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Fusion concertos in postcolonial Hong Kong
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**A note on Chime Nos. 18 / 19**

This volume of the CHIME Journal is the last one to appear in printed form. Starting from next year, the journal will become a freely accessible electronic publication on the new website of CHIME. The journal will remain a peer-refereed publication. (The new website address will be announced to our email network in June 2014). The present volume was delayed for several years, following the illness and death of Antoinet Schimmelpenninck, co-editor of CHIME. It includes some book reviews written up to five years ago, about books that appeared still longer ago. As a commitment to the authors, we decided to include them in this volume. The CHIME Journal continues as a joint publication by CHIME and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Future issues will contain more contributions in Chinese. In this volume we have included an elaborate survey of Chinese language sources on Chinese music in recent years (see the announcements section).
Father and son

Youngsters in present-day China grow up primarily with Chinese and Western pop. So what does ‘Chinese music’ mean to them, if not pop? Glamour shows and gala concerts on urban stages, featuring Western instruments and modernized versions of Chinese instruments dominate the media in China. Traditional music is still alive and kicking, but survives mainly in local settings which you have to know in order to find them.

Admittedly, a number of traditional genres have become the subject of government ‘rescue’ and ‘preservation’ programmes. Traditional music is now promoted and supported in many new forms: intangible cultural heritage projects, internet archives, eco-cultural protection zones, ecomuseums, support grants for outstanding musicians (‘cultural treasures’), sponsored concert tours and exhibitions, and a good deal more. Traditional singers and instrumentalists now appear in televised music contests, where competition, glamour and entertainment tend to be all-important; rural performers, dressed in colourful costumes, have to compete with pop stars, belcanto singers and other professionally trained musicians. For more contextual performances of traditional music, spectators may need to turn to (furtive) documentary programmes on ethnic culture, on channels like Hubei TV and Hainan Travel Channel (see also Gorfinkel, 2012). This may still amount to a kind of exotic animal watching, but at least musicians are portrayed here in their native environments. The ‘real thing’ remains a bit elusive. Religious and ritual connotations are largely ignored, and most regional music traditions do not make it to any of the TV channels.

However, no need to travel to remote tribal areas and isolated mountain villages to experience traditional music ‘live’. There may be folk songs, temple music, regional operas, puppetry or storysinging closer to home. In fact, you can get to hear plenty of traditional music in the major cities, even in crowded metropoles such as Hong Kong.

In the heart of Kowloon you will risk finding yourself completely locked in by towering sky-scrapers, tons of glass and concrete, and the din of heavy traffic on flyovers all around. Nevertheless, on Temple Street you can come across aficionados of Cantonese opera, singing their favourite tunes under plastic awnings in hastily arranged outdoor ‘teahouses’. Elsewhere in the city, a narrow path in-between sky-high buildings takes you to the Hong Kong Academy of the Performing Arts, where Mr Yu Qiwei, a master performer of old-style Cantonese music, is teaching the city’s youngsters to play on coconut fiddles and bamboo flutes. They learn to play in the revered manner of old masters. Mr Yu resides in a narrow office space on the tenth floor of a skyscraper. He shares this kind of environment with hundreds of other traditional music teachers in the city.

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1 For an excellent review of music protection policies in present-day China, see Helen Rees, in Howard, 2012. The volume edited by Keith Howard includes many other valuable contributions. See also Weintraub and Yung, 2009.
The problem is not that Chinese traditional music is ‘dead’. The pieces which Yu Qiwei plays may no longer be as fashionable as they were before the Second World War, when numerous cabaret halls, cafés and cinemas in Hong Kong hosted their own Cantonese ensembles. But Yu still attracts new disciples and, in his quiet, unassuming manner, sustains the life of a genre from colonial times that never fails to please. High-pitched Chinese fiddles and bamboo flutes blend smoothly with dulcimer strings, and sometimes with violin, trumpet or saxophone, instruments now viewed in Hong Kong as ‘traditional Chinese’. Some genres experience a remarkable revival, some tend to thrive better than at any time during the past. Helen Rees (2012) discusses the vital continuation of ritual Dongjing associations and various types of Naxi music in Yunnan, and points at the amazing number of ‘qin studios’ which have sprung up in recent years in cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Kunming. People go there to learn to play – and to buy – the classical zither guqin. To give one further example: twenty-five years ago some twelve clubs existed in Shanghai for silk-and-bamboo teahouse music, today there are more than forty. Some traditional genres seem to do quite well without the presence of any grand-scale ‘rescue’ or support schemes, although the growing media attention and increased state support for ‘endangered’ genres has obviously triggered a lot of new public interest in traditional music.

A key problem remains that most traditional music genres in China have not been granted a place in higher institutions of musical learning. On the surface, music conservatories, art academies and music departments at universities might seem to be unlikely – even hostile – places for teaching traditional music, since they are largely modelled on Western conservatories, on Western notions of art music, on Western-style teaching methods, playing techniques and aesthetics. But they are the focal point of a great deal of enthusiastic and energetic professional music-making, and aspire to be breeding places for innovation in the realm of traditional Chinese music. They offer their students a certain amount of historical knowledge about Chinese traditional genres and instruments. Unfortunately, a historically informed performance practice among conservatory students trained on traditional instruments is largely non-existent, and students show limited awareness (if any) of past traditions or of a continued folk practice of the instruments they play. So far, ICH policies in China have had little or no impact on conservatory training programmes, and this is regrettable, for it is in these institutions that China’s top professional musicians are trained, who will determine for future generations and for a vast majority of people – more than local traditional musicians – what ‘Chinese music’ will mean in the near future.

From the beginning, conservatories and (music-minded) universities in China have dealt primarily with Western music. They did harbour departments or sections focusing on Chinese traditional music, but the teaching of native instruments came to rely increasingly on Western methods. The China Conservatory in Beijing, founded in 1964, was the one exception, in that it specialized primarily in native instruments, but here, too, students of pipa, zheng or erhu soon spent much of their time racing through scales and etudes in major

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3 Personal communication to the author by musician Zhang Zhengming, Shanghai, 11 July 2013.
and minor keys, exploring staccato, ritardando, functional harmony, and other foreign inventions. Playing techniques, repertoire and even the designs of Chinese instruments were modified to match assumed Western ideals; composer He Luting criticized native instruments for their ‘unstable pitch’ and for not having a bass register, and he and many others supported innovations such as equal-tempered tuning, enlarged resonance chambers and steel strings to enhance loudness. What began as spontaneous reforms eventually took on the aspect of official directives, even government regulations. In 1958, most mainland Chinese guqin (classical zither) players switched from silk to steel strings, and some began to incorporate Western classical ideas of phrasing, rhythm and structuring. This is infinitely subtle compared to the way in which instruments like the erhu (two-stringed fiddle), the sheng (mouth organ) or the pipa (four-stringed lute) were turned into Chinese bravura equivalents of Western violin, guitar or piano.

The government of the People’s Republic encouraged modernization of Chinese traditions and propagated the development of ‘patriotic’ elite music: a new class of professionally trained urban musicians was expected to raise Chinese traditions to new standards of excellence. Large ballet and opera troupes and ‘Chinese orchestras’ (minzu yuetuan, modelled after Western symphony orchestras with mostly native instruments) would help foster a new and stronger China, and invigorate native culture. This obviously resulted in a rather distorted perspective on traditional music, one that excluded numerous rural folk genres too ‘rough’, too religious, or too embedded in village rituals or other ‘backward’ practices (in the eyes of the government) to fit the bill. It remains to be seen if the current craze for preservation and promotion of traditional music in China (including many rural genres) may also have a positive impact on the country’s highest-level musical training institutions.

For the time being, tradition occupies a fairly modest niche in the curriculum of virtuoso instrumentalists. Most students choose to play Western instruments. Those who pick up Chinese ones may get to know folk musical genres in which their instrument features only via written music scores. Most urban students of pipa have little idea how very differently their own instrument sounded only half a century ago, when it was being played with silk (rather than steel) strings. If asked what sort of music was produced on lutes or bridged zithers in a more remote past, for example during the Tang or Song Dynasties, some students may demonstrate one or other piece which they identify as ‘Tang’ or ‘Song’ music, though actually composed in the last ten or twenty years. There is an overall tendency in China to conceive the cultural past as a monolith, an ‘endless stream’.

Admittedly, a great deal of historical genres cannot be brought back to life in performance, in the absence of scores, and many traditional genres and instruments simply do not fit in modern urban institutes of musical training. They are too closely tied to specific contexts, and meaningful only within a local culture. Some instruments are too limited in scope, or problematic in other ways. Some of the ‘mainstream’ traditional instruments taught in high-level music schools pose enough problems of their own. If you want to take lessons on a Chinese mouth organ or dulcimer, you should take great care where and with whom to study. The tuning of these instruments is different in different parts of the country. A dulcimer virtuoso from Beijing would have a hard time playing on a local Cantonese
or Shanghanese dulcimer. Chromatic 37-pipe mouth organs manufactured in Beijing (jiānshēng) have a different pitch organization and different playing techniques from those made in Shanghai (yuǎnshēng). And none of those instruments resemble the mouth organs with wooden or copper wind-chests which villagers and monks in the Chinese countryside play – with only 17 pipes, of which some are mute – and which are considered ‘primitive’. They are therefore not taught in urban schools. Sheng players in cities often don’t know what kind of music is normally played on them.

Conservatory students in Shanghai may wish to ignore the folksy traditional sounds they can get to hear in teahouses situated around the corner if they like. Many of them feel more thoroughly trained than their amateur counterparts, but unlike the ‘amateurs’, they are not – or with few exceptions – in touch with oral performance practice. They depend on scores to perform silk-and-bamboo music, and seem to care little for the improvisatory elements which make this music so endearing to local teahouse artists. The traditional musicians largely reproduce their music from memory, and will play it slightly differently every time. Their ensemble pieces tend to sound more rough, less tight in the cooperation between individual instruments, perhaps less predictable than the notated xuèyuànpái (conservatory style) versions.

Conservatory students are not sufficiently encouraged to experiment or to follow more individual creative paths, or to do field research and try out either new or unfamiliar traditional repertoires in China and thus to discover new musical possibilities. For this, the current educational system still appears to be too rigid. Students are generally expected to stay with one teacher and not to take advice or to learn from other teachers or performers. There are cases of jealousy and animosity among some of the teachers and students, and there is a sharp sense of competition that does not necessarily contribute to joyful music-making. Students get limited opportunities to play on stage during their education: many will only experience the kick of giving a real concert performance by the time they graduate. It may also be the last concert for a long time, for those who are not lucky to be contacted by cultural agents. The near-absence of independent platforms for adventurous musical expression in China (in direct relation to the near-total lack of private or governmental sponsoring for such venues) results in poor and unappealing post-graduation perspectives for students. After leaving school they may need to play in hotels to earn a living, or join the back row of some Chinese orchestra, or become teachers themselves. Only the most adventurous and courageous attempt to explore routes of escape.

Fortunately, there is a growing awareness among students and teachers of the extent of these problems, and there are many positive developments and signs of change. In 2004, the Yunnan Art Institute invited several folk musicians as guest professors for one semester to teach undergraduates traditional music and dance. A costly event that was apparently not repeated, but the rise of the market economy in China does create the funds to set up and support such new initiatives. Given enough funding, there is an enormous lot that can

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6 Rees, 2012: 34.
From the Editor

be done, from creating special platforms for a dialogue between Chinese music historians (scholars) and practising musicians to concrete project subsidies for realizing rehearsals, recordings and public performances. Historical recordings of Chinese traditional music should be made more widely accessible and applied as standard materials in musical training. Practical courses could pay more attention to concepts of Chinese traditional music theory and music analyses, and didactically consistent materials in this field could be prepared by collectives of teachers (rather than by one individual teacher who promotes merely his or her own compositions). Improvement could also be encouraged externally, via international networking, stimulating meetings between musicians from East and West, and active support for grassroots initiatives in the realm of innovative music. (There are reasons to get to know traditional music better, but there is no reason to treat traditional repertoires as petrified matter). Composition students in China should learn more about the essence of Chinese traditional music, in stead of being taught primarily to master Western harmony and counterpoint.

In all fairness: in recent years I have met a growing number of students in places like Shanghai and Beijing who took the step of contacting traditional musicians for lessons or information. (There has been a similar change in academic research: now, at some conservatories, many of the graduate students are itching to get out into the most difficult rural areas to do fieldwork, strongly encouraged by their teachers. Only two decades ago the very thought of setting foot in any of those villages filled most students with horror.) I believe there is room for new and rewarding experiences with traditional music, especially in the formal educational sector in China.

Let us briefly return to Yu Qiwei, the musician from Hong Kong whom I introduced at the start. His son has begun to teach the favourite genre of his father a hundred miles to the north, at the Guangzhou Conservatory. In flashy leather jacket and dark sun glasses, Yu Lefu may appear to be more adapted to modern ways than his father. He is unmarried, loves fast cars, beautiful girls and football, plays electric guitar, and has founded a rock band of his own. Yet his greatest passion in life is playing two-stringed Chinese fiddles in Cantonese music. For Lefu, there’s no greater joy (and no bigger challenge) than to bring back to life such Cantonese classics as *Rain dripping on banana leaves* or *The sadness of Lady Zhaojun*, and to play them so well that his father can only admit: ‘Son, you’ve beaten me!’

Frank Kouwenhoven

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7 Interviews by the author with Yu Qiwei (Hong Kong, 22 March 2007) and Yu Lefu (Amsterdam, 18 January 2008). This editorial is based on repeated visits to the music conservatories of Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu and Wuhan, the HK Academy of Performing Arts and the Nanjing Art Institute during more than two decades. I talked with numerous teachers and students, as well as with musicians outside the conservatories, and also gained experience by working as an organizer of concerts of Chinese music in Europe. I am indebted to my colleague Robert Zollitsch for many of the ideas expressed here. I borrowed a number of practical suggestions from a talk he gave during the 14th CHIME meeting in Brussels, November 2009.
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Carving Out Space for Modern Dance in China

Alison M. Friedman
(Beijing, China)

On August 8, 2008, more viewers tuned in to the Opening Ceremonies of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games than to any other televised Olympic event in history. In addition to the Peking Opera puppets, the masses of martial artists, and the explosive reminders that ancient China invented fireworks, a foreign-imported, contemporary art form stole briefly but notably into the patriotic celebration of Chinese history: modern dance. 2007 MacArthur “Genius Award”-winning, New York-based modern dance choreographer Shen Wei (沈伟) was invited back to his native country to choreograph an opening section of the event meant to celebrate China’s arrival onto the world stage. Does this reveal that China now embraces modern dance, an art form that was prohibited fewer than thirty years ago? The answer is a resounding: Yes and No.

China’s first four-year modern dance training program was held at the Guangdong Dance School from 1987-1991. Since then, the context for performing arts in China has shifted dramatically. Modern dance initially was viewed as a threatening foreign element – or possibly more damning, as a foreign element irrelevant to a country with its own rich dance heritage. Today, however, modern dance struggles more with structural economic challenges than with political ones. This change reflects the overall transformations of a country in which market forces now dictate many political decisions. The landscape in 2010 China is indeed more hospitable for modern dance than it was even a few years ago, and certainly more hospitable than when Shen Wei left China in 1994 to pursue his creative development in the United States. With China’s rapid economic development, however, come new challenges for artists. Modern dancers and choreographers have found themselves wedged between two oppressive forces (and political censorship is no longer one of them).

- Internal Rocks: Choreographers’ ongoing struggle within China to develop and perform work in the increasingly commercial environment that still lacks any systematic structural support for contemporary performing arts;

- External Hard Place: The pressures of a voracious international demand from festivals, producers, and arts organizations abroad who are able to fund these companies and artists yet exert their own explicit or implicit demands on what kind of work they want, when they want it, and what they and their audiences consider “Chinese.”
Brief Historical Overview

Modern dance existed in China as early as the 1920s and 30s. The main (although by no means only) figure was Mr. Wu Xiaobang (吴晓邦 1906-1995), who is known as the “Father of modern dance in China.” He studied in Japan with German-trained teachers. In China, he set up his own dance school and worked on developing his own style which he called “New Dance” (新舞蹈艺术), a style “influenced by German expressionism and [America’s Isadora] Duncan – his bare feet causing outrage among traditionalists.” His copious works during the 1930s were political critiques against the invading Japanese, while in 1949 he began to create less political and “more utopian works using traditional Chinese music to accompany his still experimental dance style.” His momentum was interrupted, however, by the Cultural Revolution (1967-77) when modern dance “became associated with the fear of American imperialism.” He stopped performing but continued to research traditional folk dance forms throughout the country, and in the 1980s he helped establish the first Dance Research Institute under the China National Academy of the Arts (中国艺术研究院舞蹈研究所), the first organization in China to endow masters (MA) and later doctorate (PhD) degrees in dance studies.

Wu Xiaobang performing his solo March of the Volunteers 义勇军进行曲. The choreography was by the resistance song of the same title composed in the early 1930s by NieEr 聂耳 during the Sino-Japanese War. The song was later adopted as the national anthem of the P.R. of China. (Photo courtesy of Contemporary Chinese Dance, edited by Jiang Dong, New Star Press, 2007.)
In Chairman Mao Zedong’s *Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art* (在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话) delivered in 1942, Mao outlined the role that literature and art were to play in his revolution: “Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause; they are cogs and wheels in it.” The role of the artist in his republic, therefore, was to further the political goals of the Party; “art for art’s sake” was deemed bourgeois.

This philosophy reached fever pitch during the Cultural Revolution when all performances were outlawed except for eight “model dramas” known as the “yang ban xi.” These performances were adapted from traditional Chinese stories, and in Socialist-realist clarity, “all the good guys were farmers and revolutionary soldiers . . . singing and dancing in the broad spotlight. All the bad guys were landlords and anti revolutionaries, who wore dark make-up and were poorly lit.” Two of the works were ballets: *The Red Detachment of Women* (1964, National Ballet of China) and *White Haired Girl* (1965, Shanghai Ballet Company). *The Red Detachment of Women* depicts the liberation of a peasant girl and her rise in the Communist Party. After the end of the Cultural Revolution and a period of time when the yang ban xi fell out of favour, these ballets were revived and *The Red Detachment of Women* is once again part of the National Ballet’s repertoire, performed regularly in China and on tour internationally along with the Company’s contemporary ballet and Western classical ballet repertoire.

After the reform and opening-up policies of Deng Xiaoping took effect in the late 1970s and 1980s, China began allowing the first slow trickles of exchange in the cultural arena. In 1986, the American Dance Festival invited four choreographers and educators from China to attend that summer’s festival in New York City, including then-principal of the Guangdong Dance School, Ms. Yang Meiqi. While there, Yang observed her first modern dance class. She went immediately to the director of the festival, Charles Reinhart, to ask “Why do those students roll on the floor in class?” Reinhart considered explaining the physical concepts of fall and recovery, of momentum and grounding the body’s weight into the floor in order to release upward. Instead, recalls Reinhart, “I asked, ‘Why not?’ That was the moment she looked at me and said, ‘We need this in China.’”

*The Red Detachment of Women* 红色娘子军. Set in Hainan Island in the 1930s, it depicts the story of a young woman’s journey into the People’s Liberation Army. The choreography (1964) is credited to a collaboration by Li Chengxiang, Jiang Zuhui, and Wang Xixian. The music was also a collective effort, by Du Mingxin, Wu Zuqiang, Wang Yanqiao, Shi Wanchun, and Dai Hongcheng. (Photo courtesy of The National Ballet of China.)
With support from the American Dance Festival, the Asian Cultural Council, and the local Guangdong provincial government, Yang organized China’s first four-year modern dance training program at her school in Guangdong Province beginning in 1987. Teachers including Sarah Stackhouse (USA), Ruby Shang (USA), Douglas Nielsen (USA), Claudia Gitelman (USA), and Lucas Hoving (NL/USA) among others came for three- to six-month periods at a time, and graduates of the program founded China’s first official modern dance company, the Guangdong Modern Dance Company (GMDC / 广东现代舞团, www.gmdmcd.com), in 1992.

Since then, more modern dance companies have emerged, including:

- **Living Dance Studio** 生活舞蹈工作室 (1994) [http://www.ccdworkstation.com](http://www.ccdworkstation.com)
- **Jin Xing Modern Dance Theatre** 金星现代舞团 (1999-00) [no website]
- **Beijing Dance/LDTX** 北京雷动天下现代舞团 (2005) [http://www.beijingldtx.com](http://www.beijingldtx.com)
- **brand nu dance** 不乱扭 (2007) [http://numu.we23.org](http://numu.we23.org)

This is by no means an exhaustive list of modern dance practitioners in China, as there are individuals, collectives, and school groups operating throughout the country with varying degrees of consistency and exposure. This list also does not include choreographers teaching and creating work in the academies full time, but does include companies with a more established reputation and experience performing abroad.

The term “modern dance” is translated into Chinese verbatim as xiandai wu 现代舞. This term is used to refer to the style of post-classical or non-classical concert dance that was introduced to China by teachers from the US and Europe visiting for short-term periods like those in Yang Meiqi’s first four year program. The term encompasses both specific Western techniques/traditions of modern dance such as Graham technique (Gelaimu jiqiao 格莱姆姆技巧) and release technique (fangsong jiqiao 放松技巧), as well as styles of non-traditional/non-classical dance forms used by choreographers in China that may or may not have a direct link to a Western form.

The term “contemporary dance,” translated into Chinese verbatim as dangdai wu (当代舞), carries two meanings depending on the context. In one context, it refers to a kind of modernized folk dance typically employed by state-run song and dance troupes. Some also call it “‘army-troupe dance’ (jundui wu 军队舞) because the style is used by dance troupes associated with the various wings of the Chinese army.” Within the modern dance community in China, however, many now use “contemporary dance” in the Western sense to describe styles/companies that may be considered “post-modern” in style or may cleave more toward multidisciplinary performance art. In the West, in addition to the stylistic distinctions there is also a chronological distinction between the two categories with modern dance having developed earlier in the 20th century than contemporary dance. In China,
however, representatives of both styles are developing contemporaneously throughout the country. Groups like the Living Dance Studio self-identify as “contemporary dance” in the Western sense of the term. Their work tends to be more multimedia and performance-art in nature and company members may or may not have studied dance formally. This is in contrast to groups like the Guangdong Modern Dance Company, whose dancers all graduated from rigorous dance academies and are highly technically trained. In this paper I use the terms “modern dance” and “contemporary dance” more interchangeably to refer to the range of post-classical and non-traditional dance forms in China, unless a company specifically self-identifies as one or the other.

With barely three decades of uninterrupted development in China, modern dance is still in nascent stages. Artists are en medias res, defining and creating new styles, forms, and content. Collectives like the Living Dance Studio and Zuhe Niao are made up of professional and amateur artists from different genres, including dance, film, visual art/installation, architecture/design, and music. Their performances tend toward multi-media performance art and they frequently perform in non-traditional settings like outdoors or in other site-specific locales. In contrast, groups like the Guangdong Modern Dance Company, Beijing Modern Dance Company, and BeijingDance/LDTX are made up only of highly trained professional dancers and the work tends to show off the dancers’ technical virtuosity.
Guangdong Modern Dance Company, *Upon Calligraphy* (2005) choreographed by Liu Qi. According to the program notes, *Upon Calligraphy* is ‘a poem of movements, which are developed from the stylistic essence of different Chinese scripts. The acuteness and tardiness of the *bone script*, the elegance of the *seal script*, the harmony of the *official script*, the strength of the *regular script*, and the expressiveness and freedom of the *cursive script*, underline respectively the paragraphs of the dance. The passage of movements from slow and delicate to quick and expressive corresponds to the path of development of Chinese writing or communication in general. Writing then conveys not only the symbolic meanings of the words but also the temperament and feelings of the person through the brush strokes. At the end of the passage is the information age of today when writing means touching the keyboard and words are electronic codes of identical forms.’ This image is from the section ‘As the Form of a Seal Script’. The music for this production was composed by Li Chin Sung (Hong Kong).

(Photo: Guilherme Rafols.)
Only on rare occasions do they perform anywhere but a traditional proscenium stage. Work by newcomer Beijing Contemporary Dance Theatre, founded by former National Ballet of China (北京当代芭蕾舞团) choreographer Wang Yuanyuan (王媛媛), tends to be more standard contemporary ballet in form. The name of the company in Chinese, “北京当代芭蕾舞团,” is in fact “Beijing Contemporary Ballet Company.” Although the form she uses is ballet, the themes and content Wang draws on at times include classical Chinese stories and legends, in addition to her personal emotions and impressions.

These groups rely on a variety of funding sources, and the mix of sources has changed over the years. The Living Dance Studio, Zuhe Niao, brand nu dance, and TAO Dance Theatre, exist entirely off-the-record, having never (or not yet) registered as a performance group with any official government entity. They depend upon international foundation support, international touring fees, and individual contributions as well as their own minimal earned income through ticket sales or teaching gigs. Until 2006, art and cultural organizations in China could exist officially only as government entities – State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) – or as commercial enterprises which put them in the same tax category as bars, clubs, and other for-profit entertainment enterprises. Groups like GMDC and BMDC started out as official, government-founded and government-funded groups, and later changed their status for greater independence – but with that came less (or no) government support. BMDC was founded in 1995 by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture and in 1997-98

Another excerpt from the Guangdong Modern Dance Company’s Upon Calligraphy (临池) (2005). This photo stems the section ‘As the Form of Official Script’. (Photo: Ringo Chan.)
Zuhe Niao, *The Tongue’s Memory of Home* (2006), with music by Yin Yi. Cover of the program booklet (Hong Kong 2007 Creative China Festival, above), and an excerpt from the performance (below) (Photo: Fang Lei).
BeijingDance/LDTX, performing *One Table N Chairs*, choreographed by Willy Tsao, Li Hanzhong and Ma Bo (2000, remounted 2009). The piece is divided into fourteen sections, each featuring different kinds of traditional Chinese opera music. This photo is from Scene VIII: *Dying For Love – We Let Death Do Us Apart While The Enemies Were At The Door*. The music for this scene is an excerpt from *The Flower Princess*, a yuet-ju play. Yuet-ju, a traditional opera form famous for its lively singing and acting style, originated in southern China’s Guangdong Province. The program notes for the production explain the idea behind the piece: ‘*One Table N Chairs* embodies the spirit of traditional Chinese opera and at the same time subverts its conventional form and content. After three hundred years of refinement, traditional Chinese opera has developed an extremely precise and yet abstract artistic language. Despite dramatic facial makeup and elaborate costumes, the set of traditional Chinese opera consists only of “one table and two chairs”. The combination of complex content and a simple form has a parallel in modern dance, which seeks to express complex ideas through simple physical forms.’ (Photo: Zhang Heping.)

BeijingDance/LDTX, performing *All River Red* (2002, remounted 2006), choreographed by Li Hanzhong and Ma Bo. The music is Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring* (1913), a work that signified the dawn of a new era in music. The *Rite of Spring* inspired many western choreographers, and with *All River Red* BeijingDance/LDTX’s Chinese choreographers added their own version, stating that the production ‘reflects how contemporary dance has been developing in 20th century in China against all odds. *All River Red* shows not so much a comfortable fusion of East-meets-West, but a direct and violent confrontation between those adhering to tradition and those aspiring to innovation.’ (Photo: Guilherme Rafols.)
Beijing Contemporary Dance Theatre, *Haze* (2009) choreographed by Wang Yuanyuan, with music by the Polish composer Henryk Gorecki (excerpts from *Symphony No. 3* and *Biosphere*). *Haze* came into being as a creative response to the economic and environmental crises of early 2009. On a bare stage covered in thick sponge mats, the dancers strive to keep their footing in time with the sacral and brooding moods of Gorecki’s *Third Symphony*, later giving way to the electronic sounds of *Biosphere*. The bare stage, challenging surface, and ponderous music frame the movements of the dancers, as they stumble, roll, fall, crawl and collapse on the uncertain terrain. (From the Program Notes: ‘The piece proceeds as a metaphor that links the environmental haze and pollution with the spiritual confusion involved in a time of social or individual crisis. *Haze* explores the spiritual struggle of finding one’s way through darkness.’ (Photo: Tan Shaoyuan.)
registered as an independent commercial entity, giving up all of the government financial support that their previous SOE-status guaranteed. In 2006, a law changed to allow art and culture organizations to register as not-for-profits. BMDC registered under the Ministry of Civil Affairs as China’s first not-for-profit dance company, eligible to apply for newly available government grants. Beijing Contemporary Dance Theatre, founded in 2008, is the second company to register as a not-for-profit dance company under the new law. These groups now rely on a combination of newly available government grants, international support, and individual and corporate contributions.

While there is a little bit of every kind of funding – Chinese government support, international foundation support, individual contributions, corporate sponsorship, earned income through ticket sales and teaching – there is a minimal amount of any of it for modern dance. This scarcity of funding for contemporary performing arts brings us to the first pressure modern dance choreographers and performers face.

Between a Rock and a Hard Place I: Pressures from Within

Structures in Flux: The Funding-Audience-Discourse Cycle

How do you develop as an artist if there are no opportunities for audiences to see your work? In the visual arts, a painter can make a painting in his room and then hang it somewhere in public. Choreographers, however, do not use an inanimate medium like paint and canvas, but rather bodies that require salaries, housing, food, and ideally medical insurance. Additionally, there are costs to rent theatres, lighting and sound equipment, hire designers and technicians, etc. Performance is temporal, so the creator must pay each time to continuously recreate the art, unlike a painter who, once finished, leaves the painting to exist without involving the artist or further costs to re-create it.

This is a challenge for performing artists everywhere, so what is unique about China’s current situation? Because modern dance is such a new art form in China, artists face the added challenge of breaking a vicious cycle of a lack of resources contributing to a lack of audiences, both of which create a lack of performance opportunities, which stymies the growth of the young art form. Without opportunities to perform, how can artists – and therefore an entirely new art form – develop?

China does not have the internal touring structures to support tours of modern dance companies within its borders. With few exceptions, all theatres in China are government-run. Until recently, this meant venues programmed performances that the government dictated, or sat empty. Since 2006 and the announcement of the 11th Five Year Plan, this has begun to change and programmers are beginning to take a vested interest in the kinds of performances they present. However, most theatres still lack the basic technical equipment necessary to put on proper modern dance performances, so companies must rent all the lighting and other equipment from expensive commercial rental companies.

Most theatres, even in developed cities like Beijing and Shanghai, only recently have begun to acquire the basic technical equipment necessary to put on proper modern dance performances: a vinyl Marley dance floor, sufficient lighting equipment, a sound system, and black side curtains to create wings for performers’ entrances and exits. If a dance company wants to perform in one of the unequipped theatres, they must supply
the equipment themselves. Equipment rental costs in China are surprisingly expensive, comparable to (and in some cases exceeding) costs in European countries and therefore generally prohibitive for self-sustaining modern dance companies. BMDC director Zhang Changcheng (张长城) laments, “Everything has become so commercial, which means costs to put on a show are too high. Young people cannot afford these high costs, so how can they have opportunities to realize their ideas? Without experience creating and producing performances, how can they develop the quality of their work as artists?”

Larger theatres like the Poly Theatre (保利大厦) in Beijing or the Shanghai Grand Theatre (上海大剧院) have most of the necessary equipment, but as the leading venues in China their rental fees can be in excess of 50,000 RMB (5,000 Euros) per night, not including load-in and rehearsal time plus fees for technicians who must be paid in addition to renting the space itself. Thus only well-established international companies with corporate sponsorship or China’s government-funded song and dance troupes can afford to rent these large venues which reach mass audiences.

Modern dance companies receive little to no government funding in China. The country does not yet have the culture of corporate sponsorship for the arts, and Chinese versions of non-governmental foundations like a British Council or a Ford Foundation do not yet exist there to support smaller independent arts groups. In the late 1990s, this meant modern dance companies were forced to depend primarily on international touring fees for their survival. With much of their time spent touring abroad, little time was left at home to develop local audiences.

Audience development for modern dance in China therefore suffers from a vicious cycle involving lack of financial and infrastructural resources. Due to the limited touring infrastructures, it is difficult for companies to perform within China outside two or three major cities. Without performances, audiences will not develop. Without audiences, there is no incentive for theatres to hold more performances as they cannot make money from ticket sales; and the cycle continues: No audiences → no ticket sales → no performances → no audiences. Repeat.

Over the last three to five years, some theatres have begun to break this cycle. A handful of venue managers have begun to take a professional interest in programming their theatres, and they are noticing results. The Nine Theatres / TNT (九个剧场), housed in the Chaoyang District Culture Centre (朝阳区文化馆), is one of the more proactive theatre complexes in Beijing. They host annual contemporary dance and theatre festivals showcasing work by professionals and students from both China and abroad. Xu Wei (徐伟), director of the Culture Centre, observed that in 2007 “modern dance ticket sales had improved compared to the previous two years. This is because 2007 was the fourth year we held regular modern dance performances, so audiences have learned to come here to see modern dance.”

Fu Weibo (傅维伯) is General Manager of Beijing’s Oriental Pioneer Theatre (北京东方先锋剧场), a 300-seat theatre in the centre of the city a few blocks from Tiananmen Square. He feels a responsibility not only to increase the numbers in his audience, but also to educate them: “Young people don’t have the opportunities to see as much as [the more established artists who go abroad] see. I want to provide them with opportunities to see more, to open up their imagination. This should be the government’s responsibility but
they don’t recognize the necessity, so we have to do it for now. We push first and hope the government eventually sees the need.”

Manager Fu continues, “People have ideas but no budget to realize them. There is a lot of government money but they give the money to cultural bureaus and those people do not have ideas. The Beijing Municipality has about 10 to 15 billion RMB [1 to 1.5 billion Euros] annual budget for cultural productions. They use this on large-scale song and dance extravaganzas, not for grass-roots cultural projects.” The Shanghai Cultural Development Foundation (上海文化发展基金会), founded in 1986 under the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Government, began offering grants in 2003 for projects including “compositions, researches, performances, productions, publications, exhibitions, exchanges and talents trainings in fields like literature, cultural research, film & TV, drama, traditional opera, music, dance, acrobatics, fine arts, calligraphy, photography, books and mass culture activities.” In 2007 they awarded grants totalling 11.869 million RMB (1.3 million Euros) to over 60 different organizations. The criteria, however, require the works to be “representative of the nation’s culture ... [and] to embody socialist core value system artistically.” All recipient organizations were large-scale government troupes. This government foundation funds the same kinds of groups that were previously government-run state owned enterprises, only now troupes must apply to receive their funding, which means smaller, more experimental groups get shut out of this funding option.

The slow disassembling of state owned enterprises (SOEs) is forcing theatre venues into the market currents, which means programmers look for big-name stars to sell tickets. China’s 11th Five Year Plan (2006-2010) announced at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 10th National People’s Congress (NPC) states that by 2010, government-supported cultural organizations will have to have completed their transformation from state-owned enterprises to private companies. (They have since been given an extension on the 2010 deadline.) Large official song-and-dance troupes therefore are beginning to experience the struggle for survival in the market that modern dance companies have experienced over the last decade. On the one hand, this significant shift will help accelerate the development of new funding models for performing arts in China. The risk, however, is that these larger organizations at least initially will only add to the commercial pressures that smaller experimental groups already feel.

Despite Managers Fu and Xu’s good intentions, they also recognize their own limitations. Xu laments, “China doesn’t know what’s going on out there in Europe. We don’t speak English; we can’t go to those international festivals and conferences, so we don’t know what to bring to our festivals here.” The result is that theatres often passively programme content that comes to them – this time not from the Chinese government, but from whatever company can pay its own way to China, or from embassies and other countries’ governments who also may not understand the international performing arts industry. Second-tier or unknown companies are brought to China and promoted as “The Best Of [fill in country’s name].” Chinese audiences therefore receive a skewed view of what might constitute “the best.” Theatre programmers play an important role in educating their audiences, but because they lack expertise, they are not necessarily programming the highest calibre work from abroad. Audiences are important not only for financial reasons (ticket sales) but also for artistic development of young artists. They are part of the discourse,
the creation-performance-feedback cycle. Educated local audiences are particularly crucial for developing the quality of work within China. Local audiences are already familiar with Eastern tropes and motifs, and therefore may not necessarily be dazzled by outer “exotic” appearance of some Chinese modern dance pieces. They therefore could be better equipped to analyze works based on substance. Undistracted by artifice, they would be able to judge whether the Emperor is wearing any clothes.

**Between a Rock and a Hard Place II: Pressures from Abroad**

**International Influence: When Demand Overwhelms Supply**

Given the infrastructural problems and limited resources within China, it would naturally make sense to look abroad where festivals, programmers, and other arts organizations are eager and able to share both artistic expertise and financial resources. Yang Meiqi would not have been able to establish China’s first modern dance training program in 1987 without the guidance of the American Dance Festival (USA) and the support of the Asian Cultural Council (USA), which covered costs of sending teachers to the program. The Living Dance Studio, China’s first independent dance-theatre collective founded in 1994, hosts annual festivals that would not be possible without financial support and access to European artists provided by their international partners, including Borneoco (NL) and Prins Claus Fund for Culture and Development (NL) among others. Beijing Modern Dance Company brings in choreographers to teach master classes and work with the company thanks to grants like one from the British Arts Council that covered all costs of UK-group Walker Dance Park Music, or the Dutch foundation and government support that helped fund a 2007-08 co-production between BMDC and Dutch choreographer Anouk van Dijk.

There are risks, however, to depending too heavily on international support, especially in an era when all eyes are hungrily on China. The demand abroad for Chinese art far
Friedman: Between a Rock and a Hard Place
outpaces the supplies available at this time in China. Modern dance in the Middle Kingdom has less than thirty years of uninterrupted development. Artists therefore are still struggling to discover their own contemporary voices, but lack the time and space for “trial-and-error,” as market demand pushes for immediate results, and the world is waiting.

The West’s anticipation of China’s rise to the status of cultural superpower creates an artificial speculation on the actual value of current cultural commodities. As a result, amateur pieces are sometimes invited to leading festivals eager to present something – anything – from China. One example is the artist collective Zuhe Niao from Shanghai. Comprising primarily nonprofessionals born in the 1980s, Zuhe Niao creates the kind of work one would expect from such a young, untrained group: roughly edited (if at all) pieces made up of a litany of disorganized ideas, many of which are interesting but none of which are fully explored or developed. Zuhe Niao’s significance lies in its existence rather than its artistry; the fact that young people in China are now creating multimedia performance art is important, but it will take years of dedication and growth before the work that they create is worthy of the accolades and attention it received in the first two years after it was founded.

This phenomenon was especially prevalent starting around 2003-04 in the run-up to the Olympics, when groups like the Living Dance Studio were invited to festivals throughout the globe. At that time, if European festivals wanted contemporary multimedia experimental dance-theatre from China, they had one option. There were no other groups besides the Living Dance Studio doing this kind of work in China at that time. Certainly it is wonderful and valuable for struggling artists in China to have the incredible opportunities the Living Dance Studio had in the early 2000s. However, these experiences tended not to be in-depth residencies or collaborations; rather they were “cut-and-paste” performances, an exchange of commodities. This hectic exchange of product does not encourage an artist to go deeper into his or her craft; in fact it can have the opposite effect – no matter what was thrown together, it was almost guaranteed to tour.30

The novelty of a modern dance company from China can cloud Western audience’s ability to judge the inherent quality of the work. Some audiences may be dazzled by the costumes or stylized movements, and miss the weakness in overall structure and development. This is why it is so important to develop educated audiences within China. One example of an educated Asian audience is that in Taiwan. Taiwanese audiences are exposed to the world’s leading contemporary performance companies touring the island. In the early 2000s, for example, the National Chiang Kai Shek Cultural Center R.O.C. in Taipei, which combines the National Theater and National Opera House, hosted performances that “range[d] from the Nederlands Dans Theater, the Cullberg Ballet Riksteatern from Sweden, Saburo Teshigawara’s Karas from Japan, Compania Nacional de Danza from Spain...DV8 from the UK and Maguy Marin from France...Rosas from Belgium, Marie Chouinard from Canada, and ... Sacha Waltz [from Germany].”31 This is a veritable “who’s who” list of the leading international modern and contemporary dance companies.

Taiwan also is home to its own legendary modern dance company Cloud Gate Dance Theatre (云门舞集) which was founded in 1973 by choreographer Lin Hwai-min (林怀民), a decade before the ban on modern dance in Mainland China was lifted. The Beijing Modern Dance Company performed the mixed bill *Beijing Vision* in Taipei in 2006 as
part of the “Cross-Straits Arts Festival” between Taiwan and the Mainland. Audiences expressed tepid appreciation and some contingencies expressed outright disappointment. One student of dance and choreography from the Taibei National University of the Arts (TNUA) articulated surprise at the “outdated, representational imagery, empty Chinese costumes and props, and simplistic choreography.”32 *Beijing Vision* has been presented in Mexico (2007), Italy (2008), and Israel (2009), however, to critical acclaim and thunderous audience applause. This is not to say there aren’t Western audiences who do see the flaws in certain works despite the gorgeous costumes – BMDC’s 2007 performances at the Lindbury Theatre in the UK elicited some biting criticism amidst the praise33 – however, given the fact that most tours by groups like GMDC, BMDC, and Jin Xing Modern Dance Theatre garnered accolades over the short performance trips, these experiences with international audiences did not contribute to choreographers’ artistic development. The value of the international interaction became only about financial transaction rather than about what could be contributed to the development of an artist or to this new art form in China.

Rather than short exchanges of product, long-term international collaborations are a way to share expertise and develop mutual understanding through the creative process. True collaboration, of course, requires an investment of time as well as financial resources. BMDC director Zhang Changcheng frequently quips, “When it comes to international collaborations, we are not interested in one-night-stands, we are looking for marriage.” But “marriage” between artists across continents requires a significant commitment of time and other resources. Experimental theatre director Li Liuyi (李六乙) laments, “One problem with international collaborations in China is that they stay too much on the surface. One reason for this is time: you need five, six years to really set up an in-depth exchange. You need to plan and gather resources. But another reason for this problem is the artists themselves: they don’t go far enough. They need to invest the time to develop their own art first.”34

The scale of China’s economic growth and increased geopolitical significance puts pressure on every other aspect of its culture to develop just as quickly. Not only the content of what is produced on stage, but also the context, structure and organization of the Chinese performing arts industry is under construction. At such a time, artists are forced to develop in the global spotlight, with pressure to create products to tour and expectations that those products will somehow represent a “modern China” without the time to define for themselves what that identity means.

There is a little bit of many styles represented across China’s modern dance scene, but given how few companies currently operate, there are not more than one or two representatives of any style or form, and new styles and forms are no doubt on the horizon. Modern dance in countries like America, Germany, and Japan has developed through enough generations that scholars and critics can identify over-arching trends, techniques, characteristics and even traditions and canons amidst the multifaceted companies and bodies of works. Chinese modern dance is developing in this direction but currently consists of such a small community and body of works that overarching trends and tendencies are still too pale to define; moreover by doing so the definitions risk becoming superficial stereotypes with too few examples to be considered a ‘trend’. The overarching element that is shared by these various groups is choice – the artists are the agents choosing what
they do with their dance training, rather than working as tools to re-create classical works of the canon, whether that canon is ballet, Chinese opera, one of the many codified folk dance forms, etc. Choreographer and Arizona State University professor Ma Shouze (马守则) was a member of one of the earliest classes of modern dance in China. He recalls, “More than changing my body, modern dance opened up my mind... After I started modern dance...I started realizing who I am. I started to realize there’s nothing wrong with being different.”

**Between a Rock and a Hard Place III**

**Creating (Space for) Modern Dance in China**

Despite the internal infrastructural instability and the excessive external expectations, Chinese choreographers are of course carving out space to explore and develop their own voices. Two unique examples lie outside the established modern dance companies.

Wang Mei (王玫), professor at the prestigious Beijing Dance Academy (北京舞蹈学院), was a member of Yang Meiqi’s first class in Guangdong. After the program, Wang Mei returned to the Academy and in the mid-1990s helped establish the modern dance program within the Choreography Department. She has sequestered herself within this massive government institution, but by doing so, has created for herself the space and the freedom to delve deeply into her own idiosyncratic voice. She has resolved all of the infrastructural problems that many choreographers face because she is a full-time professor at the Academy. She therefore has a steady income and access to all of the resources she needs – studio space, rehearsal time, dancers (her students), and complete creative control because she refuses to showcase her choreography unless she feels it is ready: “China currently is a very restless society, and those troupes want you to choreograph very fast according to a strict schedule and also perform if you can. I couldn’t endure that way of working. I’ve been spoiled by the academic environment here, and I need to choreograph until I’m satisfied with the piece, until all of my ability, energy, and wisdom have been used up and there’s nothing more that I can do...In the current state of things in China, there are very few choreographers who are given the opportunity to choreograph at a slow, deliberate pace. Only in the environment that this school provides can I do that. When I have an idea I can slowly mull it over until I’m satisfied.”

Aesthetically, she believes anything can be fodder for developing dance movement, including every-day gestures. Choreographically, she frequently utilizes familiar Chinese music and stories presented in untraditional and sometimes shocking ways. In 2001 her class performed a work *We See the Shore* (我们看见的河岸) to the patriotic song *Yellow Beijing Modern Dance Company, Oath (Midnight Rain)*, Bird solo performed by Hu Lei, choreographed by Gao Yanjinzi, commissioned by la Biennale di Venezia 2006. With music arranged by Wenzi, co-featuring opera singers of the China National Peking Opera Troupe and a small instrumental ensemble consisting of guqin (plucked zither, played by Wu Na), zhongruan (plucked lute) and percussion. The costumes were by Zhong Jiani and Ah Kuan who also helped design costumes for the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2008 Special Olympics. (Photo: Zhang Changcheng.)
River Cantata (黄河) composed in the 1930s during the Sino-Japanese War. This piece, choreographed to a nationalistic classic, took a biting satirical look at China’s collectivist society, as well as the unique struggles of modern dance in such a society. In 2002 she choreographed a modern dance drama Thunder and Rain (雷雨), the first contemporary dance interpretation based on the most popular dramatic Chinese work of the period prior to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, Thunderstorm (雷雨, 1933) by Cao Yu (曹禺).

Whereas Wang Mei has found creative freedom within the confines of an institution, young choreographer Tao Ye (陶冶) has gone in the opposite direction. He has toured internationally as a member of Jin Xing Modern Dance Theatre and then the Beijing Modern Dance Company, but by 2008 was fed up with learning other people’s choreography. He decided he couldn’t stay within the confines of a dance company if he wanted to have the time and space to explore his own voice. He seeks to eschew representational modes of choreography and is one of the few modern choreographers in China currently exploring a more minimalist aesthetic of form as content.

TAO Dance Theatre started as a group of two, Tao Ye and one other dancer, existing independently from any kind of support system. Initially they survived on saved income and sought teaching opportunities and small commercial events while spending the bulk of their time participating in the modern dance festivals that groups like Living Dance Studio and Guangdong Modern Dance Company have founded over the past ten years. Thanks to the inroads that groups like GMDC, the Living Dance Studio, and later BeijingDance/LDTX have made with setting up annual modern dance festivals, young people like Tao Ye now have a small but sturdy platform on which to showcase their work. He is an example of the new generation of young modern dance artists who are standing, as the Chinese idiom goes, on the shoulders of the generations who came before.

Choreographers within the dance companies are combining their traditional training with modern variations in more outwardly recognizable ways than Wang Mei and Tao Ye. In his 2007 piece Unfettered Journey (逍遥游), Beijing Modern Dance Company choreographer Hu Lei (胡磊) sought “to combine my eight years of classical [Chinese] dance training and my eight years of modern dance training and professional experience.” In Unfettered Journey, Hu Lei utilized the concepts of energy flow from Tai-qi, and much of the movement vocabulary is based on Tai-qi sequences, but he developed the individual gestures into something entirely different from their original form, and the content/structure of the piece are of his own individual creation. The result is a piece composed of four sections each with its own distinct physical and emotional characteristics. Through this work, Hu Lei began to develop a new movement style quite different from previous works he had choreographed which were more theatrical / gestural, and highly influenced by his teacher Wang Mei at the Beijing Dance Academy. What happens with this movement style and how he develops it remain to be seen, however. Hu Lei has not created a new piece for BMDC since Unfettered Journey in 2007 as he has focused his time on choreographing larger scale works for song-and-dance troupes that can pay a high fee, something that independent companies like BMDC are not able to do.

BMDC creative director Gao Yanjinzzi (高艳津子) proclaims, “You could say I was never ‘introduced’ to modern dance by a Western teacher because in a way I’ve done it all my life. Since I was a little girl, I used dance to express myself in my own way. That is
Wang Mei’s 2002 graduating class from the Beijing Dance Academy in the final section of *We See the Shore*. The music used for this production was Xian Xinghai’s *Yellow River Cantata*, composed in early 1939 during the Second Sino-Japanese War. (Photo courtesy of Zhang Disha.)

The first section of *We See the Shore*, with Beijing Dance Academy graduates (2002). The music used for this part was *Lan Hua Hua*, a Northern Shaanxi Folk Song that enthusiastically extols a rebellious woman in the feudal age. Lan Huahua, a beautiful intelligent young girl, was forced to marry Zhou, an old man as ugly and lifeless as a tomb, yet she swore to resist and was determined to escape from the Zhou household to reunite with the man she loved. The choreographer, Wang Mei juxtaposes the traditional folk song with the Communist-era costumes and props in this section to comment on the meaning of rebellion, and what happens when the rebels become the new oppressors. (Photo courtesy of Zhang Disha.)
Chime 18-19 (2013)

TAO Dance Theatre, *Weight x 3* (2008-9), choreographed by Tao Ye. Some have asked if the three pieces in the trilogy *Weight x 3* (duet, solo, duet) were inspired by the work of Belgian contemporary dance choreographer and founder of Rosas, Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker, not only because Tao Ye uses music by Steve Reich, which De Keersmaeker often employed, but also because of his minimalist aesthetic exploring and developing repeated patterns. Although Tao Ye expresses great admiration for the work of both Rosas and de Keersmaeker – which he has seen on DVD and the internet but never live – he denies direct inspiration or influence. Some visitors from Europe have cautioned him against using Reich’s music as it is already so familiar to European audiences in the contemporary dance world and has been used so often by such legends as De Keersmaeker and others. Tao Ye does not feel that is any reason not to use the music. Says Tao, ‘People in China don’t really know Reich’s music. When I first heard it, it was fresh and new to me. He did in the music exactly what I want to express in this work with my body and the movements, so it doesn’t matter to me who has used it before, now it is right for me.’ (Photo: Simon Lim.)
Another scene from TAO Dance Theatre’s *Weight x 3* (2008-9), with music by Steve Reich. (Photo: Jin Hai.)

