioned as concert music. It expresses frustrated feelings of the composer, an aesthetic practice that is rare in pre-existing Chinese music. Regarding the performance practice of the piece as revealed in its early sound recordings, both Liu Tianhua and his contemporary Wei Zhongle applied *sizhu*-derived ornamentations and vibratos styles in their own ways, which are not described in the score. It is likely that Liu Tianhua used Chinese *gongche* notation for the piece, though for some of his other pieces,

¹² For example, the piano major Li Xianmin 李憲敏 (a.k.a., Lee Hsien-Ming; 1911-1991), who later studied at the Brussels Conservatory of Music (1934) and married the Russian composer Tcherepnin (1938), performed *Affliction* in an examination concert in 1931 (*Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao xiaokan*, 1931).

¹³ The use of *Affliction* in the film *Song of China* is discussed in my conference paper "Chinese Translated Modernity and *In Affliction (Erhu Solo)*, 1918-1935" (2006).

he published both *gongche* and Western staff notation versions.

Regarding the structural aspects of *Affliction*, the melody exhibits both the Western linear style driven by tonal tensions, and the *sizhu*-style wave-like patterns. The tonality of the piece is basically in the Chinese *gong*-mode, though gestures of the Western major-minor sounds are incorporated. Rhythmically, the Western contrastive use of different rhythmic patterns and motivic style of development are combined with episodes that feature even patterns of eighth- and sixteenth-notes, a characteristic *sizhu* style. Functional harmony does not seem to be used, despite the employment of Western tonal elements. The texture of the piece, in monophony, is an established practice in Chinese music. For the formal procedure, the Western sectional divide of ABA' based on the principle of statement-contrast-restatement is used, though the additional return of the faster B section in the coda invokes the closing practice characteristic of *sizhu* music. Using the three-leveled heuristic spectrum, the following analyzes the translational complexities of these various practice aspects.

The genre of *erhu* solo is a modern invention, one that adopts from the Western violin solo. The adoption, however,

is adjusted with Chinese instrumental practices. In pre-modern China, the *erhu* was seldom a solo instrument. In the early twentieth century, it was part of the *sizhu* ensemble music in the Jiangnan region, where Liu Tianhua grew up. Only the lowly street musicians, among them beggars, would play the *erhu* as a solo musical instrument. Liu Tianhua's idea of composing serious music for the *erhu* probably came from Western violin solo practice, especially from the repertoire that has descriptive titles, such as Dvorak's *Humoresque*. The adoption, however, was prompted by changes that his *sizhu* teacher, Zhou Shaomei, had developed. Zhou was a pioneer in arranging *erhu* solo versions of the *sizhu* ensemble music; "The Fragrant Wind" ("Xunfeng qu" 熏風曲) was his representative *erhu* solo piece. Zhou is also known for expanding the hand positions of playing the *erhu*, which enlarged the registral range of the musical instrument. Liu Tianhua took the *erhu* development of Zhou Shaomei in unprecedented directions by adopting a range of new Western practices. The genre practice of *Affliction*, which adapts the violin solo to the *sizhu*-style *erhu* solo, thus engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Socially, the concert practice of *Affliction* involves literal translation processes. The piece was performed in concert occasions organized by various schools and the

Shanghai Conservatory of Music. This contrasts with *sizhu* performances that involved the *erhu*; they took place in teahouses or in *sizhu* gatherings only. The unprecedented concert function of *Affliction* is thus a translated practice processed at the literal level.

Aesthetically, the practice of directly expressing the composer's frustrations in *Affliction* is a literal translation of the Western Romantic style. In the Western Romantic practice of the violin solo music, such as Tchaikovsky's *Serenade Melancolique*, it is common to feature the composer's individual emotional experience or thoughts through title poetics. In Chinese instrumental music, however, directly addressing personal frustrations is rare. Although expressing personal aspirations and feelings is well established in *qin* music, *qin* sentiments are usually guided by Daoist, Confucian, or Buddhist ideals, or by the experience of historical figures. Personal frustrations are also beyond the expressive field of *sizhu* ensemble music, which is generally characterized as "lively but graceful" (Witzleben, *"Silk and Bamboo" Music*, p. 119). Bringing the Western Romantic practice to the *erhu*, Liu Tianhua created the Chinese title "Bingzhong yin" for the

piece, which literally means "groaning in illness."¹⁴ The English title, *In Affliction*, was a translation by his elder brother, Liu Fu, the modern poet (Liu, ed., *Liu Tianhua xiansheng jinian ce*). Whereas Liu Tianhua's Chinese title alludes to frustrations with the metaphoric images of groaning and illness, the English title foregrounds the state of frustration itself. Despite the different focuses, both titles feature individual frustration as the expressive theme of the *erhu* solo piece. The adopted Romantic practice processes translation at the literal level.

This literal translation, however, is nuanced with subtle adjustments. The frustrations that Liu Tianhua intended in *Affliction* were not only his personal experience, but also the experience of fellow intellectuals in modern China (Chen, *Liu Tianhua de chuanguo*, p. 43). Such a direct connection between the personal and the national is uncommon in Western Romantic classical music. From this perspective, the aesthetic practice of *Affliction* engages translation processes not only at the literal level, but also at the adjusted level.

¹⁴ Liu had tried different Chinese titles before he settled on *Bingzhong yin*. They include *Hushi* 胡適 and *Anshi* 安適, both of which convey the idea of "How can I live in comfort?" His uneasiness at giving a title that best conveyed his personal thoughts and feelings shows how new this aesthetic practice was.

Regarding the performance practice of *Affliction*, the recorded performances of Liu Tianhua and his contemporary Wei Zhongle (a.k.a., Wei Chung Loh; 1908-1998) do not show substantial processes of translation. In their recordings, which were produced from 1931 to around 1940,¹⁵ *sizhu*-derived ornamentation and articulation styles prevail. Invoking images of the *sizhui*'s "flower-adding" (*jiahua* 加花) style of ornamentation, and of their improvisatory execution, the recorded performances sometimes elaborate upon the notated melody of *Affliction*. Also, grace notes are articulated in ways that resemble the lightly-touched "hitting tones" (*dayin* 打音)¹⁶ in the *sizhu* performance style of *erhu*.

In addition, the recorded performances employ the *sizhu-erhu* vibrato style. Contemporary *erhu* players have generally identified two kinds of vibrato to embellish their tones. One is by pressing the left-hand fingers upward and downward – known as "pressing the string" (*yaxian* 壓弦) – and the other is by moving the fingers forward and backward along the string – known as "rubbing

¹⁵ Liu's recording was produced by Odeon Records in 1931. Wei had at least two recordings of *Affliction* produced. One, containing only sections of the piece, was produced in the soundtrack of the 1935 film *Song of China*; the other was produced by Musicraft around 1940, then re-published by Lyrichord Discs in 1958.

¹⁶ "Hitting tones" are produced by pressing and lifting a left-hand playing finger quickly.

the string" (*rouxian* 揉弦). The latter is generally regarded as an adopted practice of the Western violin, while the former, which sounds more intensely, is an established style in *sizhu* music. In the recorded performances of Liu Tianhua and Wei Zhongle, the *sizhu* style of "pressing" vibrato seems to be used more often than the adopted "rubbing" style.

The recorded performances of Liu Tianhua and Wei Zhongle, despite their poor sound qualities,¹⁷ demonstrate the tenacity of *sizhu* performance practice in *Affliction*. The *sizhu* ornamentations and vibratos give the *erhu* solo piece a Chinese dimension of sonic stylistics that is not manifested in the notation. Realizing new compositional elements with familiar *sizhu* stylistics, the performance practice suggested by the recordings further complicates the translated nature of *Affliction*.

Regarding the notational practice, it is likely that Liu used the Chinese *gongche* notation – the most common notational system in the *sizhu* community – in his teaching. Liu did not seem to adopt staff notation to record *Affliction*, though when he published some of his later *erhu*

¹⁷ Liu dismissed the recording as not reflecting the best of his performance capability, and was going to make another recording. His untimely death in 1932, however, left that recording project unrealized (Chen, *Liu Tianhua de chuangzuo*, p. 90).

compositions,¹⁸ he adopted Western notational practice. A *gongche* notation of *Affliction* was published posthumously in *Musical Compositions of the Late Liu T'ien-hwa*, a private publication that Liu Tianhua's brother Liu Fu compiled to commemorate Liu Tianhua in 1933. Although the booklet included a staff-notation version of *Affliction*, it was transcribed from Liu Tianhua's *gongche* notation by someone else. Translation, therefore, does not directly apply to Liu Tianhua's notational practice of *Affliction*. The notation I use for my analysis is based on the staff notation published by Liu Tianhua's daughter, Liu Yuhe, in 1997; the 1933 and 1997 versions share the same structural design (Appendix 2).¹⁹

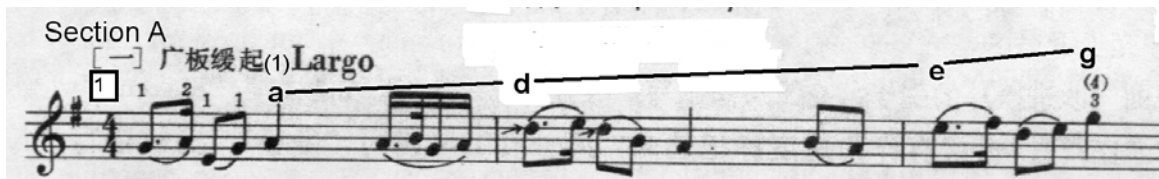
For the melodic design, *Affliction* adopts from Western music a linear style of development based on tonal tensions, but adjusts the linear drive with *sizhu*-style melodic patterns. In Western tonal music, the rise and fall of the melody follow a linear path that is oriented toward tonal tensions and their releases. The tensions are generated by dissonance, which often drives toward a tonal climax. The melodic design of *Affliction* embraces a similar forward-

¹⁸ For example, when Liu Tianhua published *Leisure* (*Liangxiao* 良宵) and *A Moon-Bathed Night* (*Yueye* 月夜) in *Music Magazine* in 1928, he included both *gongche* and staff notations for each piece.

¹⁹ I use the 1997 version instead of the 1933 version because the latter is only available in microfilm, and reproduces poorly.

driving flow. Propelled by underlying tonal tensions, the melodic movement in the piece orients toward reaching climatic points in different phrase and section units; tensions just built at the climatic points are subsequently released. For example, at the beginning of *Affliction*, the melody gradually climbs upward from the tone a at m. 2 to e in an octave higher at m. 3, and to the climax of g in the higher octave later in the measure. The tonal tensions just built then gradually release themselves when the melody slowly moves down to e at m. 8 (Musical Example 6.3).

Musical Example 6.3 Linear melodic movement driven by tonal tensions in *In Affliction*.



Such a practice of building and resolving tonal tensions is stylistically absent in *sizhu* music, including the *erhu* solo versions of *sizhu* music that Zhou Shaomei, Liu's teacher, arranged. Zhou Shaomei's representative *erhu* solo piece "The Fragrant Wind" offers an example (Musical Example 6.4). In the beginning of "Fragrant," even though the melody goes upward from the tone e, through f# and b, to a in an octave higher, the upward tonal movement is not

oriented toward a tonal climax along a linear path. The sudden leap from b to the high a at m. 5 is an action of octave replacement, not a move driven by an underlying scheme of linear tonal motion; canceling the leap and keeping the melody in its original octave would not change the implied melodic structure of the piece. The upward motion here, in contrast to the melodic surge to the f and high g at m. 3 of *Affliction*, is rather a melodic stretching in the upper register, not a deployment of tonal tensions.

Musical Example 6.4 *Sizhu* melody in “The Fragrant Wind.”²⁰



Realizing this unit an octave lower would not change the melodic structure

Within the adopted tonal scheme of climax and release, however, the melodic patterns of *Affliction* invoke the idiomatic style of *sizhu* melody. The *sizhu* melodic style

²⁰ My source for the notation of Zhou’s “Fragrant” is taken from the 1985 *sizhu* collection of Gan Tao (Gan, *Jiangnan sizhu yinyue*, pp. 84–85).

features alternating upward and downward motions, which generate the idiomatic “wave”-like contours in a “continuous and winding” manner (Gao, *Minzu qiyue gailun*, p. 232; Thrasher, “The Melodic Structure,” p. 250; Witzleben, “*Silk and Bamboo*” Music, p. 119). The “wave” patterns prevail in *Affliction*. The piece begins with a melodic unit that first moves one step upward, then four steps downward, but moves up again to go back to the beginning two notes (m. 1). Another *sizhu* melodic practice that *Affliction* employs is about principles of connections between melodic phrases and sub-phrases, which include “connecting through [repeating] the last note” (*jiezi* 接字), and “connecting through [repeating] the last two notes” (*jiewei* 接尾) (Gao, *Minzu qiyue gailun*, p. 231). For example, the ending note of the first melodic unit at m. 1 – the note a on the third beat – is repeated by the first note of the second melodic unit, which begins at the fourth beat of the same measure. In the next two melodic units, the same melodic technique of repetition recurs. At the second measure, the last two notes of the melodic unit – b and a – are repeated at the fourth beat of the measure, where the next melodic unit begins. With wave-like motions and connective repetitions, *Affliction* adapts the Western melodic practice to generate

sizhu-style melodic patterns, engaging translation processes at the adjusted level.

Regarding the tonal practice, *Affliction* adopts Western elements with transformative translation processes. The tonality of the piece is based on the Chinese modal structure of the *gong*-mode.²¹ The *Gong*-mode is based on the anhemitonic pentatonic scale 1-2-3-5-6, with the *gong*-tone, or the first scale step, as the emphasized tone. The Western major-minor tonality is heard in *Affliction*, but the adopted elements stay within the Chinese modal structure. For example, emphasizing the sixth scale step along with the first scale step generates effects of the Western minor-third interval, creating the sense of a Western minor-ish tonality. At other times, the fourth (e.g., m. 14) and the seventh (e.g., m. 4) scale degrees appear in ways that create a Western G-major flavor.²² Although the fourths and the sevenths are mostly used as passing tones, their consistent appearances at cadences and transition episodes make them integral to the tonality of *Affliction*. The Western major-minor style, however, is invoked only in a restricted and localized manner; it does not supersede the overall prevalence of the Chinese *gong*-

²¹ The tuning of the piece is in the Chinese *zhenggong* 正宮 style, in which the first tone is tuned to pitch g in the Western pitch system.

²² For example, the seventh scale step is used at mm. 3, 7-8, 16, 22, 38, and 47-48.

mode tonality. As the Western tonality practice is episodic and domesticated in a Chinese tonal context, the translation processes take place at the transformative level.

Rhythmically, *Affliction* adopts from Western music's contrastive uses of varied patterns, including dotted rhythm, quarter and half beats, and rests. Meanwhile, the resultant new motional drive is adjusted to maintain stylistic images of the *sizhu* practice. Compared with *sizhu* music, Western music allows the rhythmic order to comprise greater durational contrasts. *Sizhu* music, which frequently uses eighth- and sixteenth-note rhythms to divide quarter beats with even patterns (Thrasher, "The Melodic Structure," p. 240), seeks to maintain an even, stable motional drive without abrupt rhythmic contrasts. Notes with longer values usually appear at the end of phrases, or are followed by sub-divided even patterns that offset motional pauses created by the long-held notes. Probably embracing the Western rhythmic flexibility, *Affliction* features successions of contrastive rhythmic patterns to create a new motional drive.

The piece begins with a dotted eighth-note unit, which is followed by two eighth notes, then a quarter note

(). This motivic pattern recurs throughout the slow

A section. As the same pattern is heard again and again, the pause generated by the longer note on the third beat sounds like thwarting the motion just initiated by the previous two beats, delivering a sense of hindrance and a state of frustration, when one's motion forward is thwarted. Similar rhythmic practice can be heard in Western romantic music, such as Tchaikovsky's *Serenade Melancholique* (Musical Example 6.5). But such interrupted flow is rare in *sizhu-erhu* music, such as "Fragrant," in which motions that are temporarily held back by longer beats quickly resume their drive with succeeding even patterns. In the faster B section of *Affliction*, the adopted practice of rhythmic contrasts now involves pitting rests of eighth-note value against sixteenth-note patterns. This contrastive usage, which accommodates abrupt breaks caused by the rests, violates the *sizhu* principle of smoothness and continuity. But from the perspective of adopted Western rhythmic practice, the contrasts charge the lingering sense of hindrance with assurance and energy.