Beijing Modern Dance Company, section 4 of *Unfettered Journey* (2007) choreographed by Hu Lei. From the program notes: ‘Conceptually, this piece draws inspiration from Taoism, the earliest Chinese philosophy. “Tao” can be roughly translated as “the way,” referring to the flow of the universe, or the force behind the natural order. The philosophy emphasizes such themes as naturalness, vitality, peace, “non-action” (*wu wei*), emptiness, refinement, detachment, and the strength or softness of flexibility. The title of my work, *Unfettered Journey*, is a rough translation from the Chinese 道遙游 (*xiao yao you*), a concept from the work of Taoist philosopher Zhuangzi. Incorporating the idea of “non-action, ” it is a journey without a deliberate goal, without an end, without attachment; it flows with the softness and eternity of water.’ (Photo: Wang Zhe.)
Beijing Modern Dance Company, section 3 of *Unfettered Journey* (2007), choreographed by Hu Lei. The music is a compilation, comprising *Hopeless* by David Kristian, *He Chun* and *Tian Shui* by Dou Wei, an untitled piece by Zang Tianshuo, and *Qing An* by Dou Wei. Dou Wei’s music is extremely influential in the Chinese rock scene. It explores electronic and ambience, as well as folk, post-rock, and vocal music. He collaborates with artists across genres and sites such influences as UK post-rock group Bark Psychosis, The Cure, and Bauhaus. (Photo: Wang Zhe.)
what modern dance is: individual self-expression through the body.”

Gao’s mother Luo Lili (罗丽丽) is a traditional folk dancer and until university all of Gao’s training was in Chinese folk dance. In university at the Beijing Dance Academy, she studied modern dance and became a founding member of BMDC in 1995. Her choreography often references traditional idioms in its visual motifs, but the structure, content, and movement vocabulary are all unique to Gao. A devout Buddhist, her works like Offering (水问, 2007) and Oath (Midnight Rain) (三更雨, 2006) explore Buddhist concepts like reincarnation.

In an interview in 1993, Yang Meiqi said, “The whole idea of modern dance is opening up. Once you say ‘Oh, we can’t do that,’ it’s no longer modern dance.” Indeed, in China right now “modern” means choice – artists have the freedom to choose what they do with the materials at their disposal.

Whereas modern dance developed in the West in part as a rebellion against and rejection of the physical and creative strictures of ballet, in China it seems to be developing not as a rejection of traditional Chinese forms but rather as an expansion of them in the process of reclaiming traditional forms like folk dance, martial arts, Chinese opera that were partially lost during the Cultural Revolution, and are at risk of being lost in China’s rapid economic development. Modern dance has become an expression of individual ownership of that cultural legacy, as now artists have the freedom to choose what they do with their cultural/artistic source material. With modern dance, choreographers like Hu Lei and Gao Yanjinzi can draw on their classical and folk dance training but they are not limited to repeating the existing works within those forms’ established cannons. The fact that the vehicle for this contemporary Chinese self-expression was imported from the West heightens the urgency of the roots-searching process in order to find ways to claim it as “Chinese.”

In his book about late 20th century Chinese cinema, Professor Zhang Yingjin refers to how certain films “relied on the process of roots-searching to bridge the cultural gaps (liegu) created by revolution and to return to the origins of national culture.” For modern dance choreographers in China, this process of “roots-searching” is not always a conscious one, yet it happens organically as artists develop work and through that process come to define their own artistic voices and clarify precisely what they are doing with this new art form.

Three processes are occurring simultaneously: re-construction, de-construction, and construction. Modern dance choreographers (and citizens in general) in China are reconstructing traditions and national identities that were disrupted by the Cultural Revolution (1966-76); they are deconstructing canonical modes and tropes, questioning assumptions their teachers have passed down to them; and they are constructing new modes of expression for a contemporary era. This multi-tiered process on the one hand provides rich fodder for creativity within a rapidly changing society. On the other hand, it also presents schizophrenic challenges to choreographers who are trying to reconstruct a canon at the same time as they are deconstructing it in order to construct something entirely new – and experimenting with ways that the new forms might still draw on past forms, even though that past is not yet entirely reconstructed, analyzed, and deconstructed again.

This process is on-going; nevertheless, artists are continuously asked to pinpoint what about their choreography is “Chinese.” BeijingDance/LDTX director Willy Tsao comments, “In China... not only the government officials come to tell you that you must...
Beijing Modern Dance Company, *Jue:Aware* (2004), choreographed by Gao Yanjinzi with Luo Lili, with music by Liu Sola. The work was commissioned by the 2004 Berlin Art Festival and premiered at the House of World Cultures. This duet between mother and daughter enacts a dialogue between generations: pre and post Cultural Revolution; strict academic discipline and expressive freedom; tradition and modernity. Says choreographer Gao, ‘During the course of evolution, genetic material has constantly reproduced itself and, in doing so, has generated a multiplicity of forms. In other words, these variations are the natural result of evolution that implies also revolution, a refusal of that which came previously.’ The production received the *Danza&Danza Award* (an annual prize awarded by the most important Italian dance magazine) for “best show of 2006” for its performance in Rome at the 2006 Romaeuropa Festival. Singer and composer Liu Sola, known as *l’enfant terrible* of the 1990s Chinese contemporary music scene, was commissioned to create and perform the original score to this work. She performed live at the 2004 premiere in Berlin, but all performances after were to a recorded version of the musical composition. (Photo: Zhang Heping.)
Beijing Modern Dance Company, *Oath (Midnight Rain)* – Insect Solo performed by Yang Chang, choreographed by Gao Yanjinzi, commissioned by la Biennale di Venezia 2006. The music was composed and arranged by Wenzi (who also participated as male vocalist). *Oath (Midnight Rain)* is a series of five solos – *Flower, Grass, Bird, Fish, Insect* – exploring the choreographer’s understanding of Buddhist Samsara, the cycle of death and rebirth and ‘the liminal moment between night and day, between black and white, between ending and beginning.’ For this commission, Gao worked not only with Wenzi and his soloists to develop the music but also with Chinese rock legend Cui Jian who wrote the song for the opening solo *Flower*. (Photo: Simon Lim.)
do something with ‘ethnic Chinese characteristics’ but also the Western critics say ‘Since you are from China you shouldn’t copy us, you should have your own voice.’... But I think, this is modern society, and in modern society it’s not about whether it’s Western or Eastern but it’s a matter of choice... In China, my vision of modern dance is not whether this modern dance is Chinese modern dance or Western modern dance, but to me it’s that we are establishing a place for the freedom of expression using the body to do the expression. It’s their choice how they use it. One day, when we have this sense of freedom then we can say ‘This is the real Chinese modern dance.’”

Choreographers in China are not creating and exploring in a vacuum, of course, but rather in the global spotlight. The international community is involved in many aspects of the art form’s development, from offering financial resources to creative contributions.

An easy question to ask in response to external pressure is whether or not the outside world is able to wait patiently for Chinese modern dance to develop at its own pace. But this question is inherently problematic, for it suggests there is an “us” waiting for a “them” to “catch up” to some destination at the end of a pre-determined trajectory, perhaps one like the history of modern dance in the West. Given China’s unique set of historical, cultural and social circumstances, there is no model or pre-existing trajectory its modern dance is following or will follow. The question, then, should not be can or should “we” wait for “them,” for we – the outside festivals, agents, producers, audiences, critics, scholars and fellow artists – are already involved in the process of China and Chinese artists defining and re-defining themselves in the 21st century, through commerce, cultural exchange, collaborations, residencies, consumption, and even mere curiosity about the country that is playing a dominant role in this century. The question to ask ourselves as Westerners, rather, is how do involved outsiders like ourselves redefine our identity and voices in this dynamic process, deconstructing old tropes of us/them, of (mis)conceptions of China and Chinese culture both tradition and modern, so that together we can construct new meaning on the global stage?

NOTES

1 This paper is developed from the 2008 Selma Jeanne Cohen Fund Lecture I gave in Beijing, China at the 31st annual Fulbright Association Conference on October 20, 2008. The research for both the lecture and this paper has been compiled over the years I have lived and worked full time in China (2000-2001 on and off, and 2002 onwards full time). I was a Fulbright Scholar researching modern dance in China from 2002-03, and subsequently worked as an arts manager/producer facilitating cross-cultural exchange projects between Chinese and international performing arts organizations. My field work therefore includes formal research and interviews as well as informal discussions and day-to-day living and working in the country over the past decade.


5 “Zhongguo Yishu Yanju Yuan Fazhan Jianshi.” Zhongguo Yishu Yanju Yuan (Chinese only: 中国


ADF is an annual six-week program of classes and performances for students and professionals from throughout the United States and abroad. [http://www.americadancefestival.org](http://www.americadancefestival.org).


BMDC was founded in 1995 by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture with graduates from the first modern dance training program at the Beijing Dance Academy (北京舞蹈学院). This program was founded with the help of Wang Mei (王玫), graduate of Yang Meiqi’s program in Guangdong.

Marley dance floors are slip-resistant vinyl top layers that can vary in thickness from approximately three to six millimeters. Now many dance styles use Marley, but modern dance requires it to even out the performance space and prevent dancer injury, especially since modern dancers typically perform barefoot.


These rental amounts were quoted to me in 2007 by managers at both of these theatres and others in Beijing and Shanghai when I was in the process of budgeting for potential performance tours in China. Fees are negotiable within limits. These amounts do not account for inflation or changes in currency exchange since 2007. [http://blog.sina.com.cn/9theatre](http://blog.sina.com.cn/9theatre).


Author interview with Xu Wei, 20 November, 2007. [http://enntcc.beijing.shushang-z.cn/GeneralContentShow/&contentid=75f341fd-0cb3-4fe4-af18-59892a86aeb0&comp_stats=comp-FrontCommouContent_list-001.html](http://enntcc.beijing.shushang-z.cn/GeneralContentShow/&contentid=75f341fd-0cb3-4fe4-af18-59892a86aeb0&comp_stats=comp-FrontCommouContent_list-001.html).


As with so many aspects of Chinese culture, however, the pace of change is so rapid that absolutes are negated in a matter of months, and already there are exceptions to the rule that these government “foundations” only support large state troupes. At the end of 2008, the first unaffiliated individual in China received a grant from this Shanghai foundation. Nu Nu, formerly of Zuhe Niao and now an independent choreographer and performer operating under the name “brand nu dance,” applied as an unaffiliated individual for a grant to help her attend the Danceweb in Austria that summer. In an email to the author on 18 May 2010, she recalls: “I wrote in my grant application that I would be the first participant from the PRC [at Danceweb] and also emphasized that all other countries were supporting their artists’ applications. I wrote that I am living my life in Shanghai as a citizen and that every time I go abroad to perform I represent Shanghai and that they, as a most forward, developing city of China..."
should support more independent artists because it is us that often present new and modern ideas to help shape and push the development of the city culture. . . . In the end I had almost given up as I had not heard from them in many months and long returned from the Danceweb in Austria. Then I got a text message in November [2008] telling me I got a grant.”

28 Author interview with Xu Wei, 20 November 2007.

29 Now that the Olympics are over and this hyper-attention is calming down, we already are seeing a shift. More companies are being established, increasing competition for touring opportunities. Choreographers and companies have to work harder to secure opportunities that came easily for a period of about five to seven years. Moreover, one cannot discount the fact that true artists will continue to pursue their art regardless of challenges, so now that the fanfare has died down choreographers like Wen Hui are, undaunted, continuing to create and explore. Although there is not (yet) a formal structure to fund independent dance companies, there are enough new performing opportunities in the market within China to support a new generation of freelance dancers – something that was nearly impossible in the early 2000s.

30 Now that the Olympics are over and this hyper-attention is calming down, I believe we already are starting to see a shift. There are more companies being established, increasing competition for touring opportunities. Choreographers and companies have to work harder to secure opportunities that came easily for a period of about five to seven years.


32 Author conversation with Wu Chien-Wei (吴建纬), October 2006.


34 Author interview with Li Liuyi, 15 February 2007.

35 Author interview with Ma Shouze, 2 July 2003.

36 http://www.bda.edu.cn/

37 Author interview with Wang Mei, Beijing China, October 2003.

38 如果说比别人看得更远些,那是因为我站在了巨人的肩上.


40 Author interview with Gao Yanjinzi, 19 February 2006.


42 This in no way is to suggest there have been no creative new works choreographed within traditional forms. The discussion of innovation and new works of Chinese folk and classical dance choreography is beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses solely on the genre of modern/contemporary dance that was introduced from the West with Yang Meiqi’s program and forms by Chinese choreographers self-identified as contemporary / modern without any ‘introduction’ perse from the West.


44 Author interview with Willy Tsao, 16 March 2003.
GHOST FESTIVAL RITUALS

Redeeming Hungry Ghosts, Preserving Musical Heritage

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Every year in the seventh lunar month, two Buddhist temples in the holy mountain region of Wutaishan in Shanxi Province are the scene of elaborate daily musical rituals to commemorate the dead and to release “hungry ghosts” from their unfortunate state of existence. Large numbers of people (monks, donors, curious spectators) turn up to watch rituals marked by prayers, offerings and powerful music played on flutes, double-reed pipes, mouth organs and percussion. While most other temple sites at Wutaishan (and many temples elsewhere in China) perform ceremonies to honour the dead in the seventh month, only two include wind music in these rites. So what is the exact nature of these rituals, and what role does instrumental music play (or not play) in them? This article traces ways in which the rituals and music of the “Ghost Festival” have throughout history functioned to carve a place for Buddhist monasticism within Chinese society, with particular reference to ritual practices at Wutaishan.

For at least sixteen centuries, special Buddhist and indigenous Chinese observances for the dead intended to complement ordinary filial rites for ancestors have been held on the week of Ghost Festival, from the ninth to the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. Today in Wutaishan, a holy Buddhist mountain in Shanxi Province, this week comprises one of the most active times for monastic ritual involving a local style of wind music. During this time, donors make food offerings to their ancestors and to Buddhist temples to alleviate the suffering of the departed. In addition, monks perform rituals in order that hungry ghosts, horrible beings with flaming mouths, tiny throats, and distended stomachs who wander the depths of Buddhist hells famished but unable to ingest food, may be fed and reborn into a better mode of existence. Ghost Festival rituals and the texts upon which they are based have historically played vital roles in the assimilation of the foreign concept of Buddhist monasticism into Chinese society. The texts upon which the Ghost Festival rituals are based present Buddhist ritual as the only means by which one’s ancestors can be guaranteed a comfortable existence after death, making the activities of monastic Buddhists a necessary element of proper filial behaviour. The salvation of hungry ghosts also prevents such beings from causing trouble for the living. Buddhist Ghost Festival practices today maintain their importance as a component of filial behaviour and as a means of controlling
the supernatural, but additionally the use of the *shengguanyue* wind ensemble during these rituals marks the practice as a colourful cultural relic valued by the local and national governments. This music, performed by an ensemble including *sheng* mouth organ, *dizi* transverse flute, *guanzi* double-reed pipe and a battery of ritual percussion instruments, can be found in a number of Buddhist and Daoist temples throughout northern China, but the ensembles in Wutaishan perform in a unique local style. The perceived value of this ritual music as a local folk practice justifies government support and protection for a practice that might otherwise be marginalized as superstitious. Through an examination of Ghost Festival scriptures and rituals in history and as currently used at Wutaishan, this article will explore how Ghost Festival observances have historically taken on various functions in order to justify the existence and ritual practices of the Buddhist monastic community, and how music plays a role in carving a place for Ghost Festival rituals such as *Yülanpen hui* and *Fang Yankou* in the political and economic context of modern China.

**Buddhist Scriptures and Ghost Festival Practices**

A Buddhist sutra, or written record of a sermon of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, entitled *Fo shuo yulanpen jing*, provides the earliest known scriptural background for ghost festival observances. This text was either translated into Chinese from Sanskrit in the early fifth century C.E. or was written in China around the sixth century.\(^1\) In this sutra, a disciple of the Buddha named Mu Lian discovers through his great spiritual powers that his mother has been reborn as a hungry ghost. He makes offerings of food to her, demonstrating that one who has become a Buddhist monk might still observe proper Confucian rites for the dead, but all foods turn into flaming coals in her mouth. Distraught at his inability to help his mother, Mu Lian goes to the Buddha for advice. The Buddha informs Mu Lian that his mother’s sins are too deep for him to expiate them by himself. The Buddha thereupon preaches a method by which hungry ghosts such as Mu Lian’s mother can be saved. This method involves giving offerings to the monastic community on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. At this time, the monastic community has at its disposal a vast store of spiritual power accumulated over the three months of heightened asceticism of the summer retreat, and therefore can at that time empower food offerings in order to release their own ancestors, and those of donors, from any kind of suffering, including existence as a hungry ghost. This text presents offering food to the Buddhist monastic community as a filial responsibility. This is an important claim for the Buddhist community in China, given that the concept of leaving home to become a monk or nun contradicts the traditional Confucian view that one’s primary responsibility in life is to demonstrate solicitude and respect for one’s living and dead ancestors. This sutra illustrates the unique capabilities of monastic Buddhists to protect both their own deceased ancestors and those of donors from the fate of suffering for eons as hungry ghosts. Teiser writes that, because of the importance of Ghost Festival rites as filial observances, Chinese society, “not only accepted monasticism, it placed the renouncer [of household life] at the very center of secular life: in the ghost festival the participation of monks is deemed essential for the salvation of ancestors.”\(^2\)

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2 Teiser, *Ghost Festival*, 14.
This sutra functions in Chinese Buddhism not only as a response to critiques that monastic Buddhism is an unfilial way of life, but also as a critique of traditional ancestor worship practices in China. The plight of Mu Lian’s mother implies that the standard practices of making offerings to one’s ancestors might not always be sufficient; if one’s ancestor happens to be a hungry ghost, ordinary offerings of food will be to no avail. Only Buddhist rites could help in these cases.

Ghost Festival offerings found a place not only in the ancestor worship of ordinary Chinese people, but also in the all-important veneration of imperial ancestor. As Ghost Festival rites came to be seen as vital to the well being of these ancestors as well as ordinary ones, the monastic community strengthened its ties to highest echelons of the political hierarchy in China. While these ties remained strong, the monastic community could avoid accusations from political leaders that its contributions to the economic and ritual life in Chinese society did not outweigh the economic drain involved in maintaining a large group of individuals who survived solely on offerings from the economically productive members of that society. Such accusations could flourish at times when economic and political concerns outweighed the need for the addition of Buddhist rites to the standard practices for dead ancestors; the great persecution of the Buddhist monastic community in China in 845, for example, resulted from xenophobic attitudes toward the foreign religion as the empire faced invasion from foreign powers, as well as economic weakness that rendered the support of the monastic community untenable. During times of relative peace and prosperity, however, the monastic community and its ghost festival rituals played important roles in the ancestor worship of both ordinary and elite Chinese people.

Variations of the Mu Lian story appear in a variety of performance and literary genres, including bian wen (Buddhist transformation texts), operas and bao juan (precious volumes). Lay people were more likely to encounter and understand the story in these more readily accessible forms rather than as presented in the sutra. Bian wen, popularized in the Tang Dynasty, consist of a Buddhist sutra presented in prose and poetry and augmented with spicy plot elements to make it more appealing to the lay masses. While bian wen are no longer performed, operas based on the Mu Lian story remain part of the repertoire today. Bao juan, a type of vernacular Buddhist literature likely dating from the thirteenth century, may be sung, chanted or recited to a lay audience, and, like bian wen, act to popularize Buddhist teachings.

One such bao juan relates a variation of the Mu Lian story entitled Mu Lian qiu mu chuli diyu shangtian bao juan (Precious Volume of Mu Lian Rescuing his Mother to Escape from Purgatory and Ascend to Heaven) dated to 1372. The moral to this version of the Mu Lian story is that “all should imitate the Honored Mu Lian in being filial to their parents and seek out enlightened teachers, recite the Buddha’s name, and maintain a vegetarian diet so that [for them] birth-and-death will forever stop. [All should] cultivate the Way with determination, so as to repay the profound kindness of their parents in raising

3 Teiser, Ghost Festival, 5.
and nourishing them.”

Unlike bian wen, bao juan continue to be performed today; Mark Bender has described the practice of jiang jing (telling scriptures) in Jiangsu Province in which a single performer, the fo tou (Buddha head), sings, recites and chants a bao juan with the assistance of apprentices and a chorus. Alternate forms of the Mu Lian story like these must have contributed to the popularization of Ghost Festival rites based on the Fo shuo yulanpen jing among lay Buddhists in China.

In keeping with the teachings of the Fo shuo yulanpen jing, Ghost Festival offerings of food and gifts to the monastic community became widely popular in Medieval China. Through most of the Tang Dynasty, for example, Buddhist Ghost Festival observances constituted a vital part of the cycle of calendrical ritual. By the sixth century, as recorded by Tsung Lin, these observances became an opportunity for public displays of wealth and artistic skill:

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month monks, nuns, religious, and lay alike furnish bowls for offerings at the various temples and monasteries. The Yü-lan-p’én Sūtra says that [these offerings] bring merit covering seven generations, and the practice of sending them with banners and flowers, singing and drumming, and food probably derives from this...later generations [of our time] have expanded the ornamentation, pushing their skillful artistry to the point of [offering] cut wood, carved bamboo, and pretty cuttings [of paper] patterned after flowers and leaves.

Not only food and decorations were offered, but music as well. Offerings were made by common people and rulers alike, and, under some emperors of the Tang Dynasty, state funds were used to provide Yülan bowls.

In the seventh century, another scripture that came to play important roles in Ghost Festival practice was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. This scripture, the Dizang pusa benyuan jing (Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha Vow Sutra), describes the role of Ksitigarbha in the salvation of people whose bad karma has led to rebirth in hell. The first chapter of the sutra relates the story of a pious daughter who made offerings to the Buddha and meditated in order to save her recently deceased mother from the tortures of hell. After successfully seeing that her mother was reborn in a heaven, this daughter made a vow to help all spirits escape hell. She was reborn as the (male) bodhisattva Ksitigarbha, who will not allow himself to ascend to buddhahood until all sentient beings have been saved from suffering in the afterlife. This story has remarkable parallels to the Mu Lian story, and works just as well as a means of illustrating the importance of Buddhist activities as a form of filial behavior. According to the sutra’s final chapter, recitation of Dizang pusa benyuan jing promises to bring with it a myriad of benefits for both the one who recites and for his or her ancestors, seven generations of whom will be released from all forms of suffering in the afterlife.

In the eighth and ninth century, Tantric Buddhism enjoyed a period of popularity in

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6 Translation from Overmyer, Precious Volumes, 46.
8 Tsung Lin (ca. 498-561), Ching-ch’u chi, trans. by Teiser, Ghost Festival, 56-57.
9 Teiser, Ghost Festival, 56.
China, and Tantric Buddhists disseminated a new story as the basis for Ghost Festival observances. In Tantrism, practitioners seek a direct connection to the Buddha through the use of incantations or mantras, gestures or mudras, and meditation on sacred diagrams or mandalas rather than seeking progress toward enlightenment through the Pure Land practices of visualizing the Buddha and reciting his name or the Chan practice of breaking down delusions through such means as long-term seated meditation. This story appears in the ninth-century sutra \textit{Fo shuo jiuba kouyan egui tuoluoni jing} (Mantras for Rescuing Flaming Mouth Hungry Ghosts) and in the ritual manual \textit{Yujia jiyao yankou shiyi} (Yoga Tantras for Giving Food to Flaming Mouth Hungry Ghosts). Rather than describing the efforts of filial offspring to release their parents from suffering in the afterlife, this text presents a story in which the arhat Īnanda, an accomplished disciple of Sakyamuni Buddha, encounters a hideous hungry ghost named Yankou (flaming mouth) who prophesies that Īnanda himself will die in three days’ time, and that he will be reborn as a hungry ghost. The terrified arhat goes to the Buddha to ask how this fate can be avoided, at which time the Buddha teaches him some spells to chant in order to instill food offerings with the power to alleviate the suffering of hungry ghosts. These spells are to be chanted during \textit{Fang Yankou} (releasing Yankou) rituals, and the food thereby consecrated will not turn to coal when hungry ghosts come to eat it. Once the ghosts are no longer hungry, they are more receptive to Buddhist teachings and can be led through the chanting of more spells to rebirth in a better plane of existence.\footnote{Charles Orzech, “Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghost,” in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed, \textit{Religions of China in Practice} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 279.}

Although this story retains the concept of redeeming hungry ghosts through offerings of spiritually empowered food, it nonetheless displays some important differences from the Mu Lian and Ksitigarbha stories. Īnanda goes to the Buddha not to save his mother, but rather because he has been frightened by a hungry ghost’s threats and wishes to prevent himself from becoming a hungry ghost as well. In this case, the releasing of hungry ghosts acts to benefit the living, as well as the dead; if all hungry ghosts are released from hell, then no one will be harassed by such beings on earth. In addition, the compassionate act of releasing hungry ghosts accrues for the practitioners of this ritual good karma, which brings with it a myriad of benefits:

Ānanda, if monks and nuns and male and female devotees regularly use this spell with the names of the four Thus-Come Ones to empower food and distribute it to ghosts, they will moreover get complete satisfaction and uncountable merit. It would be no different from getting the merit from offerings made to one hundred thousand myriads of Thus-Come Ones. Their lifespan will be prolonged and enhanced and the good roots will be completed. All nonhumans, demons (yakṣyas), and spectres (rakṣas) and all of the evil ghosts and spirits will not dare to harm them, and they will be able to attain limitless merit and long life...

Through the use of the spell of Majestic Virtue, each and every one will accomplish their fundamental vows and all good merit, and at the same time each and every one will issue a vow, wishing to distribute food to people so that their lifespans will be lengthened and their appearances and strength will be peaceful and joyous…
Moreover, the spell will cause the minds of those who witness the rite to be upright, understanding, and pure. They will each completely attain the majesty of the god Brahmā. Moreover, the merit obtained is like the merit gotten by making offerings to one hundred thousand myriad of Thus-Come Ones; thus all sorts of injustices and enemies will be unable to afflict or harm you…\textsuperscript{12}

The benefits of this practice go primarily to the practitioners themselves, who attain long life and merit, rather than to their ancestors. The emphasis on lengthening the lifespan of oneself and others relates this Buddhist text more closely to traditional Taoist practices concerned with seeking immortality than to Confucian concepts of proper behaviour toward ancestors. This text originated during the high point of the Tang Dynasty, a time generally viewed as the apex of Buddhist culture in China. With the place of Buddhism in Chinese society well established, adherents of Tantric Buddhism used new Ghost Festival texts and rituals to demonstrate that their sect had greater power than others for redeeming hungry ghosts and assisting the deceased ancestors of donors.

This greater power arises from the use of the magical incantations, gestures and diagrams of Tantric practice.\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Fāng Yānkòu} relies exclusively on these elements to make food offerings available to hungry ghosts. The text does not indicate that these offerings will be useful only on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month when the spiritual power of the sangha is at its greatest, as had been the case for earlier rites for redeeming hungry ghosts. Instead, the power of the mantras, mudras and mandalas allows food offerings to be effectively made to hungry ghosts at any time. Nonetheless, in many monasteries a performance of \textit{Fāng Yānkòu} comprises a vital part of Ghost Festival observances, a practice that likely began with the ninth-century dissemination of the \textit{Fo shuo jiuba kouyan egui tuoluoni jing}.

\textbf{Shengguanyue Practice at Wutaishan}

As noted at the beginning of this article, monks at some monasteries at Wutaishan perform rituals using shengguanyue wind ensemble music during Ghost Festival Week. In fact, the most musically-active monastery in Wutaishan, Shuxiang si (Mañjuśrī Image Monastery), uses this music during all donor-sponsored and calendrical ritual performances. It is not known precisely when this practice began. Wutaishan, considered the earthly abode of the bodhisattva Manjusri, has housed Buddhist temples since the first century C.E. By the fifth and sixth century, Wutaishan had become a center for pilgrimage. There is no evidence, however, that instrumental music was used in ritual at Wutaishan at this early date. It appears that the practice had not yet taken root in the mid-Tang era; in 840, the Japanese pilgrim Ennin went to Wutaishan and wrote detailed descriptions of two large-scale rituals held at Zhulin si (Bamboo Grove Monastery), mentioning several different types of chant but no

instrumental music. Han Jun attributes the foundation of Wutaishan’s shengguan practice to a master of Chan Buddhism named Jin Bifeng, who led disciples at Wutaishan during the time of transition between the Yuan Dynasty and Ming Dynasty (1344-1368). Han writes, “Between the Yuan and Ming eras, Jin Bifeng (Treasured Jin) brought instrumental music to Wutaishan Buddhism, stating that ‘attempting to follow the Flower Adornment Sutra, the sound of hymns of praise should be clear and elegant, with all forty-two zou, as is the earthly practice.’ This led to the eventual perfection of Wutaishan Buddhist music.” Han takes Jin Bifeng’s term “zou” to refer to pieces of instrumental music, as the term is often used in modern Chinese. Cui Wenkui, however, posits that this passage refers instead to the forty-two phonemes listed in the twenty-ninth book of the Flower Adornment Sutra that, when spoken, lead through various doors of wisdom. It is more likely that Jin Bifeng’s zou refers to phonemes than that it refers to instrumental music. More solid evidence for the use of instrumental music in Wutaishan’s monasteries does not appear until the fifteenth century, when the Great Mañjuśrī Hall of Foguang si (Bright Buddha Monastery) was decorated with images of arhats, or accomplished followers of the Buddha, playing the instruments of the shengguanyue ensemble. The practice of using shengguanyue music in Ghost Festival rituals at Wutaishan likely dates approximately to the fifteenth century. According to Shi Miaojiang, head of the Chinese Buddhist Association, Wutaishan’s shengguanyue music was originally centred at the imperial temple Tayuan si (Stupa Courtyard Temple), home of an enormous white stupa that houses a relic of the Buddha, and that music was formerly used only during large-scale rituals involving thousands of monks performed on behalf of the imperial family.

Political events in the twentieth century brought disruption to ritual practice at Wutaishan. Events leading to the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 and the ensuing warlord struggles, Japanese occupation and civil war created a huge number of refugees, many of whom went to Wutaishan to enter a monastery in order to obtain a reliable source of shelter and food. As a result, the existing infrastructure of the area’s monasteries was stretched to the breaking point, and traditional means of ritual transmission were discontinued. Traditionally, Wutaishan’s monasteries accepted novices under the zisun miao system, in which a would-be monk or nun had to choose a master from among the monastery’s ordained monks and nuns and then gain that master’s approval. With the great influx of refugees in the twentieth century, most monasteries converted to the shifang tang, system, accepting as many newcomers as they could house and transmitting to them a simplified form of ritual practice. At the same time, some of the area’s monasteries were taken over as barracks by Japanese and Communist armed forces, and Wutaishan remained a site of

16 Cui Wenkui, “Ming Qing shiqide Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue” [Wutai Shan Buddhist Music of the Ming and Qing Dynasties], Wu Tai Shan Yan Jiu 3 (2005): 25.
17 Shi Miaojiang, Head of Chinese Buddhist Association, interview at Zhulin Si, Wutaishan, interviewed by the author, 16 August 2005, translated by Ye Xiujuan.
violent conflict until its liberation by Communist forces in 1947. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Maoist policies created further difficulties for the transmission of Wutaishan’s local ritual practices. Under land reform laws enacted starting in 1950, officials took monastic landholdings and distributed them to be used as collective farmland, cutting off a vital source of income for those monasteries. Many monks and nuns returned to lay life at this time, while others joined collectives and worked the land formerly held by the monasteries. With the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, all monasteries in Wutaishan were shut down and all monks and nuns forced to return to lay life. Fortunately, the difficult terrain and lack of good roads prevented large groups of Red Guards from entering the area, so only the most accessible Buddha images and some temple halls were destroyed. The effects of the decade-long disruption of ritual practice, however, continue to be felt today.

Starting in the late 1970s, ritual activity gradually started again at Wutaishan. Monks and nuns from all over China were attracted to the famous holy area in the ensuing decades, and many of the monasteries currently active in the area house few or no local monks and nuns. Most of the monks and nuns expert in the local forms of ritual and ritual music had taken up new professions during their decade of lay life, some taking advantage of musical skills gained in the monastic setting to join cultural troupes performing the anthems of the Cultural Revolution, and few returned to the newly reopened monasteries to pass on their knowledge. Although *gong che pu* scores for the repertoires can be found, very few monks know how to read the notation, and those who do still need the guidance of an experienced teacher to demonstrate rhythmic and ornamentational aspects of performance not indicated in the notation. In addition, the musical instruments of the *shengguanyue* ensemble cannot be acquired in Wutaishan itself, and must be purchased in the cities of Xinzhou or Taiyuan. Artisans qualified to repair the temperamental *sheng* mouth organ visit Wutaishan’s monasteries only rarely, so it is difficult to keep instruments in good working order. For these reasons, most monasteries have not reestablished the use of local forms of ritual, embracing instead a more universally Chinese form of chanted liturgy. Currently, of the more than fifty active monasteries in Wutaishan, only four maintain the local tradition of using the *shengguanyue* ensemble.

Because Mañjuśrī is an important figure in both Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism, and because Wutaishan lies just south of Inner Mongolia where Tibetan Buddhism dominates the religious landscape, both Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist monasteries exist in Wutaishan. Both types of monastery traditionally use *shengguanyue* ensembles in rituals. Today, two Chinese monasteries, Shuxiang si and Nanshan si (South Mountain Monastery), and two Tibetan monasteries, Pusa Ding (Bodhisattva Peak) and Zhenhai si (Ocean-Taming Monastery), maintain this practice. In Tibetan monasteries, however, Ghost Festival is not observed, so this article focuses only on practice in the two Chinese monasteries.

In Wutaishan’s Chinese monasteries, *shengguanyue* pieces are divided into two types: *henian* (accompaniment to chant) and *xiaoqu* (small songs, performed without words). *Henian* tend to include much repetition, since in most cases a rather short melody is used to accompany extensive chanted text. *Xiaoqu* come in two types; short, quick pieces used as a coda to *henian* and longer self-contained pieces used to fill time during some rituals. Many *xiaoqu* derive from secular sources, such as local folksong, famous opera tunes and
pieces composed for secular instrumental performance. In some cases, however, henian melodies can be used as long xiaoqu simply be performing those pieces without chanting the associated text.

The instrumentation of the shengguanyue ensemble at Shuxiang si includes from two to five sheng mouth organs, one to two guanzi double-reed pipes, one to three dizi flutes and one each of various types of hand cymbals, gongs, drums, bells and temple blocks. In performance, one sheng player acts as the leader of the ensemble. He plays the opening phrase of each piece, and then the other instrumentalists join in. This differs from the practice in Wutaishan’s Tibetan monasteries, where one guanzi player leads the ensemble.

A number of Buddhist and Daoist institutions and associations throughout north China feature shengguanyue ensembles, but Wutaishan’s monastic ensembles maintain unique local repertoires, playing styles and performance contexts. Compared to the shengguanyue ensemble of the Beijing Buddhist Association, for example, Wutaishan’s shengguanyue ensembles perform music with greater influence from local folk music and less variety of style. In addition, while the Beijing ensemble incorporates suo na shawms in some of its pieces and uses modernized sheng mouth organs with added metal resonator pipes, the Wutaishan ensembles use a smaller variety of less-modernized instruments. As discussed below, the Chinese Buddhist monasteries at Wutaishan make use of their shengguanyue ensemble in the course of Ghost Festival in unique ways as well.

**Current Musical Ghost Festival Rituals at Wutaishan: Yü Lan Pen Hui**

I observed and recorded events that took place during Ghost Festival week in the summers of 2005 and 2006 at Wutaishan. During these weeks, the monks of Shuxiang si (Bodhisattva Manjusri Image Monastery) held sutra chanting sessions twice a day, one beginning at about 10:00 AM and another beginning at about 3:00 PM. Each day, they chanted the entire Dizang pusa benyuan jing and the Fo shuo yülanpen jing, both of which act to benefit the deceased ancestors of monks and donors. These chant sessions were held in the monastery’s Zushi tang (Patriarch Hall, which contains an image of the Sixth Patriarch of Chan Buddhism). The monks sat at a long table laden with donated fruit, candy and soft drinks, and during breaks in the chanting would help themselves to some of the offerings, and offer some to the visiting doctoral student as well. As they chanted, visitors to the monastery filed past the monks in the Zushi tang, peering over the monks’ shoulders at the chant texts, food offerings and musical instruments on the table. The sutras were chanted in nian style (reading aloud), a form of what Pi-Yen Chen terms “free chant.”¹⁹ The monks each read from an accordion-folded sutra book, chanting each phrase of text, three to eight syllables in duration, on a single pitch and then falling approximately one whole step on the final syllable. Some monks chanted this melody throughout each session, while others at times added ornamentational lines to create a heterophonic texture. Ornamentational melodies remained within the framework of a pentatonic scale (A-C-D-F-G in the example below). In all cases, each syllable was chanted on a single pitch. The final syllable of each phrase was marked in the sutra text with a circle or a dash to facilitate proper recitation. The tempo of the chanting varied, generally starting quite slowly and gradually

accelerating, then suddenly returning to a slower tempo. While the tempo changed, the rhythm remained constant throughout, as shown in the example below. Pauses occurred only at the ends of chapters. Tempo changes were dictated by the beating of the muyu (“wooden fish”: a wooden block that, with some imagination, resembles a curled fish), the only percussion instrument to accompany nian style chanting. The muyu was struck either at each syllable or at every two syllables. Faster tempos usually brought with them higher volume levels. The monks sang hymns in the more melodic chang style to mark the conclusions of some chapters of the text. In the morning chant session, the monks chanted the first seven chapters of the Dizang pusa benyuan jing, while in the afternoon session they chanted the final six chapters of that sutra and the entire Fo shuo yulanpen jing. After some chapters, the monks stood and chanted a zan (hymn) in chang style (singing) before

Text from the opening of the Dizang Pusa benyuan jing as chanted in nian style: basic melody on top line, examples of ornamentation on second line.

Shuxiang si’s Patriarch Hall with Yulanpen Offerings, August 2005
returning to the main text in the *nian* style.

During some *Yülanpen hui* chant sessions, the *shengguanyue* ensemble accompanied melodic hymns before the sutra chanting and between the chanting of some chapters of sutras. Most chant sessions opened with a performance of *Hua Yan Hui* (Garland Assembly), an opening invocation with *shengguanyue* accompaniment. In 2005, after the final chapter of scripture, the *shengguanyue* ensemble played *Qiansheng Fo* (A thousand calls to the Buddha) as the monks proceeded from the *Zushi tang* to stand in front of the *Wangsheng tang* (Hall of Rebirth). Those monks who were not playing wind instruments sang “Namo Amitufo” (Blessed be Amitābha Buddha) as the instrumentalists played the *Qiansheng Fo* melody. Once there, they performed *Hua Yan Hui* again. This was followed by a hymn without *shengguanyue* accompaniment, then a performance of the hymn *Liu Ju Zan* with *shengguanyue*, and then one more hymn without the wind instruments. The *shengguanyue* ensemble then joined in again for a performance of *Qiansheng Fo*, accompanying the brief procession back into the *Zushi tang*. Once there, they bowed toward the image of the sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism and the session concluded. In 2006, the procession to the *Wangsheng tang* was omitted. Instead, the monks stood in the *Zushi tang*, performed *Liuju zan* (Six Sentence Hymn) with *shengguanyue* accompaniment, and then concluded the session with a performance of the untexted *xiaogu Jing ping* (Pure Bottle, a reference to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s bottle of water which can clean any stain). In a few cases,
the monks did not perform shengguanyue at all in the course of chant sessions.

The flexibility of the use of the shengguanyue ensemble during Yülanpen hui at Shuxiang si reflects that this practice has only recently been reinstated at the monastery. In fact, the monastery’s monks are still learning how to perform this ritual properly; in 2005, older monks asked for a copy of a video recording I had made of their ritual to use as a teaching tool.

Wind music is not a crucial element of Yülanpen hui. The texts chanted contain no mention of instrumental music. Although all of Wutaishan’s active Han Buddhist temples hold Yülanpen hui chant sessions, only two, Shuxiang si and Nanshan si have recently made use of wind instruments during these sessions. Nanshan si’s continued use of shengguanyue during Yülanpen hui seems more tenuous than that at Shuxiang si; in the summer of 2005, the shengguanyue ensemble at Nanshan si consisted of only one sheng and one guanzi, and I was told that the monastery no longer housed any dizì flute players. Some older monks at the monastery complained that most of the young monks trained as musicians at Nanshan si had returned to lay life to pursue careers in secular music. In the summer of 2006, Nanshan si’s Yülanpen hui did not include the shengguanyue ensemble, and it is not clear whether or not the practice will be reinstated.

For this ritual, the wind music is not as crucial as the chanted text or the muyu that accompanies it. Because no local ritual manual describes the past practice of Yülanpen hui at Wutaishan, we cannot be sure what role, if any, shengguanyue played in these sessions in the past. The monks of Shuxiang si nonetheless have compelling reasons to continue using the shengguanyue ensemble during most of their Yülanpen hui chant sessions. Shuxiang si’s leadership cultivates the monastery’s reputation as a musical as well as spiritual institution, helping to set Shuxiang si apart from the other monasteries in the area in the fierce competition for attention from donors and for government support. As the most musical monastery in Wutaishan, Shuxiang si is a necessary stop for most group tours of the area. In addition, cultural cadres visit the monastery to create audio and video recordings of the monks’ musical performances. The dissemination of these recordings provides valuable publicity for the monastery, and brings even more visitors and donors. To that end, as noted above, all donor-sponsored and calendrical rituals at Shuxiang si are performed with the accompaniment of shengguanyue. Although the monks of Shuxiang si have not yet found a stable role for the shengguanyue ensemble in Yülanpen hui, the benefits of using wind music make it likely that such a role will be established in the coming years.

The daily chanting of the Fo shuo Yülanpen jing and the Dizang pusa benyuan jing demonstrates the continued importance of Buddhist tales of filial piety in Chinese Buddhist practice. This practice remains relevant not only to the monastic community, but also to lay Buddhists who visit the temple during Ghost Festival week. Yülanpen hui provides monks with an opportunity to spread Buddhist teachings and to succor spirits suffering in the afterlife while providing visitors with a chance to provide assistance to their own deceased ancestors. The shengguanyue ensemble, while not essential to the efficacy of the ritual, acts to draw more visitors to the monastery’s Zhushi tang and Wangsheng tang, increasing the number of people exposed to the teachings presented and attracting visitors to donate money to bring further assistance to their own ancestors.
Tantrism and Ghost Festival: *Fang Yankou*

Each year during Ghost Festival, monks in the Han Chinese monasteries at Wutaishan perform the Tantric *Fang Yankou* ritual. This reflects the tendency toward syncretism in Chinese monastic Buddhism; rather than competing for absolute dominance, sects tend to simply absorb each other’s practices. Mainstream Pure Land practices such as reciting the name of the Buddha combine with the meditation and philosophy of Chan and the magical incantations, gestures and diagrams of Tantrism in many of Wutaishan’s monasteries. This is the case at Shuxiang si and Nanshan si; Pure Land practice outweighs the others, but each monastery houses a shrine to Bodhidharma, the founder of Chan Buddhism, and each performs the Tantric *Fang Yankou* ritual. The area’s Tibetan monasteries, whose practices focus on Tantric teachings, do not perform the Chinese Tantric *Fang Yankou* ritual.

Published descriptions of *Fang Yankou* indicate that these vary from temple to temple. The rituals last from three to six hours and involve a variable number of participants and regionally specific instrumental accompaniment. Necessary elements for the performance of a *Fang Yankou* include the participation of three ritual leaders, the wearing of certain ritual apparel, and the use of some specific ritual objects. All active participants in the ritual wear yellow ceremonial robes, but the central figure, the Vajra Grand Master or *jingang shangshi*, also wears a special five-pointed crown decorated with the images of the five Buddhas of the five directions. These Buddhas are: a yellow Vairochana (*Damu rulai*) in the center, a blue Akshobhya (*Budongfo*) in the East, a red Ratnasambhava (*Bao Sheng Fo*) in the South, a white Amitābha (*Amituofo*) in the West, and a black Amoghasiddhi (*Bukong Chengjiufo*) in the North. The Five Buddha Crown marks the *jingang shangshi* as an embodiment of the bodhisattva Ksitigarbha (*Dizang pusa*). While the textual basis for *Fang Yankou* replaces Ksitigarbha’s filial piety with Īnanda’s self-interest, Ksitigarbha remains important in Tantric practice as a savior of those suffering in the afterlife. The *jingang shangshi* and his two attendant monks mirror the iconographic practice of depicting a central buddha or bodhisattva, in this case Ksitigarbha, with attendant bodhisattvas on each side. These three furthermore represent the Three Jewels of Buddhism, the Buddha, dharma [Buddhist law] and sangha [community of monks]. The *jingang shangshi*, like the *fo tou* in *jiang jing* performances, is responsible for the majority of recitation and chanting during the course of the *Fang Yankou*, with the other monks providing group responses and occasionally taking over the lead in the chanting.

Karl Ludvig Reichelt colourfully describes the *Fang Yankou* ritual as he observed it in the early twentieth century:

The scene begins with a fanfare of musical instruments. A little bell is rung, and then the “living Buddha” begins to sing the first verses of the mass in an endlessly long chant. Dressed in an especially beautiful costume with an arrangement resembling a halo round his head, he sings his verses with solemn and impressive expression. It is a high-pitched lament of woe over the hungering, thirsting, and freezing souls, which flit about the gloomy chambers of the underworld, but it contains also a happy promise of redemption to be ob-

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20 Shi Guojun, monk and *jingang shangshi*, interview at Shuxiang si, Wutaishan by the author 23 December 2006, my translation.

tained through the compassionate Buddhas. Here the instrumental music strikes in. There is a perfect storm of tumultuous shouting and violent music, which is intended to burst open the doors of hell.22

Reichelt vividly conveys the mysterious spirituality of the Fang Yankou as he experienced it, but he provides few details to allow comparison of the music used in this ritual to others. For example, this published account does not indicate where in China this ritual took place. Reichelt mentions the music used, but only in passing; we are not told what instruments took part in the opening fanfare or the “violent music” purportedly intended to break down the doors of hell. Still, some of Reichelt’s description matches Fang Yankou as described in other publications and as I have observed at Wutaishan. His description of the costume of the presiding monks and the use of a “thick wooden implement,” or fangchi, for example, coincides with what I have observed at recent Fang Yankou rituals in Wutaishan.

In the 1960s, Holmes Welch published a much dryer description of a Taiwanese Fang Yankou ritual:

This was a Tantric ritual lasting about five hours and always held in the evening when it was easier for hungry ghosts to go abroad. The presiding monks wore red and golden hats in the shape of a five pointed crown. Before them was a collection of magical instruments—mirrors, sceptres, spoons, and so on. The monks assisting them—usually six to eighteen—were equipped with dorjes and dorje bells (which sounded, when rung together, rather like a team of reindeer). In the first half of the ceremony the celebrants invoked the help of the Three Jewels. In the second half they broke through the gates of hell, where, with their instruments and magic gestures, they opened the throats of the sufferers and fed them sweet dew, that is, water made holy by reciting a mantra over it. They purged away their sins, administered the Three Refuges, and caused them all to take the bodhisattva resolve. If all this was properly done, the ghosts could be immediately reborn as men or even in the Western Paradise. The merit arising therefrom accrued to the deceased person whose relatives were paying for the ceremony—and who, of course, might also have been among those directly benefited.23

Welch does not mention the use of musical instruments that could produce a fanfare like that Reichelt heard, listing only dorje bells as accompaniment to the ritual chanting. These differences likely result in part from regional or historical variations in Fang Yankou practice and in part from differences between the items each author found noteworthy. Some elements, such as the costume of the ritual leader and the basic plotline of the ritual as it unfolds, remain the same between these two descriptions.

Arnold Perris writes that during certain Fang Yankou rituals in Taipei in the mid 1980s, a brass band performed old-fashioned popular songs, including Aloha Oe and Auld Lang Syne. At the same time and in the same hall, the donor family held a boisterous dinner for about fifty guests. The band’s performance and the dinner party were peripheral to the ritual (or vice versa); the monks, musicians and guests each carried on their own activities without paying much attention to the others. Perris writes, “All this was appropriate to the

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22 Reichelt, Truth and Tradition, 103-105.
occasion. The family was not expected to pay attention to the rite or the mournful concert; they were contributing something else: fine food, companionship, and conspicuous joy to be conveyed to the spirit world.” This Fang Yankou was performed not as part of Ghost Festival observances, but as part of a funeral. It is not clear if a brass band would participate in a ritual held on the fifteenth day of the lunar seventh month if the donors were not recently bereaved.

According to these descriptions, Fang Yankou practices vary significantly in terms of instrumental accompaniment used. Nonetheless, in each case it appears that Fang Yankou retains its general ritual procedure as well as its function as a means of transferring merit to one’s deceased ancestors. In the post-Cultural Revolution reestablishment of monastic ritual practice at Wutaishan, then, temple leaders had a wide variety of practices to choose from. These choices, predicated on the pre-Cultural Revolution practices to which those leaders were accustomed and on the availability of ritual objects, varied from temple to temple.

**Fang Yankou at Wutaishan**

Two categories of Fang Yankou ritual are currently performed at Wutaishan. Most of the monasteries at Wutaishan perform what local monks call “Southern yankou,” a ritual similar in form and content to what is performed in mainstream Buddhist monasteries throughout China, while two perform a local version of the ritual, called “Northern Yankou.” The most notable difference between the two styles is the use of shengguanyue, an integral component of “Northern Yankou” lacking in the southern form of the ritual. In the southern form of the ritual, chanted text is presented at a stately, slow tempo, while in the northern style much of the text is presented in a virtuosic, rapid-fire style. These two styles of Fang Yankou use very similar ritual manuals, but that for the northern practice is a bit longer than that for the southern. Both the “Northern Yankou” and “Southern Yankou” ritual manuals contain no melodic notation, but only texts for chanting and diagrams for the performance of mudras (ritual gestures) and the drawing of a mandala. In the “Northern Yankou” manual, however, titles of shengguanyue pieces appear in places where the wind ensemble accompanies the chanted text. Notation for these pieces appears in separate booklets of gongchepu scores, although during ritual performances most monks perform the instrumental parts from memory. The southern ritual lasts about six hours, while the northern ritual takes only four hours due to the faster speed of chanting. Since “Northern Yankou,” is local to Wutaishan, it is considered by those who still practice it and by the Chinese scholars who write about it as a more traditional form than “Southern Yankou,” which is accompanied only by percussion. While other Buddhist organizations in north China maintain shengguanyue ensembles, notably the Beijing Buddhist Association and the Tianjin Buddhist Association, only in Wutaishan is this ensemble used during performances of Fang Yankou. Like Yülanpen hui with shengguanyue, “Northern Yankou”

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26 Han, *Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue*, 69.
is today practiced only at Shuxiang si and rarely at Nanshan si, the only Han monasteries in Wutaishan with active shengguanyue ensembles. The following description of Fang Yankou at Shuxiang si is based on my observation of seven performances of this ritual, performed for both Ghost Festival and funeral observances at the monastery from 2005 to 2007.

Fang Yankou at Shuxiang si begins at dusk, usually around 7:00 PM in the summer months. The monks assemble in the Yankou tang wearing yellow ceremonial robes. The jingang shangshi and his two attendants, as well as some of the other higher-ranking monks, wear the red jia sha (ritual attire, in this case a cape draped over the right shoulder) used during rituals. The jingang shangshi wears zhu yi (presiding monk’s garment), a red cape made of many rectangular pieces of cloth each bordered by a golden cord, while the two attendants and others wear qiyi (seven garment), similar red capes made of only seven pieces of red cloth. Qiyi is worn by monks who have passed beyond novice status during everyday Buddhist activities, but zhuyi is worn only by ritual leaders during special rituals. The jingang shangshi is further set apart by the string of jade fozhu (Buddha beads) down his back and the crown on his head. The Yankou tang contains a high altar facing the door. Silk drapes, flowers, and a Kshitigarbha statue are arranged in front of the altar, rendering it very difficult for those below to observe what takes place there. Below the altar, four rows of long desks are arranged on each side. The monks who comprise the shengguanyue ensemble stand behind these long desks. On the wall to the left of the door is a smaller altar which holds the donations brought by the donor family and, in some cases, photographs of the ancestors to be benefited by the ceremony.

For a northern Fang Yankou held at the Ghost Festival at Shuxiang si, wind instruments used include three or four sheng mouth organs, two or three guanzi double-reed pipes and one or two dici flutes. In most cases when Fang Yankou is performed as part of a funeral service, fewer monks take part and fewer instruments are used. In portions of the ritual that involve the shengguanyue ensemble playing alone, one of the sheng players acts as a leader, choosing the pieces and playing the first few pitches alone, after which the others join in. The percussion necessary for a Fang Yankou include two pairs of large hand cymbals, one bo (bowl-shaped) and one nao (flat), one set of cha, (small hand cymbals), a dagu (large drum), a sanyin luo (frame of three pitched gongs) and a dangzi (small gong suspended in frame). The sound of the cymbals play vital roles in the ritual, acting as the sign that the ritual is beginning and marking each moment when a buddha or bodhisattva is invited to attend the proceedings. The jingang shangshi and his two attendants also play percussion instruments. The jingang shangshi himself occasionally raps the table with the fangchi and rings a hand bell with a vajra handle, what Holmes Welch terms a “dorje bell,” while the attendant to his right carries a yin qing (a small cup-shaped chime suspended on a wooden handle) and the one to his left holds a small muyu.

Three styles of chant are used during Fang Yankou: nian, the “reading aloud” style used in most of Yülanpen hui, song, a solo recitation style that falls between nian style and singing, and chang, the singing style used for hymns. In most cases, mantras chanted by the entire assembly are presented in nian style. As was the case in the Yülanpen hui, nian is most often accompanied only by muyu, which helps the chanters maintain unison rhythm while improvising melodic variations. Chang (singing) style is used for hymns in
praise of various buddhas, bodhisattvas, and the Three Jewels, as well as most invocations. The sung melodies are not notated in the ritual manual, although the notated shengguanyue repertoire contains those that have instrumental accompaniment. Texts presented in chang style that are not accompanied by shengguanyue are accompanied by most or all of the percussion instruments used during the ritual. The third chant style, song, falls between singing and free chant. The majority of the jingang shangshi’s extended passages of chant are presented in song. This style of chant is unaccompanied, although occasionally the jingang shangshi will strike the altar table with the fangchi wooden block to emphasize certain passages of the text. The jingang shangshi presents each pair of lines of text in song style with an arch-shaped melody. He begins at a relatively low pitch, leaps upward a fourth in the middle of the second syllable, then descends a minor third in the middle of the third syllable or on the fourth syllable. This pitch level continues for approximately three syllables, and then the melody descends one more step to return to the starting pitch. This pitch continues for five to thirteen syllables, depending on the length of the line of text. The final syllable of each line is intoned one fifth lower than the preceding pitches, falling one octave below the highest pitch of the line. The beginning pitch is not predetermined, and may vary in the course of a single Fang Yankou. Some of the lines presented in song are quite long, and the jingang shangshi presents two lines on a single breath. Extensive practice is required to expand lung capacity and learn to chant these passages quickly enough to finish in one breath, and Shi Guo Jun, the jingang shangshi who performs Northern Fang Yankou at Shuxiang si, expressed pride in his skill at presenting long passages in song.

Northern Fang Yankou can be divided into three sections separated by two interludes during which the shengguanyue ensemble performs from three to five long xiaoqu, or small tunes. The first portion of this Fang Yankou is primarily concerned with inviting the Three Jewels, as well as particular buddhas and bodhisattvas, whose presence can ensure the success of the ritual. The Chinese incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Guanyin or the Goddess of Mercy, is given particular attention. In addition, the monks chant mantras and perform mudras in order to empower the five-Buddha crown and ritual implements such as the huami, or two-colour rice, the vajra and the hand bell. The jingang shangshi performs mudras over each object while these mantras are chanted. Near the end of the first portion of the ritual, the jingang shangshi recites the story of Ānanda meeting the hungry ghost Shuxiang si’s Jingang shangshi, Shi Guojun, creating the Five-Buddha crown during Fang Yankou.
Yankou as discussed above. Several hymns in this first third of the ritual, such as Huayan hui (Garland Assembly, performed at the beginning of all rituals using shengguanyue at Wutaishan, including Yülanpen hui), Canli tiao (Piece for Taking Part in a Ritual, see below), and Cuihuang hua (Jade Yellow Flower), are accompanied by the shengguanyue ensemble. After each of these, the ensemble performs a brief xiaoqu with no chant, usually Yizi babao (Eight Treasures beginning on the pitch “Yi”) or Xifu mang (Busy Daughter-in-Law). These are short versions of lively local folk tunes performed, of course, without their secular texts. This instrumental break gives the officiating monks an opportunity to rest and prepare themselves for the succeeding portions of the ritual.

The first long xiaoqu break accompanies the drawing of a mandala representing Mount Sumeru, the representation of Buddhist cosmology. The jingang shangshi draws this mandala on the altar table using huami. The mandala consists of three concentric circles. In order to make near-perfect circles, the jingang shangshi uses a circular implement such...

Canli tiao from Fang Yankou. Translation of text: “Assembly of Buddhas, Buddhas of 10,000 merits, Reverence to the cloud-borne assembly, Bodhisattvas, Mahasattvas.”

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27 My transcription based on recorded performances from Shuxiang si, 2005-2007. This transcription provides only the basic melody as presented in the gong che score with the addition of the dominant rhythmic elements present in performance, and does not reflect the heterophonic texture created by the simultaneous use of various forms of ornamentation by the different instruments of the shengguanyue ensemble. Text taken from Ren, “Fojiao yinyue,” 1558-59. My translation.
as a drinking glass or a hand bell (not the one used in the ritual) to push the rice into the desired shape. While he is thusly occupied, the monks at the tables below perform approximately five *xiaoqu*. On Ghost Festival of 2006, these *xiaoqu* were *Wannian hua*, (Eternal Flowers, an adaptation of the Beijing opera tune *Wannian huan*, or Eternal Joy)\(^{28}\), *Dacheng jing* (Greater Vehicle Sutra), *Mimo yan* (Secret Miraculous Stone, a *henian* often performed as a processional, used here without the chanted text), *Sizi yuegao* (High Moon beginning on the pitch “Si,” adapted from a *pipa* lute piece)\(^{29}\) and *Jing ping* (Pure Bottle, performed also during some *Yülanpen hui* sessions). While these are performed, the two attendants to the *jingang shangshi* often take off their ritual attire and leave the hall for a break. In the summer of 2005, one of the attendants came down from the high altar and joined in the performance of the *xiaoqu*, playing *sheng*. Once the mandala is complete and the attendants have returned to their positions, the ritual continues.

The second portion of the ritual includes further invocation of the Three Jewels and invitations to the buddhas Sakyamuni, AmitƗbha and, once again, the bodhisattva Avalokitsvara, or Guan Yin. In addition, a passage describing the five traditional donations

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Monks playing *sheng* and *guanzi* during a Shuxiang si *Fang Yankou*.

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\(^{29}\) “Yue’er gao,” *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 477-78.
offered to the Three Jewels (water, incense, light, silk and fruit), as well as the intangible donation of music, is chanted. This passage likely helped to inspire Wutaishan’s monks to include shengguanyue music in their version of Fang Yankou. After a few more buddhas have been invited to the proceedings, the jingang shangshi rings the hand bell for several minutes to mark the beginning of the time that ghosts will be invited to partake of the offered food. Specific invitees include the souls of emperors, concubines of emperors, virtuous officials, generals, high scholars, lower ranking scholars, lower officials, merchants, soldiers, farmers, fishermen, prostitutes and beggars. The ordering of these invitations reflects the traditional conception that one’s position in the social hierarchy follows one to the afterlife. After these ghosts have been invited, the jingang shangshi invites the donors’ ancestors for whom the Fang Yankou has been sponsored as recipients of the merit accrued by the ritual. During Fang Yankou rituals performed on the day of the Ghost Festival, the jingang shangshi recites the lineage of patriarchs at the temple as well. From emperors to patriarchs, the Ghost Festival Fang Yankou at Shuxiang si in 2006 included a total of twenty-five separate invitations. Each of these invitations is followed by a performance of

Zhaoqing tiao, a brief chanted refrain accompanied by shengguanyue. At this point in the ritual, hungry ghosts have not yet been invited. The second xiaoqu break occurs just after the completion of the invitation of the ordinary ghosts. During this time, a monk places the offerings of steamed bread and fruit on a platter and takes them up to the high altar. Three of the pieces of steamed bread are in the form of a skull, hand and foot, a reference to skeletons intended to remind the viewers and ghosts of the impermanence of existence. The other bread offerings are pellets about one inch in diameter. The remainder of the ritual does not involve the shengguanyue ensemble. The jingang shangshi performs mantras and mudras over these offerings in order to make them available for consumption by ghosts, even hungry ghosts. Only after these empowered offerings have been tossed little by little toward the open door of the hall are hungry ghosts invited to attend. First, the jingang shangshi chants a description of the suffering of hungry ghosts, and then he invites the hungry ghosts to come partake of the offerings, performing mantras and mudras to dissolve their bad karma and to open their tiny throats and allow them to eat. The remainder of the ceremony consists of mantras to allow the ghosts to be reborn in a heaven, to transform the tortures of hell into pleasant things (e.g. sword trees

30 Transcription based on gongche score and recorded performances from Shuxiang si, 2005-2007. Text taken from Han, Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue, 94. My translation.
into fabulous gem trees), and to allow the ghosts to leave the land of the living. One further mantra forces any remaining ghosts to leave. Shi Guo Jun informed me that, if some ghosts remain, they will cause trouble for the donor family. Once the ghosts have left, the buddhas and bodhisattvas invited to take part in the ritual are seen off with the chanting of Huixiang jie, a celebration of a successful ritual. Finally, the assembly proceeds outside to the large incense burner in front of the temple gate to burn the food offered to ghosts during the Fang Yankou.

According to Shi Guo Jun, northern style Fang Yankou cannot be carried out without the shengguanyue ensemble. The ensemble performs the passages of xiaoqu that allow time for the drawing of the hua mi mandala of Mount Sumeru and the preparation of the food offerings to be given to the ghosts. The shengguanyue ensemble furthermore accompanies much of the chanted text in the ritual, including hymns in praise of the Three Jewels, the invocation of the five buddhas of the five directions, and the chanted coda to each of the invitations of ghosts. The music performed by the ensemble likewise act as an offering to the buddhas and bodhisattvas whose cooperation is needed to make the ritual a success. The nearly universal adoption of the shengguanyue-free southern style of Fang Yankou at Wutaishan nonetheless demonstrates that adherence to the northern style is not considered necessary to maintain the efficacy of the ritual. As was the case in Yülanpen hui, instrumental music is of tertiary importance to the ritual, playing less vital roles than both the chanted liturgy and the ritual percussion that is common to all Fang Yankou rituals in China. An examination of the justifications for maintaining the musical northern ritual at Shuxiang si, as well as of reasons for continuing Ghost Festival observances in general, will bring into focus the ways that these rituals, and in some cases their music, continue to justify the existence of the monastic community in Chinese society.

Meanings and Functions of Ghost Festival Rites at Wutaishan Today

Ghost Festival rituals today serve different purposes than they did prior to the twentieth century. Many of the donors who add their ancestors’ names to a monastery’s Wangsheng tang during Yülanpen hui or who invite monks to perform a Fang Yankou ritual either during the Ghost Festival or as part of funerary rites now perceive these activities as memorial practices rather than as means of providing actual assistance to their deceased ancestors. Han Jun describes the ceremony as “a special Buddhist activity carried out to memorialize the dead.”

Holmes Welch writes that, in Taiwan, donors who sponsor Buddhist mortuary rituals do not consider rescuing the souls of their ancestors to be their primary objective:

They may become angry if anyone suggests that they are offering incense, rice, and fruit at the altar because they think their parents have been reborn on a lower plane. Their parents are, of course, ling-ming—virtuous spirits who reside in heaven and descend to their tablets to receive filial offerings and reverent reports of family news. Why then do they pay the monks to recite sutras? Because it is a customary form of filial commemoration, they say. No one can be called “superstitious” for engaging in filial commemoration.

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31 Han, Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue, 69.
32 Welch, Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 185.
During the Ghost Festival in 2006, two well-to-do men from Inner Mongolia drove for eighteen hours to Wutaishan and donated ¥6000 to the temple in order to sponsor a Fang Yankou. The father of one of these gentlemen had recently passed away, and they wished to commemorate his death. The bereaved, a Party official, stated that this was to be a memorial, and seemed to have little interest or knowledge of the traditional function of the rite as a means of feeding hungry ghosts and transferring merit to the departed.

I do not wish to imply that traditional ancestor worship no longer takes place in China. In fact, most of the Fang Yankou performed by Shuxiang si’s monks occur outside of the temple as part of local funeral rites, which also involve the burning of paper houses, servants, money and other comforts for the deceased to use in the afterlife. In those cases, the ritual acts more explicitly as a means of contributing good karma to the deceased in order that the afterlife will be comfortable for him or her. The monks who perform these rituals also insist that their actions provide actual assistance to ghosts suffering in the afterlife. In many cases and for many donors, however, erosion of ancestor worship in modern China has brought about changes in the conception of Buddhist Ghost Festival rituals.

If Ghost Festival rituals are no longer as strongly valued as a means of assisting the dead, one might wonder why these practices were reinstated after the Cultural Revolution. Many donors view the practice as a mere memorial, so why should they not choose a simpler means of commemorating the death of a family member? Several reasons for the continued support of Buddhist rites for the dead exist. In some cases, the deceased, perhaps more traditional-minded than their offspring, had requested before their passing that a Buddhist ritual be performed after their death. In other cases, the donors might be attracted by the traditional tone and colourful nature of the rituals even if they do not value their purported function.

Not only donors, but also government officials have re-evaluated Ghost Festival rites in recent decades. From the late 1970s, state-sponsored music scholars went to Wutaishan with the intention of collecting and preserving Wutaishan’s Buddhist music. In 1978, Tian Qing and others recorded shengguanyue played by elderly laicized monks from both Han and Tibetan temples. Many of the pieces performed by musicians who had been monks in Chinese monasteries before the Cultural Revolution were from Fang Yankou. In 1988, Tian returned to the field to record Wutaishan Buddhist music, but the musician/monks he had recorded in 1978 were for the most part no longer playing music. He recorded instead the Chinese Wutaishan Buddhist Music Ensemble, a group of musicians from the surrounding villages who had been put together by the Shanxi Cultural Bureau in 1987 in order to preserve Buddhist music for concert use, though not for ritual use.\(^{33}\) While at this time a few elderly monks were working to reinstate shengguanyue as part of ritual practice in Wutaishan’s monasteries, government-sponsored preservation efforts focused primarily on recording and performing the music outside of its ritual context. This, perhaps, made it easier for officials to promote Wutaishan’s shengguanyue as a cultural practice to be preserved while downplaying its association with the superstitious.

Official emphasis on Ghost Festival ritual music apart from Ghost Festival ritual can be seen in recent scholarly writings about Wutaishan’s Buddhist music. Ren Deze, in his

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\(^{33}\) Tian’s recordings make up five of the thirty CDs in Zhongguo Foyue baodian [A Treasury of Chinese Buddhist Music] (Beijing: Zhongguo yinxiang dabaiké, 2006).
introduction to the “Buddhist Music” section of the Shanxi instrumental volume of the *Chinese National Folk Instrumental Music Collection*, dryly describes the purpose of the ritual: “*Yujia Yankou* is commonly called *Fang Yankou*. It is said that Ānanda, one of the ten disciples of Sakyamuni, saw a hungry ghost named Yankou one night. To avoid becoming a hungry ghost himself, Ānanda asked Sakyamuni to teach him to chant scripture. The Buddhist ritual specifically for feeding and releasing hungry ghosts is called ‘*Yujia Yankou*.’”

This brief outline of the function of *Fang Yankou* does not give the reader any sense of why this ritual might be of importance to anyone today.

Ren takes a very different tone when describing the music used in the ritual. He writes that the ritual, “from beginning to end includes melodious, stately singing, and also *kuaiban* in lively rhythm, and all kinds of Buddhist mudras and gong and drum music as accompanied by chanting and percussion, so it has a strong artistic flavour. The entire ritual includes thirty pieces. There are ten chanted hymns with *shengguanyue* accompaniment, which monks call ‘*henian,*’...These hymns have serene and elegant melodies and a profound expressiveness, both quick and slow.” He concludes his description, “All of *yankou*’s music attracts people’s fascination, plucks people’s heartstrings, and in fully tranquil times, this Buddhist music seems to transport its listeners to a fairly land.”

The effusiveness of this praise for the music of *Fang Yankou* vastly overshadows the author’s somewhat clinical description of the ritual’s function. It appears that the author views the music of *Fang Yankou* as something separate from and more valuable than the ritual itself.

Han Jun’s passage about *Fang Yankou* in the 2004 version of *Wutaishan Buddhist Music* follows a pattern quite similar to Ren’s passage cited above. Describing the purpose of the ritual, Han uses language nearly identical in places to Ren’s:

According to “Yankou egui jing,” the hungry ghosts are emaciated, with needle-like necks, and they have fire in their mouths. It is said that Ānanda, one of the ten disciples of Sakyamuni, saw a hungry ghost named Yan Kou one night. To avoid becoming a hungry ghost himself, Ānanda asked Sakyamuni to teach him to chant scripture. There are special texts and chants for feeding hungry ghosts, and the rituals held with this chanting are called *Fang Yankou*, and are often held at dusk with offerings of food to redeem the hungry ghosts.

When describing the artistic merits of the ritual, Han echoes Ren’s sentiment that *Fang Yankou* is a good show:

Although *Fang Yankou* has a very strong religious and superstitious tinge, from the perspective of style it has some aesthetic value with regards to the literature, music and dance (mudras) used. Thanks to its artistry, people are not bored by this 4-5 hour ritual, which not only worships deities and comforts the dead, but also entertains the living. Those who sponsor a *Fang Yankou* are therefore satisfied both spiritually and aesthetically by the ritual.

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36 Han, *Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue*, 69.
37 Han, *Wutaishan Fojiao yinyue*, 68.
In this description, Han replaces ritual elements with artistic ones; sacred chant texts become literature, chanted and instrumental ritual music becomes just music and magical Tantric gestures become dance. Depicting Fang Yankou as a wonderful musical show with spiritual overtone, these passages read almost like a concert flyer; readers are encouraged to go to Wutaishan and sponsor a Fang Yankou just for the sake of the music.

These writings provide some insight into not only the continued value of Ghost Festival rituals at Wutaishan, but also into the various functions of shengguan music in those rituals. By preserving ritual shengguanyue at Shuxiang si for Ghost Festival observances, the monastery not only includes music among its offerings to buddhas and bodhisattvas and attracts pilgrims and tourists, but also gleans government support for its cultural practices. Han Jun has taken part in the production of a compact disc of Shuxiang si’s shengguan music in 2005 and in the creation of a television special about the temple’s music in 2006. The majority of the pieces recorded are xiaoqu and chants used in Fang Yankou. The video recording also includes a performance of Zhunti shenzhou, a mantra performed with mudras during Fang Yankou in order to consecrate the Five Buddha Crown. The monastery’s monks also gained official permission to perform their music in Korea in 2001, at the 2003 Chinese Buddhist and Taoist Music Exhibition in Beijing, and at the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai. These activities reflect the high regard among the area’s cultural cadres for the temple’s music as an entertaining and economically valuable cultural practice. The publicity garnered through concerts and recordings attract more donors to Shuxiang si to sponsor rituals throughout the summer months, so by sponsoring non-ritual musical activities for the monastery’s monks, officials are indirectly supporting ritual activity at the monastery. The success of concert performances away from the monastery also inspired monastery leaders to open their own Buddhist Music Hall on the monastery grounds. Here, visitors to the monastery can purchase a ticket for 80 yuan and enjoy an evening of Buddhist music and dance. The music is played by the monks of Shuxiang si, while the dancing is provided by students from a local arts academy who dress like monks. These concerts and recordings might demonstrate an erosion of the formerly strict division between sacred ritual music and music for entertainment. It appears, however, that the monks of Shuxiang si see no conflict between Ghost Festival ritual music as performed in concert settings and as performed during rituals. The line between ritual performance and performance for entertainment is not as clear as it might first appear; during concerts in the Buddhist Music Hall, audience members make offerings of food and incense just as they would during a ritual, while during ritual performances observers crowd into the monastery’s halls to be entertained by the musical monks’ performance.

Han and Ren’s writings demonstrate the perceived relative value of Ghost Festival rituals that use shengguanyue music in comparison to those that do not. Both authors provide detailed descriptions of northern Fang Yankou, but not of the much more common southern ritual. The northern ritual is treated as more representative of Wutaishan Buddhist music even though it is currently practiced at only one temple. If Buddhist ritual is to be valued by government officials for its artistic content rather than for its ritual function, then the more musical then better. The emphasis on the northern style results as well from its status as a native product of Wutaishan, lending it a greater air of authenticity than the much
more common southern ritual. In 2005, cadres from the Shanxi Cultural Bureau applied unsuccessfully to have Wutaishan’s shengguanyue music listed with UNESCO as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity, demonstrating that officials view this music as a potential gateway to an international acclaim that would raise the status of the entire province.

The official focus on preserving Wutaishan’s ritual music, however, does not sit well with Chinese Buddhist Association head Shi Miaojiang. He complains that the official preservation efforts have consisted of “all slogans, no action,” and would like to see the provincial government set up a centre at which those elderly monks who still remember how to perform the ritual music could gather and pass their knowledge on to new generations of Wutaishan monks and nuns. He views the ensemble at Shuxiang si as “just kids,” and does not place much hope in their potential to help promulgate the use of shengguanyue music in rituals at Wutaishan. So far, though, Shi Miaojiang’s point of view has not been adopted by area officials, who still support efforts to preserve this music in concerts and recordings, but not efforts to increase its use within ritual.

The maintenance of the shengguanyue repertoire associated with Ghost Festival enhances Shuxiang si’s standing as an officially supported Buddhist temple and brings with it exposure in the form of nationally distributed television shows, audio recordings and books. One might wonder, then, why so few of Wutaishan’s temples have recently used shengguanyue music in ritual. Several obstacles to the establishment and maintenance of such ensembles have thus far prevented their widespread use. After the Cultural Revolution, few of the monks with expertise in playing wind instruments returned to the temples, and some of those who did felt they were too old to continue playing or to teach a new generation of monks to play. Thus, few of those who joined the monastic community in recent decades have had an opportunity to learn to read the traditional gong che pu notation in which the shengguanyue repertoire is preserved. The majority of the monks currently residing in most of Wutaishan’s Han monasteries spent their novice years in other regions of China, and those monks continue to perform rituals as they first learned them, without the use of wind instruments. Shuxiang si and Nanshan si are primarily occupied by local monks who perhaps have a greater stake in maintaining local traditions such as

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38 Shi Miaojiang, Head of Chinese Buddhist Association, interview at Zhulin si, Wutaishan by the author, 16 August 2005, translated by Ye Xiujuan.
the use of *shengguanyue* in ritual. It appears, however, that even at Nanshan si the use of *shengguanyue* is currently in decline. This might result from the logistical and economic difficulties that go along with maintaining a *shengguanyue* ensemble. The musical instruments used, particularly the temperamental *sheng*, are not available in Wutaishan and must be purchased outside of the area. The frequently-needed repairs can also become quite costly. These complications might in most cases outweigh the benefits of increased official support and national exposure for ritual practice that come along with the use of *shengguanyue* music.

Shuxiang si’s use of the *shengguanyue* ensemble has effectively drummed up a large number of donors to sponsor rituals at the monastery, and brought enthusiastic government support to the monastery, but this situation has its drawbacks as well as benefits. Monks and nuns from other temples in the area worry that the emphasis on musical performance at Shuxiang si detracts from the monk’s personal spiritual development. Shuxiang si has as a result gained a reputation as a spiritually shallow institution. Haifa, a monk at Yuanzhao si, stated that the monks of Shuxiang si spend so much time polishing their musical performance that they have no time to learn more than the surface teachings of Buddhism.\(^{39}\) This complaint echoes longstanding concerns about the spiritual health of monks who spend too much time performing rituals for donors. Holmes Welch writes that, in early twentieth-century Chinese monasteries, “Some conservative monks were coming to feel that the commercialization of rites reflected poorly on the sangha. There was also a tendency to look down on those monks who spent their time going out to perform them in people’s homes. They were popularly referred to as ‘monks on call’ in contrast to those who spent their time in the monastery on meditation and study.”\(^{40}\) It is true that the monks of Shuxiang si live both as “monks on call” and as “musicians on call,” and generally have little time for meditation or study. This mercenary nature is not unique to Shuxiang si’s monks; with the 1950 enactment of Land Reform laws, Chinese monasteries lost the landholdings that formerly provided the bulk of their revenue. As a result, most monasteries today support themselves primarily through the performance of donor-sponsored ritual. With Deng Xiaoping’s market reforms of the late 1970s, monasteries now compete for donors in the same way that businesses compete for customers. At Shuxiang si, monks are relatively wealthy but have little time for personal cultivation. To some extent, these monks are victims of their success as performers of ritual and music.

The events of the Ghost Festival week at Wutaishan carry a variety of meanings and functions. For the monks who perform the rituals and for some of the donors who support them, *Yülanpen hui* and *Fang Yankou* provide actual assistance to the deceased, allowing those who are suffering in the afterlife to enter a better mode of existence. According to officially sanctioned writings on the subject, and to many donors as well, these activities act as aesthetically pleasing, locally specialized memorial services. These activities are therefore acceptable even though the traditional idea that ghosts are being aided smacks of superstition. For many, stories of Mu Lian and Ānanda and their encounters with hungry ghosts no longer instill fear that one’s own ancestors might be hungry ghosts in need of assistance, or that one might be harassed by a hungry ghost some evening. Even as mere

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39 Haifa, monk at Yuanzhao si, interview in Taihuai Town, Wutaishan by the author 28 April 2007.
memorials, however, Ghost Festival rituals continue to provide a means of demonstrating filial piety, maintaining their original role as a factor justifying the existence of the Buddhist monastic community in Chinese society. In order to gain and maintain official support for the practice, however, these rituals have come to carry additional meaning as well. In the post-Cultural Revolution backlash against the destruction of traditional cultural artefacts, rituals such as Fang Yankou enjoy the protection and support of government officials not because of their purported efficacy in assisting the deceased but due to their aesthetic interest and historical value. As such, the northern ritual, native to Wutaishan and including the use of the shengguanyue ensemble, receives greater attention from area officials than does the more common southern ritual. Shuxiang si uses Ghost Festival rituals to justify the monastic community’s existence not only as practitioners of rituals necessary for filial responsibility, but also as custodians of valuable cultural artefacts to be preserved.

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### GLOSSARY

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Nao
Nian
Qiyi
Qiansheng Fo
Sanyin luo
Sheng
Shengguan
Shifang tang
Sizi yuegao
Song
Shuxiang si
Tayuan si
Wannian hua
Wannian huan
Wangsheng tang
Wutaishan
Xiao qu
Yankou
Yankou tang
Yinqing
Yujia jiyao Yankou shiyi
Yuanzhao si
Zan
Zhongguo Foyue baodian
Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng
Zhuyi
Zhulin si
Zhuntishen zhou
Zisun miao
Zou
Zushi tang

南山寺
铙
念
七衣
千声佛
三音罗
笙
笙管
十方堂
四字月高
诵
殊像寺
塔院寺
万年花
万年欢
往生堂
五台山
小曲
焰口
焰口堂
引磬
瑜伽集要焰口食仪
圆照寺
赞
中国佛乐宝典
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住衣
竹林寺
单提咒
子孙庙
奏
祖师堂
Táng music theory of ritual calendrical transposition applied

Rembrandt F. Wolpert
(University of Arkansas, USA)

The practice of transposing ritual music to different keys according to a calendrical cycle – with a different key for each month of the year – is well known for early China. Táng sources known in Japan (for example, the 8th century Yuèshū yaòlù) transmit information on this practice. And there, in the 12th-century, Fujiwara no Moronaga, theorist, historical musicologist, and editor of the great courtly lute book Sango yôroku (ca. 1180), sets out in detail for the lute biwa a system of transpositions and tunings to accommodate on this instrument a complete year, “ritually in tune” with season and cosmos. While documentation in a later manuscript (of 1386) of tunings and notations for a handful of tôgaku pieces for lute, transposed as calendrically appropriate according to Moronaga, has been cursorily discussed and the pieces transnotated (Markham, Picken, and Wolpert, 1988), there has been no follow-up. This paper now looks at what musical theory for cosmic harmony may have meant for a lutenist thinking musically and working ritually within the pitch space evidently assigned to a Chinese calendrical transposition-system as understood at that time in Japan.

Ritual calendrical transposition

Our main source for what remains from the Táng period about ritual calendrical transposition is the Yuèshū yaòlù 楽書要錄, originally a large-scale work on music theory compiled during the reign and upon order of Empress (Wǔ) Zetian (武則天) (690–705); only a Japanese copy of a fragment, three volumes (juăn 卷) of the originally ten-volume long work, survives.¹ Those volumes contain a lengthy catalogue of transpositions of Chinese scales in the gōng 宫 (Lydian) mode structure following in order the generation-cycle of the 12 fundamental pitches, one for each key, and resulting in a set of 12 transpositions of that gōng mode, one for each month, and each meticulously written out in detail. It is not surprising to find such a detailed, perhaps bureaucratically pedantic listing in a work sponsored by Empress Wǔ. After all, it was she who also initiated the building of the Míngtáng 明堂 “Bright Hall” adjacent to the palace, a complex representing cosmological speculation (Forte, 1988; Wu, 1995).

A sofar mainly neglected aspect of the 12-scroll compendium Sango yôroku 三五要錄, tablatures for 4-stringed lute pipá/biwa 琵琶, by the 12th-century Japanese nobleman and musicologist Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師昌, is an adaptation of this section from Yuèshū yaòlù (j. 7) in his first scroll of Sango yôroku, expanding the theoretical aspects represented in the Táng-Chinese Yuèshū yaòlù into a format that applies the transposition-

¹ For a concise summary of probable authorship, see Gimm (1966, p. 608).
procedure to a set of 12 biwa tunings for the 12 scales in the Lydian (the Chinese gōng) mode, one each for the twelve months. In *Sango yōroku*, apart from *xiánhé/genawase*, which I have suggested calling *Tuning Pieces* (Wolpert, 1977, p. 122), and that follow each section of elaborate mutually reconfirming tuning-instructions in this first scroll, no actual musical pieces in the main body of tablatures in the compendium are associated with this set of tunings. As we shall see, it is only in later manuscripts that calendrical transpositions are applied to pieces from the repertory. However, before we are able to do this, we need to address the ritual transposition itself, and what it tells us about one neglected aspect of Chinese musical theory.

The two listings in Figure 1 would traditionally be translated into a bland listing similar to that in Table 1, indicating the steps of the degrees in a scale, a *Tonleiter*, by spacing and some correlation to Western absolute pitches.

But there is something crucially wrong with the translation in Table 1 of what is indeed a fundamentally different Chinese concept. Without going here into the details of the internal generation of the 12 pitches in our Táng Chinese source (it is not a matter

\[ \text{Figure 1. Absolute pitches for the taicù yūn 太簇均 scale appropriate for the first lunar month.} \]

\[ \text{Figure 1. Absolute pitches for the taicù yūn 太簇均 scale appropriate for the first lunar month.} \]

\[ \text{Figure 1. Absolute pitches for the taicù yūn 太簇均 scale appropriate for the first lunar month.} \]

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2 Discussions of the development of the two originally distinct concepts of lü 律 and yīn 音 are in Falkenhausen (1992; 1994).
of simply applying an “up-and-down principle” as recorded in the Guānzǐ 管子 for the relative degrees of the pentatonic scale\(^3\), two indications in discussion of calendrical ritual give us vital clues to the understanding of Táng-Chinese music-theoretical thinking.

When Empress Wǔ had a Míngtáng built (Figure 2\(^4\), she followed an old tradition – with a clear political claim. In this tradition the ruler observed the cycle of the year as an infinite process, a process that repeated itself by flowing from the end of the year into where it had begun a year ago. This concept, physically followed by circumambulation of the hall, is very different from the linear year continuing on and on into infinity; it is a view more akin to “rebirth” in an endless cycle. It is therefore quite appropriate that the Míngtáng had 12 outer walls connected to its outer rooms, one wall for each month (see Figure 3). The 12th month flowed naturally through to the 1st month, which was located at the same spot in the cycle and circumambulation as it had been a year ago, thus reinforcing the medieval Chinese view of a cyclical movement through time, rather than of the linear progression we tend to enforce in our “time-lines”.

\(^3\) The Guānzǐ-generation for the formation of the five shēng 律 can be computationally expressed as: (let* ((gong gong) (zhi (* gong (+ 1 (/ 13))))) (shang (* zhi (- 1 (/ 13)))) (yu (* shang (+ 1 (/ 13)))) (ju (* yu (- 1 (/ 13))))).

Empress Wù’s Míngtáng was inspired, informed, by the famous predecessor-hall of the same name, Wáng Māng’s 王莽 (45 B.C.E. – 23 C.E) Míngtáng “Bright Hall”, a building governed by highly abstract measurement, direction, and geometrical shape – astronomy, mathematics, geography, and musicology. ...The emperor would move clockwise in the hall; each month he would dwell in the proper room, dress in the proper color, eat the proper food, listen to the proper music ... (Wu, 1995, pp. 177,182)

Both Wáng Māng and Wù Zěitiān were “usurpers”; the construction of the ritual centre of the “Bright Hall” established a claim to absolute harmony with the heavens, and thus legitimacy of their imperial plans, connecting themselves in a direct line to the Golden Age of the Zhōu 周 rulers and Confucian philosophical justification. Wù Zěitiān even named her interregnum-dynasty Zhōu.

The other, purely musical clue is in the listing of 12 keys for the gōng mode in Yuèshū yaolù. First we must recall that all other Chinese modes are generated from the basic gōng mode, each starting from a different note/degree of its scale. This is why a description of 12 keys for the gōng mode is sufficient; there is no need to go through all keys for the shāng, juē, etc. modes. Although proceeding in a manner mathematically derived from the Guānzì, Yuèshū yaolù’s internal explanation and modification of the generation of the 12 pitches lead not to an octave from a “starting point”, but to a return to the same pitch from which the process started out. This is explicitly expressed when the generative listing of the 12 keys in Yuèshū yaolù states at the end: “To the right the twelve gōng are completed with zhōnglǚ. Zhōnglǚ generates huángzhōng and it starts again. Huángzhōng is the end and again the beginning.”(Wù, 690/1995, j. 7, p. 5a).
Restated graphically, the theoretical Táng monthly musical cycle resembles in its approach that of M.C. Escher’s lithograph *Ascending and Descending* (Figure 4), a music-theoretical view that would also have appreciated the sound-world introduced in Shepard’s scale (Shepard, 1964). Computationally it can be easily expressed as a *circular list*, a list with a finite number of elements to be created only once, but which can be traversed endlessly.

If we generate the 12 pitches in the manner prescribed in *Yuèshū yaõlù*, we can apply a scale from any point on these “Escher-steps”, and without ever leaving the circle. Not surprisingly *Yuèshū yaõlù* contains the first known circular diagrammatic representation of the 12 pitches and the associated modes and keys.

**Japan and the Chinese connection**

As we have already seen in Figure 1b, around 1180 C.E. Fujiwara no Moronaga quotes *verbatim* the whole section from *Yuèshū yaõlù*. The calendrical-mode section in both works ends with a diagrammatic map, with a “template for action” (Bray, 2007b, p. 2) for the generation-cycle of the 12 *liù*.

This mapping is vital for our understanding the cyclical character of the system, a closed system that does not need to accommodate any pitch outside one octave (in our Western thinking); a system that starts with *huângzhõng*, and then re-starts a regeneration cycle with the same pitch *huângzhõng* after each full iteration. Indeed, our present-day
Figure 5: Diagramatic translation of gōng diao 宫调 taicū yūn 太簇均 (Figure 1).

Figure 6: Generation map for the 12 lǜ, ritsu 律 from Sango yōroku m. 1 (compare with the layout of the Míngtáng in Figure 3).
computational concept of a *circular list* follows precisely the mapped instructions in both the Táng-Chinese *Yuèshū yaolù* and the late Heian-Japanese *Sango yôroku*. And it forms the basis of the reconstruction-attempts in Heian Japan of a ritual musical system, devised around architecture, mathematics, geography, and the cycle of the year.

At a time when Japan was in total disarray, torn by wars and natural disasters, when a decaying Imperial order was nearing the point of no return, Fujiwara no Moronaga evokes, in a last culturally based attempt, the historic-political capital from the connection to the Heian court’s grand ancestral home of culture, the Táng period, recalling the spirits of the past through a ritual connection in a way reminiscent of those who previously evoked China’s Golden Age through ritual, through building their respective *Míngtáng*.

Although no musical piece within Moronaga’s repertory of *Táng Music/Tôgaku* 唐樂 is in fact conforming to the ritual set of twelve transpositions – indeed, only a very few pieces in the repertory are actually in the Chinese *gōng* mode introduced here (Markham, 2002, 2005) – Fujiwara no Moronaga insists on providing a detailed account of the ritual transpositions, with due reference to the Táng source, introducing at a critical historical moment in Japanese history a claim to be the representative of,

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<td>十一月</td>
<td>huángzhōng</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>巳</td>
<td>四月</td>
<td>zhōnglù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>戌</td>
<td>九月</td>
<td>wúxì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>卯</td>
<td>二月</td>
<td>jiázhōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>申</td>
<td>七月</td>
<td>yícì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>丑</td>
<td>十二月</td>
<td>dálǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>午</td>
<td>五月</td>
<td>ruíbīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>玄</td>
<td>十月</td>
<td>yínghōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>辰</td>
<td>三月</td>
<td>guǐxí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>酉</td>
<td>八月</td>
<td>nánlǚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>寅</td>
<td>一月</td>
<td>tàiçù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>未</td>
<td>六月</td>
<td>línzhōng</td>
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![Figure 7: Generating the 12 lù within one circle, following the generation directions from Sango yôroku (Figure 6).](image)
successor to, the grandeur of Táng, just as Wáng Māng and Wǔ Zětiān claimed to be legitimate successors to the Zhōu. His choice of enshrining this claim in his compendium of tablature for the four-stringed Chinese lute pipá/biwa allows us unique insight both into the political weight of the ritual-cultural relationship of late Heian Japan with Táng, and into the Sino-Japanese musical thinking of this period. However, let us turn here to the practical musical side.

**Transposing lute tablature**

Fujiwara no Moronaga’s *Sango yôroku* is a collection of pieces in lute tablature. Tablatures are so convenient for performers because they prescribe actions for the fingers and thus take the translation-process from pitch to finger out of the cognitive requirement. Tablatures are easily “applied”, and by definition they do not allow alternate fingerings. Since the player is discouraged from thinking in pitches, or even in melodic progression, but is guided to merely apply the mechanics of the fingerings, transposition of a piece on a stringed instrument is more than just inconvenient. Changing the fingerings when not being used to think of the pitches associated with a fingering is basically impossible. Transposing a tablature, then, usually requires re-writing the original tablature in a new tablature with the required new fingerings. The numerous notated *watashimono* 渡し物 in Japanese *gagaku* 雅楽 manuscripts demonstrate this point very well.

In the case of Sino-Japanese lute pipá/biwa tablatures, the process of transposition is additionally complicated because not just one standard tuning is used. In addition to changing her fingerings, the performer also needs to re-tune the strings for pieces in a different key. The confusion that often reigns when the Sino-Japanese musical term *diaò/chó* 調 needs translation into a European language becomes clearer when viewed in this context: the tuning (*diaò*) is controlled by mode and key, for all three of which the same ideograph *diaò* is used. Knowing the tuning allows at the same time a good guess at the mode and key of a piece – and vice versa.

In his lengthy display of tuning instructions for the lute biwa, Fujiwara no Moronaga first lays out each finger-position on each fret across all four strings. He religiously lists all positions correlated to absolute pitch-names and links each to the degree in the *gōng*-mode scale for the specific biwa-tuning, glossing in red the string-fret combination thus defined with the corresponding tablature-sign (Figure 8).

This procedure gives us one piece of information that is vital indeed in that it asserts the spacing of the frets on the neck of the biwa by allocating fixed absolute pitches to each fret and by then cross-allocating each tablature-sign to its string and fret position. Of course, being drawn from a circular closed system of theoretical pitches, it does not refer to any possible octave relationships between strings. As expected from the theoretical treatise, we are in a circle that returns to its origin, and does not flow into another octave – upper or lower.

After denoting the scales for all possible 12 keys for the *gōng* mode, Moronaga proceeds to re-list his graphically laid-out list as a list of which scale degrees are which pitches in the absolute system, and on which frets they occur, ending that re-statement of

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5 Malm’s suggestion to look at *watashimono* as “mode” because of the change in pitch center within the scale is missing the point (Malm, 1980, p. 50): it is not the mode that is changed, but the key.
previous information with a list of “out-of-mode-key” finger positions. At this point, he finally arrives at the traditional tuning instructions for *biwa* as we know them from the earlier *Biwa sho-chôshi-hon* 瑪琶諸調子品.  

The practical tuning process starts by tuning one string/fret position to a fixed pitch – in “real life” a pitch given by a wind instrument, usually the flute *ryûteki* 龍笛 – and by then equating it via a *biwa* tablature sign with a fret-and-string position on the neck of the lute. In the example in Figure 9a for the sixth lunar month, the month with final *linzhōng/rinshô* 林鐘 – in *ryûteki* notation the tablature-sign *shaku* 夕, the present-day Western pitch *a* – this starting position is shown circled and labelled 1. Since we know the fretting of the lute, all frets and the open string for the III-string are therefore determined. After checking the harmony (*xiāngshēng/aioi* 相生) with the lower tone in fourth (“generating”) relationship, the next step (labelled 2) starts from the open string of the thus just fixed string, equating the pitch at this position as “unison” *dô-on* 同音 to that on the fourth fret of the lowest string, continuing to tune through steps 3 to 4 until all strings are tuned. This procedure is standard, and remains the standard way of instructing about tuning throughout the notational repertory for *biwa* over time.

Since, in contrast to the “normal” repertory for *biwa* we have here 12 different tuning instructions for 12 scales, all in the *gōng* mode, some first calendrical clues can be observed. The differing tuning instructions for the sixth and the first lunar months (Figures 9a and 9b), with *a* and *e* respectively as a final, result in one Western translation (Figure 9c) with the same absolute pitches for the open strings and consequently for all frets. The tuning procedures to obtain the tuning, however, are different, each procedure clearly putting weight on the focal pitches of the “mode-key”. This is further supported by the Tuning

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6 This collection of tunings and tuning pieces in the facsimile scroll *Fushiminomiya-bon biwa-fu* 伏見宮本琵琶譜 (Shoryôbu, 1964) are the only part of the scroll to be attributed to transmission from the Táng lute master Lián Chêngwû 廉承武 (Nelson, 2001, p. 1) and hence datable to a Táng date (838). I wish here and now to officially correct in writing my wrong attribution of 32 years ago of the entirety of the *Fushiminomiya-bon biwa-fu* to the author of the *Biwa sho-chôshi-hon* (Wolpert, 1977): *mea maxima culpa*.

7 “Mode-key is used in Music from the Tang Court and in related writings to reflect the Táng Chinese- and, from this, also the early Japanese - system of modal nomenclature, which gives separate names to identical modes in differing keys”. (Markham, 2002, footnote 4).
Figure 9: Tuning the biwa through internal references:
Sixth (línzhōng = a) and first (taicū = e) lunar months.
Pieces (絃合) for the two. First, only positions that are actually used in the tuning-process occur in the Tuning Pieces. Secondly, for the Tuning Piece in the key of linzhōng/rinshō the final a and the upper fifth e are pivotal; for the Tuning Piece in the key of taicū, the final e and the lower fourth b are the determining pitches.

Since Sango yōroku does not use the calendrical tunings in the bulk of its notations, not much interest has been shown in these tunings and their implications. Furthermore, later compendia such as Sango chûroku 三五中錄, compiled in the Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333) by Fujiwara no Takatoki 藤原孝時, have been seen primarily as copies of Fujiwara no Moronaga’s work, not as (re-)sources for the development (or re-development) of the tradition. Neither their political significance at the time of compilation, nor their value as a resource for Japanese historical re-interpretation of a “glorious past” has yet been adequately estimated.8

A rather obscure small fragmentary manuscript without title, held as part of a Kikutei-ke monjo 菊亭家文書 in the Heian Museum (平安博物館), Kyôtô, answers some of our questions about how the calendrical transposition was perceived in practical terms by the recipients of the tradition – and about 500 years after the completion of the Yuèshū 育書. The small manuscript was in a very fragile condition at the time we examined it in the Heian Museum in Kyôtô in 1980 (Markham, Picken, and Wolpert, 1988, p. 203). Its importance was clear to us when we wrote a first examination of the contents in 1988, but we can now see clearly the political motivation for claiming the “golden ages” both of the Táng and of the early and mid Heian by the anonymous author from the divided Northern and Southern Courts period, the Nanbokuchô-jidai 南北朝時代 period (1336 to 1392).

The little manuscript, although missing parts through tears and the activity of paper-eating insects and larvae (as Laurence Picken would have put it), can be well reconstructed, since, as we have shown in 1988, it relies on the text of Sango yōroku for its definition of the tunings. Indeed, it uses verbatim the internal tuning instructions from Sango yōroku (loc. cit., pp. 198-199). However, the pieces notated in the calendrical tunings, are not taken from Sango yōroku: they may well be 14th-century realisations from the instructions in Sango yōroku.

The first piece in calendrical tuning in the manuscript is the “Quick” kyú 急 of the historically and ritually important Goshôraku 五常樂 (Figure 10). The author of the manuscript has chosen to tune the biwa for the first lunar month, which places the final on taicu/taizoku, in Western pitch on e. This choice will turn out to be quite revealing.

The same piece in Sango yōroku is listed under mode-key hyōjô 平調 tuning (and key), a yüu mode (Church-Dorian note-set) on final e (Figure 11). It is immediately obvious that both intabulations share the same final, something that makes the musical process of re-writing already quite comfortable. Furthermore, the intervalllic spacing of the strings for the first lunar month tuning and for that for hyōjô are internally identical – they are tuned in fourths (see Figure 12) – although the process of coming to the two tunings is very different. Sango yōroku’s author explains, in his discussion of “older” tunings and

8 Yâng Yuánzhēng’s 楊元鋒 doctoral thesis (2008) is a notable exception, however, in that it examines in detail the polite-philosophical manipulation of historicising materials in the “re-”resurrection of musical genres during the Tokugawa period in Japan.