Musical Example 6.5 Beginning phrase of Tchaikovsky's *Serenade Melancholique*.



The adopted rhythmic practice of *Affliction*, however, also features even patterns of eighth- and sixteenth-notes in an extensive way that captures characteristic images of the *sizhu* patterns. The long series of even sixteenth-note patterns in section B (mm. 42-47) and the series of eighth-note patterns at the coda (mm. 58-62), for example, are reminiscent of *sizhu* stylistics. The adopted Western rhythmic practice, therefore, is adjusted to maintain *sizhu* characteristics, engaging translation processes at the adjusted level.

Regarding functional harmony, *Affliction* does not adopt this Western tonal technique, though the melodic design of the piece is driven by Western tonal elements. For the aspect of texture, the monophonic practice of *Affliction* is not based on translation.

For the aspect of formal procedure, *Affliction* adopts the Western practice of ternary form, but adjusts it to create a *sizhu* effect at the end of the piece. The ternary structure of *Affliction*, which is based on the principle of statement-contrast-restatement and has an ABA' sectional divide, is a Western adoption. Such a dramatic sectional contrast is rare in *sizhu* music, which regards abrupt changes as undesirable. Usually, in *sizhu* music, the tempo

changes with gradual *accelerando* throughout the piece. In *Affliction*, the B section contrasts with the A and A' sections in several aspects, including a faster tempo, more use of sixteenth notes, and different phrase-ending means. The formal procedure of *Affliction*, however, does not simply end with the section of "restatement" – the A' section. An unusual coda appears, which presents an exact return of the second half of the B section. Re-stating the B section in the concluding section confuses the Western principle of contrast and return in ternary form. Also, the "returned" B section in the coda has the fastest tempo in the piece, which is rare in Western ternary form. The manipulation of the tempo, however, re-enacts an *accelerando* effect that prevails in the ending section of *sizhu* music. The translation of ternary form in *Affliction*, therefore, engages adjustment processes that adapt to the *sizhu* practice.

6.4 Buffalo Boy's Flute (1934)

Chinese musical compositions played by Western musical instruments engage translation processes in different ways. *Buffalo Boy's Flute* (hereafter, *Buffalo*), composed by He Luting, is a case that features the sound medium of the Western piano. Translating the foreign musical instrument

into a Chinese one, He Luting employed a diverse range of Chinese idiomatic techniques and associative expressions. With a persuasive Chinese character, *Buffalo* won the first prize of the first composition contest held at SCM, a contest that honored original piano compositions "with Chinese characteristics."

Highly touted by Chinese music reformers, the contest was sponsored by the Russian composer Alexander Tcherepnin (1899-1977), a visiting composer at SCM in 1934 (Chang, "Alexander Tcherepnin"). Through the contest, Tcherepnin intended to encourage young Chinese music students to compose modern music in national Chinese style. He Luting composed *Buffalo* for the contest; the piece won and became a monument in Chinese piano music.

The Chinese musical elements in the piece that He Luting most highly valued were folksong materials, which he appreciated as "always simple, beautiful, and moving" (He, "Zhongguo yinyue jie," p. 6). He Luting also sought to create revolutionary music, which, in his view, necessarily utilized pre-existing musical materials, though in a subtle way. Citing Monteverdi, Berlioz, and Wagner as model composers, He Luting wrote:

The revolution of revolutionary composers is ... to generate an *effect* of giving up old things. [At

the same time, composers] use new methods, new techniques to process [old materials], use new consciousness and passion to create their own new [musical] art. (He, "Zhongguo yinyue jie," p. 6, emphasis mine)

I see that in *Buffalo*, He Luting embraces Baroque musical practices, sometimes Romantic ones, to generate the "new methods, new techniques," while translating them with Chinese folksong and instrumental music practices.

The practice aspects of *Buffalo* can be generally described in the following. The genre of the piano solo piece combines practices of the non-programmatic Baroque two-part inventions with those of the Romantic, as well as Chinese, programmatic repertoire, creating a new classical solo genre that uses a Western musical instrument to express Chinese flute-related images. Socially, *Buffalo* functioned as concert music. The piece presents idealized Chinese folk images and pleasurable sentiments involving the subject of a buffalo boy and his flute. The performance practice, due to an unavailability of sound materials, will have to wait until such material becomes available. The Western staff notation is used, a standard practice for piano music.

Regarding the structural aspects of the piece, its melodic style combines the Chinese practice that emphasizes

connecting varied musical ideas of the same melodic basis, with the Baroque practice that underlines organic development of contrastive motives. Melodic ornamentations reminiscent of the Chinese flute are also employed. The tonality of the piece features a symbiosis of the Western major practice, in the keys of C and G, and the Chinese *zhi(sol)*-mode. Rhythmically, the piece overall exhibits shorter durational span compared to that of Baroque inventions, with more conspicuous pauses between phrases to generate a Chinese style that stresses balancing moving momentum. Some elements of functional harmony are used in the cadential progression of the B section. But more substantial use of harmonic elements are practiced in the textural adoption of Baroque counterpoint, which features relations of consonance and dissonance, motional contrast between the two parts, and their rhythmic differentiation. Stylistic elements of Chinese heterophony, however, are used to mediate the contrapuntal practice. The formal procedure of the piece adopts the Western ABA' ternary division. Using the heuristic spectrum, the following analyzes the translational complexities of these practice aspects.

As a piano solo composition, the genre of *Buffalo* is an adoption of Western keyboard music. But instead of

following a single Western keyboard genre literally, *Buffalo* combines Baroque and Romantic keyboard practices, adjusting them to communicate his Chinese programmatic subject in the translation processes. Adopted from the Baroque genre of two-part invention, *Buffalo* features a two-part contrapuntal structure. But two-part invention is usually titled with numbers and keys (e.g., Bach's *Two-Part Invention No.1 in C Major*), whereas *Buffalo* has a programmatic title that features a pastoral subject.²³ Its title, *Buffalo Boy's Flute*, is based on some popular folk song lyrics: "Little cowherd boy, riding on the buffalo's back, blowing his short little flute, in whatever way he pleases" (He, "Huainian Qi'erpin xiansheng," p. 1). Programmatic titles with a pastoral theme are common in Romantic piano solo music. Schumann's "Rustic Song" in the *Album for the Young* and Tchaikovsky's *Dumka in C Minor, Op. 59, "Russia Rustic Scene,"* for example, have comparable titles. Featuring programmatic titles and pastoral subjects is also a common practice in Chinese instrumental music. The genre of *Buffalo*, therefore, is a fusion of Baroque, Romantic, and Chinese music practices. The fusion works well for He Luting's folk subject that features flute music:

²³ He Luting's SCM mentor Huang Zi adopted the invention practice and composed a piece titled *Two-Part Invention* four years before He Luting composed *Buffalo* (Huang, "Two Two-Part Inventions"). However, He Luting did not follow Huang Zi's approach.

the Baroque contrapuntal style is adopted to invoke melodic imageries of the Chinese flute, while the Romantic or Chinese title practice justifies the non-Baroque programmatic practice. Adapting the Baroque genre practice to a pastoral subject, *Buffalo* engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Socially, *Buffalo* adopted the concert practice from the West, but invested in it the Chinese ideal of refined music. The adoption processes translation at the adjusted level. The Western concert practice had no parallels in the pre-modern Chinese literati musical culture, which generally regarded music as a means of self edification but not as public display. Music reformers, however, adopted the Western concert piano practice as the manifestation of a refined culture.²⁴ Embracing the piano concert practice as no less refined than the pre-modern amateur ideal, reformers downplayed its commercial dynamics. The translated term for "piano," *gangqin* 鋼琴, which literally

²⁴ Richard Kraus characterizes the Chinese piano phenomenon as related to "middle-class ambitions" (Kraus, *Pianos and Politics*). The piano not only embodied science and technology, but also social status and prestige. As Kraus notes, the condition of the Chinese "middle-class" was different from that in Europe. He Luting's peasant origin provides an example that contrasts with the European condition of the "middle-class," showing the complexity of the Chinese musical middle-class.

meant the "steel *qin*,"²⁵ possibly projected the foreign musical instrument as a new kind of *qin*, the Chinese musical instrument that most symbolized the refined musical culture of pre-modern China.²⁶ The translated term, combining steel and the *qin*, presented the Western piano as a perfect embodiment of two Chinese modernity ideals. While its steel materiality realized Western acoustic capacity, its association with the *qin* tamed the foreign technological device into a civilized Chinese tool of expression.

The social function of *Buffalo*, therefore, engages processes of adjusted translation. Projecting self-edification onto the adopted concert practice, *Buffalo* underlines an adaptation that turns the concert professionalism of the Western piano into Chinese refined "professionalism."

Aesthetically, *Buffalo* presents idealized Chinese folk images: an innocent buffalo boy, herding his flock, plays his little flute with pleasure. Featuring these folk images

²⁵ Although a few translators used the transliterated form of "pi-ya-na" 披雅娜 in the 1920s and 1930s (e.g. Feng, *Yinyue rumen*), *gangqin* became the standard term.

²⁶ The Chinese word *qin* can be used to refer to musical instruments in general, especially string instruments. For example, the lap fiddle is generically known as the *huqin*, literally meaning the "barbarian *qin*." But because the piano was received by the Chinese as a refined musical instrument, and the most refined musical instrument in pre-modern Chinese culture was the seven-stringed *qin*, it is very likely that the "steel *qin*" translation meant to invoke the civilized sentiments associated with the seven-stringed *qin*.

as refined musical expressions was a practice that involves translation processes at the adjusted level. In Chinese *qin* music, pastoral subjects are usually guided by the Daoist ideal of human-nature union,²⁷ which is not directly featured in *Buffalo*. The particular folk sentiments expressed in *Buffalo*, as well as its title, are based on a popular Chinese folk subject, as noted above. Different from common folk music, however, *Buffalo* presents the cowherd subject with combined folk and elitist sentiments, a practice that adopts from Western Romantic music that features pastoral subjects. Presenting a common Chinese pastoral subject with the Western aesthetic practice, *Buffalo* engages processes of adjusted translation.

Regarding performance practice, without yet getting access to early sound records of *Buffalo*,²⁸ I am not able to discuss the translation processes involved.

For the practice of notation, *Buffalo* adopts Western staff notation, processing translation at the literal level. The notation I examined is a version published in 1996 (Wei, ed., *Zhongguo gangqin mingqu*) (Appendix 3), one that

²⁷ *Qin* compositions that feature pastoral subject include *Drunken Fisherman Singing the Evening* (*Zuiyu changwan* 醉漁唱晚).

²⁸ In late 1934 or early 1935, the Pathé Record Company released a recorded performance of *Buffalo* by Ding Shande 丁善德 (1911-1995) (Dai, "Yinyuejia Ding Shande"), a colleague of He Luting at SCM (Shi, *He Luting zhuan*, pp. 77-78). I hope to locate this recording in the future.

records the musical structure of *Buffalo* as it appears in the earliest published notation of the piece, which I have not been able to collect in its entirety.²⁹

Regarding the melodic aspect, the Chinese-style presentations in *Buffalo* transform the Baroque principles in the translation processes. While melodic practices in Baroque and Chinese instrumental music share the same goal of unity and coherence, they have different focuses: the former focuses on organic development of clearly-defined contrastive motives, whereas the latter emphasizes connecting a variety of melodic ideas that share the same stylistic basis. From the Baroque melodic practice, *Buffalo* only adopts the presentational device of motives and countermotives, leaving aside the organic approach to development.

In Baroque keyboard music, such as Bach's two-part inventions, motivic elements are organic materials that are restated, expanded, and opposed during the course of development. Presented as motive and countermotive, melodic motifs are based on contrastive elements, which are clearly

²⁹ The notation of *Buffalo* was first published by Tcherepnin in Japan in 1935. I have not located this early publication. But Tcherepnin included the last page of the original notation in an article he published in *The Musical Quarterly* in 1935 (Tcherepnin, "Music in Modern China"). Between this last page and the same section in Wei's version, only the dynamic markers and the figuration are different. My analysis does not focus on these two aspects, however.

defined (Musical Example 6.6). The sense of unity and coherence is achieved through identifiable recurrences and developed appearances of the motives and countermotives. In Chinese instrumental music, however, literal repetition of motivic materials is deemed undesirably mechanical.³⁰ The course of development focuses on varying the motivic materials and connecting them together, in a style of what the Chinese instrumental music scholar Li Minxiong characterizes as “cross-connection” (*guanchuan xing yanzhan* 貫穿性延展) (Li, *Minzu qiyue gailun*, p. 105): motivic or thematic elements, in somewhat simple or complex guises, appear throughout the development, connecting the melodic sections into a coherent whole.

Musical Example 6.6 Motive (M) and countermotive (CM) in Bach’s *Two-Part Invention No. 1*.

The image shows a musical score for two staves, treble and bass clef, in 3/8 time. The treble staff contains a melodic line with several phrases. Brackets above the staff identify four segments: 'M' (Motive) for the first two measures, 'CM' (Countermotive) for the next two measures, 'M' for the following two measures, and 'CM' for the final two measures. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment. Brackets below the bass staff identify two segments: 'M' for the first two measures and 'M' for the last two measures. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals.

³⁰ Repeating the opening melodic phrase right after its first statement, however, is common in Chinese music. In *Buffalo*, the first phrase is repeated.

The Chinese melodic practice of "cross-connection" applies to *Buffalo*. Motivic materials, in varied and fragmented forms, appear throughout the piece. Without undergoing procedures of expansion and opposition, the motivic variations realize melodic unity and coherence through their common stylistic basis. For example, the beginning melodic gesture in section B, "a-g-e-g," partially echoes a melodic phrase presented in section A (m. 12), without undertaking the procedure of organic growth.

Also, *Buffalo* keeps the Chinese principles of repetition and connection in shaping individual melodic phrases, which contrasts with Baroque-style melodic practice. The Chinese principles, as identified by the Chinese music scholar Gao Houyong, emphasize repeating the ending part(s) of the preceding phrase to form a sense of melodic unity and coherence. The principles include "connecting through [repeating] the last note" (*jiezi*), and "connecting through [repeating] the last two notes" (*jiewei*) (Gao, *Minzu qiyue gailun*, p. 231). Both techniques are used in *Buffalo* – an instance of the former case appears at m. 16, for example, and an instance of the latter case appears at mm. 23–25 (Musical Example 6.7). Such repetition strategies are not commonly used in Baroque keyboard music, which emphasize more a linear sense of melodic development.

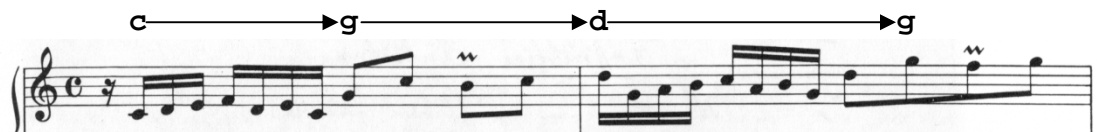
Musical Example 6.8 shows the beginning upper melody in Bach's *Two-Part Invention No. 1*.

Musical Example 6.7 Chinese-style melodic connections in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

jiezi: connecting through repeating the last note of the previous unit
jiewei: connecting through repeating the last two notes of the previous unit



Musical Example 6.8 Linear melodic style in Bach's *Invention No. 1*, beginning upper melody.