9 All transnotations and transtabulations are computer-generated with BiwaPrinter (2010).
in justification of his choice of tuning, that the absolute placement in a range from a low $F\#$ to $a$ is from several technical points of view the best on the instrument. Nevertheless, changing the tuning even by a fourth downwards has shifted some weight in the piece. Notably the octave leaps – something very typical in pieces in hyōjō – are not present in the Nambokuchō manuscript (Figure 13).

Looking through the choices made by the author of the Kikuteike monjo for his example pieces in calendrical tuning, we note that he gives examples for three lunar months only; for the first month (three examples, all taken from hyōjō), for the eighth month (nanlű/nanryō, final $b$), and for the fourth month (zhōnglű/chûryo, final $g$). The pieces chosen for the first and eighth month all end on the same final as those in Sango yōroku, that is on final $e$ or final $b$, respectively. The piece for the fourth month in the Kikuteike monjo, “Martial Virtue” Wûdē yuè/Butokuraku 武德樂, is preserved in Sango yōroku in the mode-key yīyuè-diaò/ichikotsu-chô 壹越調, a mixolydian note-set on final $d$, a shāng 商 mode. Since the intervals between the strings in Sango yōroku (A–d–e–a) and in Kikuteike monjo (D–G–B–e) are not the same, the fingerings required to play the piece are consequently also completely unrelated. These differences become therefore also more visible in the
(a) Tuning used in main corpus of Sango-yóroku (maki 8: Hiyójo 平調)

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(b) Tuning used in Kikutei-ke monjo (same as in Sango-yóroku maki 1)

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</table>

Figure 12: Comparing the fingering positions used in Sango-yóroku and in the (presumably) re-written tablature in Kikutei-ke monjo.
combined transnotation and transtabulation (Figure 13) and show the change of character through transposition of the piece.

Our listings of calendrical tunings and the transpositions applied following these tunings appear to be a “harking back” and overlaying of ritual on material that was unlikely ever transposed in that way in China. We should not forget that the pípá never was an instrument of yăyuè in China, or put differently, much of what we call gagaku would never have had a chance to be classified as yăyuè in Táng China. The transpositions described in Yuèshū yaòlù were intended for yăyuè. It was perhaps unfortunate that some of the 28 tunings used for entertainment and popular music had names that invited a mixing-up. In our considerations we left out the transpositions notated in the Kamakura compendium Sango chūroku for precisely these reasons: the transpositions in Sango chūroku are based on these 28 tunings, and not on the theoretical expositions taken from Yuèshū yaòlù. It is, however, most intriguing to see these modal theoretical transpositions translated onto an instrument, and then applied to the music notated for that instrument. Whether this is another type of courtiers’ entertainment, such as the application of rhythmical variants and modes in performance, or whether it is another instance of political capital being made at a time of need for self-esteem we can only guess.

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Conceptualising musical space for ritual “Afterlife Music” in early Japanese Buddhist liturgy

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Soteriological ritual in Pure Land Buddhism of Heian (794-1192) to Kamakura and Nambokuchô (1192-1392) Japan includes formalised visualisation techniques, deathbed practices, and sung liturgies based both on scripture-based belief in Amida Buddha’s promise of rebirth in his paradise and on scripture-based visual imagery of the Pure Land itself. Ceremonies centred on heightened readings of set sermons on the Pure Land are punctuated by Sino-Japanese hymns familiar from standard ritual and liturgical practice. However, and specially, they also embrace vernacular “paradise” songs overlaid on borrowed courtly melodies: indeed such ceremonies attempt to create a Pure Land the devout can inhabit for a while on earth in anticipation of and as practice for the day they themselves will be personally welcomed by Amida and his heavenly entourage of musicians and dancers. And musical sources from the time document the musical space these songs inhabit and move in in terms (used as technical musical terms) that apparently overlap with structural concepts in other classes of mental and plastic activity as well as with concepts of graded merit-based rebirth. I expand here on this speculative interpretation and also argue that the conception of partitioned musical space these sources suggest and the musical theorising their terminology represents resonate too with the thinking evidently required of musicians involved in the ritual calendrical transposition discussed in another paper in this volume (Wolpert 2009).

It is perhaps easy for us to forget that at the stage of gagaku research 25 years ago we were very excited by what now seems a very straightforward discovery (Markham 1983/2009a). Via the twelfth-century saibara "Drovers’ Songs” repertory of Japanese court song – specifically, via instrumental accompaniments for the song Ise no umi “By the sea at Ise”, taken together with the instrumental melody of an item of tôgaku “Tang Music” called Jusuiraku no ha 草翠楽, part of a “Gathering kingfisher feathers” dance-suite (Markham 1983/2009b, pp. 168-175) – we were confronted with what for then was a startling fact: pairs of melodies from different repertories of early vocal and instrumental gagaku, from repertories generally thought to be mutually exclusive, are

1 While Laurence Picken (1977) reported briefly on the discovery somewhat earlier, it was Allan Marett (1986) who explicitly set out its significance for the historical musicology of early East Asia.
actually true couples established via *contrafactum* or intabulation. In each pair, one is a version of the other. Items of instrumental *tôgaku* or of instrumental *komagaku* “Korean Music” matched with *saibara* songs in treatises and other sources by the term *dô-on* 同音 “same sound” – “same rhyme” in some contexts in early poetry treatises, “same note” in instructions for instrumental tunings (Wolpert 2009) – turned out to be not merely pairs of items complementing each other appropriately in a performance program, as had been suggested by some. Rather, these instrumental and vocal pieces are explicitly coupled in the sources (Markham 1983/2009b, pp. 191-192) first and foremost, it seemed, because they share the “same melody”, as we then translated *dô-on*, one having borrowed from the other at some stage. That the paired pieces are in different modes, in different keys, or in both different modes and different keys with different finals a fifth (or fourth) or a major second apart were all brushed over. So vital seemed the newly recognised identity of the melodies, that we hammered this home in publications by even transposing one to the final of the other (Markham 1983/2009b, pp. 196-214), blissfully oblivious of what now seems to have been an important aesthetic of the day – the conscious relishing of the familiar at another pitch level or in another modal surround.

**Contrafactum**

The “borrowing” principle of making a *contrafactum* – in Robert Falck’s classic definition (Falck 1979), the fitting of a new text to an already existing melody – is widespread across time and cultures. An instrumental dance-tune may be given words, a new song-text set to an old song-tune, or a sacred text might replace a secular one. And the principle of intabulation, the adaptation (Wolpert 1979) and carrying-over of a vocal melody into an instrumental repertory – at the time the European term comes from, via the latter’s written idiom, tablature – is, in a sense, but another way of making of a *contrafactum*. In an article on the part played by *contrafactum* in the importing of continental music to Elizabethan England, and on its significance for the influence of continental poetic styles and musicopoetic relations on English poetry and song, “The Elizabethan lyric as contrafactum: Robert Sidney’s ‘French Tune’ identified”, Gavin Alexander (2003) states:

> The English contrafactum holds a particular interest because in its courtly guise it is most often an act of translation—of the music of a foreign tradition and, usually, the words of another language. And yet it has too infrequently been recognised that, in those cases where the model is not only a tune but a song, the contrafactum responds not just to the rhythms and contours of the music, but to the words of the song, and to the music’s representation of those words. The contrafactum has not therefore been appreciated as the site of a particularly sophisticated kind of imitatio that holds many different aims in ratio. (Alexander 2003, p. 379)

For Japan, too, borrowing “of the music of a foreign tradition” from the early continental East Asian courts and temples was of considerable consequence for the development of musical forms, of song, and of music-poetry symbiosis. However, whether in temple or in “courtly guise”, borrowed and borrower typically belong to musical traditions created in environments of orally-transmitted performance practice. And even where musical notation enters this picture early on, a conscious “act of translation” of a specific item from one or
other tradition may meet with and sweep up the oral. Indeed, an early Japanese musical notation of a *contrafactum* may comprise an assemblage of oral and written systems that simultaneously reference the model, and the *contrafactum*’s appropriation of this model.

Alexander suggests that for the Elizabethan and Jacobean repertories the *contrafactum* offers a way “for thinking about how the use of pre-existent poetic or musical form cannot avoid encountering and responding to the residues of previous occupants.” (Alexander 2003, p. 401) For some time now (Markham 2004a, 2006; Markham and Wolpert 1996), I have been taking an approach something like this to thinking about evidence, including written-down “oral” evidence, for the communicative musical workings of a particular instance of notated *contrafactum* in early Japan. The *contrafacta* I am interested in are two sets of vernacular Buddhist songs in mode-key *hyōjô*平調, a dorian series on E; one set known either as *Rakuhô ka-ei*楽邦歌詠, “Songs in praise of Paradise”, or as *Gokuraku shôga*, “Melodies of Paradise” – more accurately, “Paradise *shôga*”, where *shôga*極楽唱歌 indicates a specific sung mnemonic practice I shall come back to; the other set called *Saihôraku*, “Music of the Western Paradise”. These two Buddhist song-sets borrow their melodies respectively from instrumental pieces of the Chinese *tôgaku* repertory, and from Japanese songs of the *saibara* repertory. They were sung during a liturgy compiled in the early twelfth century, the *Junshi ôjô kôshiki*, “Ceremony for a Reading on Successive Rebirth in Paradise”, a distinctive ritual-type based on vocal performance in sections of a fixed lecture or sermon (Gülberg 1993, 1999). Each section typically ends with one or more hymns of the standard Sino-Japanese hymn-type, *kada*, but this particular “Ceremony for a Reading” is further adorned at section-ends and in its framing rites by items – typically one each – from the two sets of “paradise” *contrafacta*. The liturgy centres on the belief of the Pure Land form of Buddhism that the compassionate Amida Buddha will come to personally welcome and escort to his wondrous Paradise in the West all who merely intone his name, even if only on their deathbed.

During the late tenth to thirteenth centuries, this scripture-based belief was especially strong in Japan, and it gave rise not only to depictions in painting (Figure 1 (Anon 1997)), sculpture, and the literary and musical arts, but also to death-bed rituals aimed to assist the dying in visualising this joyous coming. Indeed, dying blissfully was so essential that one prepared and rehearsed for the day (Stone 2004): codified meditative techniques for visualisation were practised; and popular theatrical enactments of the Amida’s coming with his heavenly multitude of musicians and dancers, involving parishioners from all walks of life were played in temple precincts–joyful but equally earnest equivalents of the more lugubrious *Totentänze* in medieval Europe I have suggested elsewhere (Markham 2006, p. 57). Descendants of these theatrical rituals are still performed today in a number of temples in Japan. And so it is against a backdrop of virtual participation in Paradise in a court-clergy-and-popular mix that the “Ceremony for a Reading on Successive Rebirth in Paradise” with its *contrafacta* is set. For such ceremonies also attempted to create a Pure Land the devout could inhabit for a while on earth in anticipation of day they would themselves be welcomed to the Paradise the songs sing of, their rebirth there in lotuses on a jewelled-pond graded according to merit in nine possible ranks (three sets of three) (Figure 2).
Figure 1: Detail from Amida shōju raigō-zu 阿弥陀聖衆来迎図 “Descent of Amida and the Heavenly Multitude” (mid-12th century, Mt. Kōya).
And widening the frame of the intertextual experience even further, before their reuse in this context – and as we know from our “paired ‘same melody’ pieces” discovery of 25 years ago – some of the melodies had already passed through several stages of borrowing, or of successive double occupancy, to remain with Alexander’s imagery. In their new garb, they represent second or third generation contrafacta: before being taken over to carry Japanese Buddhist song-texts, they may have lived prior lives – and indeed then continued to live on – as both instrumental items-with-dance and Sino-Japanese Buddhist hymns, or as both dance-melodies and secular court songs.

**An aesthetic of “doubleness” (LaMarre 2000)**

As might well be expected, melodic and poetic debt to former occupants as laid out by Alexander for the Elizabethan lyric is most readily apparent in the set of Buddhist songs set to share the tunes of, and actually stated in their notated source (Shinma et al. 1984b) to be “patterned on”, courtly saibara songs; for as far as language and verse-form go, vernacular song is simply switched for vernacular song.
And in a world in which poetry and poetry competitions delighted in and relied on a poetic aesthetic of \textit{wakan} 和漢 “Japanese-Chinese” “doubleness” (Lamarre 2000), and in which the vocal arts were called upon for reciting and singing this poetry, it may be imagined that the evocative power of allusion to a song well-known, itself perhaps a re-garbing of an instrumental melody well-heard, was an evocative power relished also in the play of musical minds then at court and in temple, as Zeami’s \textit{Noh} 能 until today calls upon the imaginations of a cultivated audience for its creation from what Shelly Fenno Quinn (2005) calls an “echo-chamber of allusion” – allusion both to remembered poetry, and via imagined sonic recall, to remembered poetic prosody.

Calling of performer and listener into this world of doubleness rests, I would like to suggest, on a conscious exploiting of Alexander’s “residues of former inhabitants” on a site purposely created for the imagination to associate and delight in an “echo chamber” of reverberating melodic mottos and mode-keys. Perhaps here we are beginning to appreciate something of the intellectual gaming with variegated modal colour, and something of the skill – and evidently sensuous ravishment – of adding appropriate graces according to the finely-tuned rules of obligatory modal ornamentation, both of which must have been involved in the to and fro cross-genre and cross-instrument-and-voice borrowings of these melody-pairs. As too, we now see, in the to and fro transferring of melodies from mode-key to mode-key within individual repertories - in the practice of fashioning the so-called \textit{watashimonon} 渡物, literally “things carried across”, or “pieces transposed” (from one mode-key to another). And, here we may have a direct line, it seems, to the practice, theoretical or practical, of calendrical ritual transposition discussed by Rembrandt Wolpert (2009), where surely the same sort of conceptualisations, effects – and \textit{Affekten}, too – must have been in play?

\begin{flushleft}
\textit{Saibara} \\
催馬楽 \\
“Drovers’ Songs”

\textit{Ise no umi no} \\
kiyoki nagisa ni \\
shiogai ni \\
nanoriso ya tsumamu \\
kai ya hirowamu ya \\
tama ya hirowamu ya

\textit{By the sea at Ise} \\
on the clean shore \\
when the tide turns \\
picking seaweed, \\
let us gather shells \\
let us gather \\
pearls.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Saibhraku} \\
西方楽 \\
“Music of the Western Paradise”

\textit{Ruri no chi no} \\
kodachi medeta ya \\
takara no ya \\
ike no hamagoto ni \\
tama ya hirowamu ya \\
tama ya hirowamu ya

\textit{On the lapis lazuli ground} \\
auspicious the \\
jewel-trees; \\
at Treasure \\
Lake on all shores, \\
let us gather pearls \\
let us gather pearls.
\end{flushright}
Within the enclosed total pitch-space of the modal system of the day at both court and temple, well-loved melodies – or formulae associated “motto”-like with well-loved melodies – criss-cross through the mode-keys (Figure 3). Authentic and plagal forms of mode-keys are themselves nested in the overall system in relationships of, once again, coinhabited species of stacked fourths and fifths. The stacking offers note sets whose various interrelated modal aspects “echo” through pitch-space – all well exploited, we “read” now in the melodies we have preserved in notation. Just as for Alexander’s Elizabethan repertory, then, *contrafactum* emerges here as a sophisticated principle, a practice far from being an easy way to increase repertory, far from a compensation for items fallen out of practice, say, and more than an attractive pairing for a concert program.

**Overlaying early shôga**

While there is much here for us in terms of translating, transferring, transposing, and so on, it is the other set of Buddhist *contrafacta*, those that share their melodies with *tôgaku* pieces, that, through documented dual “oral” and “written” personalities of its members (Markham 2006), has emerged as perhaps most importantly situated at a crucial crossroad in the charting of modal understanding and thinking of the time, and in the plotting of graphic abstraction of these mental concepts to support musical performance.

These songs as known in 13th-15th century neumatic notations (Figure 4 (Shinma et al. 1984a) and Figure 11 (Enju 1284)), and true to their alternative naming as *Gokuraku shôga*, “Paradise shôga”, appropriate their tune models from instrumental *tôgaku* directly via the oral tradition of sung *shôga* mnemonics; a remarkable writing-down in 1229 (Fujiwara no Takamichi 1229) of complete sequences of *shôga*-syllables (Figure 5) for
Figure 4: Manzairaku from Rakuhō ka-ei “Songs in praise of Paradise” (14th century).

Figure 5: Fujiwara no Takamichi’s 藤原孝道 shōga for Manzairaku from Chikoku hishō 知園秘釈 (1229): “minimal” syllabary embedded in a metric grid marked out by mensural notation (binary-unit markers) and notated percussion ostinato.
two of the borrowed instrumental melodies has let us into this (Markham 2004b, 2006; Wolpert 2004).

Early shōga-syllabaries, we now know (Markham 2006), are sung solmisation-like mnemonics that operate with a minimal vowel-inventory of two vowels only – a and i, mapped onto a metric grid, and coordinated with a tune model and the performer’s modal understanding. This shōga was not for rote learning and off-by-heart memorisation, nor was it instrument specific as are the fully-blown four-and five-vowel modern equivalents it spawned. Rather, it has emerged (Markham 2005, 2007) as a general-purpose, solmisation-like steering system for grammatically profiling an acquired melody, for performance via understanding (Knudsen 2007): a medieval performer was required to think dynamically in her mode-key as she negotiated a melody she had internalized. Shōga functioned in transmission of instrumental tunes by modally profiling underlying base-melodies – or tune models – seemingly in such a way that a performer who understood the modal system would be supported in learning, rehearsal, and then in recall and reconstruction in performance.

The second set of songs, then, comprises contrafacta of sung mnemonic syllabaries for instrumental tunes: their Buddhist song-texts are directly overlaid syllable for syllable on shōga-solmisation syllables; and the neumatic notations by which we know this melodic condition of the songs apparently correspond to – if not even directly orientate themselves to – the mnemonics.

**Early shōga: some principles**
To repeat some proposed shōga principles:

![Figure 6: Hyōjō and “spatial units”](image)

Key:
- hollow noteheads = pentationic basis
- filled noteheads = auxiliaries (bian)

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1 I must note here that these principles have been proposed gradually in papers and at a number of colloquia and conferences and are being refined as our study goes on. In fact, collaborative work in progress (Markham and Wolpert n.d.) already suggests that, for the time of Takamichi’s shōga, the underlying pentatonic basis suggested (Figures 6, 7, and 8) was in flux and may have shifted weight such that, in melodic decent, the auxiliaries (the bian) of the original Sino-Japanese mode (shown here as lower fillers in the proposed spatial units) were absorbed into the support structure itself, the notes immediately above them (upper fillers here) relegated to auxiliaries in their stead.
Early melodies in *hyōjō* move through discrete divisions of its dorian modal octave on *E* (Figure 6 (Maiani 2000; Markham 2006)).

Early *shōga* – at the stage of development for which we have it written-down – distributes the two vowels it uses (vowel *a* and vowel *i*) consistently over principal divisions, or “spatial units” (Maiani 2000), in the modal octave of its melody, each necessarily in multiple slots (Figure 7), and possibly as determined according to David Hughes’ (2000) influential thesis of an acoustic-iconic relation between vowel quality and melodic function and directionality in the *shōga*’s modern descendants. units” (Maiani 2000), in the modal octave of its melody, each necessarily in multiple slots (Figure 7), and possibly as determined according to David Hughes’ (2000) influential thesis of an acoustic-iconic relation between vowel quality and melodic function and directionality in the *shōga*’s modern descendants.

Relatively long and loud vowel *a* (in boldface syllables) correlates with the corner-stones of melodic structure, with the hierarchically stable bounding notes of the overarching spatial units.

Within the bounds of spatial units,
- high vowel *i* correlates with fillers or upper fillers in spatial units;
- low vowel *a*, on the other hand, correlates with the “lower” unit fillers, slotted in consistently beneath high vowel *i*, appropriately for “low” unit fillers, according to Hughes’ vowel-to-pitch principle for acoustic-iconic *shōga* nowadays, that is.

*shōga* also embeds temporal information and specific guides for modal ornamentation (Figure 8), which, although both vital for navigating through a melody, need not concern us here.

For the neumated *contrafacta*, this underlying medieval solmisation-like system, then, maps out how vocal melodies – as Brad Maiani (2000) has put for early Communion melodies in
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the Gregorian Chant tradition – “treat the musical space they inhabit” by moving “through discrete divisions of a modal octave” to articulate their song-texts. The neumes respond, it has been argued (Markham 2006), as modally articulate graphic equivalents to sung shôga-solmisation.

Mental maps and visual imagery for pitch-space
One of our early sources in neumatic notation for the Paradise shôga (Enju 1284)² also includes a telling graphic representation of the mental map of total pitch-space for the songs, a mental map carried in the head of the singer using the notation (Figure 9). Such mnemonic drawings of mental constructs lay out the basic elements of the neumatic writing system, namely, the notational strokes used to cover musical space used over the set of songs as a whole, and are actually called hakase-zu “neume maps”. The strokes themselves, devised originally to accommodate a pentatonic structure, are then through-glossed doubly (and even triply) with pitch information, namely, with an “inner” system of relative-pitch names for a pentatonic basis, with flute-tablature signs for a full heptatonic scale, and with an “outer” complement again of relative-pitch names, but used there to distinguish the auxiliary pitches, perforce required to “share” strokes with members of the inner pentatonic basis.

² Here I wish to thank Saitô Kôen for introducing me to this source held under his care at Raigôin, Ôhara, in the summer of 2001, for his most helpful discussion of the manuscript, and for allowing me then a photographic copy.
“authentic”
focus

“plagal”
focus

Figure 9: “Neume map” for “Paradise shōga” (1284).

Figure 10: “Tiered” (jiù 𨨲) food box.
Even taken alone just as it stands, as a static representation of a defined pitch-space, and for our purposes right here not as a template (Bray 2007a,b) for the writing or vocalising of full neumes, this “map” too suggests melodic conception as we propose from the shôga to which the neumations for our Pure Land songs necessarily respond. That is to say, and has been argued elsewhere (Markham 2006), it too points to a conception of pitch-space as divided up in discrete spatial units (Figure 9), each bounded top and bottom by structural notes of the mode (both delimiters matched by shôga vowel a, seemingly vital for demarcating these divisions in hyôjô, we recall). Within conceptual spatial units, it may distinguish filler-notes contextually as upper or lower, or rising or falling in actual melody (matched apparently according to Hughes’ vowel-order by shôga-vowels i and a respectively); and its spatially divided pitch-space is now further profiled as overlapping “authentic” and “plagal” focuses, named in musical terminology elsewhere, as we shall see, according to the lower bounding note of their distinguishing fourth or fifth.

But inside this same source, in glosses to individual neumes for individual syllables of Pure Land song-texts, we encounter several times the visual imagery, widely used by the 13th and 14th centuries as a musical term for compartmentalised pitch-space, of a lexigraph 亝 pang read as jû, a lexigraph literally layered in technical meanings from usage in other domains, but used practically too for a “level”, or “tier” – as in the tiers of a traditional building, a tiered pagoda, say, or in a tiered food box (Figure 10).

And, in addition, in the neumation of the one but final song of the liturgy (Figure 11 and Figure 12), set appropriately to the borrowed instrumental tôgaku melody Goshôraku no kyû, homonym for Goshôraku the “Quick” movement of “Five Virtues Music” which via another homonym Goshôraku (Goshôraku) gives us “Afterlife Music”, we find, as glosses, specifications of upper and lower parts of ranges or “tiers”, along with the use of another technical musical term, hennon 艶音, literally “change tone”. Although usually equated with “modulation” it is perhaps more helpful (if less elegant) for us to take this latter term as indicating a “change of lower bounding note” – with its implicit association of shifting tonal focus up or down among the stacked fourths and fifths of our enclosed pitch-space.

Taking the one with the other

When worked together with the neume-map, then, these technical snippets as glosses to specific neumes seem to suggest:

- First, that melody is indeed conceived of hierarchically in range and “spatial units”, the units seemingly imagined as piled up, one on top of the other, categorised as overlapping upper, lower, and probably too, middle ranks – although the last is not actually specified by name in this particular source – and in one or other “authentic” or “plagal” range.

- Secondly, that within this hierarchical division of musical space, moving in song to and fro between the magnetically strong structural bounding notes of individual spatial units, and moving from one spatial unit to another are both significant and, I would like to suggest, somatic. Cued by the hierarchically poled shôga that lies beneath, and by the modally articulate graphics of neumes themselves, moving in melody may be also
Figure 11: Goshôraku no kyû 後生楽急 from the Gokuraku shôga 極楽声歌 “Paradise shôga” (1284): Hennon 変音 marked for “tiered” lower (下) and upper (上) musical space for ｙゆ (first syllable in third column (from right)) and for か ka (sixth syllable in third column).

Figure 12: Goshôraku no kyû 後生樂急 “Afterlife music” (Figure 11): “changing” (hennon) to – and back from – a lower spatial unit (bracketed bold-note section), by shifting tonal focus (of spatial unit) from lower bounding note ｅ over opening section), down to lower bounding note ｂ (over bracketed section), and then via octave ｂ-b' leap back up to ｅ (over closing section).
additionally marked in writing by technical terminology, notably by the term *hennon* (Figure 11) for stipulating “change” from the lower bounding note of one spatial unit to another. Thus imagined as straining up to an upper bounding note or sinking to a lower one within the space of a single unit, or when “changing” (Figure 12), as each time newly entering a discrete unit with a different rank and tonal focus, melody surely becomes also bodily “feelable” in the vocalising mechanisms of the singer, in the listening minds of the congregation?

• Finally, and very speculatively, that if in a recent study of a post-funerary rite in present-day Nepal, ethnomusicologist Richard Widdess (2006) was able to concretely demonstrate interrelationships between musical structure in performance of a stick-dance played and danced around urban space, itself conceived of as a mandala, and broader cultural-religious constructs, including cosmological concepts and visual and architectural forms of mandala and pagoda, then perhaps it would not be too far fetched to begin taking our medieval singer’s static neume-maps – graphics for his mental constructs of spatially divided pitch-space – and their evidently dynamic application in his analytical thinking-in-performance in these same hierarchic terms, and linking them with the broader cultural-religious context of *his* songs.

These Pure Land songs on borrowed court melodies, translated for temple use via *shôga* – possibly partly via acoustic-iconic principles of the *shôga* syllables – and sung as they are in the context of a Pure Land liturgy on rebirth, are perhaps remarkable, not at all for an early date, say, but for their special circumstances of cohabitation and integration that resulted in, or even required, multiple elucidation of their conceptual workings in musical units, musical units graded in pitch-space in tiers – as are the devout when joyously reborn in graded lotus flowers on the jewelled-pond in front of Amida’s heavenly dais (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Tiers and grades, plastic and mental.
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THE CASE OF JULIA B. MATEER

Protestant Missionaries and School Music Education in Late Qing China

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Even before Shen Xingong and Zeng Zhimin published their well-known anthology of ‘school songs’ in 1904, there were experiments in Western-style school music teaching in China. During the 19th century, foreign missionaries set up mission schools in various parts of the country, and introduced congregational singing and Christian hymns, as well as specific musical skills such as sight reading, voice training, organ and piano playing. This article focuses on the pedagogical efforts of one particular missionary, the American Presbyterian Julia B. Mateer (1837-1898), a warm-hearted and devoted pioneer in this field, who (together with her husband) led a boys’ school in coastal Shandong. Missionaries like Julia Mateer helped to lay an important foundation for the future development of music education in China.¹

The story of Western-style school music teaching in China, as it is usually told by music historians, educators and ethnomusicologists in both China and the West, begins with Shen Xingong 沈心工 (1870-1947) and Zeng Zhimin 曾志忞 (1879-1929), more specifically with their forming of the Society for the Study of Music in Tokyo in November 1902 (Wu, 1996: 123; Ma, 2002: 13-14). Zeng’s anthology, Jiaoyu changge ji 教育唱歌集 (Anthology of Educational Songs), first issued in Tokyo in April 1904, and Shen’s Xuexiao change ji 學堂唱歌集 (Anthology of School Songs), published a month later in Shanghai and subsequently enjoying a wide circulation, are generally considered the first of the new “school songs” 學堂樂歌(xuetang yuege) (Zhang, 1987: 133-39; Wu, 1996: 276-77; Gild, 1998: 119).²

This story suffers from one major defect, however: it ignores earlier experiments in school song composing and music teaching. These experiments deserve to be considered in

¹ Author’s note: I would like to thank the Unitec Research Office for funding this research. I am grateful to Dr David Cooke, Duncan M. Campbell and the two anonymous reviewers for their critiques and suggestions for revision. I am indebted to Professor Sun Jinan of the Shandong Arts College for making a copy of Julia Mateer’s music primer for me.

² For a musicological study of the “xuetang yuege”, see Qian (2001). For a historical study of the rise of the school song singing in China, see Han (1981: 9-28). For a recent study in English, see Micic (1999).
their own right as well as in terms of their contribution to late Qing school music education. The initiators of these earlier experiments were foreign missionaries working in various parts of China. Prior to China’s crushing defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the subsequent inclusion of singing in the Qing court’s decree for primary schools for girls in 1907, Christian missionaries were the main, if not the only, sources of Chinese knowledge of Western music. Christian hymn singing in particular played a major role in the introduction and gradual dissemination of Western music in China. It was responsible for introducing and popularising a new form of singing in China: congregational singing. This new form added a new dimension to the musical life of the Chinese “besides their operas and folksongs” (Ch’en, 1979: 119). By introducing hymn singing in the schools they established, the missionaries also laid the foundation for the future development of music education in China.

The missionaries were also responsible for the introduction of a new way of learning music. Music as a means of edification, personal cultivation, and political governance has always occupied an important place in Chinese cultural life since ancient times (DeWoskin, 1982; Xiu, 1997). But the usual Chinese teaching routine had always been characterised by rote learning. With the founding of missionary schools in the late 1830s, knowledge and skill of music began to be imparted in classrooms rather than the traditional way of oral transmission. Music in the mission schools and colleges in late nineteenth century China represents an important but little studied phase in the history of music education in China. Music instruction was important in most of the mission schools, which offered instruction in sight reading, voice training, organ and piano playing. These schools remained important until the turn of the twentieth century when the discourses and practice of public education became an integral aspect of early twentieth-century nation-building and modernizing reforms implemented by the Qing dynasty as a means of strengthening China.4

To be sure, a number of Chinese scholars have referred to the missionary beginnings of school music education in China (Tao, 1994; Wu, 1996). However, apart from some all too brief mention of music courses at the Morrison Education Society School in Hong Kong and the Ningbo Boys School, there is little concrete study on how and what music was taught at missionary schools.5 It is worthwhile in this context to carry out some micro-studies of how, when, where, and why the China missionaries played a role in the beginning of China’s modern musical education. Focusing on the pedagogical efforts of a nineteenth-century American Presbyterian, Julia B. Mateer (1837-1898) in the last three and a half decades of the nineteenth century, this paper argues for reconsidering a somewhat forgotten part of Chinese musical life. The primary sources investigated here are a musical primer she wrote in Chinese and used as a teaching text at her school, the Dengzhou Boys’ School, from the mid 1860s to her death in 1898, and a speech she delivered at the Second Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China in Shanghai in 1896.

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3 A number of Chinese scholars have identified 1839 as the year in which music was first introduced in mission schools in China. See Wu (1996: 311, 345); Sun (2000: 1); Wang (1999: 19-20).

4 For a study of education and nation-building in early twentieth century China, see Bailey (1990).

5 In a recent article, Southcott and Lee (2008) have studied missionaries and the use of Tonic Sol-fa method in nineteenth century China. But their focus is not on school music.
Hong-yu Gong: Protestant Missionaries and School Music Education

Because of her Christian background and alleged cultural imperialism (e.g. introducing Western notation and promoting a Western way of teaching music), in current scholarship, Julia Mateer has not received the attention that she deserves. In the few biographical accounts available, she is justifiably depicted as a warm-hearted mother figure and a dedicated teacher who had done much to contribute to the early introduction of Western knowledge to China (Mateer, 1912; Zhu, 1913: 11-14; Hyatt, 1976: 139-90). In two recent studies, she is credited for her dedication to music teaching, expertise in Western music, sympathetic attitude toward China’s indigenous musical tradition, and pioneering role in the rise of China’s school song movement (Sun, 2006; Liu, 2006). Missing from this picture is a critical examination of the complicated nature of Julia B. Mateer’s contribution and the motives and historical consequences of her musical activism. Although Julia Mateer’s musical activity was underpinned by her understanding of the instrumentality of music and her skilful use of music as a powerful vehicle to advance the cause of Christianity, the richness of her concrete work and broad humanitarianism defies such a simplistic interpretation.

This essay begins with a brief description of Mateer’s Christian upbringing, her educational background, and her work at the Dengzhou School, followed by a detailed examination of her teaching manual, *Xiguo yuefa qimeng* (Rudiments of Western Music). In focussing on Mateer’s contributions, it aims to personalize the contributions of missionaries, so often lumped together, and thus contributes to the ongoing process of dispelling the politically-inspired but still prevalent belief among Chinese music historians that most missionary schools contributed to “cultural annihilation.”

The third part of this essay situates Julia Mateer’s work in the context of the nineteenth-century Protestant hymnbook compilation, discussing what were in effect the problems of designing and producing music teaching materials. By focusing on the many dialogues, experiments and negotiations that occurred in the process of intercultural exchange, this part highlights the importance of unravelling the complex relationship between missionary utilitarianism, indigenous tradition and individual agency in a particular historical context. The fourth part analyses Mateer’s attitude toward China’s musical traditions and her teaching approach with particular reference to her use of Chinese materials in her teaching. The conclusion draws the themes discussed in the essay together in a tentative reflection on some of the broad issues of nationalism and missionary education and acculturation.

**Julia B. Mateer: Background and the Dengzhou School**

Born on a quiet farm near Delaware, Ohio, on 6 July 1837, Julia Ann Brown, later known in Chinese as Di Jiulie 狄就烈, was the fourth child in a family of six. Her father, a cabinet-maker in western Pennsylvania, was a “stern” and strongly religious man who made sure that all his six children “commit the Westminster Catechism” to memory and “attend church, four miles away, whatever the weather” (Mateer, 1912: 17). Her mother, on the other hand, was a woman of warmth and affection, although no less a devoted Christian. It was likely that the principles of humanity and Christian love Julia Mateer was to exemplify in her mission work in China came from her. In the early 1830s the family had moved to the farm near Delaware, where her father became an influential figure in the neighborhood and for many years a leader in the Presbyterian Church of Delaware.
Julia Brown’s early years in the United States were not easy, nor was her early education ideal. She lost her mother at the age of seven and suffered a great deal at the hand of her stepmother. In spite of her later success in running schools for boys and girls in Shandong, her own education left much to be desired. The district school of her earlier years was by no means of the best and the two female seminaries she attended for three years afforded her little opportunities. But from very early on she showed a capacity for overcoming adversity. She also had a talent for teaching and organizing events. While in the seminary at Granville, Ohio, for example, she helped organize a literary society. Later, when she went on to teach at a country school, she assumed entire control of the school. As will be seen, all these traits were to help her in her later educational endeavours in China.

There is no evidence of Julia Brown having been formally trained in music. It was through her involvement with the Church that she developed a lifelong passion for music and gained her musical skills, having come to a recognition of its instrumental potency in evangelism. While taking an active part in the work of the Presbyterian Church she became a member of the choir and received her training in music theory and voice. It was also through her church involvements that she became engaged to Rev, Calvin W. Mateer. Dispatched by the American Presbyterian Missions (North), the Mateers embarked on their journey to China shortly after their marriage in December 1862. On 15 January 1864, they reached their destination, Dengzhou, a newly-opened port city known today as Penglai, in Shandong Province.\(^6\)

In the number of studies currently available that mentioned Julia Mateer, she was invariably referred to as an understudy to her husband Calvin W. Mateer, widely known in China as Di Kaowen (1836-1908). This is not surprising given the latter’s reputation as one of the “Three Great Pioneers” of the American Presbyterian Church’s mission field and his role as the most staunch proponent of modern education (Hyatt, 1976: 139).\(^7\) But Calvin could not have achieved his fame without the help of his wife. Irwin Hyatt, Calvin Mateer’s biographer, even goes as far as to point out that it was in fact Julia’s

\(^6\) The above biographical information is drawn from Mills (1898:218); Mateer (1912:18-31); Zhu (1913:11-13).

\(^7\) Calvin W. Mateer was a towering figure in the history of the Protestant movement in China, best known for his work as the founder of Shandong Christian University. Besides education, Mateer also had a great impact on China missions generally and his “influence permeated at the time the life and work of practically every young Protestant missionary north of Shanghai” (Hyatt, 1971: 303-04). For a critical evaluation of his life and work in Shandong, see Hyatt (1976). For a more recent treatment of Mateer in Chinese, see Shi (1990).
“ideas and hard work and psychological support” that “underlay much of what he later received credit for achieving” (1971: 306). Their joint effort in establishing the Dengzhou School for Boys, the predecessor of Shandong Christian University, is a case in point.

The Mateers founded Dengzhou School for Boys (Dengzhou menyang xuetang) in September 1864 as a six-year Christian “moulding” programme. Nominally Calvin was the principal, but in reality it was Julia who came up with the idea and started this little boarding school. Realising from very early on that she would be childless she “chose an obvious ‘foster mother’ role” while Calvin Mateer spent most of his first ten years preaching and itinerating (Hyatt, 1971: 309). Up to 1873, Julia Mateer alone ran the school and did “fully two-thirds of the work” (Hyatt, 1976: 159). Apart from teaching her students music and geography and handling their religious training, Julia Mateer busied herself with “checking food and drink, the dormitory thermometer, and many other things” (Hyatt, 1976: 170). As her student Zhu Baochen recalled fondly in 1912:

If a student’s clothing were dirty, she had it cleaned; if the clothing were torn, she had it mended. If the place were very dirty, she would supervise a cleanup. If there were sickness, she would supply medicines. When the weather was muggy, she would caution [the students] to avoid drafts ad to shun raw fruits. When it was damp, she had them sun the bedclothes. When they were dirty, she told them how they must wash; if their hair were unkempt, she told them how they must comb it. In every coming and going, in every look of distress or joy, there was nothing she did not notice and rectify (Zhu, 1913: 12. Cited and translated in Hyatt, 1976: 170).

As a vehicle to gain conversion, the school was not a success initially, enrolling only six boys from very poor families in its first year. In spite of Julia Mateer’s efforts, this situation did not improve much until 1873 when Calvin Mateer, having failed in his attempts to gain mass conversion through preaching in public and distributing tracts, decided to make education his calling and became more involved in the running of the school. With Calvin Mateer’s active involvement, the school underwent a kind of transformation. In 1877 the school was expanded to include primary and secondary departments and adopted the rather pretentious Chinese name Wen huiguan (lit., Literary Guild Hall). Five years later, in 1882, the school was reorganised again as a tertiary institute, Dengzhou College (Hyatt, 1976: 164-90), thus becoming arguably the first Christian university in China (Liu, 1960: 71-72).

Like most of the mission schools at the time, the school was set up to gain a basic hearing for the Gospel and its curriculum consisted mainly of Christian ethics and the Chinese Classics. But the Mateers supplemented “the curriculum with courses in arithmetic, geography, science, public speaking and singing” (Corbett, 1955: 15). In addition to drill in debate, orations, competition in essay writing and declarations were also established as regular features of the school early as the summer of 1867 (Mateer, 1912: 44-45). Because of their training in new learning, the graduates of the college were to play an important

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role in China’s modernisation. Of the college’s one hundred and forty-five graduates still living in 1912, writes Hyatt:

87 were teaching, 26 were in religious vocations, and 32 were engaged in a variety of other work. The teachers were by far the college’s most important product: By 1912 Tengchow [Dengzhou] graduates had held a reported 380 teaching jobs in eleven provinces and Manchuria. Three hundred and four of these positions represented mission or other Christian employment, including 103 at rural schools in Shantung [Shandong]. Among the 76 government positions were professorships at Peking Imperial (National) University, plus jobs at a variety of Chinese provincial colleges and primary, middle, higher, normal, agricultural and military schools. A total of 26 positions, or the largest concentration, had been at Ch’ing [Qing] reform-era institutions in Tsinan [Jinan] and Tientsin [Tianjin].

The 32 alumni who went into other work (not teaching or preaching) concentrated in medicine, business, and literary work, including journalism (Hyatt, 1976: 229).

The fact that music was highly emphasised from the very beginning is clearly indicated by the reminiscences of the college’s graduates (Wang and Liu, 1913: 66-72). As an integral part of the Christian ritual and part and parcel of the Christian educational package, Julia Mateer taught singing and sight-reading as a core part of the curriculum (Mateer, 1912: 71). In 1877 when the school was expanded to include primary and secondary departments, music was once again made compulsory for the primary department (Wang and Liu, 1913: 10b). Even after the school became a two-tiered institute comprising a lower five-year programme for small boys and a higher six-year college course and adopted a new uniform curriculum in 1881, music theory (yuefa 楼法) remained a compulsory component for the Preparatory Department (see Fig. 2) and singing an important feature of college life.

In addition to formal music teaching, Julia Mateer also looked for ways to stimulate the musical lives of her students, encouraging her students to use music in all school activities (Mateer, 1912: 71). Students, for example, were required to gather songs for school projects and some even composed their own songs (Hyatt, 1976: 189-90; Sun, 2006; Liu, 2006). Hymn singing at weekly meetings for Bible study also served to enhance the students’ interest in music (Wang and Liu, 1913: 66-72).

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9 The total number of graduates of the Dengzhou College (1876-1904), as cited by Hyatt, is 170. There is, however, a discrepancy between the figure provided by Hyatt, who gleaned his figure from the Alumni History of the Dengzhou College, and the figure quoted by Robert Mateer, which was 205. See Mateer (1912: 63).
Her own school aside, Julia Mateer also provided music lessons at the Dengzhou Girls’ School, which her older sister, Margaret Brown, founded at her request (Mateer, 1912). As a missionary, she was directly involved in providing music for her congregation. She taught her converts to sing popular hymns, compiled hymnbooks and trained a choir. “When the first theological class of older men met at Tengchow [Dengzhou],” recalls her brother-in-law, “she taught music and general lesson in geography” (Mateer, 1912: 135).

Julia Mateer’s reputation as an accomplished teacher of music went beyond Shandong, where she worked for thirty-four years till her death in 1898. For example, when the School and Textbook Series Committee was formed in 1877, through a resolution passed at the first General Conference of Protestant missionaries in China, she and Mrs. Williamson had the honour of being commissioned to compile a music textbook entitled Vocal and Instrumental Music (Williamson, 1878: 309). In May 1896 when the second Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China was held in Shanghai, she, along with Rev., D. Z. Sheffield and others, was nominated as a member of the publication committee with the responsibility of ensuring uniformity in terminology (Hayes, 1896: 28).

**Xiguo yuefa qimeng (Shengshi pu)**

Regarded as one of the first music textbooks for Chinese schoolchildren (Tao, 1994: 163), Julia Mateer’s Xiguo yuefa qimeng 西國樂法啓蒙 (Rudiments of Western Music), also known as Yuefa qimeng 樂法啓蒙 (Rudiments of Music), was essentially a progressively arranged music-teaching manual written in Mandarin (guanhua 官話) for mission schools and Christian congregations.10 Prior to Mateer’s book, the Scottish Presbyterian missionary Carstairs Douglas 杜嘉德 (1830-1877), better known for his *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (Xia Ying da cidian 廈英大辭典) (1873), issued a number of teaching manuals in Xiamen in lithographed format, including *Yangxin shidiao 楊心詩調* (Hymn Tunes in Three Parts: Treble, Tenor and Base) (1868), *Yueli poxi 樂理頗晰* (Exercises on Change of Key) (1870), and *Xiguo yuefa 西國樂法* (Introduction to Common Notation) (1870?). But Douglas’s books were different in a number of ways. For example, they were neither specifically designed for school children, nor written in colloquial Chinese. Moreover, the teaching system Douglas used was based primarily on Tonic Sol-fa, a method developed in England by a non-Conformist minister, John Curwen (1816-1880), in the mid-nineteenth century (Gong, 2009).

**Xiguo yuefa qimeng** was first published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai in 1872 when Calvin Mateer took temporary charge of the press.11 This was some thirty-one years before Zeng Zhimin’s similar writing, “Yueli dayi” 樂理大意 (Fundamentals of Music Theory), appeared in the Tokyo-based radical Chinese student journal *Jiangsu* 江蘇 (Zeng, 1903: 63-70). Zeng’s *Yuedian jiaokeshu 樂典教科書* (Textbook of Musical Grammar) — a music primer based on an English textbook translated into Japanese by Suzuki Komojiro and considered the first of its kind ever written by a Chinese with no

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10 In the late 1980s and early 1990s a small coterie of Chinese musicologists started to notice the importance of this little primer and briefly touched upon it in their research. Liu Qi (1988), Wang Zhenya (1990) and Yongsheng Liang (1994) were among the first scholars to mention this book. Also see Tao (1994: 162-65). For a more recent descriptive study of the book, see Shi and Liu (2006).

11 A copy of this edition is housed at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.
Christian affiliation—did not appear in Tokyo until 1904 (Zhang, 1999: 287). After adding a supplement, *Xiguo yuefa qimeng* was reissued by the same press in 1879. In 1892, six years before her death, Julia Mateer thoroughly revised the book and reissued it under a new but rather confusing Chinese title, *Shengshi pu* 聖詩譜 (Anthology of Sacred Hymns) (Fig. 3).

Similar to most of the nineteenth-century American tune books with European round-note notation, *Xiguo yuefa qimeng* was written in the form of questions and answers. It begins with a lengthy theoretical introduction of fifty-two pages, followed by a variety of singing exercises and literature for practice along with more than 360 well-known church tunes and hymns. Reflecting the changes Lowell Mason (1792-1872) and his followers made in the mid-nineteenth century, Julia Mateer began her introduction with the “gamut,” or “scale” (“yin jizi” 音字), and presented the musical fundamentals in the order of “rhythm,” “melody,” and “dynamics.”

Since the book also consisted of a number of graded exercises and notes on how to approach the art of singing, it essentially constituted an organised music curriculum for all grades of the elementary and secondary school at the time. Furthermore, the design as a textbook rather than an ordinary hymnbook is also clearly stated in her author’s preface to the 1872 edition, a preface she wrote in Chinese herself:

> In the past when I have worked hard to teach my students and members of our congregation I was often troubled by a lack of suitable music books. So I began to make an effort to sort out some essentials of music and select some relevant repertoire. Initially it was just for

**Fig. 3.** Cover page of the *Shengshi pu* (1907 edition).  
**Fig. 4.** A page from *Xiguo yuefa qimeng*.  

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12 A copy of this edition is housed at Seoul National University Library.  
13 For a thorough study of theoretical introductions in American tune-books, see Perrin (1970).
my students but later I thought it would be better if I could turn it into a book so that everyone involved in teaching the subject could benefit. Therefore I made further modifications and added more materials. This was how this book came into being (Di Jiulie [Mateer], 1872: 93).

Being brought up in the singing school tradition, Julia Mateer was clearly a great believer in introductions to songbooks that contained explanations of music fundamentals and ways of voice training. For example, in the introductory section of *Xiguo yefa qimeng*, she explained in simple, colloquial Chinese such musical fundamentals as tones (“yueyin” 樂音), tunes (“qiangdiao” 腔調), pitch (“gaodi” 高低), rhythm (“changduan” 長短), intervals and harmonies (“xiangxie” 相協) and form (“shiyang” 式樣) as well as expression marks, chords, modes, the staff, ledger lines and other clefs. The exercise pieces that follow consisted of examples of various time signatures (see Fig. 5) and single and two-part exercises.

In 1892 Julia Mateer inserted “the tenors and altos” in the revised and enlarged book. By making use of melodies with four parts (see Fig. 6) in the 1892 edition (now renamed *Shengshi pu*), she further increased the book’s degree of difficulty to a level that was comparable to, if not higher than, the European and American standards at the time.

According to the first complete course of study for music in Kansas Grade Schools in 1894, two-part singing was to be introduced at the sixth-grade level (Heller, 1985: 464). The music curriculum for public schools in Switzerland at the same time, as reflected in such textbooks for children as *Gesangbuch* (1869) and *Gesangbuch* (1867), included two-part songs for grades four through six, and three-part songs for secondary schools (Howe, 2000: 1). What is interesting to note is that the inclusion of four-part singing exercises in *Shengshi pu* was not Julia Mateer’s sole initiative but a reflection of the improved singing skill on the part of Chinese members of Christian congregations. In her own words, “The increasing number of Chinese who learn to sing in four parts, seemed to require the insertion of the tenors and altos, whilst the great variety of new hymns and the increased attention to singing, called for a larger and more varied selection of tunes” (Mateer, 1892).

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14 For a study of Mateer’s work from the point view of knowledge transfer, see Zhu (1998); Gild (2004).
Apart from adopting the catechism format in theoretical exposition, the practice of introducing the “movable do” rather than the “fixed do” concept also constitutes a main feature in the book. The “movable do” system, in which the tonic note is always called “do”, was a practice commonly used in mid nineteenth-century American schools to simplify the learning process (Blum, 1971: 451). But instead of adhering to the four-syllable fa so la mi concept, Mateer followed Lowell Mason’s example by adopting the more European and musically more advanced Italian seven-syllable concept. The latter practice was relatively new in the United States at the time, as it did not gain wide currency in American popular music education until after the publication of Mason’s Boston Handel and Haydn Society’s Collection of Church Music in 1822 and Manual of the Boston Academy of Music in 1834 (Perrin, 1970: 258).

In keeping with the usual practice of most of the American tune books produced between 1801 and 1860, Julia Mateer initially employed an orthodox European notation known as “round notes” in Xiguo yuefa qimeng. In the 1892 edition, however, she adopted “the use of seven shapes to represent the syllables used in solfaing” (Mateer, 1892) (see Fig. 7). Designed to simplify music reading, the first shape-note collection was created by William Little and William Smith in 1801 with the publication in Philadelphia of The Easy Instructor. The system initially used only four shapes. Jesse B. Aikin (1808-1890) developed this system in the mid 1840s by adding three more shapes to the existing four to form a diatomic scale, thus gaining the name of “seven-shape system” or “seven-character nation” (Perrin, 1970: 259-60). Although Aikin’s seven shapes were by no means the only ones circulating in the United States, they became more or less standard from 1870 (Perrin, 1970: 260-61; Kyme, 1960: 3-8).