Chinese-style melodic ornamentations also prevail in *Buffalo*. The upper-melody in the returning A' section (e.g., m. 53), for example, re-states the A section's upper-melody in Chinese elaboration style of "flower-adding" (*jiahua*); with elaborated figures of sixteenth notes, the A' section presents an increased melodic density compared to the A section, invoking the "flower-adding" style that is characteristic of Chinese instrumental music (Musical Example 6.9). In section B, the upper mordent in the upper-melody (e.g., m. 25) realizes the common *dizi* ornamentation technique known as "note-stacking" (*dieyin* 叠音), which produces rapid alternations of a note with its upper neighbor by uncovering and covering the same hole quickly (Musical Example 6.10). Invoking the characteristic ornamentation of the *dizi*, the section B upper-melody generates sonic images of a Chinese buffalo boy's flute.

The overall focus on the high register in *Buffalo* also invokes a usual Chinese melodic practice, which contrasts with Baroque keyboard music. The octave lifting in section B, in particular, is beyond the usual registral range in Baroque music. But the melody in the extended upper register invokes the sonic images of high-pitched Chinese flutes, e.g., *bangdi* 梆笛, which ranges to pitch e of two

Musical Example 6.9 Melodic elaboration of section A' in the Chinese "flower-adding" style in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

Section A'
Tempo primo
mp
53
1 2 1 3 1 2

Section A
Commodo
mp
*1 1 2 1 3 1 2

Musical Example 6.10 *Dizi*-style melodic ornamentations in section B, through the use of upper mordents in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

Section B
Vivace
8va
25
1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2

octaves above the middle octave. In addition, compared to Baroque practice, the melody of *Buffalo* has more frequent alternations between short-spanned ascending and descending

patterns, which generates a “wave” style characteristic of southern Chinese music.

As Chinese melodic styles prevail in *Buffalo*, translation of the Baroque practices engages processes at the transformative level.

Regarding tonality, *Buffalo* adjusts the Western tonal practice with the Chinese pentatonic modal schemes and modulation styles. While *Buffalo* embraces the Western keys of C and G, its tonality is defined by Chinese *zhi* 徵 (sol)-mode, which is based on the pentatonic structure of c-d-e-g-a, and ends on the fifth scale step, which is g, the *zhi* (sol) tone. The pentatonic mode clearly prevails in the A and A' sections.

In section B, the Chinese modal practice is featured with Western elements.³¹ The Western heptatonic scale is adopted in the left hand, supporting a chordal movement that is not found in Chinese music. Also, the Western cadential progression V/V-ii⁷-V-I is used to end the section (Musical Example 6.11). These Western elements are used to accompany the right-hand melody, which presents the common Baroque device of “sequence,” a procedure in which a melodic unit or phrase recurs on another scale step.

³¹ In section B, despite the change of key signature to the key of G (with the f#), the right-hand melody basically continues the *zhi*(sol)-mode pentatonic structure of A section, but undergoes key modulations. The left-hand accompaniment, however, is based on a G major tonality.

Musical Example 6.11 Western cadential progression at the end of section B in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

The image shows a musical score for piano accompaniment, measures 39 to 46. The score is written on two staves, treble and bass clef. Measure 39 is marked with a box containing the number 39 and the word 'cres.'. Measure 46 is marked with a box containing the number 46 and the word 'dim.'. The chord progression is indicated as ii - V - I. The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Sequential phrases frequently involve modulations. In *Buffalo*, however, the underlying Chinese-style modulations change a usual feature of the Baroque sequence.

In *Buffalo*, the sequence melodic phrase first begins on a (m. 25), then recurs on e (m. 29) and b (m. 33) (Musical Example 6.12). The tones a, e, and b do not move in a stepwise fashion, however, which contrasts with the usual Baroque practice. In the common Baroque-style sequence, recurring sequential phrases usually begin on a tone that is adjacent to the beginning tone of the previous phrase – a style known as the “step-progression.” Musical Example 6.13 shows an example of the Baroque-style sequence from Bach’s *Sinfonia No. 3*, in which the melodic unit

Musical Example 6.12 Sequence in section B, *Buffalo Boy's Flute*

Musical Example 6.13 Baroque-style sequence from Bach's *Sinfonia No. 3*.

begins on *a*, then recurs on *g*, and *f*, progressing in a stepwise manner.

The particular sequence progression in *Buffalo* is a result of a Chinese-style modulation. The *zhi* (sol) tone changes from *g* to *d*, and to *a*, and returns back to *g*,

implying modulations from the pentatonic structure of c-d-e-g-a to g-a-b-a-d, to d-e-f#-a-b, and back to c-d-e-g-a. This modulation style follows a common Chinese practice, one that the Chinese music theorist Li Yinghai describes as “changing the *biangong* (ti)-tone [of the original mode] to be the *jue* (mi)-tone [of the new mode]” (*yi biangong wei jue* 以變宮為角) (Li, *Hanzu diaoshi*, p. 47). For example, as Musical Example 6.14 shows, the b at m. 28 is originally the *biangong* (ti)-tone of the c-d-e-g-a key structure. But as the melody modulates to the g-a-b-a-d key structure, b functions as the *jue* (mi)-tone (mm. 29-32). The employment of such modulation approaches and the pentatonic *zhi*-mode structure adjust Western tonal elements in *Buffalo* with Chinese characteristics.

Musical Example 6.14 Chinese-style modulation in section B, *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

b as *biangong*(ti)-tone of C key → *jue*(mi)-tone of G key

Regarding the rhythmic aspect, the Chinese style of *Buffalo* also transforms the Baroque practice. Compared with Baroque keyboard music, the phrasing units of *Buffalo* tend to have shorter durational span, embodying the Chinese characteristic rhythmic practice of “frequent pauses and punctuations” (*duo dundou* 多頓逗), as Gao Houyong phrases it (Gao, *Minzu qiyue gailun*, p. 226). Gao attributes the style to the song origin of instrumental music, which has frequent clausal or phrasal divisions. The pauses at the end of phrase units not only function as closure, but also realize the aesthetic ideal of balancing moving momentum. *Buffalo*, especially the A section, realizes such a style and ideal. With relatively shorter rhythmic phrases and longer pauses between their divisions, *Buffalo* translates the Baroque practice at the transformative level.

For functional harmony, section B of *Buffalo* embraces some harmonic elements, but the practice itself is not featured substantially. Rather, the harmonic elements function in the translation context of textural practice.

The texture of the A sections in *Buffalo* is based on the Baroque contrapuntal practice, but engages translation processes at the transformative level. The upper- and lower-melodies relate to each other in a way that blends counterpoint with Chinese-style heterophony.

In Baroque keyboard music, melodic units of different parts tend to have independent identities while relating to each another contrapuntally. Their contrapuntal movements are generally based on three principles: constant generation and resolution of dissonant intervals, varied directions of motion, and rhythmic differentiations (Randel, "Counterpoint," p. 205). Interpretation of these principles often leads to imitation among parts. While *Buffalo* adopts counterpoint, however, it does not use the technique of imitation. The two melodic lines present varied materials of motives (and countermotives) to generate heterophonic images, which are mixed with the Baroque counterpoint.

The first general Baroque principle is based on the concept of consonance and dissonance, the "perceived stability or instability of a complex of two or more sounds" that are sounded simultaneously (Randel, "Counterpoint," p. 197).³² Instabilities generated by dissonant and imperfect-consonant sonorities drive the polyphonic melodies to move toward perfect consonances, where tensions are resolved. The successions of intervals between the melodic parts seek

³² In the Western tonal system, the most stable consonance (perfect consonance), excluding unison, is defined by the intervals of perfect fifth (and its octave multiples) and the octave. The secondary stable consonance (imperfect consonance) refers to the intervals of major and minor thirds, and major and minor sixths. The rest of the intervals are generally considered as examples of dissonance, though the nature of the fourth interval varies depending on circumstantial use.

to maintain a forward-driving momentum, avoiding both undesirably stagnant or overly unsettling motions. For example, successive, or "parallel," perfect fifths and/or octaves are avoided, for they are regarded as lacking a proper forward drive. *Buffalo* basically follows the Western rules of intervallic variation to generate a Baroque-style forward-driving momentum. The adopted contrapuntal style, however, is mediated with Chinese heterophony, in which the two parts relate to each other based on a similar melodic idea, while giving different renditions of it (Musical Example 6.15). These heterophonic images resonate with the style of *sizhu* music.

Musical Example 6.15 Blended counterpoint and heterophony in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

Section A
Commodo

X X X

contrapuntal elements
 ↑ : perfect consonance
 ↓ : dissonance

heterophonic relationship
 the lower part elaborates the same melodic idea as the upper part

Varied motional directions between melodic parts also characterize the Baroque contrapuntal style. Melodic parts not only move in similar directions, but also in opposite ones, which are realized through “contrary motion” and “oblique motion” (Musical Example 6.16). Contrary motion refers to the opposite directions of upward and downward movements between two melodic lines, whereas oblique motion pits a moving voice against another one that remains relatively still, drawing the attention to the moving part. In Chinese *sizhu* heterophony, different instrumental parts would sometimes move in contrary directions, though not as substantially as in Baroque keyboard music in general (Musical Example 6.17).³³ In section A of *Buffalo*, the two melodic lines sometimes engage in brief contrary motion that is reminiscent of the *sizhu*-style heterophony. The Baroque practice of oblique motion, however, is not so compatible with Chinese heterophony, which avoids extreme contrasts of momentum between parts. In *Buffalo*, oblique motion is not adopted.

³³ In *sizhu* music, for example, while instrumental parts are theoretically based on the same melodic source and thus generally move in a similar direction, in practice, short contrary motions could occur because different instruments have different idiomatic ways to realize the same melodic basis.

Musical Example 6.16 Contrary motion and oblique motion in Bach's *Sinfonia No. 6*.

Contrary motion



Oblique motion



Musical Example 6.17 Contrary motion in *sizhu* music, "Medium Ornamented Six Beat" (Witzleben, "Silk and Bamboo" Music, p. 108).



Buffalo transforms the contrapuntal principle of "rhythmic differentiation," featuring rhythmic patterns of

motives and countermotives that are less contrastive and less defined than those found in Baroque keyboard compositions. Overall, the rhythmic motives in *Buffalo* have more frequent and irregular – thus “inconsistent” – changes. The resultant textural effect unfolds duet interactions in *sizhu* music. In *sizhu* duets, as studied by Lawrence Witzleben, two instrumental parts generally interact and contrast with each other according to the “you simple and I complex; you complex and I simple” principle (Witzleben, “*Silk and Bamboo*” Music, pp. 104-17). The goal is to realize a sense of balanced contrast (p. 107) (Musical Example 6.18). In the A section of *Buffalo*, the rhythmic alterations and density contrasts capture some of these *sizhu* textural and rhythmic stylistics (Musical Example 6.19). The fast changing of rhythmic patterns in the section would be deemed as “excessive” by the general Baroque standard. The blending of counterpoint and heterophony in section A of *Buffalo* reflects processes of transformative translation.

Switching to a chordal style, section B adopts elements derived from the Western homophonic practice. The lower-voice consists of chords that are foreign to Chinese music. However, the stepwise and descending movements of

Musical Example 6.18 Balanced contrast of rhythmic differentiation in *sizhu* duet, "Medium Ornamented Six Beat" (Witzleben, "*Silk and Bamboo*" Music, p. 108).

The image shows a musical score for two parts, labeled 'a)' and 'b)', across five measures numbered 11 to 15. The music is written in a 4/8 time signature with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Part 'a)' is the upper staff and part 'b)' is the lower staff. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Measure 11 starts with a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. Measures 12-15 continue in 4/8 time.

Musical Example 6.19 *Sizhu*-style rhythmic differentiation in *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.

The image shows a musical score for two parts, labeled 'Section A' and 'Commodo'. The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system is marked 'mp' and the second system is marked 'f'. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Measure 1 starts with a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. Measures 2-4 continue in 4/4 time.

the chords simultaneously create contrapuntally-based lines against the upper-melody. In addition, the repeating notes g (e.g., mm. 25-28), d (e.g., mm. 29-32), and a (e.g., mm. 33-34) appear as a percussive *ostinato*, forming a third line in a "homophonic" section (Musical Example 6.20).

Musical Example 6.20 Polyphonic motions in a "homophonic" section, *Buffalo Boy's Flute*.



melodic line
 quasi-contrapuntal line
 percussive *ostinato*, the third line

Breaking the chordal elements into thin polyphonic motions, therefore, section B of *Buffalo* adjusts the adopted homophonic practice to realize a style that diminishes the alienation between Chinese heterophony and Western homophony. The translation processes, therefore, take place at the adjusted level.

Regarding formal procedure, *Buffalo* literally adopts the Western ABA' ternary form that is rare in Chinese music. The Western ternary form is based on the principle of statement-contrast-restatement, which marks sectional differences by contrast. Although sectional form exists in

Chinese music, contrasts among sections are less dramatic. *Buffalo* embraces the Western formal contrast, featuring a middle section that differs from the previous and subsequent sections in dramatic ways, including: faster tempo, change of meter (from quadruple to duple), change of key signature and tonal elements, surge to a higher octave in the upper-voice, change of the left-hand accompanying pattern (from melodic to chordal), change of textural design (from contrapuntal to homophonic), and change of the approach of melodic development. The new formal practice of *Buffalo* thus involves translation processes at the literal level.

6.5 A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River (1925)

A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River (*Chunjiang huayue ye*; hereafter, *Spring River*) is a modern work for the *sizhu* ensemble. While it is exclusively played by Chinese musical instruments in an unmistakable *sizhu* style, *Spring River* subtly adopts practices of Western orchestral music. The piece is generally celebrated as a masterpiece of "traditional" Chinese music, without attribution to its arranger, Liu Raozhang.

Liu Raozhang created *Spring River* for Great Unity Music Society in Shanghai in 1925. Liu Raozhang supported the defensive music advocacy of the Society, but thought that its reconstructed ancient music was too arcane for modern audiences. As an experiment, Liu Raozhang created *Spring River* by re-arranging a classical *pipa* piece. The piece soon became part of the core concert repertoire of Great Unity, and was performed at socially significant occasions. For example, in 1927, *Spring River* was performed at the wedding banquet of Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist government and later, president of Republic of China. It was also performed at a music-exchange concert requested by the visiting violinist Efrem Zimbalist (1889-1985). In 1933, a performance of the piece by Great Unity's grand orchestra was recorded in a sound film, produced for the International Exposition held in Chicago. Apart from these special occasions, *Spring River* was frequently broadcasted by radio music programs that featured *sizhu* music, inspiring various *sizhu* clubs to emulate its style. The translated orchestral stylistics in *Spring River*, however, seem to be unique.

The practice aspects of *Spring River* can be generally described in the following. In terms of genre, this ensemble piece was identified as an example of "new *sizhu*"

(*xin sizhu* 新絲竹) in the *sizhu* community shortly after it gained popularity. Such a classification, though not in much use nowadays, presents *Spring River* as a sub-genre of *sizhu*, one that is new, modern, and integrated with Western practices. Socially, the piece functioned for years as part of the core concert repertoire of the Great Unity Music Society. Its aesthetic expressions, as informed by its poetic title and sub-titles, continue common Chinese practices. The performance practice of the piece, based on a 1950 recording, seems to continue the general *sizhu* style. It is likely that *gongche* notation – the most common notational system in the *sizhu* community – was used by Liu Raozhang, though cipher notation has replaced the *gongche* system nowadays.

Regarding the structural aspects of *Spring River*, its melodic style is based on the classical *pipa* solo piece titled *The Evening Moon at Xunyang* (*Xunyang yeyue* 潯陽夜月; hereafter, *Xunyang*).³⁴ Its tonality, following *Xunyang*, is in the *shang* 商 (re)-mode. Rhythmically, *Spring River* uses rest beats frequently, generating a style of separation that differs from the characteristic *sizhu* practice, which

³⁴ Based on nineteenth-century *pipa* handbooks, the solo piece has different titles, including *Xiao and Drum at Sunset* (*Xiyang xiaogu* 夕陽簫鼓) and *Pipa at Xunyang* (*Xunyang pipa* 潯陽琵琶). For notational sources, see Ye, *Minzu qiyue*, p. 85; for a comparison between different versions of the piece, see Gan, *Jiangnan sizhu yinyue*, p. 667.

emphasizes continuity without interruptions. The Western technique of functional harmony is not used to generate vertical tonal relationships. The most prominent translated practice of the piece lies in the textural aspect, which applies the Western concerto principle that separates the soloists from the rest of the ensemble. But the contrastive or oppositional relations featured in the Western practice is mitigated with a *sizhu*-style heterophony. The formal procedure of the piece employs the common Chinese sectional division, with the melodic theme presented in the common Chinese form of "introduction-exposition-transformation-culmination." Using the heuristic spectrum, the following analyzes the translational complexities of these practice aspects.