Julia Mateer was not the first to adopt the shape-note system in China. According to her own account, “At some of the out-laying stations where one or two of the Christians, who are fond of singing have learned it, they teach the others and lead the singing” (Mateer, 1892). Julia Mateer’s switch to the shape-note system, rather than the more widely used Tonic Solfà method, was not only reflective of her American background but also in keeping

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15 The “movable do” principle was better suited for community singing and easy to master. Jianpu, or number (or cipher) notation, known as Galin-Paris-Chevé method --the most popular form of notation used by non-professional musicians in China now-- is based on this principle.
with her missionary pragmatism. In the nineteenth century, the shape-note system helped a lot of American singers to gain their musical literacy and these singers were in turn “instrumental in stimulating interest in both the old and new tune books” (Sutton, 1982: 13). But Lowell Mason and other pioneers of public school music were opposed to the adoption of shape-note notation as an aid for music reading because they regarded it as a system designed for “country people and inferior indigenous music” (Perrin, 1970: 261). In sharp contrast, what prompted Julia Mateer to adopt this system in 1892 was precisely its easy attainment. In her own words, “[the] Akian [sic] system [was] devised ... in the interest of simplicity and for the benefit of persons learning to sing without the aid of an instrument.” “With this easy notation before them [Chinese Christians] they sing correctly, avoiding the quicks [sic] and turns so common in the outlying congregations” (Mateer, 1892). As an eyewitness account testifies, this system indeed proved to be “extremely useful for beginners, who had had no previous knowledge of music” (Corbett, 1955: 16).

Like her American contemporaries, Julia Mateer did not embrace the seven-shape method uncritically even as she explored new possibilities. The system may be an ideal way to read simple music but it was not suited to handle more sophisticated musical pieces. In her Shengshi pu, she did not make any real effort to alter the staff notation. Whereas Jesse Aikin advocated such drastic measures as the elimination of clef notation and the minor mode; replacement of key signatures; and reduction of meter signatures to 2/2 and 3/2 in a bid “to reduce the elements of music to simplest terms” (Hammond, 1985: 448), Julia Mateer only modified her system to such a small extent that the seven shapes were “the only part of it [the Aikin system] used in the book”. “Time, pitch and the various transpositions of the scale, are all indicated in precisely the usual way” (Mateer, 1892). For many years, Julia Mateer had trouble teaching her students “to sing the round notes readily and accurately through all their transpositions.” By using the seven shapes, wrote Mateer:

The singer instead of depending entirely upon the position of the note for its name, recognizes it at a glance by the shape. Every transposition of the scale changes the position of the shapes just as it does that of the syllables, so that no matter where do occurs it is written Δ; where Δ is found, it is read do so of others (Mateer, 1892).

Here once again, the missionary’s pragmatism is revealed. As Gael Graham has pointed out in a different context, “If the Chinese did, in fact, sometimes respond to the missionaries, it is clear that in many instances missionaries were responding to the Chinese” (Graham, 1994: 25). Rather than introducing the more sophisticated Western musical skills to the Chinese, they adopted the American shape-note system as a tool to teach their students to sing in a simpler manner.

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16 This is not to say that American missionaries did not use the Tonic Sol-fa method. The Rev. E. G. Tewksbury (1865–1945) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Beijing was one of a few American missionaries who advocated the use of the method. In a letter published in The Musical Herald (September 1, 1892, p. 271), he wrote: “I wonder if I am the only teacher of Tonic Sol-fa in this poor land. I have only taught but a short time, but am heartily convinced it is the very best system for the Chinese.” The Rev. Charles S. Champness of the Wesleyan Mission in Hunan stated in 1909 that he had “always found the tonic Sol-fa method of the greatest use” and recommended Curwen’s The Standard Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing as the best text-book “for those unacquainted with this method of teaching singing” to study (Champness, 1909: 189).
Chinese, as her fellow American missionaries Laura Askew Haygood (1845-1900) and Laura M. White did at the turn of the twentieth century by way of introducing the Western Classical tradition (Gong, 2006: 163-85), Julia Mateer’s immediate concern here was how to respond to the problem that many of her Chinese followers faced in “[l]earning to sing the round notes readily and accurately” (Mateer, 1892).

Xiguoshuo yuefa qimeng in the Context of Nineteenth-century Hymnbooks

The most important factor accounting for Mateer’s musical work was naturally her belief in the instrumentality of music in advancing the cause of Christianity in China. The following recollections by her brother-in-law, Robert Mateer—himself a Shandong missionary of many years—in reference to the genesis of the Xiguoshuo yuefa qimeng, highlight the utilitarian motivations behind its production:

She [Julia Mateer] felt the importance of song among the Chinese, who as heathen never sing, but who are fond of music and can be taught to sing well. This book was found necessary and was wrought out in connection with her years of music teaching in the school, and also in the church, where she led the music until she had trained the choir (Mateer, 1912: 71).

The idea that music, hymn singing in particular, had a unique power to sway people’s emotions did not originate with Julia Mateer, although she may not have been fully aware of its history in China—it is found as early as the Nestorian hymn introduced during the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D) (Fang, 1953: 127; Moule, 1930: 52-55). Nor was Mateer the first person to teach Chinese children to sing the praise of the Lord. John of Monte Corvino, believed to be the earliest Roman Catholic missionary to enter China, for example, taught forty choirboys church music in Khan-baliq (Beijing) as early as the early fourteenth century (Moule, 1930: 173).

Attention to hymn singing had always been a major concern among Protestant missionaries in China. Finding that his Christian message was not getting through to his small circle of Chinese associates, Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary to reach Canton in 1807, for example, persuaded them to join him in singing hymns with him (Rubinstein, 1996: 82). His hymnal, Yang Sin Shen She 養心神詩 [Yangxin shenshi] (Sacred Odes to Nourish the Mind), the earliest Protestant hymnbook in Chinese, came out as early as 1818 (Sheng, 1964: 72; Chen, 2003: 39). Following his footsteps, William Milne (1785-1822), Walter H. Medhurst (1796-1857), James Legge (1815-1897), Rudolph Lechler (1824-1908) and other Protestant pioneers, to mention just a few, all tried their hands in rendering hymns into the Chinese language.

Translating hymns and compiling hymnbooks was also a central feature of many of the prominent Protestants missionaries who entered China after the Opium War. In 1851 Divie B. McCartee of the American Presbyterian Mission Board compiled a hymnbook of “23 hymns and a doxology” (MacGillivray, 1912: 253). Samuel N. D. Martin, older brother of the more widely known W. A. P. Martin, was known as “the leader in the writing of hymns in Ningpo” (Champness, 1912: 249) and the hymns he composed were “still sung in the native churches of that region” at the turn of the twentieth century (Martin, 1900: 212-
Indeed, convinced of the usefulness of hymns as a tool to propagate God’s message, most of the missionaries took an active part in one form or another in the production of hymnbooks. This is indicated not only by the large number of hymnals produced but also by the huge outpouring of “editorials, articles, and letters debating the issues that surrounded the production of hymns in Chinese” from the 1870s onward (Charter and DeBernardi, 1998: 83).

Julia Mateer was not the most vociferous advocate of singing as an instrument of Christian evangelism. In a speech delivered at the first general conference of Protestant missionaries of China in Shanghai in 1877, Chauncey Goodrich (1836-1925) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) went so far as to declare that the Hymn Book was as important as the Bible (1877: 215). The Rev. William E. Soothill (1861-1935) of the United Methodist Mission, who succeeded James Legge in 1920 as Professor of Chinese at Oxford, showed his agreement with Goodrich when he asserted that “good music takes the shortest cut to the heart, it goes straight there; [whereas] a sermon has to take a by-way through the mind first” (1890: 227).

Yet there are a number of ways in which Julia Mateer distinguished herself from the other missionaries. Differing from other China missionaries, Julia Mateer was one of the first to choose to produce her music primer in Mandarin (guanhua 管話) rather than the succinct but difficult to understand (wenli 文理) style, or the local Shandong dialect (fangyan 方言). Unlike their Catholic predecessors, who on the whole taught their converts to sing liturgical music in Chinese character transcription of Latin (Tao, 1994: 159-61), the Protestant missionaries faced the difficulty of translating hymns into Chinese. When the Protestant missionaries first arrived in China they chose to translate the Christian hymns into wenli style, the language of the literati, deeming it to be the only style “worthy to enshrine rich gems of religious inspiration” (Munn, 1911: 708). But because of the multitude of difficulties caused by a combination of Chinese scholar-gentry indifference to Christian doctrine, missionaries’ linguistic deficiencies and differences in Sino-Western poetic conventions (Charter and DeBernardi, 1998), these early missionary endeavours achieved little success (Tao, 1994: 156-57). Quick to remedy the situation, some leading missionary translators such as William Young, William C. Burns, W. A. P. Martin, A. B. Cabaniss, and Divie B. McCartee turned to dialectical hymns by translating hymnbooks into the Amoy [Xiamen], Fuzhou, Ningbo and other Chinese dialects (Wylie, 1867: 176; MacGillivray, 1912: 252-55; Sheng, 1964: 78-79). Symptomatic of this state of affairs is the fact that by the early 1910s, the Rev. D. MacGillivray had found evidence of forty-three different hymnbooks in the various dialects of China (Munn, 1911: 708). Even in far-flung Yunnan, hymnbooks printed in the Miao phonetic symbols were widely circulated among the Miao and Lisu tribes (Yang, 1990: 82-88).

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17 Based on information gleaned from Alexander Wylie’s 1867 book Memoria of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, the bibliophile Tseun-I-suin Tsien (1954:311) cites 18 hymnbooks in “literary style” and 21 in “various dialects” from 1810 to 1867. In his PhD thesis, the most thorough study of Christian hymns in China to date, David Sheng (1964: 487-519) has furnished us with a list of 208 hymnbooks printed in Chinese from the year 1818 to the publication of the union hymnal Hymns of Universal Praise (Putian songzan) in 1936. More recently, Tao Yabing (1974: 157) claims that he has personally seen more than 100 hymnals published before 1919.
But before the Treaty of Tianjin forced the Qing court to accept the unrestricted preaching of Christianity and the opening of ten new treaty ports both on the coast and inland in the early 1860s there was understandably little effort to translate hymns into Mandarin Chinese, the most widely understood vernacular form. Julia Mateer’s *Xiguo yuefa qimeng* was one of the earliest attempts in rendering Christian hymns in Mandarin. Her life-long friend and fellow Shandong missionary, Mrs. Annetta T. Mills, even went as far as to assert that it was Julia Mateer who “prepared and had printed the first hymn and tune book in Mandarin” (1898: 221). To be sure, in choosing Mandarin as the medium to write her music primer, Julia Mateer may have been influenced by her fellow Shandong Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. John L. Nevius (1829-1893), who had reportedly published the earliest known Mandarin hymnal in 1864 (Candlin, 1893: 168; MacGillivray, 1912: 255). But according to her brother-in-law, Julia Mateer actually “prepared her hymn-and-tune book as a teaching text as soon as the school was founded,” that is, September 1864 (Mateer, 1912: 71). At any rate, the formal publication of her book in 1872 was certainly some five years earlier than the widely circulated Mandarin hymnbook, the *Songzhu shige*, better known as *Blodget and Goodrich Hymnal*, by Chauncey Goodrich and Henry Blodget in Beijing in 1877.

*Xiguo yuefa qimeng*, later the *Shengshi pu*, was also one of very few nineteenth-century Chinese hymnbooks that included both texts and music (see Fig. 8).

Before her book, as far as can be ascertained, only two Protestant hymnals, *Sing Saen Yiae Ko* 聖山謡歌 [Shengshan xiege] (Hymns of the holy mountain) and *Qupu zanmeish* 頌主詩歌 (Hymn and Tune Book), had tunes printed together with texts. The former, an 80-page hymnbook published in Ningbo in 1858 by an American Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Elias B. Inslee, was “printed in the European form,” and had “five pages of instructions.” But it was “all in the Ningpo dialect and Roman character” (Wylie, 1867: 244. MacGillivray, 1912: 256). The latter, a hymnbook of 72 leaves (=144 pages), was collaboratively produced by Mrs. and the Rev. John Farnham in the Shanghai dialect in 1868 (Sheng, 1964: 527).

Compared to the two hymnals mentioned above, Julia Mateer’s book was not only much larger in size, totalling over 200 pages, but also much more methodical in content. Although comprising a large number of church tunes and hymns, the book was not a hymnal in the conventional sense of the word but, as discussed above, was written in the tradition of nineteenth-century American tune books. The English title, *Principles of Vocal Music and Tune Book*, on the other hand, is a more accurate reflection of the contents of the book in that it not only reveals the theoretical orientation of the book but also betrays its American connection.

**Julia Mateer’s Musical Teaching Approach and Her Use of Chinese Traditions**

Like all good teaching practice, Julia Mateer’s musical teaching approach was characterised by a predominant desire to be easily comprehensible. Like the widely used *Mandarin Catechism* (耶稣[官话]问答Yeshu wenda) written by her fellow Shandong missionary Helen Nevius (1829-1893), Julia Mateer’s music teaching manual, for example, was

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18 For a brief discussion of Chinese dialect groups and their geographical distribution, see Bolton (2003: 74-75).
not known for its theoretical complexity. The questions are simple and down-to-earth (“What is a musical tone?”) and the answers are easily comprehensible (“musical tones are the sounds that please the ear”). Written in colloquial, everyday Chinese, the literary character of *Xiguo yuefa qimeng* was determined by its comprehensibility to the mass of her native Christians rather than its gratification to the artistic taste of Chinese scholar. Her ultimate aim was to facilitate the teaching of hymn singing on a larger and wider scale. In her own words:

> “Ke SXUSRV e Rf ZULWLQJ WKLV ERRN > Xiguo yuefa qimeng @ LV WR KeOS WeDcKeUV LQ YDULRXV SDUWV Rf CKLQD WR WeDcK WKeLU VWXGeQWV DQG WKeLU PePEeUV Rf cRQJUeJDWLRQV LQ VLQJLQJ K\PasG WKDW CKLQeVe CKULVWLDQV ZKR DUe WDOeQWeG LQ VLQJLQJ ZLOO KDYe D JRRG PeWKRG ZKeUeE\ WKe\ VRW RQO\ cDQ WeDcK WKePVeOYeV EXW DOVR LQ VWUXcW RWKeU CKULVWLDQV VR WKDW eYeU\RARQe cDQ VLQJ K\PasG LQ SUDLV e Rf *RG ‘L -LXOLe : This utilitarian underpinning in her approach to music teaching, however, should not prevent us from recognising the pedagogical value of Julia Mateer’s experiment. In emphasising the importance of music in education, she clearly shared with her American secular music educators a belief in both the intrinsic and extrinsic values of music. From very early on she argued the values of music instruction and believed that musical education, besides aiding the cause of Christianity, could benefit students physically, intellectually, socially and morally (Di Jielie, 1872: 96). Apart from making the gospel audible and helping cultivate a Christian morality, her promotion of music in the Dengzhou School was also aimed at enlarging “the joy of childhood” (cited in Hyatt, 1976: 189). In a speech delivered at the second triennial meeting of the Educational Association of China, the successor of the Christian School and Textbook Series Committee, in Shanghai in 1896, she made her view clear by saying that “the plays and games of happy childhood, the beauties of nature, animate and inanimate, friendship, domestic love, the pleasures and employments of school days or the festivals which form so large a part of the enjoyments of the people are all legitimate subjects of songs” (Mateer, 1896: 106).

Like her American secular educators, Julia Mateer was also a firm believer in the importance of music in the development of children’s imagination and creativity:

> “We have in English numbers of songs for recreation and amusement, mirth-provoking, hilarious enough for the jolliest youth, yet without a trace of vulgarity or irreverence. Why
It was largely due to her belief in these values of music that an atmosphere conducive to the development of arts within the Dengzhou School existed.

Lian Xi, in his excellent study of liberalism in American Protestant missions in China in the first three decades of the twentieth century, points out the importance of “missionaries’ idealism and humanitarianism and China’s ancient culture and her modern nationalist awakening” in bringing about “a transformation of thought and attitudes among American missionaries as they developed new understandings of both Chinese religions and culture and of Christianity itself” (Xi, 1997: xii). Julia Mateer was certainly susceptible to the influence of China’s cultural traditions. Unlike the majority of foreign missionaries at the time who viewed Chinese music as “barbarous music of the most agonizing quality”, Mateer viewed China’s folk songs and urban melodies and notational systems with sympathy. Her attitude toward Chinese music, like that of William Soothill and Timothy Richard, was informed by a cultural view that was essentially relativist in nature. This is evidenced by the following remarks:

All nations in all ages from the time of Jubal and Lamech have had songs and instruments of music adapted to their various tastes and circumstances. The fact that what is music to one people is hideous noise to another only shows the diversity of tastes--- not that any one people are destitute of the musical faculty (Mateer, 1896: 105).

Julia Mateer was convinced that the Chinese needed “their own tunes” even though these tunes might “violate some of the rules of harmony.” After all, “so great a people is entitled to its own style of music, if only it has in it the spirit of life and growth” (Mateer, 1896: 107). This liberal attitude is all the more remarkable given that this was a time when the West was still in “the Age of Contempt” (1840-1905) for China (Isaacs, 1971: 71). In 1896, when she made the above remarks in front of a large gathering, the generally disdainful attitude of Protestant evangelists toward all aspects of Chinese culture was certainly still prevalent.

Julia Mateer was well aware of China’s indigenous musical traditions and made efforts to render western musical terms and concepts into Chinese. One such example is her short piece, “List of Musical Terms in Chinese”, published in Justus Doolittle’s A Vocabulary and Handbook of Chinese Language (Doolittle, 1873: 307-308). In her teaching, she was in the view that “Chinese method was best for Chinese children” (cited in Hyatt, 1971: 312). Like some China missionaries, she also made an effort to study the indigenous gongche notation. Developed since the Song dynasty (960-1279), the gongche system was arguably the most popular and certainly the most widely used notational system for vocal, wind and percussion music in China before the introduction of the numeral notation (jianpu) in

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the early 1900s. But unlike the British Baptist missionary Timothy Richard (1845-1919), who became “quixotically appreciative of Chinese civilization” (Latourette, 1967: 440-41), and his first wife Mary (1843-1903), who took the even bolder action by replacing the Tonic Sol-fa method with the gongche notation in their music primer, the Xiao shipu, as the following example (Fig. 9) shows, chose to teach her students Western music theory by adopting the European five-line notation with the gongche syllables written underneath.

Her reason for not adopting the gongche notation, as she explained, was not because Chinese music was inherently inferior but rather due to its unsuitability as a teaching system. Designed primarily as a memory aid, not as a pedagogical means, the main function of the gongche notation was to preserve or document (Liang, 1985: 177-78, 186). Moreover, the Chinese gongche system was not as complete and accurate as its Western counterpart, especially with regard to notating time-value and rhythm, a view shared by other missionaries.

Differing from most of her fellow missionaries, Julia Mateer was impressed by the beauty and elegance of some of the Chinese folk melodies and urban tunes and experimented with China’s indigenous musical traditions. In addressing the specific issue of “what schools and songs for recreation and amusement should we teach and encourage in our schools,” she wrote:

Make them. The Chinese have a great many K’ü-tsi [quzi] 曲子 on a variety of subjects. A few of these are very beautiful in sentiment and faultless in style as judged by the rules of Chinese composition. Translations of such have appeared from time to time in the public prints. The tunes are said to be intricate and difficult, and very few persons are able to sing them. The style of the songs is so high that only well educated men understand them. Then there are many Shiao K’ü-tsi [xiao quzi] 小曲子, or colloquial songs. A few of these also are suitable for schools (Mateer, 1896: 107).

Dismissing “the word” of “the great body both of K’ü-tsi [quzi] and Shiao K’ü-tsi” [xiao quzi] as something that “would have been better had they never been written”, she urged the collection “of the few that are worth preserving and publish them in Western notation”

21 For a brief explanation of the gongche notation, see Liang (1985: 177-78). For a recent study of the cultural significance of the gongche pu, see Wu (2004).
23 For a study of the Xiao shipu, see Liu Qi (1988); Gong (2006: 126-47).
24 Mateer was by no means alone in this regard, see Syle (1859: 176-79), Soothill (1890: 223-24).
In her *Xiguo yuefa qimeng*, she used such well-known Chinese folk songs as *Fangyang qü* 鴨鳴曲 (Melody of Fengyang), *Duanyang qu* 端午曲 (Melody of the Dragon Boat Festival) and the popular Chinese instrumental piece *Liuba ban* 六八板 (the six-eight beat, see Fig. 9) as sight-singing exercises.  

She also encouraged her students to collect Chinese folk songs, set words to both Chinese and Western tunes and compose their own songs. As a result of her encouragement:

The students in the Tengchow [Dengzhou] College and Girls’ High School have translated a good many songs and written a good many new ones to Western tunes, and have made three or four songs, of which both words and tunes are original. These tunes violate some of the rules of harmony, but suit Chinese taste, and sound well as sung by their voices. It is a high merit that they are original and spontaneous. Perhaps these are samples of what the Chinese will eventually sing, viz., Western music modified to suit Chinese taste and voices. If so who shall say them nay? (Mateer, 1896: 107)

Julia Mateer was not the only one who was willing to compromise the integrity of original Western tunes for the sake of accommodating the needs of their Chinese converts. Nor was she alone in advocating the use of Chinese tunes in her teaching. The Rev. William Soothill, arguably the most vociferous promoter of the use of Chinese music in church services, suggested tunes that do not accord with pentatonic scale ought “to be discarded, or used only when absolutely necessary” (Soothill, 1890: 226). Not only did he advocate a wholesale adoption of “native airs” in church services, he even went as far as to state:

If trumpets, harps and cymbals were used with such effect in the Jewish temple service; if in our churches in England and America fifty years ago violins, flutes clarionets [sic] and basses lent such an effect to the singing that many people now-a-days think the old style better than the new; and if in our own day we think so much of our choirs and spend so much on our organs, then why should we not in our Chinese services use the instruments THEY TAKE DELIGHT IN to make our unattractive services more enjoyable? [Original emphasis] (Soothill, 1890: 227).

Timothy and Mary Richard certainly made extensive use of Chinese musical materials. In the *Xiao shipu*, the teaching manual they compiled in Shanxi and first published in 1883, twelve “Chinese airs” were included in the “ke” 講 or “exercises” section. In addition to appropriating Chinese secular music, the Richards also broke the sectarian barrier by making use of Chinese religious tunes. The “diao” 調 or “tunes” section of the manual, for example, contains two Buddhist chants and three Buddhist airs. In the 1901 edition of the *Xiao shipu*, twenty more “Chinese airs” were added including ten “tunes sung at worship of Confucius, five Confucian chants,” one single chant, a Chinese folk song entitled *Shi duo hua* 十朵花 (ten flowers), a Confucian air and two unnamed Chinese airs” (Richard, 1901).

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25 The 68-beat model, also called the *lao baban* (the old eight-beat), to use Thrasher’s words, is “the most pervasive structure in China” Thrasher (1988: 1). It serves as a formal model for a large percentage of vocal as well as instrumental repertoires. For a recent musicological analysis of the model, see Wells (1991: 119-83).

26 For a musical analysis of the songs by students of the Dengzhou School, see Liu (2006: 44-49).
Julia Mateer was aware of the existence of other missionary writings on music, including those of the Jesuits who were active at the Imperial court in the late Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (1644-1911) dynasties. Her reference to the Lülü zhengyi 律吕正義 (The Correct Meanings of the Pitches), a musical encyclopaedia first compiled under the auspices of the Kangxi emperor (reign 1661-1722) in 1713, is indicative of the depth of her understanding of the subject matter. Yet she was well aware of the inherent defects of the previous missionary work. In particular, she was unsatisfied with the outdated nature of the Lülü zhengyi and critical of the inaccessibility of the Jesuits’ writings on music in general (Di Jiulie, 1872: 93). It is worth noting that more than a century after she made her criticism of the Jesuits’ work from the standpoint of a practicing music teacher, her point of view has been concurred with by contemporary Chinese music historians, theorists and musicologists when they point out the obsolete nature of the musical theory introduced in the Lülü zhengyi (Wang, 1990: 62).

Julia Mateer’s pedagogical eclecticism is also reflected in her understanding of the distinctions between sacred and secular music. This understanding led her to approach music teaching and learning secular music in schools with caution. In spite of her willingness to use Chinese tunes as teaching material, she was at pains to point out the inappropriateness of using these tunes in Christian ritual. In her initial view, an opinion she was to change in later years, popular Chinese tunes, being mostly for entertainment, lacked solemnity and therefore were not suitable for Christian worship (Di Jiulie, 1872). Although Mateer was rather non-committal about “Whether the Chinese Christians should sing Western tunes or adapt their tunes to sacred song,” she had no objection to indigenising church music. She was in favour of either adapting Chinese tunes to hymns or writing new songs, as evidenced by her remark that “a few Chinese tunes have been adapted to hymns, and some tunes that have been written with specific reference to Chinese taste, are very popular” (Mateer, 1892). The fact that both types of hymns were included in the Shengshi pu is a further indication of her positive attitude toward indigenisation.

Julia Mateer’s use of indigenous musical materials was reflective of the firm belief she and her husband shared in the indigenisation of the Church. As early as the mid-1870s, Calvin Mateer “became an advocate of advancing Christianity in a context of getting along with established Chinese order rather than struggle against it” (Hyatt, 1971: 309). To a certain extent, Julia Mateer’s appropriation of Chinese folk songs and instrumental repertoire in her teaching can be interpreted as an endorsement of her husband’s insistence that “education should serve the aim of providing a native ministry, that all instruction should be given in Chinese and that this should be done through the medium of the Chinese dialects” (Mateer, 1877, cited in Bolton, 2003: 192-93).

Julia Mateer’s use of the vernacular rather than the literary classical style for the purpose of easy comprehension is another example of her missionary pragmatism. Clearly she shared her husband’s belief in the importance of colloquial language in spreading the Gospel. As early as 1877, Calvin Mateer declared emphatically:

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I believe in colloquial literature, as the kind of literature of the Christian work in China. Who believe the gospel we preach? Who fill all churches? The unlearned and the poor. Let us adapt our Bibles, our books, and religious literature generally, to the class of people He gives us. If colloquial language is good enough to preach the Gospel, it is good enough to write it also (cited in Bolton, 2003: 193).

This bears more than a slight resemblance to Julia Mateer’s use of native songs in her music teaching and explains why she took such trouble to incorporate indigenous materials into her music teaching.

Although “the chief object in teaching the pupils in our mission schools to sing is,” as Julia Mateer stated, “that they may be able to join acceptably and with profit in this service” (Mateer, 1896: 105), Christian indoctrination was not the only reason for her inclusion of music in the curriculum of Dengzhou Boys’ School. As she put it:

Songs have other uses. Youth is naturally buoyant and joyful. Song is the natural expression and accompaniment of joy. If God is pleased with the singing of birds, the humming of bees, the lowing of cattle as their expression of the joy of living, how much more with the joyous songs of happy childhood (Mateer, 1896: 105).

In her practical guide for the nineteenth-century housewife, Catharine Beecher wrote: “To American women, more than any others on earth, is committed the exalted privilege of extending over the world those blessed influences, which are to renovate degraded man, and ‘to clothe all climes with beauty’” (cited in Hunter, 1984: xiii). In making music an integral part of the life of the Dengzhou School, Julia Mateer was clearly attempting “to clothe all climes with beauty.” Like other American women missionaries discussed by Jane Hunter, Julia Mateer relied on “blessed influence” instead of direct authority. Music was certainly used as an important means by Mateer to exert such an influence.

Julia Mateer’s strong utilitarian view of music is not surprising given her American Presbyterian background and the mid-nineteenth-century American emphasis on the social
values of music. Apart from being a form of “amusement and entertainment”, songs, Julia Mateer argued, “affect the character as well”:

Song is also an effective means of instruction and even of reformation. Many a lesson in morals and propriety may be sung into minds it could never be preached into; and many a fault may be sung out of the conduct which neither rules nor chastisement would drive out (Mateer, 1896: 106).

She even went as far as to assert the vital importance of patriotic songs in arousing a martial spirit among the Chinese:

Patriotism is inspired and nourished in Western lands by our national songs and anthems. Had the Chinese possessed even one widely popular national song with any associations of heroic or patriotic story is it possible that of all the battles in the late war they would not have gained a single one? No martial or heroic spirit can ever be aroused by the little ditty with which the cornet calls the foreign-drilled troops to their daily exercises, or the noisy drums and the solitary monotonous air that accompany the soldier to battle, the youth to his wedding and the old man to his grave. Can a people ever become really great without patriotic and heroic songs? (Mateer, 1896: 106).

Chinese reformers of late Qing education would cite exactly the same rationale for justifying their promotion of music in modern Chinese schools (Gong, 2006: 249-87).

Julia B. Mateer and the Complexity of Missionary-Initiated Music Teaching
The discussion above has described the pioneering role of Christian missionaries in the beginning of modern school music teaching in China. The case of Julia Mateer, however incomplete and unrepresentative it may be as an indicator of the larger movement, serves as a window to understanding how China missionaries contributed to the emergence of music pedagogy in late nineteenth-century China. Missionaries introduced knowledge of Western music and Western-style music teaching in order to gain a basic hearing for the Gospel. But in training their converts to sing the praise of the Lord and using music as a “handmaid to the Gospel”, the missionaries did much of the ground-breaking work to facilitate the wider spread of Western-style pedagogy, thus paving the way for Sino-Western musical exchange, and mutual understanding.

Although due to a lack of verifiable sources, it is difficult to gain a real sense of the impact of Mateer’s contribution to China’s musical education, Julia Mateer’s own remark, made in the English preface to the Shengshi pu in July 1892, may serve as an indication of the influence of her musical work. In the preface she stated that after the initial issues of the Xiguo yuefa qimeng, in 1872 and 1879, “Many inquiries for the book, especially on the part of the Chinese” (emphasis added) indicate the need of a new edition” (Mateer, 1892). Judging by the editions housed in various libraries in China (Zhongguo, 1981: 11) and cited by Chinese scholars, at least two reprints, 1907 and 1913, were issued after her death in 1898 (Tao, 1994: 164-65; Feng, 1998: 258). Even though the number of each reprint is

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28 On mid-nineteenth-century American beliefs in the social values of music, see Stone (1957).
not known, the sheer number of known editions (1872, 1879, and 1892) and reissues (1907 and 1913), provides a glimpse of the book’s continued popularity, hence its influence.

Another way of estimating Mateer’s influence, perhaps, is to look at the work of her students. Embodying Calvin Mateer’s belief that the church had “more call for teachers than for preachers at present” (cited in Hyatt, 1976: 174), of the Dengzhou College’s two hundred and five graduates (1876-1904), 106 became teachers and 33 were in religious vocations. They were “scattered among thirteen denominations, and one hundred schools, in sixteen different provinces” (Mateer, 1912: 63). When W. A. P. Martin, “the pioneer of modern state education” (Covell, 1993), was asked by the Qing government to take part in the Imperial University of Beijing in 1897, he turned to the Mateers for help, taking, in Robert Mateer’s words, “twelve of our young men as professors; in fact, all the young professors of Western learning are from our college, save one” (Mateer, 1912: 62). By 1912 graduates of the Dengzhou College, as already cited, “had held a reported 380 teaching jobs in eleven provinces and Manchuria” (Hyatt, 1976: 229). Although there is no indication of how many became musicians it would not be far-fetched to assume that some of them may have had recourse to their musical skills in their work. The Dengzhou College certainly gave the Shandong church some of its most successful and influential Christian leaders. One such was Jia Yuming 賈玉銘. As “one of China’s best Bible expositors,” he wrote some popular hymns, some of which “are in the present Chinese hymnbook” (Cliff, 1998).

Julia Mateer’s music teaching and her encouragement of her students to use music in all school activities were not without tangible results. According to an eyewitness account in the Wenhui guanzhi 文會誌 (Alumni History of Dengzhou College) published in 1913, over the years her students produced several hundred songs which they frequently sang on such occasions as school assembly, graduation ceremony, and speech competition (Wang and Liu, 1913: 66). Some of the songs, such as Zhou Shuxun's 與林's Shanghua 賞花 (Admiring Flowers), were so well received that they found their way into popular song anthologies and remained popular as late as the 1930s and 1940s (Liu, 2006: 46).

The difficulty of evaluating Julia Mateer’s personal impact on the history music teaching in China should not lead to the conclusion that missionary endeavour in China’s musical education failed to exert any long-term influence. After all, it was at missionary institutions that Shen Xingong, the man commonly regarded as the “father of the school song” 學堂樂歌之父 (xuette Yuege zhi fu), learned the rudiments of Western music before he went to Japan in 1902 (Zhang, 1985: 79). Some of Shen’s well-known songs are set to Christian hymn tunes and Sheng himself became a Christian in 1946 (Qian, 2001: 276-82). In his Guoxue changge ji 國學唱歌集 (Songs for National Learning) published in 1905, Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880 -1942), another prominent figure in the school-song movement, set classical poems from Shijing 詩經 (Book of Poetry) and his own lyrics to such hymn tunes as Sarah Hart’s Little drop of water, William B. Bradbury’s Jesus loves me, and tunes by Sarah F. Adams and H. A. Cesar Malan (Qian, 2001: 272-74). Zou Huamin 趙華民, composer of the song textbook, Xiushen changge shu 修身唱歌書 (Songs for Ethical Education) (1905), learned his compositional skills in music lessons provided in mission schools. In the 1911 Revolution, teachers and students of the missionary Wenhua College in Wuchang, Hubei province, used hymn tunes to set
revolutionary songs (Zhang, 1985: 79). Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), best known for his role in founding the National Conservatory of Music in Shanghai in 1927, got his first taste of Western music through a Portuguese priest in Macao (Xiao, 1990: 84). Even the doyen of traditional Chinese music research, Yang Yinliu 楊荫浏 (1899-1984), author of the monumental Zhongguo gudai yinyue shigao (A Draft History of Ancient Chinese Music), was a Christian and owed his early musical training to an American missionary named Louise Strong Hammond (Yang, 1999: 39-40).

The influence of missionary schools in the history of musical education in China can perhaps best be seen in the “footprints” of their graduates in China’s professional musical education. From very early on the faculty of the National Conservatory in Shanghai, the most prestigious musical institution in China, consisted of alumni of the McTyeire, a school founded by the missionary reformer Young J. Allen (1836-1907) and the American Southern Methodist Laura A. Haygood in 1892. Wang Ruixian (1900-?), for example, was one of the earliest Chinese piano teachers at the conservatory (Han, 1981: 45-46; Wang, 2001: 19). Zhou Shu’an 周淑安 (1894-1974), best known as the first female Chinese conductor (Han, 1981: 43-44; Liao, 1996: 77-81), played a key role in the development of the voice department of the conservatory (Chao, 1937: 278). Huang Zi 黄自 (1904-1938), dean of studies at the conservatory from 1930 to 1937, took piano lessons with another McTyeire graduate, Shi Fengzhu 史凤珠, while at Tsinghua [Qinghua] College in 1913 (Han, 1981: 41-42; Wang, 2001: 19). The violinist and violemaker Tan Shuzhen 谭抒真 (1907-2002), a son of a church chorister from Shandong who for many years headed the conservatory’s string and wind department, attended mission schools in his youth (Zhao, 1994: 736-37). Li Jialu 李嘉禄 (1919-1982), the famous pianist who served for thirty years as deputy chair of the piano department, also owed his musical career to his Christian connections (Zheng, 1994: 283-84).

The significance of Julia Mateer’s musical work can be seen in a number of other ways. It represents a good example of the ways in which missionaries actively responded to their Chinese audiences. There is no question that “building up a church of those who can sing Western tunes as truly and as sweetly as Christians do in the West” (Bitton, 1909: 207) was the main purpose of church-sponsored music teaching. Yet the introduction and dissemination of aspects of Western music in late Qing China were not a simple process of missionary teaching and Chinese acceptance. Rather, it was a complex phenomenon that involved much mutual learning, adaptation and absorption. The musical work of Mateer reveals, to use the words of Gael Graham in the context of sports and physical education in mission schools at the turn of twentieth-century China, much of the “complex dynamic of initiative, negotiation, and accommodation between Chinese patrons and missionary educators” (1994: 26). As demonstrated above, in endeavouring to teach the Chinese to sing the praise of God more effectively, China missionaries experimented with a variety of strategies and put a great deal of thought into selecting suitable musical repertoires for the Chinese. As a result, the Western music they introduced in China was not a stable,

\footnote{Xiao’s role as “the father of Chinese music education” and as a staunch proponent of Westernisation of Chinese music has been a topic much explored by both Chinese and Western scholars. For a study in English, see Liang (1994: 94-111). For a post-colonial interpretation of Xiao’s legacy, see Jones (2001: 23-52).}
unvarying, undifferentiated musical culture but a divided one, replete with national and denominational distinctions.30

The case of Julia Mateer raises the contentious question of nationalism and missionary education. For most of the twentieth century, Chinese politicians, scholars and educators viewed Christianity with deep suspicion, seeing it as an integral part of the Western imperialist encroachment on China, an expression of cultural imperialism (Zhu, 1904: 214; Xue, 1978; Li, 1987; Gu, 1991; Shen and Zhu, 1998). In keeping with this view, some music historians and musicologists in China also tended to believe that mission schools were a fertile nursing ground for “cultural annihilation” (wenhua xuwu zhuyi 文化虚无主义). Graduates of the mission schools, they claim, had a deep-rooted contempt for their native tradition and an unhealthy admiration for things Western as a result of their religious indoctrinations (Zhang, 1985: 79; Tan, 1994: 69; Wu, 1996: 312-44). But Mateer’s stress on Chinese music in her teaching casts doubts about the validity of this view. As a number of Western scholars have pointed out, the efforts made by missionary institutions to foster a new generation of reformers in the last decades of the Qing dynasty helped produce the spirit of nationalism (Latourette, 1967: 532-33; Fairbank, 1974: 3). In the case of the Dengzhou College, “national consciousness,” writes Irwin Hyatt, “was further strengthened by Calvin Mateer’s stress on Mandarin use and … by Julia’s musical work” (Hyatt, 1976: 189). Given that the missionaries were the first to fuse elements of Western music with indigenous folk tunes and instrumental melodies, it could even be argued that in terms of utilising “national form” (minzu xingshi 民族形式) to serve utilitarian purposes, an often hotly debated issue in the arts in China,31 the China missionaries in the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the work of Julia Mateer and Timothy and Mary Richard, not Communist propagandists in the 1930s and 1940s, were the pioneers.

There is no question that Christian utilitarianism was the reason for the missionary involvement in the introduction of Western-style music teaching in China. Nor was there any doubt that Julia Mateer’s musical pedagogy was yoked to the demands of the Christianising project. But to dismiss her work as mere manifestations of Western cultural imperialism is an oversimplification. David Sheng, in his pioneering study of indigenous elements in Chinese Christian hymnody, demonstrated the importance that Christian hymns had on inculcating patriotism among Chinese Christians from very early on (1964: 94, 125-28). In a recent study, Ryan Dunch has also shown that Chinese Protestants in the early years of the Republic played a key role in using flags, patriotic hymns and other symbols of the nation to awaken national consciousness among Fuzhou Protestants (2001: Chap 4). Far from depriving students of their cultural inheritance and identity, Calvin and Julia Mateer actively encouraged them to seek nourishment in their indigenous tradition. Rather than being antithetical to the awakening of a Chinese consciousness, Julia Mateer’s efforts to get her students involved in gathering Chinese songs served to affirm a Chinese cultural identity in her students. As a result, in the late 1890s when China’s survival became the most vexing issue of the nation, the “[Dengzhou] college increasingly encouraged students

30 For a more detailed study of this theme, see Gong (2006: Chapters 3 and 4).
31 In addition to numerous studies done in China, the Chinese communists’ use of “national form” has been explored by a number of Western scholars. See Judd (1983); Holm (1991); Hung (1996, 2005); Gong (2008b).
to think about their country and ‘her real position’ and to develop ‘managerial talents for the nation’s future position of independence’” (Hyatt, 1976: 189). The patriotic songs written by students of the Dengzhou School certainly serve as a good example of their patriotic zeal (Liu, 2006: 45-49). One such song, composed by Feng Zhiqian 馮志謙 in 1908, was so full of nationalist ardour that it advocates such ultra nationalistic goals as “shaking the Western [nations’] heavens and turning their world into an endless bloody sea” (cited in Hyatt, 1976: 190). In the 1911 Revolution, Wang Yicheng 王以成, another student of the Mateers’s, died in battle fighting for the nationalist cause (Hyatt, 1976: 190).

The case of Julia Mateer also shows the importance of focusing on the many dialogues, experiments and negotiations that occurred in the process of musical transmission and the importance of understanding the dynamics of arts and practical utility. It is generally true that, similar to what happened in the United States in the early days of colonization, music in mission schools and mission stations from the very beginning was conditioned by a deliberate desire on the part of missionaries to suppress indigenous music and to substitute something “better” in its place. The introduction of a new pedagogy often requires the repudiation of past practices. But the extensive appropriation of Chinese musical materials in the work of the Mateers marks a deviation from this pattern. Rather than painting a picture of missionaries imposing their values and practices on their native recipients, Mateer’s music primer provides a clear illustration of musical synthesis and cross-cultural fertilisation. The fact that the Mateers acted not only as agents of Western musical culture but also as learners and propagators of Chinese music complicates the usual understanding of the power relations. In a way, their case reveals as much about the teaching of Western music to the Chinese as about how the missionaries responded to the Chinese. More significantly their experiments in combining foreign forms with indigenous traditions became the opening step in a negotiation between traditional and Western elements that continues to this day.

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32 In 1931 when Japan occupied Manchuria, Chinese Christians and graduates of Christian mission schools and colleges once again played their part in the struggle for national survival, using, among other things, patriotic songs as a means of national agitation. Liu Liang-mo 劉良模, a mission school graduate and a secretary on the staff of the National Y.M.C.A., was largely responsible for inspiring and organising the mass singing movement in the War of Resistance. Leftist composers such as Mai Xin 李新, Xian Xinghai 演星海, and Meng Bo 孟波 were certainly influenced by Liu. After all it was through taking part in the activities organised by Liu’s Singing Society of the Masses that they first experienced the power and impact of mass singing in mobilising the public (see Gong 2008b).

33 For a brief account of the beginning of music education in the United States, see Britton (1958).
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‘Since 1997, either consciously or unconsciously, we have tried to define ourselves in relation to the Mainland, both through differentiation and by common connection. The “good old days” of Hong Kong being a pseudo-China are gone. On one hand, we claim to be a cosmopolitan city — once the most Sinicized colony – on the other, we try to be the most advanced, Westernized Chinese territory, but we are now competing with the Mainland.’

- Chan Hing-yan

John Winzenburg
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Contemporary Hong Kong composers have become very active over the past two decades, and have distinguished themselves through an array of works, including a new repertoire of concertos for Chinese solo instrument and Western orchestra which might be aptly described as ‘fusion concertos’. A growing body of literature relevant to music, film and society emphasizes the anxiety-driven, nostalgic search for identity, validation, and self determination of Hong Kong citizens in the period leading up to and following the country’s handover to the People Republic of China in 1997. The ‘fusion concertos’ clearly reflect this unique transition from British colony to Special Administrative Region. So what exactly is at stake in these works, and where do Hong Kong composers stand at present?

China’s dramatic re-emergence onto the world stage has received much attention in the global media in recent years, and as its economic and political might grow, people are increasingly viewing Chinese culture – old and new – with revitalized interest. As increasing importance is placed on the Mainland centres of Beijing and Shanghai, however, the former ‘pearl’ of Hong Kong is competing for attention, and it risks gradually being regarded more as a southern Chinese regional centre than an Asian ‘tiger’. On the cultural front, Hong Kong has long been renowned for its prolific film industry. In the musical realm, however, Hong Kong’s art music only began to receive the necessary injection of
governmental support from the 1970s, and while composers and performers have been extremely active over the past two decades, detailed English – and Chinese – language information on them is difficult to locate outside of Hong Kong.

Despite the fact that their northern neighbours are enjoying much of the public spotlight, Hong Kong people remain fixated on their own plight. As the tenth anniversary of Hong Kong’s ceremonial handover to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) approached in 2007, the Special Administrative Region (SAR) entered a new phase of soul searching, as demonstrated by a growing body of literature relevant to music, film, and society that expressed the anxiety-driven, nostalgic search for identity, validation, and self-determination Hong Kong denizens have undertaken since they began facing their impending shift in colonial status from the early 1980s. While the most apocalyptic fears of the July 1997 handover may have abated, for the moment, cultural analysts have, nonetheless, begun to assess Hong Kong’s transformation through the lens of its initial stage within the PRC. Concomitantly, the end of the Cold War, the galvanization of global capitalism, and the dramatic emergence of the new Chinese economy have all contributed to a perceived need to document and preserve the unique Hong Kong landscape, however its history from the early 1840s might be defined, before it is irrevocably drawn into a future dictated by China’s relationship to the rest of the world.

Against this backdrop, contemporary Hong Kong composers are distinguishing themselves through an array of works, including a new repertoire of concertos for Chinese solo instrument and Western orchestra – what I refer to as ‘fusion concertos’ – reflecting the unique transition from British colony to Special Administrative Region over the past three decades. With the handover of sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong has assumed a new role as arbiter between China and the West, where it now represents the most Westernized of economically advancing Chinese territories. On one hand, the latest phase in over a century of cultural ambivalence has, according to Hong Kong musicologist Yu Siu-wah, resulted in a sense of loss and aimlessness, where numerous artists have traded in ‘pure’ musical heritage for political-commercial gain: ‘[They] do not mind changing or twisting tradition; as long as it fulfils the practical aim, all traditions can be used and fused together, be it Chinese, Western, Japanese, modern or traditional.’ On the other hand, many composers are serendipitously positioned as multicultural creators of music that is uniquely Hong Kong-Chinese. Unlike many PRC composers, they have received advanced musical training in the West, and their upbringing in colonial Hong Kong provided a cosmopolitan underlay to the merger of musical traditions. Indeed, many have created works that are fundamentally Western in terms of musical content and performance practice, yet they embed certain Chinese musical elements both from the perspective of insider and outsider in terms of composer intent and context. This paper discusses how Chinese-Western ‘fusion concertos’ assert Hong Kong’s musical identity apart from – but in relation to – the British colonial past and Mainland Chinese present.

**Concerto nomenclature**

The generic musical association of fusion concertos may seem self-evident from their very classification. However, this study applies the term ‘concerto’ in its broadest sense, defined in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as ‘an instrumental work that
maintains contrast between an orchestral ensemble and a smaller group or a solo instrument or among various groups of an undivided orchestra. Under this broad definition, a variety of types emerge that include both single- and multi-movement works, despite the popular notion of a concerto as a three-movement work (fast-slow-fast) composed for the primary purpose of highlighting solo virtuosity. Indeed, by the early twentieth century, the concerto genre was already characterized by great ambiguity, and titles of compositions do not themselves determine the actual genre at hand. At the same time, a concerto can, depending on its structure, be associated with non-concerto genres, such as the symphony, symphonic poem, or dance suite, and still be classified as a concerto. Given the plurality and eclecticism involved in many contemporary works, the generic designations are now only accurate up to a certain point, with some more clearly identifiable than others. Fusion concertos are, thus, inclusive of numerous overlapping styles, structures, media, and generic associations.

Of greater relevance to fusion concerto description is the interplay of larger cultural forces that are inextricably attached to the systematic combination of Chinese and Western timbres and other musical elements. In this article, fusion concertos are defined within the broadest concerto concept as works that maintain contrast between a Western orchestral ensemble and a Chinese solo instrument or smaller group of soloists (containing at least one Chinese instrument) or among various groups of a Western orchestra where Chinese instruments are also present. However, implicit in the fusion concerto nomenclature is the frequent combination of other Chinese and Western cultural markers – musical and extramusical – in addition to the timbral mixture. The result is even greater complexity than might otherwise exist in contemporary concerto works, forming the basis of the current study.

Ecliptic identities
Music and identity can interact both directly and indirectly in numerous ways at a variety of levels. According to Folkestad, ‘the development of a musical identity is not only a matter of age, gender, musical taste and other preferences, but is also a result of the cultural, ethnic, religious and national contexts in which people live. Individuals forming their musical identities are part of, influenced by and a product of several such collective musical identities, and these exist in parallel and on several levels – including the local, the regional, the national and the global.’ Exactly how musical and cultural identities interact – whether intentionally or unintentionally – depends on the conditions surrounding individual or groups of works, genres, composers, performers, and audiences. In the discussion of fusion concertos, despite the limitations in forming empirical conclusions regarding this interaction, it is possible to establish the potentiality for connections between music and cultural identity based on contexts that might include commissioning process, programmatic elements, composer background, historical framework, audience reception, and the presence of idiomatic musical features of a given style or tradition. Rather than assuming that music is equivalent to identity, however, it is often helpful to speak in metaphorical terms when describing the fluid nature of the relationship between the two. As concertos, with their inherent contrast between the solitary soloist(s) and the larger ensemble, have long been a source of metaphorical inspiration to commentators, the newer fusion concertos provide an even greater source for metaphor.
In Example 1 (below), two solo stringed instruments play a unison melody in a call-and-response dialogue with Western winds, strings, and percussion. The score itself resembles those found in most contemporary Western orchestral music, except for the fact that the solo lines are for the Western cello and Chinese banhu fiddle, an instrument not ordinarily found in the Western orchestra. The movement’s title ‘Eclipse’ was added after the composition was complete, but the energy created by the agitated rhythms, dissonant pitch groupings, and high instrumental registers suggests both vibrancy and turbulence of the metaphorically cosmic event. Even more relevant is the fact that the solo duet is comprised of bowed stringed instruments from two different cultural traditions, whose distinct timbres are superimposed to form a novel hybrid. *Enigmas of the Moon* was commissioned by the Hong Kong Sinfonietta and premiered in July 1998. The composer Chan Hing-yan had only recently returned from his Ph.D. program at the University of Illinois to take up an academic post at Hong Kong University.

Example 1. 月謎 Enigmas of the Moon, p. 25, rehearsal 1-2

From the binary perspective of cultural identity, the various musical elements and performance contexts of the work would suggest an unlikely clash of Chinese-Western traditions. The musical elements expressed in the score are overwhelmingly Western, including staff notation, compound contrapuntal/homorhythmic textures, post-tonal
harmony, irregular meter, and a conducted solo-orchestral medium. Within that medium, only one of the two solo instruments is Chinese (from a family that has undergone certain acoustical, technical, and pedagogical reforms over the past century according to Western string models\(^8\)). However, in the eyes of Western orchestral orthodoxy, the fact that half of the solo timbre is created by a non-Western instrument is itself enough to subvert the overall aural aesthetic. That subversion is even more keenly perceived during live performance, when the spiked banhu, with a coconut-shell body and its bow enveloped by the two vertical strings,\(^9\) is visualized alongside the solo cello and in front of the ensemble. Indeed, to a Chinese folk traditionalist, the aural-visual experience may be equally shocking, as this music and performance context would have been completely alien to the Chinese instrument before the 1930s.\(^{10}\)

From the composer’s perspective, such references to what long ago may have been perceived as incompatible traditions were unavoidable, since he was brought up with the two idioms simultaneously in cosmopolitan Hong Kong of the late twentieth century. The creation of a work that mixes a Chinese solo instrument with Western orchestra was certainly not new in 1998, because dozens, if not hundreds of such works existed around the world already.\(^{11}\) However, such Chinese-Western fusion concertos were relatively new to the Hong Kong compositional scene, and Enigmas perhaps unwittingly represented the territory’s cultural dilemma of the day: the huqin and cello timbres, like the composer himself, constitute part of an omnicultural identity, while, in Chan’s own words, they are blended and yet remain unblendable. In this sense, simple dualities do not adequately describe the musical and cultural forces at play. A multitude of eclipsing events occur simultaneously in the movement on a number of musical and cultural levels:

1) Chinese-Western solo timbres eclipse each other.

2) The hybrid timbre created from the two solo instruments together eclipses the Western ensemble and its various groupings that ‘converse’ with the soloists.

3) The overlapping traditions represented by the solo-orchestral medium eclipse each other in unequal degrees (i.e., primarily Western) regarding musical elements and performance practice.

4) The new work as a single entity eclipses earlier concertos, both Western and fusion, via its novel combination of solo instruments.

5) The larger hybrid identity embodied by composer and work eclipses the individual southern-Chinese, pan-Chinese, Asian, and Western identities that form its composite.

Given this panoply of relationships, a multilayered reading of the fusion concerto repertoire is necessary, and despite the musical similarities among works by composers throughout Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere, differences appear at various levels, helping to distinguish the concertos along national and individual lines.
July 1997: political, cultural, and musical catharsis

The most immediate impetus for the Hong Kong-Chinese-Western fusion concerto came just a year before Enigmas’ premiere. Less than ten years after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership had achieved near pariah status for violently quelling student-led demonstrations in Beijing in 1989, then Party Secretary and Chinese President Jiang Zemin treated the world to an extravaganza in celebration of Hong Kong’s handover to PRC sovereignty in July 1997. Indeed, the transfer of sovereignty was neither an event of mere local significance nor an occasion relegated to the realm of politics. To China, it represented the rectification of an inglorious period of subordination to Western colonialism; to the world, it appeared to mark the re-emergence of China onto the world stage and the onset of the ‘China century’; while to the people of Hong Kong, the handover symbolized another question mark in terms of history, identity, and future.

Predictably, music was central to the pomp and ceremony that took place in various programs across the territory. The selection of music was anything but certain, however, as the musical traditions of both Hong Kong subject and Mainland Chinese overseer had shifted toward the world-dominant Western paradigm to such a degree that the music could only minimally be perceived as ‘Chinese’ to those in attendance or viewing the media coverage. In many cases, the solution reflected a growing trend in the new pan-Chinese musical tradition and a sign of cultural ambiguity that both bonds and divides members of the Chinese diaspora: a potpourri of commissioned works primarily for Western orchestra with just enough ascertainably Chinese attributes to justify the pseudo-jingoistic hype of the occasion. With so much of the ceremonial music overwhelmingly Western, the compositions commissioned for the handover concerts were, perhaps inevitably, called upon to place traditional Chinese instruments on stage with Western ones to visually and aurally heighten the Chinese musical profile, even if largely symbolic, in order to adequately encapsulate the national – and international – significance of the day.

In many ways, the 1997 handover represents merely a cathartic point in a continuous trial of identity that Hong Kong people have long faced. Contemporary Hong Kong composers have been an integral part of this question, and their recent output of works reflects their unique transformation from British subjects to SAR citizens. Fusion concertos, as works that combine timbres and musical elements from both Chinese and Western traditions within a broad concerto concept, have played one small role in this historical juncture. Their role, nonetheless, serves as an indicator of Hong Kong’s musical identity scattered across centuries and continents.

The search for new non-identity

Despite its official ‘return’ to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong’s fate has long been tied to the Chinese Mainland (see Table 1). Previous periods of unrest around the Chinese civil war years of the 1940s and the chaos of the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976 both resulted in large-scale influxes of Mainland refugees and immigrants. News of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s 1982 visit to Beijing to begin handover negotiations came as a shock to Hong Kong, and the resultant Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 marked a new turn for the territory, which Ackbar Abbas characterizes by three paradoxes. First, Hong Kong people experienced a sudden clash between the ‘floating’
identity they had been accustomed to as a British colony and a more definite identity necessitated by the new political situation, which sealed Hong Kong’s fate as a permanent ‘doorway’.13 Second, a continuous cultural decadence, of sorts, was cast upon the territory that would seemingly allow only economic outlets without the degree of political idealism that might otherwise exist had self-governance and universal suffrage been part of the postcolonial horizon.14 Third, Hong Kong’s ongoing dialectic between autonomy and dependence vis-à-vis both Britain and China is unique among decolonizing nations.15 The massive public demonstrations in protest of the quelling of student-led demonstrations in 1989 – unprecedented in terms of scope in the Hong Kong annals – represent a defining moment of this dialectic, and they undoubtedly expressed the collective anxiety over the thought of People’s Liberation Army (PLA) troops stationed in Hong Kong after 1997.16 Underscoring this period from 1982-1997, the prospect of postcoloniality without decolonization necessitated the creation of a distinctive Hong Kong identity among its people only when the inevitability of its disappearance became clear in the years preceding 1997. Here, in what Abbas coins the ‘culture of disappearance’,17 Hong Kong identity creation is characterized by a unique combination of what its people have and what they lack, as determined by British, Chinese, and global realities (Table 2).

Table 1. Major dates in Hong Kong history18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841-42</td>
<td>Hong Kong ceded to the British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1949</td>
<td>Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, Mainland Chinese civil war and establishment of People’s Republic of China (PRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-</td>
<td>Post-war economic boom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1976</td>
<td>Cultural Revolution in Mainland China and Hong Kong leftist riots (of 1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-1984</td>
<td>British Prime Minister Thatcher’s China visit begins negotiation process leading to: Sino-British Joint Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Tiananmen incident in Beijing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Handover of Hong Kong sovereignty to PRC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Hong Kong’s ‘triple lack’ in the ‘culture of disappearance’¹⁹

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<tr>
<th>Lacks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Precolonial history and decolonized future</td>
<td>Political power via universal suffrage and self-determination</td>
<td>Stationary, distinctive cultural identity</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Has</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Postcoloniality (without decolonization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Economic affluence within global capitalism</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Relative social stability</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Rule of law bolstered by civil liberties</td>
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The bonds between Hong Kong and the Mainland are ironic, nonetheless, given the fact that Hong Kong was built upon a British colonial foundation of villages annexed in the early 1840s. Since then, the territory has developed in a state of pluralistic identity encompassing British, Chinese, Western, and international characteristics. Under these circumstances, as Abbas observes, despite degrees of interdependence, Hong Kong Chinese are culturally and politically distinct from their PRC counterparts, with an added historical twist in that the politically subordinate Hong Kong is more advanced in many social spheres than its new PRC colonizer. Thus, rather than the ‘one country, two systems’ envisaged in the 1997 handover, the current status more accurately resembles one system – capitalism – at different stages of development.²⁰ One survey from June 1997 hints at the ambiguities involved. When asked the question ‘What do you consider yourself to be?’ 44 percent of HK residents replied ‘Hong Kong people’, 25 percent ‘Chinese’, 24 percent ‘Hong Kong Chinese’, 4 percent ‘Hong Kong British’, 2 percent ‘overseas Chinese’, and one percent ‘other’.²¹

Critical attempts to adequately define Hong Kong culture encounter difficulties in such a state of complexity, and commentators have been more successful at spotlighting categorical shortcomings and diagnosing the roots of non-identity than at describing novel cultural images. According to Blanche Chu, ambivalent cultural identification was brought on by a British-propagated ‘status-quo mentality’, where Hong Kong people could simultaneously identify themselves as British-ruled subjects politically and Chinese culturally: ‘This colonial “rupture” is manifested in the freedom of Hong Kong people to identify, or more importantly, not identify with the British-Hong Kong government. The flexibility in cultural identification opens up a multi-accented basis of cultural identification: that Hong Kong people may always have the freedom to identify themselves as Chinese, British ruled subjects, or Hong Kongers, in so far as the status-quo is upheld.’²² In Chu’s eyes, multiplicity is the product of temporal – and atemporal – aversion to social regression. In this case, ‘the pre-occupation of Hong Kong people in upholding “prosperity and stability” has easily foregrounded the present as the matrix of all social, economic and
cultural impetuses of identity searching. In relation to history, the status-quo imaginary sets the foundation of viewing the golden present always as the emergence of prosperity and stability from past poverty and chaos.\textsuperscript{23}

Abbas likewise eschews the old East-West, traditional-modern binaries, but he favours a ‘new subjectivity’ characterized by three ‘temptations’ – local, marginal, and cosmopolitan – in an era of cultural negotiation.\textsuperscript{24} At the same time, he classifies the SAR in terms of ‘hyphenational’ ‘postculture’:

[This is] a culture that has developed in a situation where the available models of culture no longer work. In such a situation, culture cannot wait or follow social change in order to represent it; it must anticipate the paradoxes of hyphenation [as being culturally mixed and continuously transient, and aspiring to be simultaneously autonomous and dependent]. A postculture, therefore, is not postmodernist culture, or post-Marxist culture, or post-

Cultural Revolution culture, or even post-colonial culture, insofar as each of these has a set of established themes and an alternative orthodoxy. In a postculture, on the other hand, culture itself is experienced as a field of instabilities.\textsuperscript{25}

Chu Yiu-wai readily embraces the Abbas field of intangibles as a sign of hardiness in the purgatorial Hong Kong soul: ‘Instead of searching for a nostalgic origin that is constructed as a loss or critiquing Orientalism and/or global capitalism inherited in Hong Kong culture, one had better “tango” with it. In fact, switching back and forth between lacking a local identity and engaging in global capitalism is something that Hong Kong people have been doing all the time. One might even be inspired by going into this “in-between-ness” with less anxiety.’\textsuperscript{26} From this viewpoint, the 1997 handover is merely the latest turn in a perpetually amorphous state.

The assessments by Abbas, Blanche Chu, Chu Yiu-wai, and others may be considered legitimate from a critical standpoint, especially in the immediate period of the 1997 handover, and they form a cultural backdrop to the artistic endeavours of composers over the past two decades. However, the fatalistic side of Hong Kong’s identity dilemma focuses on avoidance of tangible identity or acceptance of a conceptual ‘non-identity’. This focus betrays the pessimism, uncertainty, and possibly fear grasping many critics before life in the SAR has had time to unfold, and it only partially equates to the various facets of identity enactment itself, as is manifest by creative activities in the arts. While Hong Kong composers may have been shackled, at least in part, by the search for an evasive identity, the more immediate artistic process necessitates the creation of novel imagery rather than non-imagery, and even the negative creative process of one era can generate a positive or more clearly definable identity of another.

Already, as Hong Kong progresses in its second decade under the PRC umbrella, subtle signs of cultural drift are emerging. One quarter of Hong Kong’s fifty years of relative autonomy have elapsed, and its march toward long-term integration with the PRC may yet overturn the notion of ‘non-identity’ or ‘in-between-ness’.\textsuperscript{27} For this reason, it may be too early to define Hong Kong’s late-twentieth-century identity formulation within the larger historical context. It may, however, be an appropriate time to formulate metaphorical images to describe Hong Kong’s ongoing development. This study draws on such metaphors as eclipse, cultural counterpoint, and luminescent orbit to describe the
Hong Kong condition. Fusion concertos and other works should thus be considered within the contexts of various potentialities, and further assessment is needed of how they relate to cultural identity.

**Who are Hong Kong composers?**

Hong Kong composers are part of the larger identity maze. Through the twentieth century, binaries have dominated discourse in most aspects of musical identification. As musicologist Liang Maochun observes (Table 3), Hong Kong’s composer profile has been influenced by both China and the West, with the very reference to composed ‘works’ being a product of Western cultural infiltration, since individual composers were generally not seen as central to pre-twentieth-century Chinese music. On one hand, Mainland political turmoil during the 1940s and again during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) resulted in a number of composers immigrating to Hong Kong. On the other, various Hong Kong composers returned to the territory after completing music studies in the West, although those of the late twentieth century had more thorough music training before pursuing graduate degrees abroad. From this standpoint, human movement, stemming from Mainland Chinese political vicissitudes and educational opportunity, has been one driving force for identity based on an amalgamation of diverse backgrounds along the Chinese-Western spectrum.

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**Table 3. Who are Hong Kong composers?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four major groups since the 1940s:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Early period composers moving from the Mainland to Hong Kong from the 1940s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., Lin Sheng-shih and Huang Yau-tai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Returnees from study abroad in the early 1960s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., Wong Yokyee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) PRC émigrés in the wake of the Cultural Revolution in the late 1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., Qu Wenzhong/Wut Man-chung and Guan Naizhong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Composers who received early music training in Hong Kong and went abroad for graduate study before returning (late 1970s to the present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., Law Wing-fai, Chan Wing-wah, and Chan Hing-yan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Liang Maochun, *Xianggang Zuoqujia: Sanshi zhi Jiushi Niandai* [Hong Kong Composers: The 1930s to the 1990s] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1999), 15.28
Beyond historical linearity and composer background, as is true with cultural identity in general, musical identity is both simple and complex, and it inevitably floats in and out of focus at various horizontal sectors and vertical layers. At one focal point, according to Yu Siu-wah, the binary dilemma still dictates the terms of composer identity negotiation. He describes Hong Kong stylistic features at the end of the twentieth century in terms of ‘a Western musical language, both in [the] Soviet style of the late nineteenth century and Western modern styles of the post Schönberg era. Traditional Chinese music has either been absorbed or parodied in compositions employing a wide range of Western musical styles.’ In fact, Yu and others in the Hong Kong musical establishment are unapologetic — perhaps more candidly than their Mainland counterparts — in identifying Hong Kong composition as Western. The absorption and parody that Yu refers to exist on a symbolic level and involve both musical and non-musical Chinese elements. In essentialist terms, therefore, even binary identity would exist merely on a hypothetical level, and musical discourse would most accurately take place on a solitary Western plane.

However, cultural context also plays a significant role in relation to both creator and recipient, and musical identity — when referring to composed repertoire — is shaped by a fluid interaction of performance context, composer background and intent, musical meaning, and physical-sonic events. Identity thus encompasses a number of fields and layers that may or may not overlap. Allowing for broader, surface-level interpretations, musicologist Zhang Boyu of the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing concedes that, even when no semblance of Chinese musical tradition is present, musical works ‘can be considered Chinese in the sense that they were written by Chinese composers’. Underneath the surface, a more intricate musical identity complex exists that intersects regionalism and modernity. In this layer, Yu Siu-wah argues, ‘twentieth-century Hong Kong Chinese music is largely characterized by a continual process of interweaving northern [China] with southern [China], China with the West, and tradition with innovation’.

Furthermore, dualities involving simplicity and complexity, as well as superficiality and profundity, are often confused in cultural images, and Yu confides that in modern works that profess to contain a ‘Chinese style’ in Western orchestral works:

What happens in musical terms is highlighting a few easily discernable Chinese traits or flavours within a mainly Western musical framework. By presenting elements superficially but easily recognizable as Chinese, it serves to satisfy Western and self imagination of the musical China. From the perspectives of modernization and internationalism, such works are innovative, creative, groundbreaking and revolutionary. Nevertheless, they are deviations from tradition, results of self-imposed acculturation and hybridized mix out of distortion from the perspectives of both Western and Chinese aesthetics. They are newly created genres, which are built upon Western standards after urban intellectuals wholeheartedly accepted the styles and tastes of Western culture. Such proclaimed ‘national Chinese style’ in fact is rather far from the traditional taste and style of the average Chinese society. But this is precisely the idealized international style for which 20th century educated Chinese have dreamed.

Here, Yu refers directly to works such as the famous Mainland Chinese Butterfly Lovers Violin Concerto, which highlights Chinese instrumental idioms transferred to the Western
violin and orchestra, without the use of Chinese solo instruments. The imbalance of Western and Chinese aesthetics, however, equally pertains to Hong Kong fusion concertos—and composer identity—of the late twentieth century, as discussed below. Hong Kong composers may be ethnically Chinese while being more comfortable with elements of Western culture in their music, but neither cultural representation is received by audiences with clarity. Identity, thus, is often more readily defined in terms of distortion than resolution.

Adding to the distortion is the lack of homogeneity in composers who have been based in Hong Kong for significant periods of time but either did not grow up there or have since moved elsewhere. Consider composers such as Guan Naizhong (born in the PRC, emigrated to Hong Kong and then Canada, but still active in various Chinese locales), Doming Lam (born in Macau, educated in Hong Kong and the U.S., based in Canada, and recently returned to Hong Kong), and Bunching Lam (born in Macau, educated in Hong Kong and the U.S., and now living in North America). With ‘roots’ dispersed in so many places, how are these individuals to be categorized along national lines? At one extreme, composers should only be regarded as ‘Hong Kongers’ if they are raised or based there for major periods of their lives. At the other, might one be considered a temporary Hong Kong composer if he or she merely writes a commissioned work for a prominent Hong Kong event (as in the case of Tan Dun below)?

The appearance of fusion concertos in Hong Kong

Despite inherent multiplicity in individual backgrounds, Hong Kong-based composers coalesced around infrastructural developments that began in the late 1970s, which provided a foundation for the peak in Hong Kong musical composition during the last two decades of the twentieth century. According to composer Chan Wing-wah, this advancement involves:

- Development of professional and amateur performing groups and solo virtuosi
- Musical education available to composers locally and abroad
- Commissions and other funding opportunities by newly formed arts organizations and governmental offices
- New facilities, such as the Hong Kong Performing Arts Centre
- Promotion of new works at concerts and festivals
- Expanded university music departments and Ph.D. programs

Although these developments coincided with the search for local identity throughout the arts in the approach to 1997, many of the same factors have led to the emergence of Chinese-Western fusion concertos throughout China and beyond, albeit within varied contexts. Central to the rapid appearance of hundreds of such concertos worldwide in recent decades has been the triangular relationship between a new legion of conservatory-trained Chinese instrumental soloists hungry for concert repertoire, composers seeking fresh timbral and thematic pathways, and Western orchestras hoping to complement the canon with works that satisfy Asian audiences, with bows to both Western and Chinese traditions, and Western audiences, with their ‘exotic’ and ‘multicultural’ imagery. Of paramount importance, commissions and festival performances have been the conduit for this triangle. Over the past three years, this author has identified over 350 concertos in Mainland China,
Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, North America, and Europe (see Table 4). Many more are believed to exist around the world, and new works appear with regularity. Of particular significance to the issue of Hong Kong identity is the relatively sudden increase of fusion concertos in the territory since 1997, compared to the more gradual emergence of concertos worldwide over the past half century. While both PRC and Hong Kong compositional trends have been affected by Mainland historical currents, the chronological distribution suggests that the 1997 handover has been a seminal factor in the Hong Kong repertoire.

Table 4. Fusion concerto breakdown (as of October 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Worldwide</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1949</td>
<td>≥ 6</td>
<td>≥ 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-79</td>
<td>≥ 20</td>
<td>≥ 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-89</td>
<td>≥ 32</td>
<td>≥ 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-2011</td>
<td>≥ 290</td>
<td>≥ 38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5 highlights fusion concerto works by composers who have significant ties to Hong Kong. It is by no means an exhaustive list and includes certain works, such as those by Bunching Lam, that were written after the composer had left the territory. In the case of Tan Dun’s Symphony 1997, the composer was not based in Hong Kong, but the work gained the most international recognition among those commissioned for the 1997 handover ceremonies.
Table 5. Fusion concertos by composers born, raised, or based in Hong Kong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chan Hing-yang</td>
<td>Enigmas of the Moon (Yue Mi)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Huqin, cello, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Hing-yang</td>
<td>There’s Something in the Wind</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Dizi, sheng, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Hing-yang</td>
<td>And the Moon Winks…</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Erhu duet and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Hing-yang</td>
<td>Hark the Phoenix Soaring High</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Sheng and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Ming-chi</td>
<td>Reverberation</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Shakuhachi (xiao), zheng, and string orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Wing-wah</td>
<td>Symphony No. 2</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Pipa duet and large orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan, Joshua</td>
<td>Sonic Tai-chi</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Chinese-Western orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan, Joshua</td>
<td>Prelude to 97 (Jiu Qi Yin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Erhu, Pipa, harmonica band, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan, Joshua</td>
<td>Sunshine Rhapsody</td>
<td></td>
<td>Percussion and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen, John</td>
<td>I am From Earth</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Chinese percussion, computer, synthesizers, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaybird@ PMPS</td>
<td>Summer (When the Bird Feels Hot…)</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan Naizhong</td>
<td>Erhu Concerto No. 1</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Erhu and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan Naizhong</td>
<td>Hudie Meng (Butterfly Dream)</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Dizi and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan Naizhong</td>
<td>Erhu Concerto No. 2</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Erhu and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan Naizhong</td>
<td>Erhu Concerto No. 3</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Erhu and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan Naizhong</td>
<td>Shimian maifu (Ambush on All Sides)</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Pipa and mixed Chinese-Western orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui, Melissa</td>
<td>Come as You Are</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Pipa and nine instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ip Kim-ho</td>
<td>Zweisankeit IV</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Oboe, pipa, and string orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koo, Brian</td>
<td>The Jujube Tree</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Zheng duet and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam Bunching</td>
<td>Sudden Thunder</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam Bunching</td>
<td>Song of the Pipa</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam, Doming</td>
<td>Contrast (Duibi)</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Yangqin, pipa, bangdi, erhu, jinghu, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam, Doming</td>
<td>Shuguang (Twilight)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam Kin-yee</td>
<td>Mountain and Stream</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Sheng, pipa, Chinese woodwinds, percussion and Western orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam Lan-Chee</td>
<td><em>Threnody for the Earth</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Sheng and chamber orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Pipa Concerto</em></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Chou Si</em></td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3 voices, Chinese and Western orchestras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>When Mountains Roar (Shan Ming)</em></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Orchestra, dizi, sheng, pipa, zheng, and SATB chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Lin Li</em></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Guanzi, sanxian, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Qian Zhang Sao (A Thousand Sweeps)</em></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Flowing Fancies (Yi Bi Cao Cao)</em></td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Wing-fai</td>
<td><em>Song of the Warrior</em></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Pipas, Chinese drums, and brass, and mass student group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Daniel</td>
<td><em>Tien Dao</em></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Chinese drum and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim, Esmond</td>
<td><em>Requiem – Dedicated to the Mothers of Tiananmen</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Erhu, yangqin, chorus, vocal soloists, and chamber ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo Hau-man</td>
<td><em>The Legend of Zhang Baozai</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Opera soloists, chorus, and mixed Chinese-Western orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mak, Clarence</td>
<td><em>Wafting Color (Piao Se)</em></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Zheng and string orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mok, Raymond</td>
<td><em>Music for Sheng and Orchestra</em></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Sheng and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng Chuk-yin</td>
<td><em>White Percussion Concerto</em></td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Percussion and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Wenzhong</td>
<td><em>Shi Mian Mai Fu (Ambush on All Sides)</em></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Pipa and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Wenzhong</td>
<td><em>Wang Zhao Jun</em></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Pipa, Soprano, and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan Dun</td>
<td><em>Symphony 1997: Heaven, Earth, Man</em></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Bianzhong, cello, children’s chorus, CD player, orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Lok-Yin</td>
<td><em>Rustling Leave</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Qin and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Lok-Yin</td>
<td><em>It Is What It Is!</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Sheng and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yip, Stephen</td>
<td><em>Six Paths</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Sheng and orchestra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Chan Wing-wah graduated from Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1979, the concept of a ‘modern China’ held limited meaning for him. The famous ‘new wave’ composers on the Mainland were still in their formative years at conservatory and would not make their mark in Hong Kong until the mid 1980s. Chan himself had his sights set on graduate study in Canada, and at the time, the British colonial government did not encourage exploration of life north of the New Territories. According to Chan, in the period preceding Margaret Thatcher’s 1982 Beijing visit, Mainland China was viewed as something mysterious by young Hong Kong people like him, and his perception of Chinese music was largely limited to ancient music. Indeed, the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra had only turned fully professional in 1977, and the local idea of Chinese musical modernity was still largely limited to art song arrangements of pentatonic folk tunes in the Western Romantic style.  

Chan’s continuing music studies inevitably exposed him to more extreme twentieth-century styles, including works by Olivier Messiaen and Chou Wen-chung, who experimented with timbres and textures that sought to capture non-Western essences. When Chan approached his final master’s degree composition at the University of Toronto in 1981, he embarked on his own exploration of merged timbres within the Western orchestral medium. The result was one of the two earliest fusion concertos this author has found by Hong Kong composers. Chan Wing-wah completed his Symphony No. 2 for two solo pipa (plucked lutes) and orchestra for his master’s thesis that year, and it premiered with the Hong Kong Philharmonic at the 1982 Hong Kong Arts Festival.

The original idea for the composition was not to write a concerto-style work, but to compose a symphonic work where a section of eight to ten Chinese pipa would replace the second violin section, thereby implanting a choir of plucked instruments into an otherwise bowed string grouping. A full pipa section was not viable at the time, however, and, as a compromise, Chan opted instead for two pipa soloists. The work nonetheless represented an attempt to write Chinese music in a contemporary style, focusing more on a general Chinese identity than one specifically reflecting Hong Kong. As Chan reflected, ‘the influence of Chinese music here is different from the PRC “new wave”. The inspiration for Hong Kong composers came from classical Chinese music rather than a rediscovery of the primitive past.’ In the following Chan passage (Example 2), the pipa duet interacts with Western instruments to mimic the gestures of ritual and literati music in a manner closely modelled after Chou Wen-chung’s 1960s composition Yu-ko.

In the same year that Chan completed his work in Canada, Doming Lam composed a concerto grosso for five Chinese instruments and orchestra. Contrast (Duibi) for yangqin, pipa, bangdi, erhu, jinghu, and orchestra was commissioned by the Hong Kong Government Music Office for a youth orchestra tour to Europe. According to Lam, the head of the Music Office wanted something to introduce Hong Kong music to the world, and they decided it was a good idea to combine musical elements from East and West. ‘My objective was to write Chinese new music, but I hadn’t been able to find anything [during my study abroad in the U.S. and Germany].’ Lam knew of Takemitsu’s November Steps (for biwa, shakuhachi, and orchestra) however, and like many Asian composers who have written...
fusion concertos, he appropriated the Japanese composer’s use of ancient instruments against a modernist backdrop. ‘I wanted to write a more contemporary piece that could

Example 2: Chan Wing-wah Symphony No. 2, mm. 81-84
show more Chinese instruments for the tour, so I chose a concerto grosso. I also wanted to express a general Chinese identity rather than a Hong Kong one. Lam believes that, while *Contrast* was perhaps intended, in the minds of Music Office personnel, to represent Hong Kong culture for foreign audiences, it was never actually played in Hong Kong. Nor does he regard it as one of his better works. The piece is noteworthy, nonetheless, for its rare combination of Chinese concertino instruments and its relatively early experimentation in fusing Chinese and Western timbres.

The two works represent rather isolated attempts at fusion concertos by Hong Kong composers in the early 1980s. Lam’s concerto virtually disappeared in the shadow of his more popular Chinese instrumental works, and Chan’s work only received one additional performance (in Paris) beyond its premiere. While Chan’s premiere recording enjoyed some radio airplay in the colony after that, it has not been aired recently.

In contrast to these, Law Wing-fai’s *Pipa Concerto* of 1986 has established itself within the concerto repertoire for conservatory *pipa* students throughout the Mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. According to Barbara Mittler, Law’s works emanate from a prolonged identity struggle he had begun to experience during his years in Taiwan and the U.S. in the 1970s. Back in Hong Kong in the early to mid 1980s, Law’s ‘immediate response to the native Chinese environment seems to have been a revived interest in Chinese tradition’. Unlike the works of Chan and Lam, the work is in a more conventional three-movement concerto outlay (fast-slow-fast). The focus on virtuosic technique and the absence of programmatic references – either literal or conceptual – to Chinese culture sets Law apart from the ‘new wave’ PRC composers, whose delving into China’s primitive origins was just making its impact on Hong Kong composers of the day. The Law concerto also differs from the Chan and Lam examples in that it was written after Hong Kong’s return to Mainland China had been sealed in 1984. However, it is unclear to what degree Hong Kong identity may have been on Law’s mind at that time, beyond the galvanization of a personal style based on eclectic experiences and influences, and the collective search for a distinctive local identity was still in its infancy just two years after the Joint Declaration.

**Pan-Chinese identity bolstered by PRC transplants**

The sense of Chinese identity was heightened by the presence of Mainland musicians in Hong Kong from around the end of the Cultural Revolution in the late 1970s. Two composers – Qu Wenzhong (Wut Man-chung) and Guan Naizhong wrote works in the 1980s that included Chinese solo instruments. Qu (1942-1992) emigrated from Beijing in 1975 and wrote his 22-minute symphonic poem *Shi Mian Mai Fu* (Ambush on All Sides) for *pipa* and orchestra in 1980. Nearly forty years of age and with the Cultural Revolution still part of the recent past, Qu faced a set of immediate identity issues that were quite different from those felt by Chan, Lam, or Law. According to Liang Maochun, Qu adopts a musical approach that was typical of PRC composers who preceded the younger ‘new wave’ generation: a populist blend of Western musical structures and classical Chinese musical and cultural themes. By adapting the famous *pipa* work as a symphonic poem, Qu was expressing his indebtedness to older Chinese tradition within the framework of newer, mid-twentieth-century Mainland Chinese identity. In this way, while his personal interest may have been on pan-Chinese roots, his musical language was not modernist in the sense
of Chan, Lam, or Law. Indeed, although Qu had for five years been part of the Hong Kong musical community when he wrote *Shi Mian Mai Fu*, he joins a handful of fusion concerto works written in Mainland China around the same time that utilize a similar compositional approach, particularly in terms of blending modality, form, and genre. There is little to suggest from this work that Qu was attempting to identify specifically with his new home in either this work or in *Wang Zhao Jun* for soprano, *pipa*, and orchestra, which he wrote in 1986. Rather, these and other works undertaken in Hong Kong and Taiwan until his death in 1992 suggest a broader expression of Chinese identification unbroken by the Cultural Revolution years.

Guan Naizhong moved to Hong Kong from the Mainland in 1979. While he spent only a limited time in the colony before taking on work in Taiwan in 1991 and then emigrating to Canada in 1994, Guan has remained active in Asia, and the First *Erhu* Concerto of 1987-88 is from his Hong Kong period. Other than the fact that it merges the reformed solo *erhu* timbre with the Western orchestra, the non-programmatic work does not appear to be concerned with overt identity assertions. Rather, it seems to be an attempt to build the conservatory *erhu* repertoire by simply substituting the two-stringed *huqin* in place of the four-stringed Western violin. The concerto is in the older Western convention of three movements, and the entire work is structured to highlight the concert virtuosity of the soloist, fully removed from the instrument’s folk context. The concerto has, nonetheless, become a staple of the conservatory repertoire for *erhu* students, and according to Bo Xiaomei, is one of the more important late-twentieth-century *erhu* concertos that constitute a newer Chinese musical tradition. Subsequent works, such as *Hudie Meng* (Butterfly Dream; 1988) for *dizi* and orchestra and the *Concerto for Erhu* and Orchestra No. 2: *Zhui Meng Jing Hua* (Dream of Old Beijing; c. 1990) are also primarily Romantic in their musical language, and while they clearly showcase the solo instrument, they emphasize programmatic references and atmospheric expression more than the technical display of the first concerto. Like Qu, Guan appears to have refrained from, at least in his concerto works, extreme modernist or postmodernist experimentiation in favour of a restrained blending of older Chinese and Western styles. In this way, both composers contribute to a broader Chinese identity building instead of the more localized construction that would take place on a number of cultural fronts in the approach to the 1997 handover.

**1997 handover ceremony: historical context from ‘autonomous’ and ‘one-China’ perspectives**

As the Hong Kong public braced itself for its impending fate in the fifteen years leading up to the 1997 handover, it underwent a remarkable process of identity invention that elevated the importance of local experience, new and old. Thus, what had been an impetus toward defining oneself as colonial British subject seeking out Chinese roots turned into an effort to distinguish oneself as Hong Kong-Chinese. The massive demonstrations by the Hong Kong public in response to events on the Mainland in June 1989 signified increasing anxiety over the looming handover and undoubtedly propelled the collective search for local identity, as observed in the areas of film, academia, and popular music. However, there is little to suggest that fusion concertos were a significant vehicle for this search in the
early 1990s. Indeed, a survey of biographies and major compositions in *An Introduction to the Hong Kong Composers’ Guild* indicates that the preferred genres for including Chinese musical and non-musical themes, with or without local features, were in works solely for Western instruments or solely for Chinese instruments, especially the emerging Chinese orchestra.44

However, as preparations for the handover ceremonies began in the mid-1990s, new circumstances arose that necessitated functional roles for both Western and Chinese instruments on the same stage. Under these circumstances, the Western orchestra was called upon to illuminate the festivities as a practical ceremonial medium and an implicit signifier of Hong Kong’s colonial history. Equally important, from an official standpoint, the orchestra acts as a symbol of power on three levels. Musically, the quadrangular force of multiple timbres (strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion) with standardized acoustical properties in vertically stratified choirs (SATB) and in voluminous numbers (expansive string sections, doubled/tripled winds, and military percussion) creates an aural dynamic of force and vastness to reflect the grandeur of the occasion. Ceremonially, and inseparable from the aural perception, is the formidable visual representation of the orchestra as an unmistakable symbol of official, political power that emanates from the English and French Baroque court orchestras. Internationally, an outgrowth of that political significance is the symbol of national and regional power embodied in the twentieth-century adoption of the Western orchestra into the new Chinese tradition. In musical venues, by claiming the Western orchestra as part of its new tradition, a metamorphic China reclaims its position as world player. To complement this multilayered power signifier, the addition of Chinese solo instruments alongside the mighty orchestra then symbolizes, to a degree, China’s ‘elevation’ in importance to a position on par with the Western representative.45

The metaphorical power relationship became apparent in several works for the celebrations (discussed below), but the blending of instruments also provided both cultural and historical references that composers could use to mark the occasion. For example, consider Joshua Chan’s *Prelude to 97* (九七 引) for the *xiao* vertical flute, *zheng* zither, and orchestra, which was commissioned by the Hong Kong Sinfonietta and premiered in April 1997. In this work, the composer seeks to create an historical review of Hong Kong before 1997, rather than a bombastic rouser. Here, in the manner of incidental music to a play, the music describes the tremendous changes Hong Kong has experienced over the past century and a half: its origins as a fishing village; the arrival of the British; the confrontation between East and West; the Chinese lamentation over its loss of dignity; pre-World War II development; three years and eight months of Japanese occupation; and post-war industrialization. Example 3 shows the transition between the final two movements of the nineteen-minute symphonic poem. Optimistically entitled ‘The Oriental Pearl’ and ‘Unification and Looking Forward’, the score suggests a climactic point in measure 219, followed by a more introspective gesture in the decrescendo of the following measures.

According to Chan’s program notes, ‘the two Chinese instruments scored beneath the orchestral force, *xiao* and *zheng*, represent the ultimate cultural identity of most Hong Kong people which may have been hidden or forgotten. This piece of music may serve the purpose of re-discovering and manifesting this culture identity.’46 In view of this example, one manifestation of cultural identity relegates Hong Kong’s best of times to the recent
past. Indeed, despite the upbeat subtitles, the work intentionally avoids a celebratory closing fanfare, instead concluding on a musical message of resignation, at best. This was the composer’s way of addressing what he says was the ‘hot’ question of the day: ‘Are we Chinese or not?’

The answer to Chan’s query was unequivocally affirmative in Tan Dun’s famous Symphony 1997: Heaven, Earth, Man (for bianzhong bell chimes, cello, children’s chorus, CD, and orchestra), also commissioned for the handover ceremonies. Curiously, Tan, a Mainland-born émigré residing in the United States, was selected to provide the central piece for the celebrations, despite having little visible connection to Hong Kong. Presumably, Tan’s status as a rising international star, one of the few contemporary Chinese composers to enjoy such renown, afforded him an honorary – albeit temporary – club membership alongside international cello sensation Yo-Yo Ma, PRC President Jiang Zemin, and Hong Kong SAR Administrator Tung Chee Hwa. On this occasion, Tan disappointed few from the non-Hong Kong live and media audience with his inclusion of the gigantic set of 64 Zeng Hou Yi bell chimes (bianzhong) from the fifth century B.C. The bells had only been discovered in 1978, before being analysed for their amazing acoustical properties and replicated, so their novelty and representation as a Chinese treasure made them a particularly acute choice for musical inclusion. Thus, despite – or perhaps because of – their controversial contextualization, as Yu Siu-wah has so convincingly argued, they were ‘symbolic historically and politically for the whole event of reunification. . . [and the work] turned out to be a reflection of the multifarious political situations of Hong Kong and China.’

In this case, the Chinese instrumental set does not display virtuosic technique in the manner of a conventional concerto. Rather, it is incorporated into the rhetoric of the symphony, especially in the sixth movement, ‘Bell-chimes and the operatic performance of Temple Street’. In this movement, a tape is played of a live Cantonese operatic street performance in the form of musique concrète:

‘Then the tape fades out, and the low-register bells fade in. It ends with a long solo section by the [bianzhong] bell-chimes. The drowning out of Hong Kong’s local culture by the majestic bell-chimes from the Mainland is aurally significant. . . The Chinese government is using the bell-chimes and tripods as symbols of legitimacy and authority for the “one China” it proclaims, despite the old imperial associations that these objects sometimes invoke. If Taiwan is united with China someday, one may guarantee that there will be more bell-chimes and tripods cast, and more symphonies similar to Tan Dun’s written.’

In other words, while the 1997 handover may have drawn Hong Kong composers into an unprecedented identity crisis, from the one-China perspective no identity issue existed, since the return of Hong Kong represented nothing less than the rectification of a bastardized colonial history.

Post-1997 identity challenge: finding a new market niche
In the wake of the handover celebrations, the Hong Kong SAR has entered a new phase of soul searching. With the most apocalyptic fears of the July 1997 handover having
Example 3. Joshua Chan, Prelude to 97 九七引, mm. 218-23
abated, for the moment, observers are beginning to acknowledge Hong Kong’s changing commercial and political climate during its initial stage within the PRC and the impact on its musical identity. In order to survive in the face of the Mainland emergence, Hong Kong denizens are responding to new realities in the realms of competition, cooperation, expansion, and cultural distinction.

Clarence Mak’s *Wafting Colour* (Piao Se) for the zheng zither and string orchestra from 2002, for example, attempts to highlight Hong Kong’s unique identity by capturing the atmosphere of a ‘Float Procession’ during the Bun Festival on Cheung Chau Island. Here, little children, called ‘piao xin’ (Hearts of Color), are dressed in dramatic and colourful costumes to represent folk legends, historic incidents, or contemporary affairs, ingeniously mounted on concealed stilts, and paraded so that they appear to ‘waft’ through the air above the crowds. According to Mak, this parade has become the hallmark of the annual Festival, which attracts large numbers of tourists to the island, and is considered to be a unique element of the culture. The Hong Kong festival costumes include both Chinese and Western icons (distinguishing it from similar festivals in Guangdong Province that have used only Chinese icons), which led Mak to mix the plucked guzheng and Western string timbres (Example 4).

Here, not only does Mak express the ‘floating’ child figures parading past the onlookers in the polyphonic musical texture, he also inadvertently reflects the intricacy of his own personal background as he assigns each line an independent, and indeterminate melo-rhythmic line. Mak was born and educated in Hong Kong (also briefly educated in England and Spain) and earned graduate degrees from Pennsylvania State University in the U.S. before assuming his current post at the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts. In an effort to capture the essence of the local festival, Mak intentionally draws the solo and orchestral instruments out of their conventional contexts in terms of harmony, texture, and idiom, to embody the novel plurality that is endemic to the SAR. He observes, ‘Hong Kong is a special place – composers find it difficult to find identity, since people don’t regard us as ‘Chinese’ but also not ‘Western,’ so we have to make something new.’

Other Hong Kong composers have also been part of attempts to distinguish music of the SAR from the Mainland. The Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (HKCO) and Hong Kong Composers’ Guild, for example, have undertaken a two-year ‘Cadenzas of Hong Kong’ project from 2006 to 2008 as part of the HKCO’s 30th Anniversary Celebration, in which a number of prominent Hong Kong composers have been commissioned to write new pieces with subjects that express the territory’s unique social, cultural, scenic, and geographic constitution. To facilitate these commissions, organizers have sponsored a variety of activities for composers, including local tours to attractive scenery and culturally significant places of the territories, field trips to attend local musical performances around the Greater Pearl River Delta, and workshops with the HKCO. While the medium at play here is the Chinese orchestra, of relevance is the certainty that Western compositional techniques will inevitably characterize the works and the possibility that fusion concertos for Western or non-Chinese solo instrument and Chinese orchestra will be premiered.

At the same time, political-commercial realities dictate that Hong Kong people cooperate with PRC overseers locally while competing among themselves and with
counterparts throughout Mainland China and Taiwan. Hong Kong academic institutions, for example, are increasingly competing to attract PRC students and to build personal and institutional exchanges in ‘second-tier’ Mainland cities and provinces beyond the saturated centres of Beijing, Shanghai, and nearby Guangdong. In this landscape, major events such as the 2007 World Music Days event that was held in Hong Kong and sponsored by the International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) and Asian Composers League has drawn attention for its coinciding with the tenth anniversary of the handover. On one hand, the event is testament to Hong Kong’s continuing importance as an international and regional centre and growing importance in the musical world. On the other, its timing and selection of participants raise questions regarding motives among some of the many local organizers who may be seeking special opportunities in Hong Kong, given the

Example 4. Wafting Colour, mm. 142-47
considerable participation by influential government organs, and on the Mainland. From both the ‘Cadenzas’ and ‘World Music Days’ events, it appears that members of the Hong Kong academic musical establishment are being pulled in two directions—cooperation and competition—as they adjust to political vicissitudes.

Despite the new reality, Hong Kong remains a hyper-commercial, ultra-cosmopolitan, postmodern bastion, and local composers are using multiplicity to their advantage. Chan Hing-yan, for example, has turned survival into creative opportunity as he has blended Chinese and Western musical styles, traditions, periods, and timbres, gaining him increasing exposure on the world stage. Part of this is a natural outgrowth of socialization that really has instilled eclectic combinations of British, American, Western, Cantonese, pan-Chinese, and international forces. Another part is the symbiotic relationship between opportunities created by stereotyping and the perpetuation of those stereotypes when individuals seek to capitalize on direly needed opportunities. Chan expresses both frustration and pride over the growing exposure he has recently received in high-profile concerts around Asia and in Europe. The performance of his concerto for piano and Chinese orchestra at a Singapore arts festival in 2006 offered him widespread exposure when a full-page advertisement in *Time* Magazine featured Chan alongside Tan Dun and Beijing composer Tang Jianping. Chan, however, responds with ambivalence: ‘A lot people viewed me as the Taiwan/Hong Kong/Macau representative together with the international superstar and rising Mainland composer. I can’t escape being typecast in this model. People impose this identity on me.’

**Fusion concertos: cultural counterpoint?**

Imposition or not, Chan and others know that a superficially imposed identity is, in many ways, preferable to obscurity in a commercially driven metropolis like Hong Kong. In this case, public perception is contributing to the demand for fusion works. Chan says he has difficulty getting commissions that are just for Western instruments, instead being asked to write for hybrid media or for Chinese instruments alone. Nevertheless, he has seized the opportunity to explore novel interplays of temporal, cultural, and musical paradigms.

Chan’s Chinese-Western fusion concerto *There’s Something in the Wind* for the *dizi* transverse flute, *sheng* mouth organ, and orchestra was commissioned and performed by the Hong Kong Sinfonietta as a feature of its 2005 European tour. In many ways, the three-movement work embodies the limitless cultural resources at the composer’s disposal. In a postmodernist sense, the ostensibly unrelated materials are laid side by side or stacked on top of each other in pastiche fashion. However, a logic and rhetoric form cohesion within and between movements that betrays structural dialogue over random occurrence.

Consider the beginning of the finale ‘Upon the Wings of Wind’, where the Peking opera melody of the opening *dizi* solo is subsumed by a multiple call-response passage, with vibraphone underlay, that includes a German lullaby, mocking fluttertongue brass and woodwinds, ominous string harmonics, and a resumption of the melody by the Chinese *sheng*—later joined heterophonically by the *dizi*. This is followed by the macabre violin motive, and Bartok pizzicatos in the string choir. ‘This movement,’ the composer boasts, ‘may be interpreted as an excursion upon the wings of musical styles... a counterpoint of different musics rather than the traditional counterpoint of lines’ (Example 5).
Fr Example 5. There’s Something in the Wind 風留韻事, III.
Upon the Wings of the Wind, rehearsal 3–4 (m. 5)
From one standpoint, this passage exemplifies just the unpredictable intertwining of musics that the composer intends. In the broader scheme, the entire concerto embodies a counterpoint of cultures that constitutes one sphere of identity for up-and-coming Hong Kong composers in the early twenty-first century. However, the cultural interplay itself displays a variety of textures in several dimensions. Counterpoint suggests a horizontal-vertical interweaving of independent lines, but cultural traditions can also interrelate in juxtaposition, as in the example we just heard, or as superimposition, as suggested in the earlier example ‘Eclipse’ from Enigmas. As an alternative to the hyphenational model that Ackbar Abbas proposes, where Hong Kong culture remains mixed and persistently transient in the manner of a meandering line, an alternative possibility is that of a luminescent orbital image. Here, the various traditions of time, place, and sentiment gravitate around a centre that is occupied temporarily and alternately by those very cultural spheres that orbit in the periphery. In this system, Hong Kong identity is illuminated by potentially any and all individual cultures oscillating between core and outskirts, producing a continuous, kaleidoscopic burst of ecliptic events. For the moment, Hong Kong identity remains steeped in multiplicity, even if its future must inevitably merge with the larger Chinese trajectory.

Indeed, expanding collaborations mean that fusion concertos continue to be programmed, playing a small part in formulating images of Hong Kong’s ongoing condition. New fusion concertos, such as Chan Hing-yan’s And the Moon Winks... for double erhu and orchestra, (premiered in 2008) and Hark the Phoenix Soaring High (2010) for sheng and orchestra, will at least contribute to the assessment of its cultural identity. Additionally, a younger generation of composers trained in Hong Kong is experimenting with mixed Chinese-Western timbres during their foundational training. Despite the metaphorical possibilities posed by such works, perhaps equally telling are the performing contexts in which these pieces are framed. The Hong Kong Philharmonic, for example, performed a ‘Bravo! China’ program in January 2009 that featured, among other works, pieces for solo suona and guanzi (reed instruments). As the Hong Kong looking glass gradually views China from the standpoint of insider, rather than colonial-postcolonial gateway, notions of non-identity, eclipse, counterpoint, and orbit may all eventually merge into a unitary, but as yet indefinable, late-twenty-first century Chinese identity.

NOTE

1 Chan Hing-yan, interview by author, 12 September 2006.
3 Numerous recent examples include Between Home and World: A Reader in Hong Kong Cinema, eds. Esther M.K. Cheung and Chu Yiu-wai (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Yu Siu-wah, Such are the Fading Sounds (Hong Kong: International Association of Theatre Critics, 2005). See also Chow Chun-Shing and Elizabeth K. Teather, Heritage, Identity and the (Re)Construction of Culture in Postcolonial Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies, 2002); Brian Hooper, Voices in the Heart: Postcolonialism and Identity in Hong Kong Literature
(Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 2003); Lam Wing Cheong, “‘Musical Identity’ in the Late Colonial Period of Hong Kong: A Case Study on the Members of the Music Office’s Hong Kong Youth Chinese Orchestras” (Chinese text) (Ph.D. diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005); Lau Siu-Kai, Hongkongese or Chinese: The Problem of Identity on the Eve of Resumption of Chinese Sovereignty over Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997); Gordon Mathews, Eric Kit-Wai Ma, and Tai-Lok Lui, Hong Kong, China: Learning to Belong to a Nation (London; New York: Routledge, 2008); and Ng, Sheung-Yuen Daisy, “The Cultural Politics of Nostalgia in Contemporary Hong Kong Film and Memoir” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000).