Regarding the practice of genre, *Spring River* is a *sizhu* creation that is based on the *pipa* classical solo piece *Xunyang*. Once accepted, *Spring River* launched "new *sizhu*," a sub-genre of *sizhu*.³⁵ Arguably the pioneer of this sub-genre, Liu Raozhang's inspiration came from Western orchestral music.

Socially, *Spring River* embraces Western concert practice, involving translation processes at the literal

³⁵ The *sizhu* repertoire that is based on classical *pipa* solo pieces has come to be more generally known as "ancient pieces" (*guqu* 古曲) and "*pipa* suites" (*pipa taoqu* 琵琶套曲) among the *sizhu* community (Witzleben, "*Silk and Bamboo*" Music, p. 65).

level.³⁶ The adopted concert practice directs the audience's listening attention to the piece. This social and musical practice contrasts with pre-modern *sizhu* music performances that take place at teahouses and social events, when and where the audience engages in a variety of activities. It also contrasts with *sizhu* music performed ritually in religious and life-cycle ceremonies. Shortly after its premiere, *Spring River* became a core item in the concert repertoire of Great Unity; as such, the social function of *Spring River* engages translation processes at the literal level.

Aesthetically, *Spring River* engages Chinese lyrical expressions only; translation does not seem to apply. The title and subtitles of the piece are poetic descriptions of natural scenery that are commonly found in Chinese literary and musical practices.³⁷ The title, "A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River,"³⁸ is the title of a Tang-

³⁶ Liu Raozhang's idea of creating the new piece came after attending a concert performance of Zheng Jinwen's reconstructed ancient music, which was held at the modern concert venue of the Shanghai Municipal Town Hall (Liu, "Liu Raozhang huiyi lu").

³⁷ Nine out of ten section subtitles in *Spring River* are poetic depictions of river scenery. The ten subtitles are: (1) "Bells and Drums Coming from the River Tower," (2) "The Moon Rises from the Mountains on the East," (3) "The Twisting Winds and Waters," (4) "Flowers Layered with Shadows," (5) "Waters and Clouds Flowing in the Deeps," (6) "Fisherman Singing to the Evening," (7) "Swirling Waves Clapping against the Shore," (8) "The Oars Sounding afar at the Rapids," (9) "Rowing the Returning Boat," and (10) "Coda."

³⁸ *Spring River* was first titled as *Moonlight on the Autumn River* (*Qiujiang yue* 秋江月). Its final title was suggested by Zheng Jinwen in 1926.

dynasty poem written by Zhang Ruoxu 張若虛, and also appears as a line in another Tang poem, "The Song of the Pipa" ("Pipa xing" 琵琶行), written by Bo Juyi.

For performance practice, the 1950 recording released by Folkways Records³⁹ – the earliest record I have collected so far⁴⁰ – does not seem to show substantial translation processes.

Regarding notation, Liu Raozhang probably wrote *Spring River* in *gongche* notation because *gongche* notation was the most common notational system in the *sizhu* community.⁴¹ If so, *Spring River* does not involve any translation processes in its notation practice.

The notation sources that I consulted include the full-score and the concise versions of the Shanghai National Orchestra (Shanghai minzu yuetuan 上海民族樂團), respectively published in the Shanghai volume of *ZMMQY* in 1993, and in *JSZ* in 2003 (Appendix 4).⁴² The two scores reflect arrangements that conform to Liu Raozhang's own

³⁹ The 1950 recording was performed by the "Chinese Cultural Theater Group" during their visit to San Francisco. It does not include the *zheng* or *yangqin*, however, which is unusual compared to Liu Raozhang's instrumentation arrangements and later recordings.

⁴⁰ Pathé Record Company released a recording of *Spring River* in the 1930s. The Research Institute of Chinese Art in Beijing has collected a copy of the recording. But during my visit in 2004, the library was under renovation and the recording was not available.

⁴¹ According to Liu Raozhang's biographer Chen Zhengsheng, Liu Raozhang and Great Unity limited access to the score to trusted members only.

⁴² The *JSZ* collection is based on Gan Tao's 1985 collection, but with clearer print quality.

description of his creative style.⁴³ The scores indirectly reflect a translation process that probably took place in Liu Raozhang's time. The cipher notation of the scores originated in France in the nineteenth century (Rainbow, "Galín-Paris-Chevé Method"), and came to China through Japan in the early twentieth century (Stock, "An Ethnomusicological Perspective," p. 295).

For the melodic aspect, *Spring River* is based on *Xunyang*, a classical *pipa* piece, demonstrating southern Chinese instrumental melodies. Translation does not apply to the *pipa* melodic basis itself, though the practice of transferring the melodies of a plucked lute to bowed string and wind instruments involves negotiation processes that echo translation practices.

Regarding tonality, *Spring River* is in the Chinese *shang*-mode, which has a pentatonic scale structure that emphasizes the second scale step – the "shang" tone, or the "re" tone in *solfege*.⁴⁴ It does not embrace the Western major-minor practice.

⁴³ The earliest publication of *Spring River* is perhaps the 1956 version in *Selection of National Instrumental Music from Radio Broadcast Programs* (*Minzu qiyue guangbo quxuan* 民族器樂廣播曲選) (Ye, *Minzu qiyue*, p. 185). It is likely that this early version was based on the performance of Wei Zhongle, a former member of Great Unity. Wei's version, which is collected in Gan, *Jiangnan sizhu yinyue* (1985), exhibits the same translated orchestral style as that of the 1993 version.

⁴⁴ *Spring River* is tuned to the Chinese "zhenggong" scale, in which the first tone is tuned to g in the corresponding Western pitch system.

Rhythmically, *Spring River* embraces the frequent use of rests in Western orchestral music. The adopted practice is, however, adjusted with Chinese rhythmic style. Although *Spring River* assigned individual parts to take rests at designated beats as in Western orchestral music, other parts continue to play, generating the continuous flow that *sizhu* music values. The interrupted rhythmic flow it embraces, however, is against the *sizhu* ideal of continuity. The rhythmic practice of *Spring River* thus involves translation processes at the adjusted level.

For the aspect of function harmony, *Spring River* does not use this Western technique to generate vertical tonal relationships.

The most prominent translated aspect of *Spring River* is its textural practice. The piece adopts from Western concerto music a practice that separates the soloists from the rest of the ensemble. This adopted practice, however, is transformed by a non-competitive *sizhu* stylistics. The complex translation processes thus take place at the transformative level.

As Liu Raozhang himself described, the different instrumental parts in *Spring River* have their moments of “separation [*fen* 分] and union [*he* 合]” (Liu, “Wo shi zenyang”), generating a textural variation that is not

found in pre-existing *sizhu* music. He attributed the changes to his experimental application of Western orchestral techniques; the effect of which was noted by Xu Guangyi, a former member of Great Unity (Xu, "Tantan youxiu gudian yuequ," p. 34).⁴⁵

In *sizhu* heterophony, different instrumental parts render their versions of the same melodic basis simultaneously, with melodic and rhythmic variants in their own styles. Their interactions, which underline a complementary quality, flow simultaneously and continuously throughout the performance. Individual parts may take turns to be highlighted in the interaction process, but they would not stop playing in the middle of a piece to let a different part stand out against the others. In *Spring River*, however, instrumental parts do not always play simultaneously and continuously. Only the *pipa* – the "leading" part – plays continuously throughout; other parts have their pre-arranged moments of rest. For example, in Section 6, only the *pipa* and the *xiao* play the main phrases together, while other instrumental parts join at the last beat of those phrases, giving a sudden ending support to the two instrumental parts. Similar instances, which

⁴⁵ Xu Guangyi was a student of Zheng Jinwen at Great Unity (Xu, *Yongzuo Qintai Ruzi Niu*).

prevail in *Spring River*, show the adopted practice of "separation and union" in the texture.

The role of the *pipa* solo as the "leading" part betrays the influence of the Western concerto practice, which pits the soloist(s) against the rest of the ensemble, or the "tutti" (lit.: all). *Spring River* begins with a *pipa* solo introduction. In the *ZMMQY* notational version, the *xiao* and the *zheng* join the *pipa* at m. 13, and other melodic instruments come in as late as at m. 27 (Musical Example 6.21). The simultaneous conjoining of all instrumental parts at m. 27, as well as in many other sections, especially the beginning of sections 7 and 8, creates an adopted "a tutti" effect. In many instances, all melodic instruments play together only after a brief *pipa* solo unit, which can be as short as one-measure long (e.g., m. 26 of section 1) and as extended as having seven measures (e.g., mm. 189-194 of section 7) (Musical Example 6.22). Most similar episodes of the textural "separations and unions" are, indeed, results of *pipa* solo and ensemble alternations.⁴⁶

While *Spring River* embraces the Western concerto practice, it diminishes the oppositional relationship between the soloist(s) and the *tutti*. In the Western

⁴⁶ In the 2003 notational version, *xiao* solos are also used, though only at the ending phrase of the sections (except sections 5, 8, and 9).

Musical Example 6.21 From the *pipa* solo to the first "tutti" in *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (mm. 1-27, section 1).

春江花月夜
A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River

1=G

【一】江楼钟鼓 (1) Bells and Drums Coming from the River Tower

箫 xiao	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
琵琶 pipa	2/4	333 0	333 0	333 0	33 3 33 3	33 3 33 3	33 3 33 3
古筝 zheng	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
扬琴 yangqin	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
大阮 daruan	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
二胡 erhu	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
大胡 dahu	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
打击乐器 percussion	2/4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0

7

箫 xiao		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
琵琶 pipa		33 3 33 3	3333 3333	3333 3333	3 -	3 -	33 3 0
古筝 zheng		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
扬琴 yangqin		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
大阮 daruan		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
二胡 erhu		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
大胡 dahu		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
打击乐器 percussion		0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0

Musical Example 6.21 (Continued).

13

箫 <i>xiao</i>	6	-	0	0	0	0	3̣2̣1̣	-	3̣2̣1̣	-	3̣2̣1̣	-	v	
琵琶 <i>pipa</i>	6	-	1	2	6	55	0	0	1	-	1	-	1	-
古筝 <i>zheng</i>	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	3̣2̣1̣	-	3̣2̣1̣	-	3̣2̣1̣	-
扬琴 <i>yangqin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大阮 <i>daruan</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
二胡 <i>erhu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大胡 <i>dahu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
打击乐器 <i>percussion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

19

箫 <i>xiao</i>	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	v	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	v	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	1̣	-	v	1̣2̣	-	v
琵琶 <i>pipa</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	-		
古筝 <i>zheng</i>	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	3̣2̣1̣	1̣	-	2̣	-		
扬琴 <i>yangqin</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大阮 <i>daruan</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
二胡 <i>erhu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大胡 <i>dahu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
打击乐器 <i>percussion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Musical Example 6.21 (Continued).

25

Adagio
中慢板 ♩ = 66

箫 xiao	i - i 0 6 6 i 26
琵琶 pipa	1 - 6666 6 6 6 66 1126
古筝 zheng	i - 0 0 6 66 i 26
扬琴 yangqin	0 0 0 0 6 66 i 26
大阮 daruan	0 0 0 0 6 6 1 26
二胡 erhu	0 0 0 0 6 6 i 26
大胡 dahu	0 0 0 0 6 6 1 26
打击乐器	0 0 0 0 0 0

↑
the first "tutti"

practice, the soloist(s) and the *tutti* usually struggle against each other (e.g., in Baroque concerto *grosso*), or contrast with each other in a leader-accompaniment relationship (e.g., in many Romantic solo concertos) (Green, *Form in Tonal Music*, pp. 235-56). In *Spring River*, however, the *pipa* and the "tutti" work together more as collaborative partners; they do not "debate" each other,

Musical Example 6.22 The extended *pipa* solo unit in section 7, *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (mm. 188-194).

(7) Twirling Waves Clapping against the Shore
【七】回瀾拍岸
慢起渐快 *Largo, then gradually accel.*

187	2	-	v	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
箫 <i>xiao</i>													
琵琶 <i>pipa</i>	2	-	v	2	2	3	3	6	6	6	7	5	5
				6	5	5	6	3	3	3	5	2	2
古筝 <i>zheng</i>	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
扬琴 <i>yangqin</i>	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大阮 <i>daruan</i>	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
二胡 <i>erhu</i>	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
大胡 <i>dahu</i>	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
打击乐器 <i>percussion</i>	X	-		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

193

箫 <i>xiao</i>	0	0	0	2
琵琶 <i>pipa</i>	2	2	3	2
	1	0	2	2
	2	2	2	2
古筝 <i>zheng</i>	0	0	0	2
扬琴 <i>yangqin</i>	0	0	0	2
大阮 <i>daruan</i>	0	0	0	2
二胡 <i>erhu</i>	0	0	0	2
大胡 <i>dahu</i>	0	0	0	2
打击乐器 <i>percussion</i>	0	0	0	0

and the *pipa* does not take long solo passages.⁴⁷ The most extended *pipa* solo parts, which take place in Section 1 (mm. 1-12), Section 4 (mm. 95-99), and Section 7 (mm. 188-193), do not even occupy the whole sections, but are interspersed with *tutti* or other instrumental parts.

In other words, the way that the *pipa* solo and the *tutti* interact with each other is reminiscent of the *sizhu* heterophonic texture. Liu Raozhang himself, in his memoir, describes *Spring River* as based on *sizhu*-style heterophony (*zhisheng fudiao* 支聲複調) (Liu, "Wo shi zenyang").⁴⁸

Compared with common *sizhu* music, however, the heterophonic texture in *Spring River* appears to have a more homophonic, unison style,⁴⁹ one that betrays elements of the Western concerto texture (Musical Example 6.23). The lessened distinctiveness among individual parts echoes Western

⁴⁷ The solo *xiao* in the 2003 notational version also does not assume a dominant role. Rather, it functions to conclude the sections with a repeated phrase, bringing closure to them.

⁴⁸ Although the concept of heterophony – a technical term translated from Western music scholarship – was probably not in active use in the 1920s, Liu Raozhang was able to identify the textural distinction between *sizhu* and Western symphonic music at that time, and interpreted it with the new technical term in his memoir. Witzleben attributes the distinctiveness in *sizhu* heterophony to: registral and timbral distinctions of each musical instrument, idiomatic style established for each particular musical instrument, and distinctive performance style of the instrumentalist (Witzleben, "*Silk and Bamboo*" Music, p. 107).

⁴⁹ While *sizhu* musicians can perform *Spring River* with a heterophonic style that is close to common *sizhu* practice, the 1950 recording released by Folkways Recordings and the 1993 and 2003 notations all embrace a more unison style.

Musical Example 6.23 *Sizhu*-style heterophony blended with homophonic elements, *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (mm. 31-36).