4 Yu Siu-wah, Such are the Fading Sounds (Hong Kong: International Association of Theatre Critics, 2005), 324.


7 For one recent assessment of how music and cultural identity interact in the context of pipa concertos written by Hong Kong composer Law Wing Fai, see Frederick Lau, “Context, Agency and Chineseness: The Music of Law Wing Fai,” in Contemporary Music Review 26/5-6 (2007), 585-603.

8 Ibid., 236.

9 The Enigmas score includes a total of three instruments to be played by the huqin soloist. The first, third, and fifth movements call for the erhu fiddle in two different registers. With its lower register, snakeskin resonator, and wooden body, the erhu timbre is distinct from the banhu, which uses a wooden resonator and coconut-shell body.

10 Western music was introduced to China on a limited scale before the twentieth century, and large-scale interaction between Western and Chinese music did not begin until shortly before the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911-12. On the early decades of the twentieth century, see Wang Yuhe, Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shi [History of Modern and Contemporary Chinese Music] (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 2009) and Hon-Lun Yang and Neil Edmunds, “The Shanghai Conservatory, Chinese Musical Life and the Russian Diaspora, 1927-1949” (Twentieth-Century China, forthcoming). See also A. Schimmelpenninck and F. Kouwenhoven. “The Shanghai Conservatory of Music: History & Foreign Students’ Experiences,” in CHIME, No. 6 (Spring 1993), 56-91; and Maria Chow, “Representing China Musically: A Chinese Conservatory and China’s Musical Modernity, 1900-1937” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004).

11 I have identified over 350 fusion concertos around the world as part of ongoing research that began on a Fulbright dissertation grant to China in 2004-05. A summary of the repertoire is included in Table 4. The development of the repertoire was outlined in a presentation at the 2005 annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Atlanta, and related articles describing it in greater detail are forthcoming.


13 Abbas, Ackbar, Hong Kong Culture and the Politics of Disappearance (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), 4.

14 Political idealism has taken hold, to a point, however, as evidenced by massive public demonstrations
to oppose expansive national security laws in 2003 and to obtain a timetable for universal suffrage in December 2005. See Goodstadt, Leo F., “Hong Kong’s Long March to Democracy”, in Far Eastern Economic Review 169/1 (Jan/Feb 2006), 12-17.

15 Abbas, 5.


17 Abbas, 70-71.

18 For a more detailed timeline of Hong Kong history, view “Timeline” in the Hong Kong Journal at http://www.hkjournal.org.

19 This material is drawn primarily from Abbas, 70-71; Chu Yiu-wai, “Who Am I? Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema in the Age of Global Capitalism,” in Between Home and World: A Reader in Hong Kong Cinema, eds. Esther M.K. Cheung and Chu Yiu-wai (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004), 56; and Goodstadt, 12-17.

20 Abbas, 2-6.


23 Ibid., 333.

24 Abbas, 11.

25 Ibid., 145.

26 Chu Yiu-wai, 57.

27 Most visible, in this respect, is the increasing presence of Mainland Chinese visiting, working, and studying in Hong Kong, as well as the expanded use of Mandarin (Putonghua) in the SAR. Hong Kong educational institutions are also increasingly emphasizing collaboration with Mainland counterparts. Other signs include responsiveness of Hong Kong youth to Chinese national signifiers, such as visits to the SAR in 2008 by Mainland astronauts and Olympic athletes. See also footnote 21 above. At the same time, plans such as the West Kowloon Cultural District to be developed in the coming years could also impact the SAR’s cultural life.

28 In addition to the mainly Chinese composers highlighted in Liang’s discussion, a number of Western-originating composers have also made a significant contribution to Hong Kong’s music scene, including those who made Hong Kong their permanent home, such as Harry Ore, Timothy Wilson, and David Gwilt, and others who have lived and worked in Hong Kong for significant periods.


32 Yu Siu-wah, Such are the Fading Sounds, 311.


Ibid.

The Music Office was established in 1977 to promote musical knowledge and appreciation, especially among youth. With the support of the government, the Office organized overseas tours for both Chinese and Western youth orchestras, and concerts in Hong Kong and abroad featured both Chinese and Western music, including performances by virtuosic Chinese instrumentalists who were recent immigrants.


Ibid.

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Doming Lam, telephone interview by author, 16 October 2006.

Ibid.


Liang Maochun, Xianggang Zuoqujia: Sanshi zhi Jiushi Niandai [Hong Kong Composers: The 1930s to the 1990s] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1999), 191.

These works include: Xiyang Xiaoqu (Flute and Drum at Sunset; 1980) and Chun Jiang Hua Yue Ye (Moonlight Over the River in Spring; 1980), both for pipa and orchestra, by Wu Zuqiang; the matouqin concerto Caoyuan Yinshi (Grassland Tone Poem; 1980) by Xin Huguang; the Changcheng Suixiangqu (Great Wall Capriccio) for erhu (1981 for Chinese orchestra/orchestrated for Western orchestra 1986) by Liu Wenjin; the Huixuan Xiezouqu (Rondo Concerto, 1983) for two zheng and orchestra by Wang Shu; and Hudie Quan (Butterfly Springs; 1983) for erhu and orchestra by Zhu Jianer.

Guang has recently added a third concerto for erhu and orchestra, as well as a work for pipa and mixed orchestra, but I have not yet obtained scores or recordings of the works.

For discussions on these aspects of pre-1997 identity search, see Ackbar Abbas, Blanche Chu, Chu Yiu-wai, and J Lawrence Witzleben, cited above.


For a candid acknowledgement of nationalistic motivation in this respect, see Yu Siu-wah, Such Are the Fading Sounds, 237.

Joshua Chan, Prelude to 97, program notes and score by composer (Hong Kong: Joshua Chan, 1997).


Ibid., 59 and 70.

For further description and photos of the procession, refer to www.hkfastfacts.com/Chinese%20Festivals/bunFestival/BunFestival.html.

Clarence Mak, interview by author, 27 January 2005.

This background information is provided by participating musicians and composers. It should be noted that the ‘Cadenzas’ is not the first attempt by an organization to call for works that are intended to reinforce a Hong Kong identity. In 1969, Radio Television Hong Kong commissioned four Hong Kong composers to compose orchestral works with local themes. Perhaps the irony here lies in the more recent attempt to ‘impose’ a Hong Kong-Chinese identity on Hong Kong composers by organizing field trips to the southern region of the PRC.

For detailed information, see http://www.hkcg.org/2007worldmusic/ISCM/index.html.

Chan Hing-yan, telephone interview by author, 12 September 2006.
John Winzenburg: Cultural Identity and Fusion Concertos in ‘Postcolonial’ Hong Kong

55 Ibid.
56 Chan Hing-yan, There’s Something in the Wind… - for orchestra and two Chinese-wind soloists, program notes and score by composer (Hong Kong: Chan Hing-yan, 2005).

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This informative monograph brings together wide-ranging and thought-provoking material on several art forms originally referred to as shuochang 说唱 – and since 1953 known as quyi 曲艺 – as they were performed in Tianjin during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Based primarily on research conducted for the author's 1988 Ph.D. dissertation, and augmented with some material from a brief 1991 return fieldtrip, the book explores four of Tianjin's distinctive performance genres: Tianjin shidiao 天津时调 (Tianjin popular tunes), jingyun dagu 京韵大鼓 (Beijing drumsong or Beijing-accent drum singing), kuaibanshu 快板书 or kuaibarshu 快板儿书 (fast clapper-tales) and xiangsheng 相声 (cross-talk, comic dialogues or comic routines). The author's aim is to provide 'a snapshot of the community from the middle to the end of the 1980s, focusing primarily on traditional performances of the senior generation of performers who had shaped the narrative arts during the early to middle years of the twentieth century' (p.3). Yet Lawson states at the outset that rather than attempt a comprehensive survey of Tianjin's narrative arts, she intends the work to be 'an exploration into the ways in which the manner of performance influences and is influenced by the kinds of information that may be communicated during the course of performance’ (p.4). As the book’s title suggests, the author focuses particularly on the relationship between music and language in these art forms, frequently (although, I suggest, not unproblematically) placing them within a dualistic framework wherein they are respectively aligned with concepts referred to using the Chinese terms chang 唱 (sing/singing) and shuo 说 (speech/speaking).

The book is arranged into three parts. Part 1 (‘Background’) begins with a chapter that outlines the author’s China field research and the rationales underpinning the book’s focus, and introduces the individuals who taught her how to perform some of these narrative genres and/or guided her understandings. Some of this discussion reappears in Chapter 2 (‘Prologue’), where it is contextualized regarding the author’s initial interest in the
research and her first impressions of such performances in China (including some welcome ethnographic descriptions). The remainder of the chapter presents two themes that recur throughout the book: the image of baozi (steamed buns, somewhat confusingly translated as ‘stuffed dumplings’) as an interesting metaphor for Chinese concepts regarding aesthetics and form (p.12), and what the author refers to as ‘the two poles of shuo and chang’ (p.13). While Lawson acknowledges regarding the latter the ‘continuum of spoken or sung performance modes’ (p.13), she also states that ‘shuo and chang may also be seen respectively as the more general semantic and aesthetic components of a performance’ (p.13), and concludes that ‘shuochang genres constitute a unique kind of discourse that differs markedly from either purely linguistic or musical communication’ (p.14).

Chapter 3 (‘Teahouses and Marketplaces: Narrative Arts before 1949’) traces the history of China’s narrative arts and their original forms of transmission. The author also gives some general information about their development in Tianjin, but readers will need to turn to later chapters or elsewhere for specific details on the history of the four genres discussed in the book. Chapter 4 (‘The Iron Rice Bowl: Shuochang Becomes Quyi after 1949’) examines the social context for narrative arts performance from 1949 to the late 1980s, with a particularly useful outline of influential state organs (p.25) and the dramatic changes in transmission and patronage during this period (pp.26-30).

Chapters 5 (‘Social Relationships’) and 6 (‘Language-Music Relationships’) raise issues that the author sees as central to subsequent analyses. While the lengthy discussion of ‘face’ and guanxi that forms the bulk of Chapter 5 might be somewhat unnecessary for many readers, the author’s description of the popularity accorded to amateur musician Dong Xiangkun compared with his professional counterparts (pp.43-44) will be of interest to many. Chapter 6 presents a multitude of ideas concerning the very complex issue of the relationship between speech and music. The discussion is necessarily somewhat abstract – the narrative genres themselves have yet to be described in detail – but it provides a useful overview to refer back to whilst reading later parts of the work. Some consultation of more recent studies of the language-music interaction in Chinese performance arts (such as Stock [1999], Mang [2007], and Wee [2007]), and more detailed linguistic-related information (for example, the complexity of tone sandhi in the Tianjin dialect noted by Lin [2008] and the features of prosody in Mandarin discussed by Peng et al. [2005]) might have allowed more nuanced analyses to emerge.

Part 2 (‘Performances’) comprises a chapter on each of the four narrative genres studied, plus a concluding chapter. The four genres are presented in the abovementioned order as if arranged on a spectrum between song and speech. Each chapter begins with an ethnographic description that effectively sets the scene of the performance, and the discussion then moves into a more detailed elaboration of particular issues relevant to each art form. A wealth of ideas about shuo and chang are linked together with useful information regarding performance techniques, lyrical content, musical structure and narrative discourse, and audio recordings of examples of all but the fourth genre appear on the accompanying CD.

In these four chapters in particular, Lawson conflates shuo with ‘text’ (p.69, p.124), ‘semantic intelligibility’ (p.68) and ‘lyrics of the performance’ (p.115), and chang with ‘tune’ (p.69), ‘musical delivery’ (p.68), ‘musical element’ (p.73), ‘aesthetic/structural/
performative elements’ (p.124), and the combined instrumental accompaniment and mode of vocal delivery (pp.109-110). At the same time, she sometimes acknowledges the commonalities between these two ‘poles’ (for example, ‘Melodic aspects of shuo’ [p.101]). However, aside from the analysis of one ethnographic description (pp.62-63), the degree to which her teachers or advisers held the same views of shuo and chang, or considered that the various elements of their performances constituted two ‘poles’ which existed in ‘dualistic relationship’ (p.75), is unclear. Moreover, particularly given both the tonal nature of the Chinese language and the author’s surprisingly broad interpretation of these Chinese terms, it would have been helpful had such conflations and the apparently antithetical use of these terms be carefully discussed and defined – especially since the entire study is primarily presented along the lines of these two features of the performances.

Other puzzling aspects of her discussion in these chapters are her assumptions regarding illiterate and literate aficionados and what can be considered to constitute authentic Chinese culture. For example, she states that illiterate listeners ‘would benefit from the exciting kuabarshu performance as a means of becoming socialized within Chinese culture’ (p.110), and that ‘the appeal of the forbidden – only partly-comprehended lyrics and artistically rendered melodies – represented some of the greatness of the Chinese cultural heritage that even the uneducated and poor patron could partake of in some way.’. . . In addition to its appeal for uneducated patrons, jingyun dagu has also been a source of aesthetic pleasure for the educated connoisseurs who delight in savoring the beauty of the marriage between chang and shuo’ (p.94). A critical reader, or one familiar with the often high aesthetic sensibilities of Chinese people who may be expert practitioners in a rich cultural environment of their own but perhaps did not have the opportunity to enter the Chinese education system, will wonder about the origin of these comments (are they made by her teachers or her ‘informants’?), and will seek evidence for the value judgements that these statements imply.

Following these four chapters is a brief four-page conclusion (Chapter 11) where the author gives a summary of these various findings, hinting in the final page (p.128) that things may have changed in the intervening twenty years. The book finishes with ten chapters of appendices that comprise Part 3. These include musical transcriptions of examples of all genres except xiangsheng, a range of texts in the original Chinese language, and some further discussion of speech tones. This material would be particularly useful were the book used as a reference for others researching this area, or within a teaching context.

Overall, the work has various strengths. Lawson’s own involvement in studying several of the genres – and knowledge of the language – is clearly advantageous for the insights she is able to provide. The fact that she was able to work with a number of the most expert performers of these genres during an important period in the genres’ development renders the study particularly valuable. Additionally, the writing throughout generally presents the author’s ideas clearly and with minimal technical terminology, and the study offers much useful data about these art forms. Consequently, the book would lend itself well to use in teaching, both as a model for presenting research and for the information it provides. In particular, Lawson is to be commended for striving to uncover links between different narrative genres, and for encouraging the reader to think about how the different genres and their relationships to each other might have a role in understanding the relationship between speech and song.
Such an ambitious study will understandably leave readers with questions that remain unanswered. Some of these queries are relatively basic – for example, one wonders why Lawson comments that Tianjin boasts ten narrative genres (p.4, p.56) but does not list them all, and why the importance of studying actual performance is emphasized but there is no recording of an actual performance of xiangsheng on the accompanying CD. Another puzzling concern is particularly felt in the conclusion. Here, the author departs from her original ‘snapshot’ endeavour to raise the issue of recent changes in narrative arts performance, but does not describe those changes in any concrete manner. It would have been very interesting (and, I suggest, very helpful for future researchers in this field) had the author offered even some cursory observations regarding narrative arts developments over the last twenty years. For example, a brief comparison of the understandings deriving from her fieldwork and observations gleaned from more recent secondary sources or the internet would have been welcome. Or, perhaps, the chapter might have included a short discussion of the apparent effects of inscription of three of the genres on China’s National-Level listing of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2006 and 2008 (see Guowuyuan [2006, 2008]) – an issue of particular interest given the effects that such listing is known to be having in relation to other Chinese musical genres. Since at times throughout the work the author writes explicitly or implicitly in the present tense, but does not offer any analysis of the developments of the last twenty years, the reader is occasionally left with an unsettled feeling.

Greater theoretical support of issues raised would also have added to the analyses, especially some exploration of the large body of theory concerning narrative discourse analysis (for example, Labov and Waletsky [1967], Børdahl [1999], Toolan [2001], and Shi-xu [2004]). It would also have been instructive had the author related her investigation more closely to specifically Chinese artistic principles and practice. For example, one wonders about the lyrical structure of genres such as jingyun dagu (pp.87-88) in relation to the technique of bixing 比兴 (the well-known aesthetic structural technique commonly used in Han Chinese poetry); knowledge of what might be the distinctive aspects of tianci 填词 (p.64) within these narrative genres when compared with tianci as it is known to have been or still be employed in other genres (such as the famous Song dynasty ci 词 poems, or its counterparts apparent in the performance of many folk song genres sung within both non-Han and Han communities) might have shed further light on the book’s central music-language focus.

Nonetheless, given the paucity of English-language information in this area, and particularly the lack of broad-scale surveys of traditional Chinese narrative arts, the work is an important addition to the English-language literature on traditional Chinese art forms. It not only contributes to non-practitioners’ understandings of these narrative genres, but also encourages readers to think more critically about many of the important elements that bring these genres to life with each performance.

Catherine Ingram
REFERENCES


The Kammu (otherwise spelt Kmhmu, Khmu, or, in China, Kemu 克木) are one of many highland Southeast Asian ethnic groups spread across several different national borders: it is estimated that about half a million live in northern Laos, with much smaller populations in northern Vietnam, northern Burma, and northern Thailand, and perhaps 1,600 in southern Yunnan. The Kammu language is one of several Mon-Khmer languages in this area (2010:4-5). These two books grow out of the long and close collaboration between Kam Raw (aka Damrong Tayanin), a Kammu singer born in Laos c.1938 who has lived in Sweden since 1974, and Swedish ethnomusicologist Håkan Lundström. Both have at various points been members of the Kammu Language and Literature Project established in 1972 at Lund University, which has focused on language, oral traditions, and music (2010:5-6).

The 2010 volume, *I Will Send My Song*, is described by the author as ‘a study of the singing of one man, or—to be more precise—of a particular part of his repertoire’ (2010:3). Its goal is ‘to reach an understanding of one person’s way of vocally performing rather highly varied sets of words, handling a repertoire of different performance manners and of using these competences in communication with other singers’ (ibid.). The book is divided into eight chapters. The first introduces the nature of and background to the project, with a useful section on historical references to Kammu music and brief mention of theoretically related studies in ethnomusicology, together with relevant publications on the music of other local Southeast Asian groups. It closes with a thoughtful discussion of the methodology of the study. The second chapter is a fascinating picture of Kam Raw’s personal history that vividly depicts life and music in a Kammu village in the mid-20th century.
Chapters 3-7 focus on vocal genres, featuring meticulous analysis of their linguistic and musical features (for example, the different types of rhyme schemes) and discussion of their metaphorical meanings and very prevalent nature imagery (the subject of Chapter 6). The CD attached to the book contains over twenty recordings made between 1974 and 1996, mostly of Kam Raw singing, though a few feature other Kammu singers. The tracks are carefully tied into the transcriptions and analyses in the text, so that the whole package is easy to use. The eighth chapter, ‘Concluding discussion’, summarizes important themes that pervade the book, such as the ‘mono-melodic system’; formulae in the songs; the way social frameworks, spatial considerations, time, and taboos influence performance choices; the question of just how ‘representative’ one Kammu singer who has lived in Sweden for several decades may be; and comparative situations among other local Southeast Asian groups. A nicely written ‘Epilogue’ describes Kam Raw’s return to Laos in 1993 and the singing that he and Lundström encounter as they meet Kammu villagers near Luang Prabang, suggesting that both traditional and newer musical genres have a place in late 20th-century Laotian Kammu life.

The 2006 volume, *Kammu Songs: The Songs of Kam Raw*, is in effect a companion volume to the 2010 book. Part 1, ‘Introduction’, constitutes an overview of Kam Raw’s life, Kammu sung poetry and its repertoire, and the methodology of the study. Part 2, ‘Kam Raw’s Repertoire’, gives the Kammu texts and English ‘interpretations’ of dozens of songs. These are divided into ‘songs of feasting’ (the largest category) and songs of the forest, the fields, young people, and ‘song made in Sweden’. Part 2 concludes with ‘words of address’ that are used in songs. Part 3 consists of transcriptions of actual performances of suites of songs and dialogue songs. The first of the two appendices contains important comments on the song texts, while the second is an index of Kam Raw’s repertoire.

Taken together, these two volumes are an exhaustive study of Kammu song, largely as represented by one man who has led an unusual life mostly outside his home area, although wherever possible other Kammu singers’ performances are included in the discussion and analysis. The careful, scientifically orientated presentation and analysis of a huge amount of data collected away from what one might term the ‘natural environment’ of the genre are somewhat unusual in English-language ethnomusicology nowadays, but certainly provide a wealth of detail that allows for well-supported generalizations. The attention to Kammu-language terminology and Kammu concepts is exemplary. Every effort is made to explain the different types of song and performance style in their social context, though inevitably much of that explanation invokes a past located around the middle of the 20th century. By the end, the reader is ready for a chapter, or another book, based on several years’ ethnographic research in the Laos of today, to get a sense of the musical lives of Kammu villagers in an age of greater mobility and media influence. Perhaps that will come next.

In the meantime, the decades of effort on the part of Kam Raw and Håkan Lundström have resulted in a cornucopia of information and analysis that, along with the work of several other scholars, will provide a baseline for restudies and future research on Kammu expressive culture. For readers wishing to round out the picture of Kammu music given in the two books under review, several audio-visual items are readily available in Europe and North America. Foremost among them is the excellent CD *Bamboo on the Mountains*.
Kmhmu Highlanders from Southeast Asia and the U.S. (Smithsonian Folkways Recordings SFW 40456, 1999), which provides the instrumental recordings that Lundström’s books omit; the principal compiler, Frank Proschan, has also written quite extensively on Kammu music. Also available are a few recordings made in Yunnan by Chinese scholars Zhang Xingrong and Li Wei: three Kammu songs may be found on the CD Baishibai: Songs of the Minority Nationalities of Yunnan (Pan Records 2038CD, 1995), and two video clips of instrumental and vocal music are included on the compilation From China’s S.W. Borders: Minority Dances, Songs, and Instrumental Music of Yunnan, Vol.2 (Apsara Media for Intercultural Education, 2001).

Helen Rees


Asian Theatre Puppets: Creativity, Culture and Craftsmanship unfolds a fascinating visual journey through the world of unique Asian theatre puppets. With one-third of the content focused on Chinese puppet theatre, this is a photo gallery of the holdings of the Lin Liu-Hsin Puppet Theatre Museum in Taipei, a comprehensive collection of Asian theatre puppets and artifacts. The author, Robin Ruizendaal, an expert on Asian puppetry, is currently the director of the museum. He teamed up with renowned photographer Wang Hanshun, whose work captures the creativity and exquisite craftsmanship of the artifacts through a display of their dazzling colors and subtlety, as well as the intricate physiognomy of the puppet characters. This compilation of 553 illustrations, with 301 in color, is a real rarity. It highlights the delicacy and beauty of puppets created in major Asian cultures from the nineteenth century to the present day, and provides a unique historical and geocultural perspective.

The book is laid out like a museum catalogue. It does not attempt to offer anthropological insights to further the understanding of puppetry; instead, it is more concerned with the artistic, historical, scientific, and morphological aspects of the art form. Ruizendaal begins with an overview of Asian puppet theatre traditions and a list of further readings. Although the ethnographic annotations are limited, the overview touches on significant issues; for example, it identifies unifying components across Asian puppetry and the inapplicability of the existing classification of puppets to some Asian puppets. It also generalizes cross-cultural knowledge of what Ruizendaal calls ‘eternity and mortality’, ‘performance’ and ‘plays’, and ‘tradition and modernity’. The following photo section is divided into four categories: glove puppets, rod puppets, string puppets, and shadow puppets, based on the techniques used to manipulate the puppets. As this is the customary categorization utilized in the study of Asian puppetry, this rich photo collection readily supplements and corresponds to the major texts in the literature. The book concludes with a descriptive list that provides basic information about all the artifacts included in the photo section, e.g., information about the puppets’ makers, the materials used, and the time and place each puppet was crafted.
To enhance readers’ comprehension of puppet theatre through the catalogue format, the following points might be considered. First, some culturally significant taxonomies could have been used to group the artifacts and puppets into smaller categories. In the case of Chinese puppets, the types of puppet characters, such as sheng, dan, and tou, could have been employed as criteria for inclusion in a sub-group. Moreover, aside from their transliterations, all the indigenous terminologies should ideally have been defined and the original characters provided for readers’ reference. Last, the nomenclature of the artifacts in the descriptive list could be more consistent. For example, when the indigenous terms for particular genres of puppets in different countries or cultures are specified, such as zhangzhongxi (glove puppetry) in China and mua ruoi nuoc (water puppetry) in Vietnam, the Burmese term for string puppetry, yokthe, appears to be missing. In addition, the descriptions of the Burmese string puppets ‘Prince Mintha’ and ‘Princess Minthamee’ are slightly inaccurate (numbers 186 to 191 on the list). In Burmese, mintha and minthamee do not refer to two specific royal individuals. They are literal translations of the terms ‘prince’ and ‘princess’ respectively, and thus should be written ‘prince (mintha)’ and ‘princess (minthamee)’.

All in all, this book-length photo gallery is no less spectacular for my few quibbles. It provides the reader with countless visual delights and cross-cultural knowledge of Asian puppet arts. The book will be of interest to scholars of theatre and historians of craftsmanship, Asian arts, or material cultures. Professionals such as educators, puppeteers and photographers, as well as art lovers, will find the book inspiring.

Hsin-Chun Tasaw Lu


Stephen Jones is an admirable fieldworker. He has accumulated an incomparable wealth of experiences about Chinese traditional music. In this publication he presents another captivating account of his trips to China. It is a book that combines serious scholarship
with a gripping and, at times, even entertaining narrative – something which brings the subject closer to the reader. Indeed, anecdotes about rural China and folk musicians, their idiosyncrasies and humanity, as well as Jones’s own humorous observations and personal adventures, all contribute to making this musical ethnography a warm and informative description of a living tradition. It is also an inspiring book: the author, speaking with an authority that derives from extensive fieldwork, often draws attention to new issues in need of further study and provides numerous useful insights for scholars of Chinese folk music.

An expert on Chinese instrumental music, Jones here portrays the music of shawm bands active in villages around Gaoyang, a county town located in northeastern Shanxi province. He places his attention principally on the gujiang, exponents of a type of wind-and-percussion ensemble led by two shawms that performs mostly for ceremonial events at funerals and temple fairs. Despite this specific focus, the book also touches on the role and music-making of other groups, notably the Daoist yinyang ensembles, and offers an overview of the variety of folk musical activities available in the area, which often occur concurrently at funerals and temple fairs.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first, Jones relates the lives of several shawm players (particularly those of members of one family, the renowned Hua band). The author concentrates on aspects such as the musicians’ education, social status, and their historical and economic milieux. To a large extent, consideration of these aspects provides clues accounting for the survival and evolution of the gujiangs’ musical tradition. Jones is well aware of the ancient historical roots of this music but decides to pay attention principally to the last few decades of China’s history, specifically since the end of the Cultural Revolution, as his main objective is to offer a picture of today’s situation and practice. Moreover, it is this period in which the author’s own contacts with the Hua band and his active participation in their musical life have occurred. In connection with this and as part of his historical account of gujiang ensembles, Jones shares with the reader his experience in organising some performances for the Hua band in the US and Europe. It is an interesting example of partnership between an ethnomusicologist and folk musicians.

This first part of the book presents one of the major conclusions Jones has drawn from his fieldwork trips: the Maoist period did not bring about the death of traditional rituals and music in northeastern Shanxi. On the contrary, their revival after the Cultural
Revolution was possible because, in different ways, throughout the 1960s and 1970s they continued playing a crucial role in the life of rural communities. Such a finding undermines the widespread view of the Maoist period as one when local cultures were eradicated. Although conceding that ‘the invasion of pop was prepared by that of Maoism’ (p.34), Jones laments that nowadays a dangerous trend has taken hold rather as a result of the encroachment of pop culture, which is exerting a much greater influence and threatening the survival of the gujiangs’ traditional repertory and style. Understandably, the author makes his case for the continuity of music and ritual life under Maoism by relying on information gathered from folk musicians, his principal informants. It must be recognised that his argument is very persuasive. However, on this issue one would have also expected to hear more of the voices of villagers who were beneficiaries of rituals and music.

In the second part the author introduces two typical events in which the gujiang ensembles are called upon to perform: funerals and temple fairs. Jones offers a detailed description of the rituals he observed during fieldwork and illustrates the role played by the gujiang. Despite simplifications and impoverishment, the ritual sequence is still very dense, with ceremonies that commonly can occupy up to two or three days. Jones does not embrace the opinion that folk traditions are ‘living fossils’ in need of preservation. He recognizes their dependency on the actual life, needs and interests of the people who are the final owners and responsible for these cultural expressions. At the same time, he is optimistic about the role these traditions perform today and can still play in future in the life of rural China (p.58). However, he cannot help noticing with a certain alarm an impoverishment of both rituals and music. The first two parts of the book are rather lightweight and can be easily approached by readers who are not familiar with many facets of Chinese folk culture that are mentioned by the author. By contrast, the last part of the book is more specialised and requires some preliminary understanding about Chinese traditional music and its technicalities. In fact, in this part Jones presents the gujiangs’ music, touching upon aspects such as their instrumentation, keys, the features of their melodic style, the formal structures of their compositions and the types of repertory, by frequently referring to folk terminologies and conceptualisations.

In the last few decades changes have occurred in gujiang music: bands have discarded some instruments and adopted new ones like the saxophone, the drum-kit and the electronic keyboard; the repertory has also experienced the introduction of new pieces taken from local operatic traditions, folk and revolutionary songs, and what Jones calls a ‘pan-Chinese pop style’. Although the author does not conceal his distaste for some of the new pieces adopted in the repertory of the gujiang (p.36), he is constantly amazed by the versatility of their musicianship. Nevertheless, he remains mostly fascinated by the old repertory, especially the suites. These are large compositions belonging to the series of pieces with which the ceremonial role of the gujiang was traditionally associated. On different pages, Jones repeatedly underscores the musical complexity and beauty of these pieces. Unfortunately, this unique type of music does not seem to appeal to the taste of villagers as it did in the past. Not all suites are still performed today, while the training of new gujiang musicians apparently does not include the preservation of this repertory in its agenda. Throughout the book, Jones points out changes that are occurring in the musical tradition of the gujiang. He also mentions different reasons that might account for such changes; some
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are explanations given by the gujiang themselves, others are hypotheses suggested by the author. However, in concluding his book Jones makes a quite intriguing suggestion by drawing attention to the concept of music prevalent in rural China. The idea of yue, ‘music’, applied to the music of the gujiang does not correspond to the modern understanding of music, but derives from the ancient binome liyue, ‘ritual and music’. Jones explains that the gujiang performances embody the concept of music as adornment of the rites rather than their ‘content’. The gujiang music is aural background against which ritual activities go on. As such it is open to variability, provided that it fulfils ‘the demand for a “fiery” event’ (p.114). This suggestion is quite convincing, for it places the gujiang tradition along with other cultural patterns typical of China (for instance, the historical evolution and commixture of religions in China).

As already noted, the last part of the book is much more technical. Jones is conscious of the fact that any written description of the music is limited. This is why he often invites his readers to refer to the CD Walking Shrill: The Hua Family Shawm Band (Pan Records 2109) released in 2004. However, he could have assisted the reader by supplying the staff notation for some musical examples to help anyone unable to obtain the CD. On the other hand, the book is accompanied by a beautiful DVD which shows the routine of funerals and temple fairs in northeastern Shanxi, and the performance of an entire suite. In the film, the villagers’ faces, full of curiosity and smiles at Jones’ camera, as well as some shaky pictures of processions, preserve the genuine character of Jones’ narrative. Hence, both the book and the DVD offer a bright and passionate illustration of Gaoyang county folk ritual life and music. [For a review of Jones’ vol.2 on Ritual and Music of North China, focusing on Shaanbei, see this journal, p.222.]

Enrico Rossetto


A significant recent development in ethnomusicology has been increased interest in musics in urban environments. In line with urban anthropology, urban ethnomusicology emerged to investigate the origins, development, and evolution of urban music traditions as well as to describe and compare urban musical life and culture. Urban ethnomusicology is fundamental to Jonathan Stock’s pioneering study on the Shanghai operatic tradition of huju 滬劇. Combining musical and socio-historical dimensions, Stock’s *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* is highly recommended for everyone curious about the interplay between music and society, and the shaping of a local opera form that contributed to the reform of traditional opera in mainland China. The well-documented scholarly analysis explores the evolution of a 200-year-old operatic tradition that can be read as an ‘indigenous commentary’ (p.9) on a highly dynamic period of modernization, internationalization, and social change in the city of Shanghai. The volume will soon be available in Chinese, translated by Sheffield musicologist Zhao Yue 趙玥 for the Shanghai Conservatory of Music Press.
Chapter 1 focuses on the early development of *huju* in coastal Shanghai and environs up to the 1920s. An introduction to the history and characteristics of Chinese opera provides readers new to the field with basic knowledge to better understand the place of *huju* within the plurality of dramatic forms. Based on musical and socio-historical materials, Stock then examines cross-genre relationships and their interaction. He emphasizes that traditional accounts describing the rise of *huju* as a stepwise development from simple to higher forms, i.e. from local folk-song performance to ballad-singing and then to opera, oversimplify the matter. Actually, *huju* emerged in a process of cross-fertilization. In the first phase, folk singing in rural settings mingled with other ballad-singing traditions and opera traditions which, in a later step, influenced both late 18th-century *huaguxi* (rural song-and-dance entertainment) and *bendi tanhuang* (tanhuang from Shanghai). These, in turn, were the major inputs of early 20th-century *shenqu*, the term for traditional Shanghai opera between the 1920s and 1940s, thereafter superseded by *huju*. The above genres are associated with distinctive performance styles, contexts, manners, and environments. The interrelationships between the different genres and traditions in the rise of *huju*, and similarities and contrasts in performance styles, are aptly illustrated by two figures (pp.56–57). This combination of tracing the ‘histories of musical products’ and ‘analyses of musical practices’ is necessary in order to explore how one musical genre is related to another and how much *huju* changed in the course of gaining acceptance in the city of Shanghai. In this respect, Stock’s account of *huju* apprenticeship is instructive, as are his comments on the acculturation of the first generation of tanhuang singers raised in Shanghai, who gradually abandoned local dialects and sayings characteristic of Shanghai’s eastern regions in favour of Shanghai city dialect and vocabulary.

In Chapter 2, the emergence of female performers in *huju* between 1915 and 1950 is explored. The issue of music and gender draws on theoretical insights from several fields. Besides historical sources and interviews with actresses, Stock presents sound analyses of female singing styles that show the significance of female performers in the development of Shanghai opera. However, the rise of female performers in Shanghai was part of a broader movement affecting Chinese drama as a whole. There was a shift in the entertainment industry whereby actresses went from being nameless participants to being stars around whom plays were constructed and marketed. Interestingly, as Stock notes after theoretical
reflection about the place of female performers on stage, Shanghai opera aesthetics changed considerably with the rise of mixed ensembles. Female singers, according to Stock, increased the musicality of huju tradition and contributed to the depiction of strongly affective female and male characters. With regard to the expressivity of music and its impact on listeners, the affective voice offered emotionally charged perspectives on human interaction and, apart from ‘challenging existing value systems through the enlisting of the audience’s empathy for the safely unreal’, created new rules and norms for the display of emotion that, potentially, could be emulated or adopted by opera-goers.

Chapter 3 returns to the historical aspect of huju and zooms in on the period from 1920 to 1949, which saw the expansion of troupes and increasing specialization. The emphasis here is on how place constructs music – rather than vice versa, as assumed in much current writing on ethnomusicology. Providing an overview of the various theoretical perspectives on place and music, Stock rightly observes that music in and of itself is hardly able to construct place, whereas imagery or the imputed meaning connected with certain music is able to do so. While sonic specifics exist independently of place, music can nonetheless create place in the minds of performers and audiences through lyrics. The locale, then, is not simply ‘visible form’ but the phantasmagoric – collective or individual mental imagery – with which a place is invested. Thus, Shanghai opera tradition itself defined changing relations of music and place by its repertory of names, contrasting huaguxi in the countryside with bendi tanhuang, shenqu and huju in towns and cities. The ‘three urban terms’ suggest a ‘progression from the traditional opera of “this place” (bendi), to that of the old Chinese city of Shanghai (Shen), and to that representing the modern city and its environs on a level equivalent to a Chinese province (Hu)’ (p.153). The chapter then goes on to discuss the rise of modern Shanghai as a rapidly changing international urban centre of political (multi-)autonomy and distinctive culturality, and its impact on huju. A new set of institutions – among them large-scale venues of Shanghai’s leisure industry – was established that deeply influenced resources and networks of musical life. For huju, institutionalization and industrialization involved a movement towards interdependent individual specialization (which did not replace existing, shared skills), expansion of troupes, enhancement of repertory, roles, vocal and musical resources, and professional organization. As Stock underlines, the social process of competition was the most decisive factor promoting the establishment of a new commercialized entertainment sector, and drove all the other developments in huju. Other factors that helped shape Shanghai opera were the emergence of new media, namely recorded sound and radio broadcasting, the influence of other artistic forms including spoken drama and film, and changing ways of musical learning.

How music becomes inscribed with political and social power is demonstrated in Chapter 4. Stock here considers the argument of ethnomusicology that musical performance provides the space for social groupings and interactions that might not otherwise have occurred. In addition, musical characteristics of the performance may serve to determine the pace, manner, and tone of particular events. At first glance, the development of huju in the People’s Republic of China from 1949 to the 1990s seems to follow nationwide political changes during these fifty years. Yet, as Stock’s examples show, there are not so much distinct periods but rather a complex pattern of interconnections between operas of
one phase and those of the next phase. The main topics of the chapter are the reorganization of hujú troupes, the impact of specialist composers since the 1950s, the changing role of the performer, and the increasing politicization of hujú, manifested in the political content of dramatic situations, words, actions, and music. The political function and use of music as an effective tool of political and moral instruction for illiterate mass audiences in a twentieth-century Chinese political context is revisited. Stock refers to modern Chinese cultural theorists who still believe, in the vein of early Confucian thinkers, that musical performance is a vehicle for imparting predetermined meanings to the people. In these theorists’ view, local opera contributes to communication in the verbal and visual mode, ‘leading audiences towards certain desired kinds of feelingful engagement and away from others’ (p.158). Stock’s realistic comment on this unverified claim is that although special images of social interaction may be manifested in certain musical qualities of the opera, its contribution to social change is small and is part of a larger web of forms of expressive and symbolic action including mind manipulation and brainwashing directed by the Party’s aims. So, strictly speaking, the inscription of a political or social order onto opera (or music in general) creates an illusion, albeit one which may at times be difficult to dispel.

Finally, Chapter 5 reconsiders methodological and theoretical problems in ethnomusicology as applied to hujú. Stock argues convincingly against the dichotomy of rural (traditional) vs. urban (modern) musical forms and the related idea that rural (traditional) forms are necessarily basic to urban (modern) forms, ‘sanitized’ and ‘imposed from above’ (p.205), according to one claim. The author argues for a change in perspective through fine-grained analyses which take into account the complex feedback processes between rural and urban forms and which explore musical phenomena – on a continuum between the two poles – in their own right. Stock emphasizes the advantage of a mixed approach looking from different angles at the interplay of musical and socio-cultural elements. Regarding urban ethnomusicology, he takes up Adelaida Reyes Schramm’s idea of an ‘urban socio-musical order’ to come to grips with the complexity he encountered in his own fieldwork on Shanghai opera during the 1990s. Applying the research strategy of the critical participant-observer, aiming to gain intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals through informal interviews, direct observation, participation in the life of the group, collective discussions, analysis of personal documents produced within the group, self-analysis, and life-histories, he combines qualitative research with quantitative dimensions.

In addition, Stock here critically reassesses the role of human agents in scientific exploration, with informants on one side and the information-receiving and information-processing observer on the other. By doing so, he implicitly points to two interrelated facts. The first one is the importance of the observer as Erkenntnisfigur who through selection and analysis feeds back information about living traditions and performance practice into the discourse of the research community, thus making his approach and results available to researchers studying musical traditions elsewhere. The second one is the widespread misconception that the participant-observer realistically can become one of the observed. Neither participation nor observation is a one-way street. On the contrary, role reversal is potentially possible at any time, whereby the observed takes the place of the participant-observer and adapts to him or her for reasons of politeness, taboo, or manipulation.
Overall, Stock’s book raises important issues not only on a micro-level of analysis – regarding intra-musical and extra-musical data, such as sound recordings, transcriptions, live performance, first-hand accounts of three generations of singers, and historical reports – but also on a macro-level, where he is concerned with methodology and theory. As for the musical analyses, an accompanying CD with the recordings of the examples Stock discusses would have been enriching. Alternatively, especially for the discussion of Shanghai opera’s expressivity, which involves not only voice but also facial expression and body movement (including posture, locomotion, gesture, and all sorts of movement transformation), the reader would have welcomed a video CD with clips of the folk songs, ballads, and opera passages analysed. But, as Stock explains, copyright permissions were difficult to obtain (p.27).

In the following, I will restrict my discussion to method and related topics, because Stock proposes rethinking the concept of (urban) ethnomusicology by suggesting what I would call a ‘critical (urban) ethnomusicology’ whose strong point is interdisciplinarity. I will start with some comments on gender, female voice, and the construction of emotionality in huju that are relevant to Chapter 2. In this connection the relationship between music, language, and emotion and the use of music as a tool in socio-political contexts, brought up in Chapter 4, is touched upon. Finally, I will look at Stock’s highly intriguing discussion in Chapters 3 and 5 of musical events and elements and their relatedness to place and time.

To begin with, the cases of Yang Feifei 杨飞飞 (b. 1923) and Ding Huiqin 丁惠琴 (b. ca. 1908) show that early twentieth-century huju actresses, despite their low status, enjoyed considerably popularity and relative professional freedom and mobility compared to other women in Chinese society at that time. Moreover, they were allowed to occupy leading positions in troupes, frequently performing with male actors. Nonetheless, female performers were still exploited sexually. While Stock refutes the commonplace that these women strove to sustain an ‘acceptable deviancy’ (p.63) or saw themselves standing out from other Shanghai females, he agrees with the widespread view that the long-standing connection between opera and prostitution must be one reason for sexual victimization. However, I would argue that the connection of music and sex is something secondary. More fundamental is sex per se. Examples from Chinese social history down the centuries suggest that male double anxiety of failure and the terror of being ‘consumed’ by female desire led to humiliation of women and their sexual subjugation.

Indicative of the still unsatisfactory treatment of sex and gender in Chinese history and the arts is another example from Stock’s book. East Asia researcher Sophie Volpp claimed that a primary theme in late imperial Chinese representations of the actor is the rivalry between actors and courtesans for a claim to femininity. Male actors as a group were symbolically coded as feminine, and feminization was part of their professional identity in their off-stage interactions with patrons (which extended to prostitution). However, Stock’s material on the huju tradition does not support the image of a contest over femininity between male actors and female courtesans. Rather, there was a ‘propensity of wealthy courtesans to collect actors’ (p.66). And the liaisons between actors and courtesans proved advantageous for both parties. Avidly discussed in the theatre press, the popularity and reputation of both groups was enhanced. This example alerts us to think critically about generalizations in hitherto selectively explored fields, one such generalization being the gender issue in Chinese opera.
As to the expressivity of the new female voice in musical performance, Stock again challenges prevailing views. Whereas such researchers as Marvin Carlson and Judith Butler contend that the acting out of roles on stage disfigures female identity and self-expression through other-‘scripted’ images or ‘stylized repetition of acts’, Stock, in line with anthropologist Rubie S. Watson, suggests otherwise. He argues, rightly I think, that it ‘may be of relatively little importance that the opera actress portrays make-believe or stereotypical roles scripted by someone else or handed down by tradition; the essential feature is that what she does is expressive enough to evoke a personal response within the hearts and the minds of her listeners’ (p.67). Stock implicitly makes two important points. First, expressivity is a fuzzy category that is constituted through performer-audience interaction, and second, appreciation of the performer’s expressivity depends on the personal response of the listener, which is produced by a complex process of appraisals. Because of this, extra-musical factors such as the off-stage image (or charisma) of the actress (or star) in the minds of the audience play a role in the construction of individual expressivity as well.

Another important observation in Stock’s discussion of female performance is the impact on audiences of ‘heterophony’, or the ‘multiple voices phenomenon’. Based on studies of gender authority in music performance, Stock demonstrates that ‘female singers construct in performance images of themselves as women, as dramatic roles, as representatives of tradition, as authors, as humans, and as “non-men”’ (p.71, emphases added), among which the viewer/listener can choose at any time to enjoy the different qualities of the performance in question. So, regardless of who constructs the multiple voices speaking through a single operatic role, it is the performer who realizes them, and the viewer/listener who re-creates and imbues them with individual meaning (which may or not coincide with collective perceptions). In the as-if mode of individual role-taking, the actress is able to project qualities from her personhood, especially her unique voice, onto her stage-double. On the other hand, these qualities of the singer may become symbols of particular social values through collective identification. Stock admits that insufficient data were available to determine how early twentieth-century audiences in historical Shanghai responded to the new female singers and their roles. But the data he was able to research thoroughly, namely female singers’ lives, their roles, and their voices, support the above view regarding the performer and also, indirectly, regarding the audience. So in Stock’s first example that analyses the female role in one of the most typical traditional Shanghai operas, Rendezvous at the Nunnery (Antang xianghui 廬堂相會), men’s authority and control over women is not generally challenged, but undermined in that the female protagonist rebels against her father and hence against predefined hierarchy and gender roles. The big question, according to Stock’s informants, which is connected with the idea of enlightenment, is whether she can choose her partner – in other words, whether she can get her own way and fulfil her own desire.

As to the audience reaction, erhu teacher Wu Zhimin’s account of a rural performance he attended as a child in the 1940s is telling. Adults were ‘moved to tears’ by the tragic performance because, as Wu emphasizes, the story of Jin Xiuying 金秀英 and Chen Zaiting 陳宰庭, the female and male leads of Rendezvous, ‘was close to everyone’s experience of life’ (p.79). One can infer from this how the fictional as-if mode works. The oscillations of
the viewer/listener between play world and real world are short-circuited, such that he or she remains for a split second exclusively inside the fictional frame, which at that moment becomes the one and only real world. The odd situation of the loving couple in Rendevous and their difficulties is re-created in imagination by activating personal experiences of members of the audience. Psychologically, then, the shedding of emotional tears is produced by meta-emotion. However, there is a caveat regarding the interpretation of tear-shedding. Tears are conventionally seen as a manifestation of sadness. Sadness belongs to a set of negative emotions that are hypercognized in self-descriptions of Chinese people, past and present. That is to say, these particular emotions receive considerably more attention than others, and therefore are often highlighted in laymen’s accounts.

Another of Stock’s informants pointed to the educational role of opera that shows people how to behave and, additionally, how to express (or control) their emotions. The informant’s repetition of this commonplace brings us to the next point: music, and especially voice, as a carrier of ideologies, political, social, and moral. Going back to the days of early Confucian musical thought and augmented by similar ideas in socialist realism drawing on Western traditions from Plato to Marx, the post-Liberation reform movement utilized music for the political purposes of the Communist revolution. Numerous studies have addressed this topic. To make non-representational music verbally communicable it needs semantization and definition of distinctive musical (and visual) codes, resulting, for example, in the ‘model operas’ (yangbanxi 樣板戲) of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), and affecting many traditional genres that became propaganda vehicles. Without going into detail about the institutional reorganization of modern huju and the revision of repertory between 1949 and 1990, I shall proceed directly to Stock’s critical readings of passages from three modern huju of this period. I pose again the old question: whether music can transport extra-musical content and meaning. And I suggest that we would do well to look at the extra-musical storyline as an element creating content and meaning, to which music is harnessed, and at the musical voice as the medium that expresses whatever emotion is present in the performer while it releases whatever emotion is present in the listener.

Let’s take an example. The first piece that Stock considers is Luohan Coin (Luohan qian 羅漢錢), adapted from Zhao Shuli’s 趙樹理 (1906–70) novel Registration (Dengji 登記). The opera, created in 1952, aimed to promote the new Marriage Act of the People’s Republic of China, which had been introduced in 1950. Comparing a mother’s and daughter’s marital experiences on either side of Liberation, the work, realized by the Shanghai People’s Huju Troupe, was a great success and honoured with prizes for script, performance, female lead (Ding Shi’e 丁是娥, 1923–88), and accompanying ensemble. Summing up the musical analysis of mother Xiao Fei’e’s 小飛娥 lament ‘Reminiscence’ (‘Huiyi 回憶’), performed by Ding Shi’e, Stock says, ‘the music of The Luohan Coin can be divided into two types in terms of its political role. In the one kind, the songs given to Fei’e, expressive music underlines her emotive reflections on her downtrodden position in society’ (p.189), namely through correlating low mood with a relatively low pitch of singing (p.182). ‘In the other, relatively simple music, already well known to most anticipated listeners, has been chosen in order to get the words and actions of the main story across to its intended audience’ (p.189). This is accomplished, for example, by ‘manipulation of tempo . . . to match the more impassioned text’ (p.182). Stock concludes
that ‘deployment of these two kinds of music gives us access to Xiao Fei’e’s innermost emotions (forming an engagement between us and her that would not otherwise occur) while also setting this engagement in a straightforward dramatic narrative, in which the moments of stasis (Fei’e’s reflections) gradually become part of the action’ (p.189).

However, the same effect could have been achieved by a performance without music, by contrasting soliloquies of the main character, who stands out through expressivity of his or her speaking voice, with more withdrawn dialogical parts by less important characters who drive the action. The function of music, then, is not so much the delivery of a specific representational content, programme, or affective meaning, but the enhancement of the extra-musical subject through a mode beyond words. Such a discussion, clearly outside the scope of this review, is worth considering with respect to further fieldwork on the study of music’s function and functionality in social-political and cultural contexts. This topic is the relationship between music and emotion.