31

箫 xiao	3 23 5 35 6. i 2. 3̣ ^v <u>i i 2 3</u> <u>2 i 6</u> 5. i 2̣ 6 i 2̣ 6 i 5 2 3 - ^{tr} ^v
琵琶 pipa	<u>3 3 2 3</u> <u>5 5 3 5</u> <u>6 6 6 1</u> <u>2 2 2 3</u> <u>1 1 2 3</u> <u>2 1 6</u> 5 5. 6 5 5 6 6 1 2 3 3
古筝 zheng	<u>3 3 2 3</u> <u>5 5 3 5</u> <u>6 6 6 1</u> <u>2 2 3 2</u> <u>1 1 2 3</u> <u>2 i 6</u> 5 5 5 5 5 6 1 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
扬琴 yangqin	^又 3 23 5 35 6 6 6 1 2 3 3 2 1 1 2 3 2 1 6 5 5. 6 5 5 6 6 1 2 3 3
大阮 daruan	3 6 1 5 35 6 6 6 1 2 2 2 3 1 1 2 3 2 1 6 5 5 5 5 6 1 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
二胡 erhu	3 23 5 35 6. i 2. 3̣ <u>i 2 3</u> <u>7 6</u> 5 5 i 2 6 i 2 6 i 5 2 3. 2
大胡 dahu	3 23 5 35 6. 1 2. 3 1 2 3 2 1 6 5 5. 6 5 5 6 1 2 3 3
打击乐器 percussion	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 X -

concerto music. However, Liu Raozhang did not adopt chordal elements and the melody-accompaniment practice that are foundational in Western concerto music, and instead kept the *sizhu*-style heterophony. The unison-style heterophony of *Spring River*, therefore, engages transformative translation processes.

For the aspect of formal procedure, *Spring River* is based only on Chinese practices. It has ten sections, each of which presents a version of the melodic “theme” (mm. 27-

41), which shows a Chinese "introduction-exposition-transformation-culmination" (*qi-cheng-zhuan-he*) structure (Musical Example 6.24). All sections of *Spring River* employ the Chinese technique of sectional and developmental variation. This contrasts with the Western formal procedure of theme and variation, which gives the theme different identities and patterns in each individual variation. In contrast, the Chinese practice develops a theme continuously and with elaborative patterns, presenting a generally consistent musical character. In addition, new melodic sections always feature recurring phrases from the thematic melody stated in an earlier section; such a repetition device is generally known as "head union" (*hetou* 合頭) or "tail union" (*hewei* 合尾).⁵⁰ In *Spring River*, for example, sections conclude with a recurring phrase that is based on the ending phrase of the "theme." Continuing Chinese practices, the formal procedures of *Spring River* do not engage in translations.

⁵⁰ For a study of connection techniques in Chinese music, see Yu, "Zhongguo yinyue - lianjie de yishu."

Musical Example 6.24 The melodic theme of *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River* (JSZ) (mm. 23-37), in a Chinese formal structure.

The musical notation consists of three staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notes are: 2̇ - | 2̇. i | 6̇ 6̇ 6̇ 6̇ | 6̇ 6̇ 6̇ i 2̇ 6̇ | 5 5. 6 | 5 5 6 i 2̇ |. Above the first staff, a bracket labeled "(theme begins)" spans from the first measure to the end of the second staff. An arrow labeled "1) introduction/qi" points to the end of the first staff. The second staff starts with a treble clef and contains: 3 - | 3 23 5 35 | 6. i 2. 3̇ | i 2̇3̇ 2̇i 6 | 5 5. i | 6i 2 6i 52 |. An arrow labeled "2) exposition/cheng" points to the first measure of the second staff. An arrow labeled "3) transformation/zhuan" points to the first measure of the third staff. The third staff starts with a treble clef and contains: 3 - | 3 6i 5653 | 2 - | 3. 5 6̇56̇1 | 2 32 1231 | 2 - |. An arrow labeled "4) culmination/he" points to the end of the third staff.

6.6 *The King Bids Farewell to His Concubine* (1922)

The King Bids Farewell to His Concubine (Bawang bieji; hereafter, *The King*) is a new Peking opera production made by the renowned female-role actor Mei Lanfang, playwright Qi Rushan, and their troupe.⁵¹ Its earliest Shanghai performance took place in 1922,⁵² a few months after its debut in Beijing (Zhen, "Mei Lanfang yanchang," pp. 219-20). Although the musical practices of the play do not appear at

⁵¹ The new production of *The King* was based on pre-existing dramatic works that featured the same historical event, including *The Story of a Thousand Taels of Gold* (*Qianjin ji* 千金記), a Ming-dynasty *chuanqi* play, and *Battle Between Han and Chu* (*Chu Han zheng* 楚漢爭), a 1918 Peking opera production.

⁵² The premiere performance in Shanghai took place at Heavenly Toad Opera Theater.

first to have involved Western elements, a detailed examination shows traces of subtle processes of translation. Mei Lanfang and Qi Rushan both admired Western theater and music. Mei Lanfang acted in plays that incorporated “Western” elements in the 1910s and took lessons on Western musical instruments. Qi Rushan greatly appreciated the Western opera performances that he attended in Europe. In collaboration with their troupe (including Mei Lanfang’s “brain trust”), and in particular the *huqin* masters Wang Shaoqing 王少卿 and Xu Lanyuan 徐蘭沅, Mei Lanfang and Qi Rushan were successful in getting Peking opera recognized as the national opera of modern China. Embracing new ideals and elements that were directly or indirectly inspired by Western theater practices, they asserted parity with the West.

The story of *The King* is based on the historical battle (ca. 202 BCE) in which the forces of Liu Bang 劉邦, who would soon become the first emperor of the Han dynasty, defeated their last major enemy, Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BCE), who had taken the title of “Hegemon King of Western Chu.” In the play, Xiang Yu – “the king,” together with his remaining troops, and his consort, surnamed Yu (Yuji 虞姬), is surrounded by Liu Bang’s troops at Gaixia 垓下. Consort

Yu, realizing how desperate the situation is, sings and dances for Xiang Yu to console him, but when the enemy troops break in, kills herself so that he can flee without having to worry about her. Compared to earlier plays based on the same battle, *The King* emphasizes the female character of Yu, who assumes a very significant part, both in terms of singing and acting.

My analysis, based on the twelve-segment recorded version of the play,⁵³ examines practices of *The King* between 1922 and 1930, during which the production embraced different kinds of translated practices. I focus on Mei Lanfang's singing of the aria-type *nanbangzi* in Segment 7 of the recorded version, the new instrumentation that he pioneered in 1923, and the use of staff notation by Liu Tianhua – upon request of Mei Lanfang – to transcribe the aria in 1930. These musical practices of the play were indeed collaborative by nature, though Mei Lanfang was always at the center of the collaboration. Qi Rushan, as main librettist and spokesman for Mei Lanfang at the time, played an important role in creating the new production and

⁵³ *The King* originally had more than twenty scenes and was performed in two installments. It was quickly shortened in order to allow the play to be performed in one evening. The fullest recording of *The King* with Mei Lanfang before 1949 was released by Great Wall Records in 1931 and is divided into twelve segments (*duan* 段). This version, which has cut out several of the battle scenes, gives greater prominence to the part Consort Yu (it ends with her death, and not Xiang Yu's, for instance).

articulating the Western theatrical ideals that the play sought to embrace. I will discuss his work so as to contextualize the translated practices of the production, and to analyze its musical translations.

The practice aspects of *The King* can be generally described in the following. The genre of the play, as the playwright Qi Rushan classified it by drawing upon Western theatrical practices, is a "noble romantic play" (*qinggao de yanqing xi* 清高的言情戲) (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 8). Socially, the play was performed as a work of high-art in Western-style modern theaters, which demanded attentive spectatorship from the audience, a practice that contrasted with pre-modern theater consumption practices in teahouse theaters. Through Consort Yu's *nanbangzi* aria in Segment 7, *The King* musically projects new sentiments of femininity with refined poetic expression. The "loftiness," "purity," and "elegance" of Consort Yu are meant to present an aesthetics comparable to that of Western theater. The vocal style of Mei Lanfang, as acclaimed by conossieurs and shown in a 1931 recording, embraces distinct smooth and round qualities that differ from the general vocal style of other female-role performers. While oral transmission and *gongche* notation were the most popular forms of Peking opera musical transmission in Mei Lanfang's time, Mei Lanfang

requested that Western staff notation versions of selected arias be prepared in 1930, for the American audiences at his performances in the United States.

Regarding the structural aspects of *nanbangzi*, its melody, tonality, and rhythm are based on pre-existing modal and metric practices established in the Peking opera *pihuang* system. Functional harmony is not used. The inclusion of the *erhu* in the accompanying ensemble, which Mei Lanfang and his *huqin* players successfully introduced in 1923, added a new layer of bowed-melody played in an octave lower than the pre-existing *huqin* part. For Mei Lanfang, however, the *erhu* addition was more a timbral enrichment than a textural modification. Using the heuristic spectrum, the following analyzes the translational complexities of these practice aspects.

Regarding the aspect of genre, *The King* was described as an example of a "noble romantic play," a new category of Peking opera plays that Qi Rushan created by emulating Western theatrical practice.⁵⁴ Qi Rushan dismissed romantic plays in Chinese opera as being "lascivious" (*weixie* 猥褻), and for being frequently banned under governmental censorship (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 98). Western

⁵⁴ Another category of Western plays that Qi Rushan translated in his Peking opera plays was "fairy tale play" (*shenhua xi* 神話戲).

romantic plays, in contrast, impressed Qi Rushan as embodying noble sentiments. The dance elements in Western plays, in particular, appealed to Qi Rushan as being “elegant” (*youmei* 優美) (pp. 148-49). Translating Western practices of romantic plays, *The King* features a Chinese historical woman who nobly sacrifices her life to ease the burden of her husband (Figure 6.1). To assert parity with elegant Western plays that employed dance elements, a solo sword dance episode was created for Consort Yu. The new dance episode – whose details were worked out by Mei Lanfang – is, however, based on elements of Chinese dance and martial arts movements. As a new Peking opera production of mixed genre practices, *The King* engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Socially, *The King* adopts from the West an aesthetic that viewed opera as a “high” and national art, revealing adjusted translation processes. The notion of “national opera” (*guoju* 國劇), a modern Chinese concept, was developed with reference to Western operatic model (Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics*, pp. 47-48).⁵⁵ In Qi Rushan’s essentialized

⁵⁵ As Nancy Guy notes, the notion of “national essence” in the discourse of Peking opera, which took shape during the 1910s and 1920s, was based on four basic assumptions: “it was worthy of the foreign gaze; it was the equivalent of the high-art dramatic forms of Western European nations; it was quintessentially Chinese; and, as such, it could serve the function of building diplomatic ties” (Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics*, pp. 47-48).

Figure 6.1 Mei Lanfang as the noble Consort Yu (Mei and Xu, *Wutai Shenghuo*, p. 600).



characterization, Western opera was “lofty, pure, elegant, and serene” (*gao jie ya jing* 高潔雅靜) (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 98), embodying an aesthetic integrity in itself, and appreciated as high-art. In contrast, public performances

of Peking opera in pre-modern China existed mainly as a form of entertainment that took place at teahouses (Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, pp. 55-88). To embrace the Western aesthetic practice that demanded close attention from the audience, *The King* often held its performances at Western-style opera houses, which featured a stage with seats facing it. For example, the Western-style proscenium stage no longer used the old-style Chinese thrust stage with columns at its front corners, clearing visual obstacles between the stage and the audience. Rows of seats that oriented the audience to face the stage replaced the tea tables and their seats or benches. In such translated spaces, *The King* embraced Western spectatorship practice and functioned as an aesthetic work of high art.

The adopted social-aesthetic practice, however, was realized with the agenda of transforming Peking opera into the Chinese "national opera," one that not only embodied Chinese essence but also helped foster a sense of "national community" (Qi, *Guoju gailun*, p. 158). The modern notion of "national opera," therefore, turned the pre-modern Chinese spectatorship of entertainment into one that was aesthetically and politically charged. Thus, the social function of *The King* engages translation processes at the adjusted level.

Regarding the aspect of aesthetics, the *nanbangzi* aria that Mei Lanfang sings in Segment 7 possibly involves subtle processes of adjusted translation. *Nanbangzi*,⁵⁶ an aria-type sung by young female and male characters, emerged as a Peking opera vocal practice in the early twentieth century. In *The King*, the appeal of *nanbangzi* involves musical projections of Western operatic elegance. In the translation process, the Western aesthetics are adjusted with Peking opera musical practices, and with an essentialized Chinese sense of feminine beauty and virtue.

Nanbangzi is generally characterized as being more graceful than the two main Peking opera aria-types – *erhuang* 二黃 and *xipi* 西皮 (Wichmann, *Listening to Theatre*, p. 116),⁵⁷ which Qi Rushan described as “hard and edgy” (*yingwan* 硬彎) (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 110).⁵⁸ *Nanbangzi* appealed to the Peking opera aficionado, Zheng Jianxi, as

⁵⁶ It is, unfortunately, the practice to translate *bangzi* 梆子 as “clapper” (and *bangzi xi* 梆子戲 as “clapper opera”) whereas it really refers to a kind of sounding block, and the clapper (*ban*) is something else entirely. The *nan* of *nanbangzi* means “southern.”

⁵⁷ *Nanbangzi* is similar to the *xipi* system in its cadence tone tendency and its intervallic leaps in the melody. It is based on the 6-3 (cipher notation) tuning on the *huqin*, the same for *xipi*. However, it has its own melodic contours, and the meter-types it uses are more restrictive (Wichmann, *Listening to Theatre*, p. 116).

⁵⁸ It is likely that since *nanbangzi* appealed to Qi Rushan as in contrast to what he thought of as the “hard and edgy” character of the bulk of Peking opera arias, so he included the new aria-type in his first old style costume (*guzhuang* 古裝) play with Mei Lanfang, *Chang E Flies to the Moon* (*Chang E ben yue* 嫦娥奔月; 1915) (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 110-11).

“charmingly gentle” (*yini* 旖旎) and “lingeringly intimate” (*chanmian* 纏綿) (Zheng, *Erhuang xunsheng pu*, Xuji, p. 4).

Another aficionado, Chen Dingshan, described the new aria-type as “ear pleasing” (*yue'er* 悅耳) and “harmoniously beautiful” (*xiemei* 諧美) (Chen, *Chunshen jiuwen*, p. 33).

These aesthetic qualities are epitomized in Mei Lanfang’s *nanbangzi* in Segment 7 of *The King*, which Zheng praised as if it generated “a lingering resonance like gentle waves in the spring time, ... touch[ing] one’s heart deeply” (Zheng, *Erhuang xunsheng pu*, p. 83).⁵⁹

Through the *nanbangzi*, Yu expresses new feminine sentiments that are absent in preceding battle-driven scenes of *The King*. This projection of new sentiments of femininity becomes clear with a description of the dramatic context of Segment 7, and the poetic content of the aria text:

Verse 1: Seeing my Great King lying there inside
the tent, clothed comfortably and sleeping
calmly,

Verse 2: I go outside to relax my sorrowful heart
in the open air.

Verse 3: Lightly tapping my steps forward, until
I come into the courtyard, and stand still.

⁵⁹ In contemporary scholarship of Peking opera music, Mei Lanfang’s singing in Segment 7 of *The King* is often cited as the exemplar that best illustrates the characteristic expressions of *nanbangzi* (e.g. Liu Jidian, *Jingju yinyue jieshao*, pp. 248-49).

Verse 4: Lifting up my head toward the sky, I see
the bright moon shining clear.⁶⁰

Known as "Patrolling the Encampment" ("Xunying" 巡營), Segment 7 of the recording begins with Yu going outside from Xiang Yu's headquarters to patrol the encampment (in the previous segment, Xiang Yu retired to take a rest and charged her to be on guard). Momentarily distracted from her worries about the military situation, she is charmed by the tranquility and clarity of the autumn evening. The first section of Yu's *nanbangzi*, which comprise the above four verses, and the subsequent soliloquy reflect this serene atmosphere. Then, as Yu overhears the complaints of soldiers both inside and outside the encampment, her mood changes to one of sadness, and she sings about her worries, continuing in the second section of *nanbangzi*.⁶¹ Through the aria, Yu expresses her inner feelings and thoughts, projecting new feminine sentiments with refined poetic expressions.

Presenting Consort Yu in such a light was possible only when the new female role-type "flower costume"

⁶⁰ The translation of the text is mine. I have consulted William Dolby's translation (Dolby, tr., *Eight Chinese Plays*).

⁶¹ The second section of Yu's *nanbangzi* comprise two verses: "Just now I heard the men all idly chatting (Verse 5), and all they said showed they were for deserting (Verse 6)" (Dolby, tr., *Eight Chinese Plays*, p. 131).

(*huashan*) had emerged.⁶² "Flower costume" integrated at least two separate female *dan* role-types of pre-existing practice: the *huadan* 花旦, who is not safely married, flirtatious, and moves with alluring sway, and the *qingyi* 青衣, who is properly married (or about to be), virtuous, and moves with the steadiness of feminine propriety. Through the role-type of "flower costume," Consort Yu is depicted as a loyally married and noble lady who is simultaneously artistic, charming, and adorable. Embodying both beauty and civility, Mei Lanfang's performance of Consort Yu projects a new woman, one who embraces the kind of "loftiness," "purity," and "elegance" that the *prima donna* personifies in Western opera.

This Western operatic aesthetic, however, is realized with an essentialized Chinese sense of beauty and feminine virtue,⁶³ and with the impersonation practice of Peking opera. Consort Yu's captivating charm relies on her virtue

⁶² The creation of the "flower costume" role-type is generally attributed to Wang Yaoqing (1881-1954), one of Mei Lanfang's teachers, against the backdrop of changing conditions for women in Chinese opera circles in Chinese society in general. With the founding of the Republic and the opening of public theaters to women, female spectators and sponsors became more important, as well as female actors and even types of local opera in which women played all of the parts (e.g., Yue opera in Shanghai). This caused the modern entertainment industry to loosen some of its formerly very restrictive views toward female role-types and female actors (Cheng, "The Challenge of the Actresses"; Jiang, "Women and Public Culture").

⁶³ Consort Yu's headdress, for example, is based on a Chinese classical painting. According to Mei Lanfang, he designed the headdress based on an image in *Illustrated Biographies of Outstanding Women* (*Huishu liennü zhuan* 繪書烈女傳) (Mei and Xu, *Wutai Shenghuo*, p. 472).

as a loyal wife. As enacted on stage, this charm is projected by an impersonated performance that relies on a separation among acting, spectatorship, and real life. Accorded to Joshua Goldstein, Qi Rushan argued that Mei Lanfang, as a male actor, best represented the ideal female because the femininity he embodied was aesthetically perfect and separate from Mei Lanfang's real gender (Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, pp. 246-51).

Regarding the aspect of performance practice, Mei Lanfang's vocal timbre underlines qualities that resonate with the translated trope of "elegance." Mei Lanfang's vocal style was acclaimed as being rounder and smoother than other "flower costume" actors. To the ears of the defenders and aficionados, such a sound compares favorably with both Western *bel canto* and Kun opera aria singing. A practice developed in southern China and that flourished before the emergence of Peking opera, Kun opera aria singing appealed to many defenders as embodying refined vocal qualities. For Qi Rushan, who was from Gaoyang, the center of Northern style Kun opera, Kun opera vocal style is "round and blended" (*yuanhe* 圓和) (Qi, *Qi Rushan huiyi lu*, p. 110).

The musical translation of aesthetics and sounds involved in this example can be explained in more detail

through the analysis of two early recordings of *nanbangzi* arias. Comparing Mei Lanfang's 1931 *nanbangzi* singing in *The King* with the *nanbangzi* singing of other flower-costume female-role actors, such as Shang Xiaoyun 尚小雲,⁶⁴ one hears even more clearly Mei Lanfang's round and smooth vocal practice. If *nanbangzi* features intervallic leaps in the melody, Mei Lanfang delivers them with impressive roundness and smoothness. It is no accident that Mei Lanfang's singing of the second verse of the aria, which surges from g to the high a, and flows among the high d, f, and a, always won applause from the audience (Ding, "Tantao Meiju," p. 478) (Musical Example 6.25). With a round and smooth vocal style, Mei Lanfang blends the Western *bel canto* singing, Kun opera singing, and Peking opera vocal practice,⁶⁵ engaging musical and transformative translations.

For the aspect of notation, Mei Lanfang and musicians of his troupe probably relied mainly on oral transmission and consulted versions in *gongche* notation when necessary. Translation thus does not apply. But when Mei Lanfang prepared for his performance tour of the United States in

⁶⁴ Shang Xiaoyun's voice is generally characterized as rigorous and firm (*gangjing* 剛勁). Examples of his *nanbangzi* singing in such a style can be found in his 1929 recording "Red Silk" ("Hong Xiao" 紅綃), collected in *Selections of Shang Xiaoyun's Arias* (*Shang Xiaoyun jingdian changduan*).

⁶⁵ Mei Lanfang's vocal style has been acclaimed as representing the essence of the Chinese artistic spirit (e.g., Nansusheng, "Da kewen (Daixu san)," pp. 3-5).

Musical Example 6.25 Mei Lanfang's vocal melody in Verse 2 of *nanbangzi*, *The King Bids Farewell to the Concubine* (Liu Tianhua, *Mei Lanfang gequ pu*).



1930, he asked Liu Tianhua to transcribe some of his arias in Western staff notation so that the American audience could better understand, and enjoy, his singing.⁶⁶ Mei Lanfang's personal repertoire in the tour included excerpts from *The King*, and so some of his arias from it were published in Liu Tianhua's *Selections from the Repertoire of Operatic Songs and Terpsichorean Melodies of Mei Lanfang*. In this publication, Liu Tianhua notates in both *gongche* notation and staff notation (Appendix 5). Because Mei Lanfang's decision to include staff notation was taken with

⁶⁶ In the preface to Liu Tianhua's transcription, Mei Lanfang showed his support of adopting Western elements in Chinese musical modernity, saying that "the advanced studies and skill [*xueshu* 學術] of Western music were indispensable for the evolution of Chinese national music" (Mei, in *Mei Lanfang Changpian*). He commended Liu Tianhua for using the violin instead of the *huqin* to transcribe his vocal lines, for this helped identify the pitches and tones with greater precision than would otherwise be possible.

the American audience in mind, the staff notation, which engages literal translation, represents how musical translation processes of *The King* were based on complex processes of self-projection.

Regarding the practice aspects of melody, tonality, and rhythm, *The King* does not seem to involve translation processes. Also, the music of the play does not embrace the Western practice of functional harmony.

Mei Lanfang's inclusion of the *erhu* in his accompanying ensemble possibly engages transformative translation processes. This new practice involves both texture and timbre. Because Mei Lanfang emphasized the timbral aspect, I will discuss the inclusion of the *erhu* as a timbral practice. Mei Lanfang and his *huqin* players Wang Shaoqin and Xu Lanyuan employed this new practice in *The King* in 1923, after they had experimented with it in another new play, *Xishi* 西施. The added *erhu* supports the high-pitched *huqin*⁶⁷ – the leading melodic instrument in the ensemble – with a melodic line an octave below. Together the two bowed instruments generate a richer timbre that emulates the richer sounds of Western classical music. This

⁶⁷ The word *huqin* can function as a generic term for lap-fiddles. Nowadays, *huqin* in Peking opera is more commonly known as *jinghu* 京胡, whereas in the 1920s, the term *huqin* was more common. I follow the common practice of the 1920s and use *huqin* to refer to the leading melodic fiddle in Peking opera ensemble.

translation can be heard through Mei Lanfang's description of his musical experiment.

Mei Lanfang and his *huqin* players Wang Shaoqin and Xu Lanyuan were trained in a vocal and accompanying style that highlights the *huqin*. The *huqin* is a high-pitched fiddle that is generally ranged between one and two octaves above the middle c. It provides melodic support to the singer's voice by following the vocal melody while constantly embellishing it with idiomatic ornamentations. When the singer's voice is at rest during an aria, the *huqin* maintains a continuous melodic flow by playing instrumental "connectives" (*guomen* 過門). Before the singer begins an aria, the *huqin* introduces the modal style and idiomatic melodic patterns, generating the proper mood for the voice to join. The *huqin*, therefore, plays a major role in supporting, maintaining, and directing the lyrical continuity in arias.⁶⁸ Other melodic instruments, such as the moon-shaped plucked lute, play a secondary role only.

⁶⁸ While the *huqin* player practices with the singer before stage performances – and therefore has a sense of how the singer is going to realize a given aria-type, the *huqin* player will also need to make adjustments during the actual performance situation and deliver improvisational renderings when necessary. For example, Zhu Shaonong (b. 1919), a *huqin* player in Shanghai in the 1930s, pointed out that if audience clapping and applause after a sung phrase lasts too long, the *huqin* player needs to extend the connectives until the audience begins to quiet down (interview with Zhu in Hong Kong, December 11, 2004).

As described in Mei Lanfang's memoir and other accounts, Mei Lanfang felt the need to enhance the *huqin* sound when he, together with Wang and Xu, was practicing for the premiere performance of *Xishi* in 1923. During the practice, Mei Lanfang felt that the sound of the *huqin* was "somewhat monotonous" (Mei and Xu, *Wutai Shenghuo*, p.266). He wanted to thicken the instrumental texture "to make the music sound richer" (*ibid.*). They then experimented with new textural practices by adding different kinds of string instruments to the ensemble. But among all the added instruments, only the *erhu* generated an effect that appealed to Mei Lanfang. The desirable effect, he said, was "soft and blended" (*rouhe* 柔和) (*ibid.*). Mei Lanfang then decided to include the *erhu* in the ensemble, and Wang was assigned to play this added part even when Mei Lanfang performed other plays, including *The King*. Comparing Mei Lanfang's pre-1923 recorded performances of arias with post-1923 ones,⁶⁹ the latter contrasts with the former with its added continual, lower-register melodic line support. This also strengthens Mei Lanfang's high-pitched vocal melody, augmenting the female voice with an expanded timbral dimension.

⁶⁹ Pre-1923 recordings of Mei Lanfang can be found on the website *Peking Opera Old Records (Jingju lao changpian)*, at <http://oldrecords.xikao.com/search.php?words=%E6%A2%85%E5%85%B0%E8%8A%B3>.

Why would Mei Lanfang, after years of living with the sound of the *huqin*, suddenly hear it as “monotonous” and ask for a musical change? Mei Lanfang’s desire for a richer textural sound was probably triggered by his exposure to Western classical music; Mei Lanfang learned to play the violin, and often practiced it at home with piano accompaniment. (Figure 6.2) More importantly, his dissatisfaction with the “monotonous” sound echoes With that of music reformer Liao Shangguo, who used the same description to reject Chinese music without harmonic support (See Chapter 5). Although Mei Lanfang did not care for harmonic elements, his dissatisfaction surely emerged from his commitment to theatrically and musically transform Peking opera, a commitment that was based on his efforts to assert parity with Western opera and theater. The *erhu* melodic line that flows in a lower registral range in a way captures the Western “base line” images.⁷⁰ The adopted textural images, however, are realized with Peking opera heterophony, and perhaps with influences of *sizhu* music. From the list of phonograph recordings that Mei Lanfang gave as gift to the Indian modern poet Rabindranatha Tagore

⁷⁰ The “base-line” image of the *erhu* melodic part received expansion when Peking opera ensembles included the cello or similar “bass” musical instruments two or three decades later – a change that translates the Western textural practice more directly.

Figure 6.2 Mei Lanfang playing the violin at home (Mei and Xu, *Wutai Shenghuo*, p. 293).



in 1924 (Xu, "Luetan Mei pai yishu," p. 309), we know that Mei Lanfang was listening to *sizhu* music around this time. But whether or not the "soft and blended" textural effect was based on *sizhu* music, or piano and violin music, Mei Lanfang and his musicians realized a Western rich timbral effect with a Chinese musical instrument. As a translation process, it takes place at the transformative level.

Regarding the aspect of formal procedure, *The King* does not seem to engage translation processes.

The five case studies in this chapter reveal some of the adoption/adaptation complexities that the creation

processes of new Chinese musical works involved. With the help of the heuristic spectrum of translation levels, the analyses presented here illustrate how creative individuals selectively employed, adopted, adjusted, and transformed Western musical practices. Their translational creativity, propelled by new possibilities and committed political agendas, changed the Chinese soundscape and musical imagination in unprecedented ways, along diverse paths.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Emerging from the Shanghai network, translated musical thinking and sound organizations defined the intellectual and expressive practices of Chinese musical modernity. Modern and contested visions of musical knowledge circulated in the print culture of the city, reaching their readers through bookstores, libraries, music education institutes, and music societies. The various new musical discourses, joining the discursive productions of other new subjects of knowledge, engaged with elements of the West to shape the modern order and identity of China. Performances of modern musical works, juxtaposing familiar sounds with the unfamiliar, were heard in the city's new performing venues and in the space-transcending new media culture. The new musical infrastructure facilitated increased Chinese exposure to both Chinese and Western music, interweaving sounds of the two musical cultures into a new sonic ambience and aural sphere.

Understanding this mixed Chinese-Western ambience is crucial to understanding how musical modernity took form in

China. As Shanghai was the largest site in China where Chinese had intensive and extensive contacts with Western forces, the musical world of the city best exemplified the mixed Chinese-Western condition that shaped the emergence of Chinese musical modernity. This is not to deny the importance of other urban centers, however. The dozens of treaty ports that were scattered in various parts of China easily approached by water – on the seacoast and up major rivers such as the Yangzi – and of course the former capital city Peiping (Beijing) contributed to the complex phenomena of musical modernity in their own ways. Despite their particular local situations, because of the influence of Shanghai, their modernities basically shared the types of engagement and principles of musical translation that emerged in that city. Examining the mixed Chinese-Western ambience of the largest cosmopolitan site in China, this dissertation offers views and insights of a representative ethnographic space in modern China. In this representative site, many new discursive, expressive, and institutional practices arose that would shape subsequent musical developments in modern China.

Placing an ethnographic focus on a specific urban site is an approach found in a few recent ethnomusicological and musicological studies. Lise Waxer's *The City of Musical*

Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves, and Popular Culture in Cali, Columbia (2002), for example, focuses on the particular city of Cali in Columbia to examine issues of modernity in Latin America (p. 3). Carol Oja's *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (2000) looks at New York City to understand musical modernism in America. Similar to Waxer's book, this dissertation uses the site of Shanghai to examine musical modernity in China. But rather than focusing on a particular musical genre, in Waxer's case salsa, this study seeks to reveal not only modern practices across genres, but also the fundamental issue of what defined music in Chinese modernity. The cosmopolitan site of New York City shared various kinds of modernity experiences with Shanghai. My emphasis on Shanghai as comprising sprawling musical networks resonates with Oja's presentation of "New York" as "more a lens for focusing on compositional trends than a geographic perimeter for discussion" (p. 6). Oja examines modernist composers and their institutions in New York City, uncovering how their music and activities "figure[d] crucially in the city's cultural identity" (p. 5). Different from Oja, however, this study does not so much concern issues of Shanghai identity as to examine how this ethnographic site

stimulated and manifested crucial transformations in Chinese musical modernity (p. 5).

Major interactive dynamics of the site, as this dissertation has shown, emerged from the complex musical network of the city (Chapter 3). There rival musical institutions developed relations with one another on contingent bases. For instance, the Chinese reformer and defender institutions, together with the rivalry between the leftists and popular song promoters, channeled various aspects of Western musical influences into the field of modern Chinese musical productions. On different occasions, members of the colonial Shanghai Municipal Orchestra collaborated with Chinese musical institutions, directly connecting the separate worlds of Chinese and Western music. Although these collaborative ties were "weak" in relative terms, they crossed the usual circulation routes of musical "capital" in the network, stimulating new ideas and sources to emerge and re-circulate. Engaging in this complex network, Chinese music advocates were bold in their airing their competing views, and were quick to seize opportunities that allowed them to assert Chinese legitimacy in the modern musical order.

The new musical imaginations and experiences that emerged in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai were as

integral to Chinese modernity as other kinds of intellectual and sensual experiences. Modern Chinese musical works, embracing diverse procedural approaches and types of sound materiality, re-structured the Chinese imagination of music. This modern musical productions, accommodating Western musical organizational principles and/or aesthetics, urged the modern Chinese audience to stretch their ears and re-direct their aesthetic engagement with music. Just as the new built environment and transportation vehicles of the city re-oriented the Chinese sense of space and movement, Western and modern Chinese music there changed the residents' engagement with sonic space and movement.

Engaging with the sonic space and movement of Western music has been a global phenomenon. In *Music in Japan: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (2005), for example, Bonnie Wade begins the soundtrack of the book with Antonio Vivaldi's "The Four Seasons: Summer" performed by Japanese musicians. Wade's gesture urges us to break down the essentialized binarism of Japan and the West in modernity. But identity differentiation persists as an issue in the global order. For example, as Jonathan Shannon shows in *Among the Jasmine Trees: Music and Modernity in Contemporary Syria* (2006), modernity in Syria and the Arab

world seeks to find authentic markers "of an Arab spirit distinct from Western modernities" (p. 6). As this dissertation has shown, Chinese musical modernity engages both the West and what Shannon describes as "cultural heritage." Similar to the Syrian case, and many other cases in the world, the experience of modernity in China is full of contradictory visions and competing voices.

The cultural heritage of China consists of a long history of classical learning, with a vast amount of written documents that have been preserved. The agents of musical modernity, those whom I identify as music advocates and who made efforts to assert the significance of music in the national project of modernity, obtained classical Chinese learning before, or while studying Western music. Regardless of their "reformer" or "defender" orientations, as I have heuristically classified them, music advocates were familiar with the sounds of many forms of Chinese music and, in some cases, the aesthetics of classical Chinese arts (Chapter 4). Their cultural attachment to Chinese history, expressive practices, and musical sounds did not disappear amid the drastically changing social-political conditions of their day, but were grounded upon realities of modern life. Learning classical Chinese literature, for example, bounded music advocates to the

"imagined communities" of historical China. The literature and social values of pre-modern times – though challenged, criticized, and changed – continued to influence the modern present. As much as the colonial and nation-state global order demanded Chinese transformations, much Chinese local customs continued to shape the everyday life of music advocates, together with their families and neighbors. Local Chinese music, played by family members or neighborhood musicians, often constituted the sonic part of their daily life. By the time when Western musical forces began to enter music advocates' musical worlds, their sense of being Chinese had already been rooted in moral values and cultural imaginations derived from China's pre-modern past. As biographies or autobiographies of music advocates show, learning Western music and science did not erase their established sense of what was Chinese. I am reminded here that Rulan Chao Pian, daughter of Yuen Ren Chao, commented to me that her father "never doubted his Chinese identity."¹ Quite the opposite, exposure to Western musical ideas or performances usually heightened music advocates' awareness of national and cultural identity. While advocates engaged their seemingly old musical thoughts and feelings with new perspectives, asserting themselves in the

¹ Conversation with Pian in Bloomington, October 22, 1998.

modern world, they searched for new ways to continue their sense of being Chinese.

The continual sense of being Chinese, among other things, accounts for the sense of realness in modernity. As Veit Erlmann notes in *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (1999), despite recognizing the shifting nature of reality, "we nevertheless do not all live in illusory worlds" (p. 4). Erlmann's focus is on global reality, examining how its imagination and articulation arise from "an epistemological symbiosis between African and Western modernities" (p. 4). Although this dissertation does not comment on the imagination of China in Western modernity, Erlmann's approach of analyzing how people measure "the real" and create a "sense of certainty" in a "regime of signs and texts" echoes with my theoretical frame of musical translation in modernity studies. In translation transactions, drawing upon Lydia Liu's idea (Liu, "The Question of Meaning-Value"), shifting visions of reality arise from making equivalent values between something pre-existing and something new and foreign. Despite the invented nature of such equivalence making, the value measurements involved engage discursive and expressive practices that are familiar, thus carrying some weight of

truthfulness. The trope of equivalence, as new and strange as it appears or sounds, in a sense renews one's connections to the old and familiar. Musical translation as an analytical theory applies to modernity or global reality making processes that involve inter-cultural contacts and transactions. This dissertation has demonstrated how the theory helps reveal the complexities of the case of Chinese musical modernity.

The scientific appeal of Western music occupied a central place in the knowledge construction of Chinese musical modernity. But as this dissertation has shown (Chapter 5), the technological discourse based on the Western scientific order defined only half of the Chinese conception of music. The other half came from a pre-existing Chinese moral-aesthetic order. The two orders defined modern reality conditions according to two different kinds of knowledge perspectives. The Western order, comprising the discourses of technology and historical progress, legitimized the Western musical evolution as the present "international standard." The Chinese moral-aesthetic order, emerging from Chinese music advocates' music biographies and their discourse on essentialized Chinese national character, connected the

international standard to China's particular history and style.

While mediating the Western and Chinese orders, however, reformers and defenders disputed details of compatibility and the location of legitimacy for their agendas. Reformers tended to see the modern Western scientific standard as not yet achieved in Chinese musical practices, whereas defenders tended to identify the progressive standard as already realized in pre-existing Chinese achievements. Also, many reformers emphasized that the Chinese moral-aesthetic ideals were exemplified in the lives of Western "music sages" and in Western musical sound materiality, whereas defenders tied the legitimacy of the Chinese order to Chinese history and practices only. In these controversies, musical definitions of China and the West shifted between the past and present, between materiality and meaning interpretations, and between the national and universal orders.

The differences between reformers and defenders cannot be essentialized, however. Both sides, for example, sought to transcend the national particularity of modern China to join a universal order, ranging from an international community to a pan-human collectiveness, and to establish an aesthetics based on a generalized human-nature

connection. Reformers who saw Western musical technology as setting the international standard sought to become part of the international order (Chao, *Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji*, p. 261; Wang, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 313). With a similar universal scope, defenders such as the *qin* advocate Wu Xiangcen emphasized the collective relevance of *qin* music to "the disposition of all human beings" (Wu, "Tichang guqin," p. 57). Even in Fu Lei's extreme reformist criticism, the particular Chinese aesthetics he invoked was based on a generalized human experience of "breath" (*qi*) (Fu, "Zhongguo yinyue," p. 103), and the landscape painting genre he commended featured generalized assumptions that connected human subjectivity to nature. Just as Wu Xiangcen and Fu Lei drew from a universal order established in pre-modern Chinese elite culture, perhaps we can begin conceptualizing the reformers' subscription to the Western-based internationalism as a mediated continuation of the pre-modern Chinese holistic vision of the world, one that was based on a sense of social collectiveness.

For example, the reformer Liao Shangguo's emphasis on attending to "other people's psychological experiences" in musical works underlined a nation-transcending social basis (Liao, *Yinyue tonglun*, p. 68). Although Liao Shangguo, in his extreme reformer position, rejected the Confucian

connection of music with ritual (pp. 1-2), his collective vision of music, ironically, reinforced the social basis of the Confucian connection – that music was based on shared experience among human beings. Such a frank identification with musical collectiveness echoed the defender Zheng Jinwen's idea of a musical "great unity" (*datong*), a Confucian utopian vision that is based on an idealized social collectiveness. Despite the different focuses of their agendas, both Liao Shangguo and Zheng Jinwen located music in a collective or universal order. For Zheng Jinwen, in order to musically realize the Confucian utopian ideal, it was necessary to "understand all kinds of music in the whole world" (Zheng, *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, p. 2). Zheng Jinwen's vision was inspired by the late-Qing reformer Kang Youwei (1858-1927), who saw the Confucian utopia "as the final stage of human progress, one that followed stages of familism and nationalism" (Dirlik, *Anarchism*, pp. 55-56). Although Zheng Jinwen's explanation of his utopian vision was sketchy and brief, his musical work resonated with Kang Youwei's attempt "to solve the crisis of China's positioning in the modern world" by reinterpreting Confucianism (Liu, *Translingual Practice*, p. 40). More importantly, the Confucian discourse of "great unity"

exemplifies both the prevalence of and tensions between universal visions in Chinese musical modernity.

To further understand the relation between the Western-based musical internationalism in Chinese modernity and the pre-modern Chinese holistic world vision, we will need to locate universality in Chinese expressive culture before and after colonial encounters. It suffices here to point out this direction for future research.

In order to begin to understand the creative practices in Chinese musical modernity, this dissertation has examined translation processes in modern musical works (Chapter 6). As reformers and defenders both claimed elements from the same pre-modern Chinese expressive culture, composers and musical producers of both groups engaged with similar native resources to assert Chineseness in their modern creative works. Selecting from diverse kinds of Western musical practices and materiality of sound, these creative individuals stylistically and/or aesthetically negotiated between Chinese and Western establishments that appealed to them. In the previous chapter, I analyzed the complexities and diversities of their "translational creativity" with a three-level heuristic spectrum. The new, translated musical practices involved not only procedural and structural aspects of

musical sound organization, but also social function and aesthetics, which transformed how Chinese engaged with musical expressions and performances. Whereas the structural aspects in the modern musical works may or may not embrace translational changes, their social and/or aesthetic practices all adopted Western influences in one way or the other. Between change and non-change, and between Chinese and Western establishments, processes of musical translation created new practices and sound organizations in modern Chinese music.

The translated musical discursive and expressive practices that emerged in Shanghai defined the conditions of Chinese musical modernity, and they continued to shape Chinese musical thoughts and experiences in the Communist regime, when musical leaders appropriated Chinese and Western establishments to implement their ideological and propagandistic imperatives. As Communist China negotiated her musical modernity with reference to frozen ideals of "nationalization," "revolutionization," and "popularization,"² the problem of mediating the musical West, which represented the international standard and global modernity, remained a perennial issue. Processes of musical

² Emerging in the 1960s, as implementation of the "three transformations" (*sanhua* 三化) took place, these slogans crystallized Mao Zedong's ideologies of literature and art since his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" ("Yan'an wenyi zuotan hui" 延安文藝座談會) in 1942.

translation that emerged in Shanghai in the Republican period continued; their developments, however, were directed by new ideological and political realities.

Despite erratic revolutionary and artistic purges, the five representative modern musical works discussed in Chapter Six became canonized. In the present post-Communist era, when propagandistic skepticism against "rightists" and "feudalism" have eased, these musical works have become Chinese masterpieces. In the canonization process, the Chinese qualities of these new creative works were more and more widely recognized, and their Western foreignness suppressed or ignored. The *erhu* solo *Affliction*, the new *sizhu* *Spring River*, and the *nanbangzi* in *The King* are now celebrated as masterpieces of "traditional Chinese music"; the art song "How Can I" and the piano piece *Buffalo* are often categorized as Chinese and "gudian" – meaning "ancient" (*gu* 古) and classical" (*dian* 典). They all are new sound embodiments of China's past. Their modernity does not disappear, however, but exists as new forms of imagination, which are fluid and relational.

In modernity, the Chinese adaptability to the new was based on their ability to listen and to adjust Chinese meanings in the context of modern musical practices and sounds. How can we theorize this Chinese mode of listening

and understanding modernity? The subject of musical reception can be examined with ethnographic and historical data, a project that I will conduct in the near future. Two senior Shanghai residents whom I interviewed have inspired me with some possible research strategies.

They informed me that Chinese meanings were to be located in both Chinese-styled modern music and Western classical music. Ms. Lin responded to the Chinese-styled film song "Song of the Seasons" emotionally, and invoked the Chinese classical concept of "qing" 情 (lit.: affection, emotion).³ Similar Chinese-styled songs, however, did not appeal to Mao Chu'en, who identified with Western classical music and became a professional violinist at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in the 1940s.⁴ How did listeners like Mr. Mao find Chinese meanings in foreign music? Huang Zi, one of Mr. Mao's music teachers, offers an answer, one that vividly illustrates a translation process. Identifying Western music with poetic moods created in classical Chinese poetry, Huang Zi listened and adjusted foreign music with Chinese sentiments and interpretations. For example, Huang Zi associated the energizing inspirations he heard from Mozart's *Jupiter Symphony* with the "soaring

³ Interview with Ms. Lin in Shanghai, November 10, 2004. I have discussed Ms. Lin's "qing" response in my 2005 conference paper "'One Word, *Qing*': Emotions in Chinese Film Songs of the 1930s."

⁴ Interview with Mao Chu'en in Shanghai, November 4, 2004.

appeal" that Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) created in his *ci*-poem "Bright Moon, When Did You Appear?" ("Shuidiao getou" 水調歌頭) (Liao, "Qiangu wenzhang," p. 85).

It is likely that all of these three modern listeners continued a mode of listening derived from pre-modern practices, one that had deep-rooted cultural, philosophical, and literary foundations. To theorize their Chinese mode of listening in modernity requires connecting their modern behaviors in Shanghai to corresponding pre-modern establishments. Chinese musical meanings were not frozen in particular musical sounds, but adapted to musical choices and personal predilections. But as much as listening experiences in Chinese musical modernity were diverse, they were more or less bounded by shared cultural identity, language, and values – a "*habitus* of listening," as Judith Becker recently theorized by extending Bourdieu's arguments (Becker, "Anthropological Perspectives on Music and Emotion"). Just as both music reformers and defenders participated in modern knowledge constructions and modern music creation in their own ways, listeners siding with either Ms. Lin or Mr. Mao both experience Chinese musical meanings in modernity. It is their musical identifications

and enjoyments that propelled Shanghai musical modernity,
the foundation of Chinese music today.

Appendices

Appendix 1 "How Can I Help But Think of You?" (Chao, Zhao Yuanren zuopin quanji).

教我如何不想他
How Can I Help But Think of You
(1926)

Moderato $\text{♩} = 108$ Stanza 1

小提琴 Violin

钢琴 Piano

1 天上飘着
rit. a tempo piao zhe

6 些微云，地上吹着些微

11 风。啊！(Ah!) 微风吹动了我的头
tou

Detailed description: This is a musical score for the song 'How Can I Help But Think of You?' (教我如何不想他). The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It is marked 'Moderato' with a tempo of 108 beats per minute. The score is for Violin and Piano. The lyrics are in Chinese. The score is divided into three systems. The first system starts with a first ending bracket (1) and includes the lyrics '天上飘着' (piao zhe) with a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking. The second system starts with a bracket (6) and includes the lyrics '些微云，地上吹着些微' (xie wei yun, di shang chui zhe xie wei). The third system starts with a bracket (11) and includes the lyrics '风。啊！(Ah!) 微风吹动了我的头' (feng. ah! wei feng chui dong le wo de tou) with a 'tou' marking. The piano part features a steady accompaniment with some 'p' (piano) markings and 'rit.' markings.

16

发, 教我如何不想他?
fa bu xiang

rit.

22 Stanza 2

月光恋爱着海洋, 海

a tempo

27

洋恋爱着月光。 啊!

cresc.

32

这 般 蜜 也 似 的 银 夜 ， 教 我 如 何 不 想 他 ？

mp

37

Interlude

rit. *pp a tempo*

rit. *a tempo pp*

43

Stanza 3

水 面 落 花 慢 慢 流 ，

p

48

水底鱼儿慢慢游。 啊!

mf

53

燕子,你说些什么话? 教我如何不想

58

Stanza 4

他? 枯

rit. *a tempo*

63

树 在冷 风里 摇， 野 火 在 暮 色 中 烧。 啊！

67

西 天 还 有 些 儿 残 霞， 教 我 如 何 不 想

72 *a tempo*

他？

a tempo *dim.* *rit.*

a tempo *dim.* *rit.* *p*

Appendix 2 *In Affliction* (Liu, Liu Tianhua quanji).¹

病中吟
In Affliction

Section A
[一] 广板缓起(1) *Largo*

¹ The notation shown here is based on Liu Yuhe's edited version, with some performance instructions modified to reflect Liu Tianhua's original descriptions published in *Liu Tianhua xiansheng jinian ce*, edited by Liu Fu.

Section B

[二] 较前段略快(2) *più mosso*

Musical score for Section B, measures 33-45. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various fingerings and articulations. Measure 33 starts with a box containing the number 33. Measure 36 has a box with 36. Measure 39 has a box with 39. Measure 42 has a box with 42 and the marking *accel.* above it. Measure 45 has a box with 45 and the marking *rit.* above it. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Section A'

[三] (速度同 [一] 段) *Tempo 1*

Musical score for Section A', measures 49-60. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various fingerings and articulations. Measure 49 starts with a box containing the number 49. Measure 51 has a box with 51. Measure 54 has a box with 54 and the marking *rit.* above it. The section concludes with a double bar line. Below the score, the word "Coda" is written, followed by "尾声" (Coda), "快板" (Adagio), and "Allegro".

牧童短笛

Buffalo Boy's Flute

Section A

Commodo

The musical score for "Buffalo Boy's Flute" (Section A, Commodo) is presented in five systems. Each system consists of a treble and bass staff. The piece is in 4/4 time and includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5. The score concludes with the markings "una corda" and "tre corde".

System 1 (Measures 1-4): Treble staff starts with a triplet of eighth notes (measures 1-2), followed by a quarter note (measure 3) and a quarter note (measure 4). Bass staff has a half note (measure 1), a quarter note (measure 2), and a quarter note (measure 3). Dynamics: *mp*. Fingerings: 3, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, 3, 1, 2, 1.

System 2 (Measures 5-8): Treble staff has a quarter rest (measure 5), followed by eighth notes (measures 6-7) and a quarter note (measure 8). Bass staff has a quarter note (measure 5), eighth notes (measures 6-7), and a quarter note (measure 8). Dynamics: *f*. Fingerings: 3, 1, 2, 4, 2, 1, 4, 2, 1, 3.

System 3 (Measures 9-12): Treble staff has a quarter rest (measure 9), eighth notes (measures 10-11), and a quarter note (measure 12). Bass staff has a quarter note (measure 9), eighth notes (measures 10-11), and a quarter note (measure 12). Dynamics: *f*, *p*, *f*. Fingerings: 3, 2, 4, 2, 1, 2, 3, 5, 3, 1, 5.

System 4 (Measures 13-16): Treble staff has a quarter rest (measure 13), eighth notes (measures 14-15), and a quarter note (measure 16). Bass staff has a quarter note (measure 13), eighth notes (measures 14-15), and a quarter note (measure 16). Dynamics: *pp*, *mp*. Fingerings: 3, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 1.

System 5 (Measures 17-20): Treble staff has a quarter rest (measure 17), eighth notes (measures 18-19), and a quarter note (measure 20). Bass staff has a quarter note (measure 17), eighth notes (measures 18-19), and a quarter note (measure 20). Dynamics: *f*, *p*. Fingerings: 1, 1, 5, 2, 1, 2, 3, 2, 5.

At the end of the score, the markings "una corda" and "tre corde" are present.

20

mp *pp* *rit.* *Gua*

Section B

Vivace 25

mp *cresc.* *Gua*

32

p *f* *mp* *Gua*

39

cresc. *p* *Gua*

46

f *dim.* *Gua*

Section A'
Tempo primo

53 *mp* *f* *mf* *f*

58 *f* *f*

63 *f* *pp* *mp*
una corda *tre corde*

68 *f* *p*

73 *mp* *pp* *rit.* *gva.*

Appendix 4 *A Night of Flowers and Moonlight on the Spring River (JSZ)*.²

1=G

【一】江楼钟鼓 (1) Bells and Drums Coming from the River Tower

节奏自由, 慢起

(琵琶、筝、阮) *pipa, zheng, ruan*

渐快 渐强

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\overset{1}{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ |

慢

7 $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{3} \underline{0}$ | $\overset{\wedge}{6}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ $\underline{6}$ | 5 5 0 | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$.

渐快 渐强

13 $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$. | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ |

20

(合) *a tutti*

$\dot{2}$ - | $\dot{2}$. $\dot{1}$ | $\underline{6} \underline{6} \underline{6} \underline{6}$ 6 6 | $\underline{6} \underline{6} \underline{6}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ $\underline{6}$ | 5 5 . 6 | 5 5 6 $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ |

26

3 - | $\underline{3} \underline{2} \underline{3}$ $\underline{5} \underline{3} \underline{5}$ | 6 . $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{1}$ 6 | 5 5 . $\dot{1}$ | $\underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}} \underline{\dot{2}}$ $\underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}} \underline{5} \underline{2}$ |

xiao

(新笛) 渐弱 渐慢

32 3 - | $\underline{3} \underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}}$ $\underline{5} \underline{6} \underline{5} \underline{3}$ | 2 - | $\underline{3} . \underline{5}$ $\underline{6} \underline{5} \underline{6} \underline{1}$ | $\underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{2}$ $\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{1}$ | 2 - |

【二】月上东山 (2) The Moon Rises from the Mountain on the East

(琵琶) *pipa* (合) *a tutti* 40

$\dot{2}$ - | $\underline{\dot{2}} \underline{\dot{2}}$ $\underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{5}} \underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{2}}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\underline{\dot{1}} \underline{\dot{2}} \underline{\dot{6}} \underline{5}$ | $\dot{1}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{2}$ | $\underline{\dot{2}} \underline{\dot{3}}$ $\underline{5}$ $\underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{5}} \underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{2}}$ |

44

$\dot{1}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{1}$ 6 | 5 5 . 6 | 3 . 5 6 $\dot{1}$ | 5 5 $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ |

50

(新笛) *xiao*

$\underline{6}$. $\underline{\dot{1}}$ $\underline{5}$ $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{3}$. $\underline{2}$ $\underline{1}$ $\underline{3}$ | 2 - | $\underline{3} \underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}}$ $\underline{5} \underline{6} \underline{5} \underline{3}$ | $\underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{2}$ $\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{1}$ | 2 - ||

【三】风回曲水 (3) The Twisting Winds and Waters

(琵琶) *pipa* (合) *a tutti* 58

$\dot{3}$ - | $\dot{3}$ $\underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{5}} \underline{\dot{3}} \underline{\dot{3}}$ | $\dot{2}$ 2 | 3 $\underline{6}$. $\underline{\dot{1}}$ | 5 $\underline{5}$. $\underline{\dot{1}}$ | $\underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}} \underline{\dot{2}}$ $\underline{6} \underline{\dot{1}} \underline{5} \underline{2}$ | 3 - |

² The English translations of terms and sub-titles have been added by me.

62
 3 6 $\dot{1}$ 5633 | 2 - | 23 5 3532 | $\dot{1}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$. $\dot{3}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$ 5 6 $\dot{1}$ | $\dot{2}$ - |

70
 2 $\dot{3}$ 5 | 3 $\dot{5}$ 3 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ - | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{3}$ | 6 - | 6 6 $\dot{1}$ 5 | 3. 3 3 5 | 3. 3 3 5 |

77
 6 . $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ | $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{3}$ 2 $\dot{1}$ 6 | 5 5. 6 | 5 5 6 $\dot{1}\dot{2}$ | 3 - | 3 6 $\dot{1}$ 5653 | 2 32 1231 | 2 - ||

xiao
(新笛) 渐弱

【四】花影层叠 (4) Flowers Layered with Shadows

(琵琶) *pipa* (合) *a tutti* 87
 2 - | 2 . 5 3 5 | 2 2 | 3 6 . $\dot{1}$ | 5 5 | 3 . 5 6 $\dot{1}$ | 5 5 |

快
 (琵琶) *pipa* 93
 5 $\dot{6}$ 7 $\dot{5}$ 6 $\dot{5}$ 6 $\dot{7}$ | 3 - | 3 $\dot{5}$ 6 $\dot{3}$ 5 $\dot{3}$ 5 $\dot{6}$ | 2 - | 2 $\dot{3}$ 5 $\dot{2}$ 3 $\dot{2}$ 3 $\dot{5}$ | $\dot{1}$ - |

98
 渐慢 (合) *a tutti*
 $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{3}$ $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{3}$ | 6 - | 6 $\dot{1}$ 65 6 $\dot{1}$ 65 | 3 - | 3 23 5 35 | 6 . $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$. $\dot{3}$ |

104
xiao
(新笛) 渐弱
 $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{3}$ 2 $\dot{1}$ 6 | 5 5. 6 | 5 5 6 $\dot{1}\dot{2}$ | 3 - | 3 6 $\dot{1}$ 5653 | 2 32 1231 | 2 - ||

【五】水云深际 (5) Waters and Clouds Flowing in Deep

(琵琶) *pipa* (琵琶、箏、阮、大胡) *pipa, zheng, ruan, dahu*
 ^ 112
 2 - | 2 . 3 5 5 | 3 23 5 5 | 3 5 3532 | 1 6 $\dot{1}$ 2 | 1 23 5 35 | 2 2 |

(合) *a tutti* 119 *tr tr* (琵琶、箏) *pipa, zheng*
 2356 2356 | 3532 1. 6 | 1 2 5 5 | 3532 1561 | 2 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ | 6 5 | 2 3 |

(合) *a tutti* 127 *tr tr tr tr*
 3 - | 3 - | 2 . 3 5 5 | 3532 1561 | 2 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ | 6 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ |

134 *tr tr tr tr tr*
 6 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ 6 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ 6 $\dot{2}$ | $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ $\dot{1}\dot{2}$ $\dot{1}$ 6 | 5 - | 5 . 6 $\dot{1}$ $\dot{2}$ | 6 - |

141
xiao
(新笛) 渐弱
 6 6 $\dot{1}$ 2 $\dot{6}$ | 5 - | 5 5 6 $\dot{1}\dot{2}$ | 3 - | 3 6 $\dot{1}$ 5653 | 2 32 1231 | 2 - ||

【六】渔歌晚唱 (6) Fisherman Singing at the Evening

(琵琶) *pipa* (合) *a tutti* (琵琶、新笛) *pipa, xiao*

149

2̣ | 2̣ 3̣ | 3̣ . 5̣ 2̣ . 5̣ | 3̣ 3̣ | 6̣ - | 6̣ 6̣ 7̣ 7̣ | 6̣ 6̣ 7̣ 2̣ 7̣ |

155 (合) *a tutti* (琵琶、新笛) *pipa, xiao* (合) *a tutti*

0 7̣ 6̣ 6̣ 7̣ 2̣ | 5̣ - | 5̣ 5̣ 6̣ 6̣ | 5̣ 5̣ 6̣ 7̣ 6̣ | 0 6̣ 5̣ 5̣ 6̣ 7̣ | 3̣ - |

(琵琶、新笛) *pipa, xiao* 163 (合) *a tutti* (琵琶、新笛) *pipa, xiao*

3̣ 3̣ 5̣ 5̣ | 3̣ 3̣ 5̣ 6̣ 5̣ | 0 5̣ 3̣ 3̣ 5̣ 6̣ | 2̣ - | 2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 3̣ | 2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 5̣ 3̣ | 0 3̣ 2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 2̣ |

(合) *a tutti* (琵琶、新笛) *pipa, xiao* 171 (合) *a tutti*

1̣ - | 1̣ 1̣ 2̣ 2̣ | 1̣ 1̣ 2̣ 3̣ 2̣ | 0 2̣ 1̣ 1̣ 2̣ 3̣ | 6̣ - | 6̣ 1̣ 2̣ 1̣ 6̣ 5̣ | 6̣ 1̣ 2̣ 1̣ 6̣ 5̣ |

175

3 3 3 | 3 6̣ 1̣ 5 0 | 0 1̣ 6 5 | 6 1̣ 2̣ 6 0 | 0 6 1̣ 2̣ | 1̣ - | 1̣ . 2̣ 3̣ 5̣ |

182 *xiao* (新笛) 渐弱

1̣ 2̣ 3̣ 2̣ 1̣ 6 | 5 5 . 6 | 5 5 6 1̣ 2̣ | 3 - | 3 6̣ 1̣ 5 6 5 3 | 2 3 2 1 2 3 1 | 2 - ||

【七】洄澜拍岸 (7) Twirling Waves Clapping the Shores

pipa (琵琶) 快 190

2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 3̣ | 6̣ 6̣ 6̣ 7̣ | 5̣ 5̣ 5̣ 6̣ | 3̣ 3̣ 3̣ 5̣ | 2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 3̣ | 2̣ 2̣ 3̣ 2̣ |

195 (合) *a tutti*

1̣ 0 2̣ | 1̣ . 2̣ 3̣ 5̣ | 2̣ - | 2̣ . 5̣ 3̣ 5̣ | 1̣ - | 1̣ . 3̣ 2̣ 3̣ |

ff

201

6 - | 6 . 6 1̣ 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 6 . 1̣ 2̣ 3̣ | 1̣ 2̣ 3̣ 2̣ 1̣ 6 | 5 5 . 6 |

208 *pipa* (琵琶) 慢

5 5 6 1̣ 2̣ | 3 - | 5 3 2 1 | 2 0 | 5 3 2 1 | 2 0 3̣ | 2̣ 0 ||

(8) The Oars Sounding afar at the Rapids

【八】橈鸣远瀨 *a tutti*

(琵琶) *pipa* (合) 渐快 由强渐弱

216

3̣ - | 3̣ 3̣ 5̣ 3̣ 3̣ | 2̣ 2̣ | 3̣ 6̣ . 1̣ | 5 5 | 5 6̣ . 1̣ | 3 3 |

222

3 6̣ . 1̣ | 5 5 | 5 3 | 2 2 | 2 5 . 6̣ | 3 3 | 3 2 |

229

1 1 | 1 3 . 5 | 2 2 | 2 1 | 6 6 | 6 1 2 | 6 6 0

原速

237

6 6 6 i 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 6 . i 2 . 3 | i 2 3 2 i 6 | 5 0 6

242

5 3 . 5 | 5 . 6 i 2 | 6 i 2 i 6 5 | 3 . 5 6 i 2 | i 6 5 3 5 6 | 2 -

【九】欸乃归舟 (9) Rowing the Returning Boat

慢 弱

(琵琶、新笛、南胡、箏) *pipa, xiao, erhu, zheng*

5 - | 5 7 | 6 6 | 6 7 6 | 5 5 | 5 6 . i | 3 3 | 3 6 . i

256

5 5 | 5 3 | 2 2 | 2 5 6 | 3 3 | 3 2 | 1 1 | 1 3 5

264

渐快 渐强 other parts join in gradually
(其他乐器渐次加入)

2 2 | 2 1 | 6 6 | 6 1 | 6 6 | 6 1 | 2 2 | 2 3 2

272

1 1 | 1 2 | 3 3 | 3 5 6 | 2 2 | 2 3 | 5 5 | 5 6 . i

280

3 3 | 3 6 . i | 5 5 | 5 3 | 2 2 | 2 5 6 | 3 3 | 3 2

288

1 1 | 1 3 5 | 2 2 | 2 1 | 6 6 | 6 1 | 6 6 0

原速

296

6 6 6 i 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 3 . 3 3 5 | 6 . i 2 . 3 | i 2 3 2 i 6 | 5 0 6

301

5 3 . 5 | 5 . 6 i 2 | 6 i 2 i 6 5 | 3 . 5 6 i 2 | i 6 5 3 5 6 | 2 -

【十】尾 声 (10) Coda

(琵琶、南胡、大胡) 慢 *pipa, erhu, dahu*(新笛) *xiao* 312

渐慢

6 i 2 | 3 5 6 i | 5 5 3 2 3 5 | 2 - | 3 . 5 6 i | 6 i 6 5 3 5 6 | 2 3 2 1 7 6 1 | 2 3 2 1 2 3 1 | 2 -

Appendix 5 Nanbangzi aria (first section) in *The King Bids Farewell to his Concubine*, transcribed by Liu Tianhua (Liu, Mei Lanfang gequ pu).

霸王别姬

The King Bids Farewell to His Concubine

南梆子头段
Nanbangzi, first section

♩ = 44

见---大---王-----

verse 1

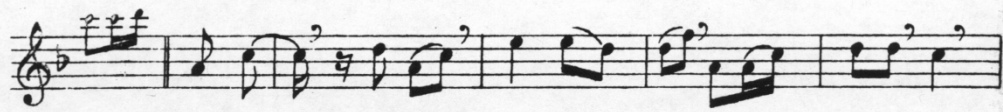
在---帐-----中-----

和---衣-----睡-----稳

我---逃---裏---到---帐---外---

verse 2

且---散-----秋-----



二段 Second section

$\text{♩} = 58$



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