In Stock’s book, the emotion issue, albeit not particularly highlighted, comes up time and again. It seems that emotional expressivity by the performer and emphatic response by the listener made *huju* stories dealing with contemporaneous themes, such as the struggles of lovers to marry, women’s rights after the Communist revolution, or life under the new social order after the 1980s reforms, so successful. It is a challenge for musicologists in general, and ethnomusicologists in particular, to gather data on the relationship of music and emotion in the case of the agents involved – composer, performer, and listener – in order to study the subject more closely based on qualitative and quantitative analyses, taking into account the synchronization of cognitive, physiological, expressive, motivational, and experiential processes in the production of emotions. Furthermore, while self-description and other-description is particularly helpful in comparing different perspectives on experience and display of emotion in relation to musical roles, a distinction between emotion and other affective phenomena, such as moods, attitudes, dispositions, and interpersonal stances, must be made. Stock’s book includes interesting items from singers’ self-assessment. *Huju* performers in their performance tradition primarily valued clarity in communication, while the aspect of musical sound was generally downplayed. This suggests that language as a medium of emotional communication surpasses the musically expressive voice. Stock hence concludes that ‘[s]inging the right tune well was essential, but it was just the basis, the primary means through which the story’s dramatic content was expressed’ (p.55). To put it slightly differently, the trigger of emotion is some event or object still in the linguistic domain of the storyline, whereas the mode of emotional communication made use of the musical register for intensification.

Finally, in Chapters 3 and 5, Stock engages in a very interesting discussion of musical events and elements and their relatedness to place and time that are crucial to all human action. Place and time set limits and constitute boundaries that may either constrain or accord space to human action. In either case, time and place force humans into adaptive behaviour and are important factors in cultural development. The impact of the multicultural modern metropolis of Shanghai as a place with particular resources and networks and their influence on shape and image of *huju* was significant, as Stock shows with many examples. His account of place as a decisive factor in innovation and selection that drove progress and change in Shanghai opera shows how competition with
other entertainment genres and the competitive environment of commercial theatres and entertainment centres, as well as the demands of audiences, led to major transformations. Apart from expansion of troupes, extension of repertory through adaptation of material from daily life and film, individualization of leading roles to heighten dramatic expression and of secondary roles to develop new nuances of interpretation, three other developments should be mentioned. These are the emergence of special all-female troupes, performances of (female) children, and the rise of schools of huju performance, topics that all need further clarification. Audience preference for female singers, especially young girls, has a long history in Chinese culture, but the forces behind it are not well understood. Furthermore, as Stock mentions, this sort of novelty in the early twentieth-century Shanghai entertainment business was not confined to huju, but found in other genres and places as well.

Regarding the contested domain of schools in the huju tradition, Stock touches upon the role of observers in the social construction of group identity, and the different perspectives of listeners and performers. Habitual huju-goers today identify three different schools, the Shao school of Shao Wenbin 邰文濬 (1880–1933), the Yang school of Yang Feifei, and the Wang school of Wang Pansheng 王磐聲 (b. 1923), all formed in the 1940s. The veteran performers interviewed, in contrast, were more concerned about developing their distinctive styles, facing demanding audiences and strong competition among leading huju performers at that time (pp.131–32).

Stock refutes a further misconception. Although huju as part of Shanghai’s cosmopolitan culture absorbed material from Western drama, either indirectly via Enlightened Theatre (wenmingxi 文明戲) or directly from Chinese translations of plays like Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet (1944) or Oscar Wilde’s Lady Windermere’s Fan (1947), this did not result in transformation. Rather, the original setting and characters where sinicized. Thus, through appropriation of ‘Oriental exoticism’ Shanghai huju performers constructed a modernist voice which expressed ‘not colonized mimicry but a particular Chinese form of cosmopolitanism’ (p.137). Note that while Shanghai opera repertory became increasingly conceived in new ways, its performance still seems to have been framed within broader ritual institutions of Chinese operatic tradition as a whole. Indicative of the continuation of tradition are sanctification rituals of performance space, an aspect that clearly deserves more attention.

Overall, what makes Stock’s book so valuable is his multifaceted approach to unravelling the complex and diverse forces and mechanisms at work in the development of Shanghai opera. In response to the challenges of urban ethnomusicology and participant-observer research in a modern Chinese city like Shanghai, as an intersection and transfer point of tradition and modernity with heterogeneous musical genres, Stock offers both general and specific information, and combines viewpoints of critical theory and cultural studies with anthropological and ethnomusicological approaches. By re-reading tradition through the lens of his informants, interwoven with insights gained through analyses of important historical material and scholarly data, including participant-observer insights, Stock questions common assumptions and clarifies stereotypes based on biased views. As a successful attempt to deal with complexity, Stock’s study reminds us, too, that the musics of China and elsewhere are eminently social, but nonetheless weak in political impact. Although the voices and visions of huju’s ordinary citizens were heard on the public
stages of pre-Communist Shanghai and its hinterlands, the off-stage effects remained insignificant. It would seem that musical artefacts, even though socially grounded and sometimes designed to carry non-musical messages, are kept outside actual socio-political negotiation and decision-making, having at most a supporting role.

Ulrike Middendorf


*Suzhou tanci* is one of the best-known and most popular genres of storytelling in China, yet the Western-language literature on it is remarkably scanty. Mark Bender relies on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork and careful examination of the Chinese-language documentary sources to provide this very welcome study of the tradition. Bender’s book is divided into three lengthy chapters: ‘Introducing Suzhou Chantefable’, ‘Opening Oral Territory in Suzhou Chantefable’, and ‘Performing “Two Women Marry”’. These are followed by four appendices, the first of which provides useful overviews of the famously convoluted plots of major stories; the second gives a detailed day-by-day outline of the story ‘Love Reincarnate’ as performed by one lineage over a sixteen-day period (necessary to follow the discussion in Chapter 3); the third offers a sample passage from the same story in Suzhou dialect and Chinese characters; and the fourth is a glossary of Chinese names and terms. The bibliography is quite substantial, indicating an exhaustive consultation of standard and more obscure Chinese sources.

The first chapter of this book provides a thorough introduction to *Suzhou tanci* for Western readers. History right up to the year 2000 is well covered, including mention of an important website (www.pingtan.com.cn); there is detailed description of historical and contemporary contexts for performance, and of the material culture of storytelling houses (perhaps a diagram might have helped the reader visualize layouts such as that described on p.30); and careful attention is given to all major parties involved—performers and their training, audiences, storytelling house workers, and fans. The reader is introduced to the different types of repertoire and the various ways stories can be performed (usually by a pair of performers, sometimes solo, and occasionally with three or more storytellers). There is an excellent normative description of a typical performance, with due attention paid to audience behaviour (pp.44-49); in addition, indigenous aesthetic concepts and terminology are well explained (pp.49-52; also later in the book). The complex use of dialects, speech registers, and ‘role-type frames’ is also well set out for the novice (pp.52-61).

The most obvious omission both in the first chapter and in the rest of the book is the music. Bender does touch on this (pp.57-59), mentioning the existence of different *diao* and *qiang*, and noting the importance of tunes named after people who founded influential schools of performance (e.g. the Chen tune, the Yu tune and the Ma tune), but there are no transcriptions to show how these differ or even to give the basic melodic contours. Granted
the author is coming to this study from a background in literature and folklore rather than music, but especially given the absence of a CD or even a discography, this is rather a major hole in a study of a genre in which singing and instrumental accompaniment are so crucial. To some extent, one can plug the gap by reference to the other major English-language work on this tradition, Tsao Pen-yeh’s *The Music of Su-chou T’an-tz’u: Elements of the Chinese Southern Singing-Narrative* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1988). A more minor quibble is the use of the figures: there are seven unnumbered black-and-white photographs and a line drawing that appear in the book between the first and second chapters, but they are not referenced in the text itself. Judicious placement of references to these figures would have complemented the detailed descriptions of performing contexts. It is also odd that the performers in the photographs are not named.

Bender’s excellent second chapter, ‘Opening Oral Territory in Suzhou Chantefable’, ‘describes the strategies, principles, and goals with which Suzhou storytellers concern themselves when performing their stories’ (p.68). He introduces us to the performers’ notion of the ‘story road’ (*shulu*), ‘the forward movement of story action’ (ibid.), and to how storytellers create and adapt stories to their needs. There are telling quotes from performers, a nice discussion of the use of humour (pp.97-99), and detailed explanation of how storytellers manage their time and must create ‘crises’ (*guanzi*) in the story without being too obvious about it. Other highlights of this chapter include the list of ‘storytelling do’s and don’ts’, a set of indigenous epithets and advice to performers (pp.121-127), and a truly outstanding section on the role of the ‘lower hand’ (*xiashou*) (pp.129-137). Today *Suzhou tanci* is usually performed by a pair of storytellers, most commonly a male lead (*shangshou*) who also plays *sanxian*, and a female assistant (*xiashou*) who also plays *pipa*. Accomplished *xiashou* can offer remarkable insights into the processes of learning and performing the genre, including how to handle obvious mistakes, and Bender’s decision to focus on three of these women results in one of the most memorable and informative sections of the book.

The third chapter focuses on a complete episode from the story ‘Love Reincarnate’ as performed by Yuan Xiaoliang and his female partner Wang Jin in December 1991, when Bender was permitted to record their entire sixteen-day rendition of the story at a storytelling house in Suzhou. The story was still fairly new for the pair, and they talked to Bender extensively about how they were growing into and adapting it. This results in an exquisitely detailed account of performance decisions and interpretations. The centerpiece of the chapter is the annotated translated text of their performance of the episode ‘Two Women Marry’ (pp.165-194). This chapter offers unique insight into how stories reach their performed form on stage, and really helps decode the extraordinary artistic complexity of this tradition.

The bulk of the data for this book was gathered over academic year 1991-1992, when Bender was attached to Suzhou University and conducted extensive fieldwork on Suzhou tanci, including accompanying a group of storytellers for several weeks as they toured the region. It is obvious that he kept up with developments thereafter, though exactly when and how is left unclear. The lack of musical information is frustrating for the ethnomusicologist, although the author’s folklore background provides a valuable theoretical and comparative basis for aspects that a more thoroughly music-focused treatment might have overlooked. It has to be said that there are a few more typos in the finished product than I would have
expected from this very careful publisher. Regardless, this is a wonderfully well researched and meticulously documented study of a major Chinese storytelling tradition, and one in which some creatively novel approaches have resulted in penetrating insights one rarely finds in this type of work.

Helen Rees


The subject of anthropologist Marc L. Moskowitz’s book is Mandarin Chinese-language popular music—or Mandopop—and its Taiwan-based, transnational popular music industry since the early 1990s. Part of the question the book asks is how Mandopop and its melancholic poetics have traveled across multiple identity boundaries in contemporary Taiwanese and Chinese societies. Moskowitz approaches the question through an analysis of the pervading tropes of loneliness and isolation in Mandopop lyrics. A major theme addressed in the research is the construction of gender roles in Mandopop lyrics and its dynamic resonance with the listeners’ everyday social worlds in Taipei and Shanghai, where the author’s fieldwork is primarily based. The book is marked by a commitment to interrogate the cultural biases revealed in the widespread critique of Mandopop by the state and in Western academia. It seeks, instead, to explicate the ‘sophisticated poetics’ of Mandopop songs. In seven informative yet concise chapters, the 115-page ethnography is highly accessible. It represents the author’s thorough knowledge of the genre and extensive interviews with some of the most influential Mandopop producers and singers today, including such big names as Chang Cheng Yue, Valen Hsu, and Stefanie Sun, along with individual audience members in Taiwan and China. It is certainly an important contribution to the understudied field of contemporary Chinese popular music.

The book starts with a trio of introductory chapters. The first, titled ‘Taiwan’s musical counter-invasion of China’, contextualizes the transnational popularity of Mandopop against the shifting identities on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and the implications for the changing musical and business practices in the industry today. At the center is the popularity of KTV (karaoke TV) among Mandopop audiences, which, Moskowitz argues, ‘allows for the opportunity to play an idealized self’ (p.12) and provides a venue to embody sentiments that are otherwise ‘difficult to broach in day-to-day interactions’ (p.13). Chapter 2 offers an overview of the modern history of Chinese popular music from Shanghai’s ‘jazz age’ in the early 20th century through the post-1949 Communist mass songs to the post-Communist rise of rock and nationalized pop styles since the early 1980s. Moskowitz characterizes the popularity of Taiwan’s Mandopop among its mainland Chinese audience as a ‘gendered revolution’ (p.29): it brings about a feminized sphere—through the portrayal of fragile, sensitive male and desirable, noble female roles—that subverts the masculinist discourse in many of the post-1949 mainland Chinese songs. The next chapter, titled ‘Hybridity and its
discontents’, traces the roots of Mandopop against the history of popular music in Taiwan. Moskowitz demonstrates how the ‘exceptionally rich’ and ‘intensely transnational’ culture of Taiwan has given birth to what he calls the ‘hyper-hybridity’ of Mandopop (pp.50-51). This is evidenced by Mandopop’s ‘successful collage’ of multiple stylistic influences: indigenous aboriginal music, traditional Chinese music, enka and other Japanese styles since the colonial era, local Hokkien (taiyu) songs, campus songs, post-war popular styles from Hong Kong, pan-Asian influences, and Western pop.

The following three chapters comprise the core of the book’s thesis. Chapter 4 argues that senses of sorrow and despair conveyed in Mandopop’s often melancholic lyrics—what Moskowitz calls ‘lyrical laments’ (pp.59-67)—work creatively as a poetic medium through which its listeners carefully articulate experiences of loneliness, isolation, and anomie, emotions that are otherwise denied in a seemingly uncaring social world shaped at once by urban alienation, geo-political reality, and the persistence of traditional Chinese and Taiwanese cultures, as well as the breakdown of moral and religious values. These emotions are highly gendered: the vast majority of Mandopop lyricists are male, and the songs they write for female singers have portrayed women as passive and emotional sufferers, which both resonates and contrasts with the ‘tender androgyny’ often exhibited in male Mandopop songs. How, then, should we understand the femininity in male lyricists’ ‘women songs’ and the ambiguous, flexible masculinity in Mandopop’s ‘men songs’? This is the question Moskowitz seeks to answer in the following two chapters. His central argument is that Mandopop lyrics redefine an ideal, feminized modernity that supplants the masculinist nationalist discourse in politics and economics (pp.86-87), while their lyrical portrayal of tender, vulnerable men alongside a wide range of other male roles speaks to an alternative sense of masculinity that is made available for its audiences (pp.100-101). These findings, the concluding chapter argues, should invite us not to follow orthodox Communist ideology and Frankfurt School-inspired critics to overlook Mandopop’s sophistication and cultural significance. Quoting a critique by Leo Ching on the perceived superficiality of Mandopop’s ‘idol culture’, Moskowitz powerfully asks, ‘[w]hat does it mean when one of the most notable scholars of popular culture in Taiwan so casually dismisses an entire genre of mass-mediated production?’ (p.106). Instead of characterizing the melodramatic quality of Mandopop as a superficial copy of Western pop and its acceptance of co-produced songs and androgynous male roles as shortcomings, Moskowitz urges the reader to consider Mandopop as a ‘packaged dissent’, a form of resistance that allows people to ‘give voice to their lives in very personal and emotional terms’ against ‘contemporary state demands and traditional Chinese expectations of stoic silence and group orientation’ (p.115).

It is interesting to note that some of the most critical reception of Mandopop, as with any other popular genres, comes often not from uninformed outsiders but from its own performers and audiences. Musicians and fans of Mandopop would probably be curious to see how Moskowitz’s analysis could accommodate, for example, the range of female singer-songwriters from Kay Huang since the early 1990s to the more recent Cheer Chen, whose music—no less integral to Taiwan’s Mandopop industry and popular among the audiences on both sides of the Taiwan Strait—does not always subscribe to, and may even resist, the male-oriented femininity or androgynous masculinity identified in mainstream Mandopop. Likewise, the overwhelming popularity of Jay Chou, the ‘king of Mandopop’...
(also mentioned in the book), in China and Taiwan and his creative blending of rhythm- and-blues, rap, and the Mandarin Chinese language—widely received as subversive to mainstream Mandopop styles—also seems to complicate the understanding of the genre of Mandopop as a form of resistance. As Moskowitz rightly points out, the line between stylistic categories and images is often remarkably thin; many singers rely on hopping agilely from one to another for their continued success (p.85). Their departure from and sometimes critiques of mainstream Mandopop—both discursive and musico-poetic—raises further questions as to stylistic changes, local reception, and transnational politics.

The book includes black-and-white reproductions of quite a few album covers and media images. It also comes with a useful glossary of Mandopop terms, to which entries of the numerous Mandopop singers mentioned in the text would be a welcome addition. Excerpts of song lyrics are helpfully provided in pinyin transliteration and English translation (inconsistencies and typos in transliteration occur in some). The author maintains an accompanying website, which includes links to YouTube videos and some translations of Mandopop songs covered in the book (http://people.cas.sc.edu/moskowitz/songs.html). Overall, Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow is a significant work in the field of popular music studies, and will be welcomed by both academics and Mandopop aficionados. I recommend it to anyone interested in issues of gender, music, and politics in contemporary East Asian societies. Students and professionals in the fields of Chinese music and ethnomusicology would also find its analyses relevant and thought-provoking.

Chuen-Fung Wong


Since the People’s Republic of China (PRC) started its reform policy under Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, many Western orchestras and musicians have been invited to perform there. Only a few of these people have written about their early experiences; with regard to pop and rock music, the China tour of Germany’s famous rock band ‘BAP’ (1987) surely provided the first lengthy report of problems (Western) rock musicians encounter when organizing concerts in the PRC (See BAP övver China, by Gerhard Hirschfeld, Jesko Sander, Bonn: Vorwärts Vlg. 1989). ‘BAP’, nonetheless, remained largely outsiders who travelled on a state-planned concert tour in China, whereas Dennis Rea’s memoirs offer a broadly reflected insider perspective. His book covers the years 1989 to 1996 and, written ten years later, combines teaching, travelling and musical experiences with observations on China’s history, music, culture, and society. As an experimental musician from Seattle who was thrown into a China adventure, Rea became an eyewitness to and active musician in China’s early rock music scene. His story is particularly attractive because it addresses the cultural changes in both China and Taiwan.
The story opens with the arrival of Dennis and his fiancée Anne (a China scholar with a degree in East Asian studies) in Chengdu, Sichuan province, in January 1989, where they began teaching English at the Chengdu University of Science and Technology. The ‘first weeks in Chengdu were not happy ones’, due to the overall circumstances and communication problems. While having ‘daily lessons in cultural dislocation’ (pp.9, 13), it happened that the university’s guitar club approached Rea, and thus his first contacts with Chengdu’s little music scene were soon established. In the following months, the city’s only Western guitarist was invited on several occasions to lecture on rock and jazz music, and he performed with a variety of musicians. The events revolving around ‘June 4th’ interrupt the music-oriented narrative. Rea may be the only person to have depicted in detail what happened during those weeks in Chengdu – after the crackdown he took advantage of the long break in his teaching schedule and travelled to Yunnan and along the Silk Road in Xinjiang province. Back in Chengdu, Rea found himself ‘deluged with requests to play guitar in settings ranging from informal parties to riverside pubs to the imposing Workers’ Cultural Palace’ (p.73). He worked for Sichuan Radio, improvised on Chinese melodies, and later played concerts with China’s first pop-glamour guitarist, Zhang Xing. This engagement changed Rea’s life in Chengdu and turned him overnight into a celebrity. Due to his new prominence, the couple’s apartment ‘soon became a salon of sorts for a growing contingent of longhaired poets, painters, and other bohemian types from all over the city’ (p.83), and at the end of their stay in Chengdu he was contacted by the China Record Company. When Shadow in Dreams was released in summer 1990, Dennis and Anne had already moved to Taiwan.

The couple had taken up residence in Tainan and adapted to a new life-style. First, for monetary reasons: while an English teacher earned US$125 per month in Chengdu, ‘foreign teachers in Taiwan routinely earned US$20 per hour’. Second, because of an overtly felt American and Japanese influence and a ‘brightly lit, high-speed commercial culture’ (p.91). However, quite in contrast to the PRC’s ‘furtive but vital musical avant-garde’, Rea ‘found Taiwan disappointingly bereft of innovative music’ (p.93). Thus, it comes as no surprise that musical contacts were primarily established with foreigners, with whom he organized the band ‘Lost Weekend’; later he joined a formation which finally took the name ‘Identity Crisis’, performing a repertoire that ranged from jazz to progressive rock to film music, and even included adapted Chinese traditional tunes. In early 1991, Rea was happy to receive
a phone call from a friend in Chengdu, who said that Cui Jian had listened to *Shadow in Dreams* and invited him to play in Beijing. Following a short survey of Cui Jian’s career up to that point, Rea gives insight into his various performing activities and observations on the rock music scene in the PRC.

‘Identity Crisis’ gave concerts in Beijing and later in Chengdu. To Rea’s surprise, an article in the Sichuan Youth Daily stated that ‘their concerts were an unbroken chain of success closing the gap between East and West and building a bridge between us and them’ (p.126). The tour also had positive repercussions for the band’s situation back in Tainan. ‘Identity Crisis’ was invited to perform at a number of venues, managed to secure a regular engagement in Taipei and, in August 1991, began recording a CD for Chrystal Records – which was not released. Only one month later, Rea arrived in Hong Kong with his newly formed American band ‘The Vagaries’, following an invitation to participate in the China International TV Festival, to be held in Chengdu. This state-organized event was not without frustrations and disappointing moments, but the band enjoyed a few unofficial concerts and later went on a ‘guerilla’ concert tour to Chongqing, Kunming and Guangzhou. Again, the band played several concerts and participated in jam sessions with local musicians. Its last stop was Zhuhai, where the musicians attended a Cui Jian concert before going their separate ways, ‘while this now-penniless guitarist sailed back to Taiwan’ (p.156).

There, Tainan’s music scene had begun to change. A number of Taiwanese rock bands were actively performing, and new expatriate musicians had arrived. Despite these developments, Rea experienced the overall situation as anything but satisfying: foreign musicians – and later also teachers – were thrown out of the country because they lacked legal work permits, and, even worse, he observed a steady rise in violence and crime. Finally, ‘after three years of playing for a core audience of expatriates’ (p.166), the couple decided to move back to the USA. Before doing so, Rea participated in two musical events, the second of which, ‘Lemming Dynasty’, proved that ‘all the struggles and frustrations of the past four years . . . had not been in vain’ (p.168).

The next chapter offers a change in perspective as Cui Jian played concerts in the US (1994, 1995). Now it was Cui Jian, like Rea in China before, who had to perform in front of an unfamiliar if not alien audience. Given this new cultural transfer, times had definitely changed, although not all Chinese rockers enjoyed the success of Cui Jian in the Western world. One year later, Rea was back in China, this time to participate in the Beijing Jazz Festival with his band ‘Land’, a Seattle-based instrumental sextet. Astonished at the changes that had taken place in China, the author closes with a summary of the rapidly developing musical environment, culturally and commercially, and some notes on the latest developments. Contemplating future perspectives, Rea finally addresses several questions and makes one thing clear: ‘The Chinese no longer need an obscure, unpedigreed foreign musician like me to open the door to unforeseen musical possibilities’ (p.184).

*Live at the Forbidden City* is written emotionally, and is full of private, thoughtful and balanced insights into the early period of Chinese rock. One can feel and understand the author’s sense of wonder and his frustrations, which he occasionally turns into anecdotes. Since this is not a nostalgic narrative about bygone days, but the personal and subjective story
of a musician who was eager to increase communication between East and West through his own musical activities in China and Taiwan, there are many reasons to recommend this book to anybody who is interested in the early circumstances of Chinese rock music. First, because it demonstrates the candidness, curiosity and eagerness of China’s youth to learn more about this form of music, and gives credit to a lot of people involved. It thereby addresses the national and international networks that were so important in the early period of Chinese rock and, in Rea’s case, even went beyond the Taiwan Strait. Second, because it discusses Chinese rock from the perspective of an active musician, whose sympathy for China can be felt throughout the book and enabled him to place his narrative of musical episodes carefully within the context of the social, political, and cultural conflicts of both the PRC and Taiwan. I myself agree with his arguments and could even add some anecdotes of my own (I visited Chengdu and Sichuan in 1988 and, as a student at Fudan University [1990-1992], played many concerts in Shanghai with my own sino-foreign rock band featuring Gangtai music, among others). In sum, Rea’s insider perspective gives attention to a lot of factors that have been largely neglected by books about Chinese rock history: the precise interaction between Western and local musicians, the importance of personal experiences and networks, questions of musical feeling and friendship, organizational and technical difficulties, and, finally, the often ignored cultural and musical significance of spontaneous jam sessions and their effects on China’s rock music.

Andreas Steen


In the course of the last decade several excellent books have been written about various aspects of China’s ‘modernity’. Among the works devoted to the rise of Republican Shanghai’s mass media and popular culture (press, literature, film, etc.), factors relating to music and the impact of musical imports via globally active recording companies have only recently attracted the attention of Western and Chinese scholars. *Yellow Music* appears to be the first Western study to focus specifically on that topic. It also offers a new perspective on the ideological struggles that accompanied the growth of treaty port culture in China. Andrew Jones’s book is based on a variety of sources and incorporates approaches from sociology, anthropology and cultural studies. In addition to addressing questions of music, technology, politics, race, and shifting gender roles within the field of music, Jones uncovers not only the beginnings of jazz and Western-style Chinese popular music in Republican Shanghai, but also their affinity to leftist mass music. His book challenges many assumptions that govern Western and Chinese understanding of China’s early modern popular media culture. Jones concentrates on a textual analysis of musical debates and on the historical processes in which the debates were embedded. As he explains, *Yellow Music* ‘rejects a narrow focus on just one or two popular musical genres to the exclusion of various regional, traditional, and imported musical forms. Instead, I
situate the emergence of modern song within the hierarchized "music-historical field" of the Republican era' (p.16). However, certain things are left out here, and one may ask if the concentration on 'modernity' and discourse might not in fact distort our understanding of this field of music.

In his introduction, 'Listening to the Chinese Jazz Age', Jones starts out with a lively account of Buck Clayton, a black American trumpet player who arrived in Shanghai with his jazz orchestra in 1935. As racism prevailed in Shanghai, it was not long before Clayton found himself playing with a smaller ensemble, in less elegant venues, for Chinese audiences. What the musicians then learned to perform were modern Chinese popular songs (shidai qu), some of which had been composed by Li Jinhui, who is explicitly dealt with in the third chapter. His music, which until very recently was dismissed by Chinese critics as 'yellow', ‘pornographic’ and ‘decadent sound’, and the rise of a new form of left-wing mass music that came ‘to be seen as its historical and ideological “other”’ (p.8), are the main subjects of the book. These two genres are studied within the theoretical framework of ‘colonial modernity’, which Jones aptly introduces as a useful historiographical category, ‘for it alerts us to the necessity of grounding our analyses of modern Chinese cultural production in a rigorously transnational frame – in a manner responsive to both the irreducible specificity of the local and the immense complexity of the global’ (p.9). It was under conditions such as these that new technologies like the gramophone arrived in the colonies, almost concurrently with their invention in the West. They were not only new and foreign in the cultural context, but ‘complicit with colonial expansion’, and must be seen as ‘a primary factor in the dramatic acceleration of the globalization of culture taking place in the late nineteenth century’ (p.13).

The questions Jones raises and the aims of his study, then, are numerous. One task he sets himself is to trace the history of sound recording in China, and in doing so, to ‘explicate the process by which colonial phonography was appropriated as a means of anticolonial resistance in the Republican period’ (p.14). Secondly, and related to public discourse about popular music, he gives attention to the new leftist mode of musical production and introduces the important notion of phonographic realism. Popular music and mass music, as his underlying argument goes, were products of the same cultural field, and have more in common than one might expect or even want to accept. Thirdly, the book is concerned with ‘attempting to puzzle out the status of national music . . . in postcoloniality’ and to trace ‘the contours of the trajectory through which Chinese music entered into a relationship of commensurability with that of the West’ (pp.19, 20). As Jones summarizes, musical modernization efforts and the impact of a globally active music industry turned Chinese music into a musical form which ceased to exist save as a signifier of ‘Chineseness’: Chinese music – whether in the guise of the new national music of the native elite, the yellow music of Li Jinhui, or the phonographic realism of leftist cultural workers of the 1930s – ‘becomes modern Chinese music only when its “Chineseness” comes in quotes’ (p.20). These are some of the guiding questions and assumptions of his study, discussed in detail in the following four chapters.

‘The Orchestration of Chinese Musical Life’ provides a historical overview in which Jones first lays out the program of musical modernization and the dynamics that affect the musical field in Republican China. Loosely adapted from Bourdieu’s notion of the ‘cultural field’, this is explored from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Under the impact
of foreign imperialism, Western music (anthems, military music and the like) came to function as a technology of power and a marker of class distinction. When popular music and decadent sounds began to fill the record stores and airwaves – as is argued throughout the book – this led to a conflict ‘between a polyvocal culture of consumption and a univocal sonic regime, between music as a medium of social control and a commodified popular culture expedited by new media for the dissemination of music’ (p.27).

In order to trace the roots of this conflict, Jones briefly touches upon the differences between Chinese and Western music traditions, the early appearances of Western music in China, and musical modernization efforts that came to be intensified by May Fourth intellectuals in the early 1920s. The following years are divided into three periods and discussed in detail. The third period, 1932-1937, began after Japanese troops had occupied Manchuria, marking the beginning of the above-mentioned conflict. In analysing the musical elite, professional musicians, and their concept of a new national music created primarily as an answer to foreign imperialism and/or against tradition, Jones unfortunately reduces the Confucian heritage and traditional understanding of music to the New Life Movement of 1934. Did not this prominent notion (and tradition), which regarded music as an educational tool and a force to induce cultural and social change, consciously or not, at a very early point stimulate the adaptation of Western musical forms and underline the need to create a new and powerful national music?

After providing the reader with this (political) hyperstructure of musical modernization and its discourse, Jones proceeds to shed light on the conditions that led to the rise of the two musical genres in three steps. In ‘The Gramophone in China’ he first concentrates on a technology which was ‘both a mechanical emblem of modernity and the principal engine whereby music became an object of private, individualized consumption as opposed to the focus of public gatherings’ (p.55). Music recording not only widens the range and variety of traditional, regional, and hybrid musical forms, it also ‘contradicts standard accounts of the complicity of modern communications technology with the forces of Western cultural imperialism’ (p.55). As Jones states, ‘the history of the record industry in Shanghai belies the assumption of “belated modernity” that all too often governs scholarly approaches to the question of cultural modernization in the Republican period’ (p.57). When record production began with transnational corporations such as the French Pathé-Orient, American Victor, and British Gramophone, it helped to develop a mass-mediated culture of consumption that by the late 1920s ‘also became the target of anti-colonial resistance on the part of the emergent national bourgeoisie and leftist cultural insurgents’ (p.59).

On the pages that follow, Jones sketches a rather optimistic picture of the growth of Shanghai’s recording industry. For example, when Pathé opened its factory in 1916, the field was surely not ‘littered with competitors such as Beka, Odeon, Columbia, Victors and others’ (p.61). Owing to the First World War, most of these companies had stopped producing Chinese records and did not revive their business until the mid 1920s. In those years and until the end of that decade, Pathé’s monopoly went nearly unchallenged. In the 1930s, when EMI-Pathé and Victor controlled most of the highly competitive market, record production also became a field of anticolonial resistance, but I hesitate to divide the market as clearly as Jones does. While it is true that newly found Chinese production companies depended on foreign technology and ‘functioned as “proletarian” subsidiaries
of the transnational corporations’ (p.63), one should also keep in mind that the success of these corporations relied on Chinese decisions concerning musical content.

Also, because of the overall socio-political situation in China, record sales declined heavily during the depression years. I find it difficult to see the Chinese company Great China and its cooperation with the Hong Kong-based production company New Moon mainly under the slogan of ‘national production’. These companies were run by patriotic but clever businessmen, and Jones might have been more critical of this sort of propaganda, which may also be viewed as a market strategy to increase record sales. Because recording artists and consumers seem not to have cared much either, it remains difficult to fully understand the practical outcome of this slogan. Nonetheless, after 1932 the leftists took advantage of the gramophone and organized the production of mass music in Shanghai’s EMI studio. The foreign managers were happy to exploit the market for this sort of music, and it is a final irony, as Jones points out, that the company ‘actually profited from the anticolonial critique launched by the leftists’ (p.70).

The third chapter is devoted to ‘The Yellow Music of Li Jinhui’. Here, Jones distances himself from Chinese socialist historiography and from ‘our conceptualisation’ to understand the relationship between ‘serious’ and popular cultural production in the Republican era, which ‘has heretofore been shaped by an unfortunate tendency to take May 4th commentators on urban popular culture at their word’ (p.76). Rather, Li Jinhui’s complicated career is carefully placed between nation-building discourses and an emerging mass culture, both of which had a profound impact on his music and the mass-mediated sing-song girls who performed it. In pointing to Li’s children’s dramas of the 1920s, which are imbued with a May 4th spirit of humanist enlightenment, antifeudalism, and nationalism, Jones rightly suggests that ‘it is essential that we examine not the play scripts and music per se, but the manner in which they were performed’ (p.86). Li’s career is addressed from various angles; the analysis combines public discourse and questions of gender, sexuality, and urban mass media culture along with Li’s compositions and performances. As Jones concludes: ‘The display of feminine youth and physicality that was so much a part of Li’s dramatic idiom, then, dovetailed with May 4th era discourses of national regeneration’ (p.90). In the early 1930s, his popular songs came under severe criticism by nationalists and leftists alike. It was Li’s renegotiation of jazz music in national terms, its ‘yellowness’, to which critics objected as much in a racial as in a sexual context. While jazz was racialized and put on equal terms with Chinese folk ditties, Jones notes another irony, namely, that ‘Li’s music was far more modern than the elite but already outdated nineteenth-century European forms that Xiao [Youmei] and others hoped to reproduce (with Chinese inflections) on their national soil’ (p.104). This cultural translation took place in an urban context and was made possible by a new transnational economy of music production and consumption, which now for the first time even allowed foreign jazz bands to perform Chinese music.

The fourth chapter, ‘Mass Music and the Politics of Phonographic Realism’, focuses on the young musician Nie Er, a former student of Li Jinhui. Following Japan’s assault on Shanghai in early 1932, Nie Er turned away from him and from Western classical music, in order to compose revolutionary mass music. Jones’s conclusion, that Nie Er’s compositions
‘emerged from the confluence of modern warfare, the rise of a mass-mediated culture industry, and the radicalization of Chinese literary theory and cultural practice in this particular historical moment’ is as convincing as the argument that this ‘mass music partook of an aesthetic of phonographic realism formed of precisely this confluence’ (pp.106-107). It is this musical praxis and aesthetic which Jones accurately extracts from the cultural and socio-political field of Shanghai. While the music of Li Jinhui was criticized, certain discourse strategies can be identified, out of which Jones selects the changing role of the sing-song girl as the most obvious. This was dismissed by the Nationalists together with prostitution and popular songs, but the Leftists used different tactics: appropriation and assimilation. Both in film and in songs the sing-song girl ‘was represented as an oppressed subaltern eager to add her voice to the chorus of enlightened citizens crying out for national salvation’ (p.114). That ‘the fetishized female star is subsumed by the collective’ and the ‘(gendered) consumer becomes a desexed citizen participating in a ritual enactment of national solidarity’ (p.128) is further explored in the last part of this chapter. Here, Jones discusses leftist films that exhibit a combination of Soviet techniques, Hollywood films, and a simultaneous appropriation and critique of Li Jinhui. Since even in leftist films the sing-song girl retained importance and ‘her humiliation (and salvation) figures that of the nation’, he finally states: ‘The brand of mass-mediated voyeurism that Li helped to forge, in other words, is informed by nationalism as much as leftist cinema is informed by voyeurism’ (p.136).

Yellow Music surely foregrounds the gendered traces of commercial media culture in leftist songs and films, and thereby deepens our understanding of the history and mechanisms of nationalist discourse, which is one of the goals of this study (p.136). The book offers a challenging perspective on cultural production in Republican Shanghai and partly uncovers the roots of postcolonial debates from the time when mass and revolutionary music became the dominant genre in the People’s Republic of China. In analysing the relationship between discourse and practice, and among music, literature, film and technology in a globalizing music field under the conditions of colonial modernity, Jones breaks with previous assumptions that adhere to a clear distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’, and ‘high’ and ‘low’, culture. Still, is it sufficient to focus on the elitist discourse of those people who either compose or criticize (popular) music or earn the profits? To be sure, music was more than the struggle between imperialism, technology, power and political mobilization on the one hand, and entertainment on the other. The question of whether consumers were active or passive participants in this discourse, along with their motives, choices and the benefits they may have gained from listening to this critical and censored genre, remain unexamined. Furthermore, if Li Jinhui’s yellow music represents ‘the creation of a new musical idiom both modern and distinctly Chinese’ (p.104), it is not entirely clear why its ‘Chineseness’ should be written in quotes. Another problem is related to our understanding of how important these intellectual debates were outside this realm and within the complex but easy-to-survey cultural field of Shanghai. What exactly were the ‘hierarchies’, and were they as clear-cut as suggested? Jones occasionally draws our attention to modern aspects of such traditional genres as Beijing opera and storytelling, but the top recording star of those years, Mei Lanfang, is only mentioned once. Was it just another irony within the colonized musical arena that by the early 1930s the cultural
status of Beijing opera reached new heights because of its success in the West? Or was it its ‘Chineseness’? Did the ‘star system’ not include traditional genres (which in part were surely modernized or urbanized) and their artists, who received coverage in a lot of journals?

Given the variety of music recorded in those years and the cultural diversity that helped provide the ground for these new genres under investigation, the narrow focus on nation-building efforts and ideological struggles in modern jazz, popular music, Western elite music, and mass music is likely to underestimate the existence of traditional musical genres in many respects: discourse, popularity, commercial and social value, and ‘resistance. Above all, consumers who listened to European classical music were not necessarily enemies of Beijing opera, and vice versa. *Yellow Music*, therefore, provides a first glimpse of the complex and semi-colonial music arena of Republican Shanghai. After reading it, we may see many more questions that need to be answered.

Andreas Steen


Chinese pop and rock music is a fascinating but still marginal field of scholarly interest. One of the reasons is its complexity, because national and international discourses are as much involved as musical, commercial, social, political and emotional aspects. Jeroen de Kloet seeks to combine these various issues in his study and, as he stresses at the end of the book, he does not interpret rock music as a mirror of society. Instead, he has ‘tried to walk through the mirror, as Alice did in Wonderland, and look for the paradoxes’ (p.243). Historically speaking, his insightful study is concerned with the often debated crisis of Chinese rock in the mid-1990s; he challenges three major narratives: ‘First, that rock is a rebellious sound, second, that the Party controls society and ought to be challenged, and third, that commercialisation has corrupted the rebellious sounds in China’ (p.17). The rebellious aura of rock is produced by what de Kloet calls ‘rock mythology’, a central term throughout the book, because the author analyses ‘how this mythology functions as the glue that binds together musicians, producers, audiences, journalists, academics and politicians’ (p.26). In order to deconstruct this mythology, de Kloet makes use of a variety of methodologies, including a praiseworthy fieldwork study carried out among 650 urban youths, and several interviews with both musicians and employees in the music business. In leaving the boundaries of Beijing’s rock community and touching upon the growing number of rock bands in Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong, this study draws a thorough picture of rock music’s present situation, struggles, and search for meaning in the PRC. Following his introduction, de Kloet proceeds with seven chapters. ‘Sonic Flows’ gives attention to rock mythology, which is seen as ‘an important discourse that produces rock culture as a musical world’ (p.31). The mythology includes such promotion strategies as the rock-pop divide, style, stardom, and the image of the artist. In China, however, the working of rock mythology is further complicated by both a
negotiation and a negation of the West, and a regional ideological struggle with Beijing at the centre. Here, de Kloet draws on Arjun Appadurai’s distinction between soft and hard cultural forms. Rock music is considered to be a hard cultural form and therefore invokes a strong urge for its localization. In order to include both the local and the global aspects of rock in China, the author speaks of a ‘negotiation of place, a place that can be local and regional as well as global; a place, furthermore, that is as imagined as it is real’ (p.42). However, given the present range of music styles in China, it does not get us very far to argue that the localization of rock ‘is fueled by a desire to be real, to be authentic, and to avoid copying the West. The politics of rock in China are therefore closely related to an authenticating politics of place’ (p.48).

Chapter three, ‘Mis-en-scène’, is concerned with discourses about youth in China and subcultural movements. The author refrains from labelling Chinese rock as subculture and simply speaks of rock culture. He also abstains from distinguishing fixed periods, but explores various fluid music scenes, all of which are discussed in detail: Underground, Heavy Metal, Folk Rock, Pop Rock, Hardcore Punk, Pop Punk, and Fashionable Bands. The quest for authenticity and the power of rock mythology, in terms of inclusion and exclusion, are underlined both in interviews and in music styles. De Kloet convincingly concludes: ‘The production of locality might sell well to the West, but does not guarantee local popularity. To be global sells locally, and to be local sells globally’ (p.103).

Chapter four, ‘Subaltern Sounds’, focuses on voices that are marginalized by rock mythology, namely female bands, non-Beijing rock, and Gangtai pop music. Here, the workings of rock mythology become even more visible. True rebellion is imagined to belong to male behaviour, southern bands accuse Beijing of being too commercial, and Shanghai bands hope to be less local than those in Beijing and stick to the revival of old Shanghai’s cosmopolitanism. Finally, de Kloet addresses the ambiguous aesthetics of Hong Kong’s Cantopop. Analysed with regard to gender, sexuality and identity plays, pop creates its own aura of authenticity and demonstrates ‘that there is no ground to consider rock more rebellious, more authentic, more complex, or more emancipatory than pop’ (p.130).

‘Audiences in Wonderland’ brings the reader to the author’s survey of audience response and consumer practices. Three media zones are distinguished, and related to three music styles: classical music, pop music and rock music. These styles are chosen by different audiences in order to express their identities. With regard to rock music, de Kloet focuses on four zones of identification: gendering zones, authenticating zones, localizing zones and politicizing zones. Movements between these zones are related to mood management. Based on the questionnaire and several interviews, rock mythology ‘creates an audience that . . . seems to be less rebellious, subversive, and provocative than is suggested by not only the participants of this culture, but also by journalists and academics’ (p.152).

Chapter six, ‘Commercial Betrayal’, gives attention to the marketing of rock music in China. De Kloet does not criticize commercialization as being hostile to creativity, but regards the relationship between the record industry and rock culture as one of mutual dependence. Only two transnational companies have contracted a Chinese rock band, and although the number of releases of Chinese rock ‘grew from just a few in the early 1990s to 30-40 releases a year in 1999, the music market in China remains, after all, rather marginal and uncertain’ (p.187). Owing to the harsh economic climate, companies from Hong Kong
and Taiwan failed in the PRC and thereby left open a niche for both regional and local record companies. Their eagerness to produce rock music as a new music culture combines with a desire for a strong Chinese culture and is part of the ‘local turn’, a marketing mythology featuring traditional and revolutionary elements. Nevertheless, the 1990s have ‘led neither to the disappearance of the state nor to a financial boom’ (p.208), but have turned ‘the world of Chinese rock . . . [into] quite a safe and pleasant world’ (p.210).

The last chapter, ‘Pirates and Censors’, looks at the ambiguous role of pirated records, copyright law, and censorship regulations with regard to musical creativity and rock mythology. Since these are all fields of contestation, piracy ‘can thus be considered both a productive cultural force and something that damages Chinese music cultures’ (p.224). The same can be said for censorship regulations, which are highly sensitive to politics and sex. However, the regulations are rather ambiguous and offer room for negotiation, for artists as well as for publishing houses. ‘Censorship both silences and produces culture’, which leads the author to argue ‘for a departure from the concept of censorship. In order to move beyond the political in the strict, hegemonic sense of the word, it might be useful to broaden the issue to strategies of exclusion’ (p.240). That ‘after all, most music is excluded from the market not because of the censorship, but simply because the music industry is not convinced of its market potential’ (p.240) seems to be nothing new – it has been part of the music business since its early years. Finally, in his conclusion, ‘Fading Red’, de Kloet summarizes the main arguments and paradoxes involved in the construction of rock mythology.

The book is, as the author stresses, ‘an attempt to deconstruct rather than reconstruct the world of rock’ (p.251). Together with its accompanying CD it is highly recommended and surely a step ‘through the mirror’, an aid to analyse and grasp the networks, ideological struggles, commercial considerations, and various paradoxes that are part of the music business and rock culture in China. The author challenges many assumptions and opens new paths for scholarly research. It is, however, both revealing and somewhat worrying to see how the author moves freely between different zones, styles, and censorship regulations, only to characterize everything as being in a state of fluidity, negotiable and not fixed, imagined, not real and – above all – still favouring a creative rock culture. Since it is not the author’s intention to ‘provide solid answers to fixed questions’ but rather to reflect on ‘the struggle over multiple interpretations’ (p.29), he has definitely reached his goal. Sure enough, there are no clear-cut boundaries, but it is too easy by far to argue that musicians, producers, audiences and scholars – except for the author himself – are simply anaesthetized and only working for or within ‘rock mythology’. The term itself suggests something unreal, and yet rock music is there, created, performed, recorded, distributed, and listened to with different attitudes in time and space. It is attractive to summarize China’s rock culture under this particular term, although de Kloet occasionally runs the risk of blurring different levels of action and perception and seeing himself surrounded by a world of paradoxes. It is stimulating to follow his in-depth analysis of how these discursive values are constructed, but to dismiss the romanticism of rock as only imagined does not do justice to the reality of audience behaviour. Therefore, one sometimes feels the need for ‘solid answers’. While looking at the book’s layout and pictures, finally, one might ask whether the author himself has been captured by this mythology as well.

Andreas Steen
Chou Wen-chung (b. 1923) has been considered one of the most innovative artists of our time. His compositional career, which spans a period of nearly six decades, is represented by a group of works whose diversity in style and technique stems from the aesthetic of cultural fusion, in particular that between the East and the West. From the early works such as And the Fallen Petals (1954) and Pien (1966), to the more recent creations including Echoes from the Gorge (1989) and Clouds (1996), his music has garnered interest from both the scholarly and the performing communities; it challenges the current trends of art music, and has inspired the younger generation of composers. With additional achievements in arts exchange, cultural preservation, and the promotion of the music and ideas of Edgard Varèse (Chou’s composition mentor from 1949 to 1954), Chou’s multiple influences in the worlds of arts, music, scholarship, and culture are unique and unprecedented.

Scholarly interest in Chou’s music began in the early 1980s, when the first extended treatment of his early works appeared in the form of an M.M. thesis. A chapter devoted to Chou appears in Feliciano’s 1983 monograph Four Asian Contemporary Composers. In the 1990s, more published and unpublished literature on Chou began to appear, covering a wide spectrum of topics that includes biographical studies, music analysis, new Chinese music, and ethnomusicological perspectives. Stepping into the twentieth first century, within a six-year period, we continue to witness contributions in Chou scholarship. This growing literature, together with the composer’s own writings that span over five decades, provide a substantial amount of information for our understanding of the life and work of this important composer.

With these in mind, Peter M. Chang’s Chou Wen-chung: The Life and Work of a Contemporary Chinese-Born American Composer is a timely addition to the existing wealth of scholarly information on Chou. As the first book devoted entirely to the composer, Chang’s monograph attempts to provide a comprehensive account of the composer’s life and music. Those who are familiar with Chang’s work should recognize the prototype of the book – his 1995 Ph.D. dissertation ‘Chou Wen-chung and His Music: A Musical and Biographical Profile of Cultural Synthesis’ (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign). The published version retains eight of the ten chapters from the original document, plus additional information on Chou’s biography and compositional activity since 1995. As detailed as the title of Chang’s book is, the original title from the dissertation reflects more precisely the content of the book, which is organized into three parts: biography, music analysis, and an exposition of the ethnomusicological concepts of musical syncretism. After a brief introduction to Chou’s position in contemporary American music and an in-depth biographical presentation of the composer in the first two chapters, chapters three through six examine his works according to three periods – 1940s to 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s to 1990s – and discuss the reception of his music in both the East and the West. The last two chapters of the book explore Chou’s aesthetic and compositions from the angle of musical synthesis.
Within this tripartite division of the book, Chang’s analysis of cultural fusion in Chou’s music is the most interesting. By borrowing from the work of Alan Merriam, Stephen Slawek, Richard Waterman, and William Bascom, among others, Chang applies concepts of musical syncretism and cultural brokering that are commonly pertinent to groups to an individual artist. In the examination of Chou’s musical synthesis of the East and the West as a process, Chang explores four processes the composer has gone through: the learning process; the evaluative process; the selection and fusion process; and finally, the educating, propagating, and influencing process (pp.201-202). The author also advocates the idea of ‘conceptual fusion’ in the interpretation of Chou’s music, since ‘the gap between our perception of actual sound and of the idea behind it can hardly be bridged’ (p.206). Chang justifies his theory by citing Chou’s change of style from oriental sounds that depict ‘Chinese-ness’ in his early works to abstract musical textures that aim at the inner representation of ideas and principles essential to Chinese and Western music in his later works, as well as by examining and comparing the perception and reception of his music by both Chinese and Western audiences. In the seventh chapter, ‘Background of Chinese Approaches to Musical Synthesis’, by addressing such issues as the influx of Western music and musicians into China, their impact on Chinese composers and performers, and the ensuing political, cultural, and musical ramifications, Chang has given us a rich account of the historical development of East-West musical fusion in China in the first half of the twentieth century. Although the information presented in this chapter is valuable, it is not of particular relevance to the main topic of the book and therefore appears detached from the rest of the book.5

In addition to the main text, a bibliography, an index, and a reproduction of photographs related to Chou’s life and career, Chang supplies three appendices, which provide some important information for those who want to engage in further study of Chou’s music. They include a list of Chou’s compositions, a discography, and a performance chronology of And the Fallen Petals (1954), one of the most performed works by the composer.6 Important though Chang’s book is, the many typographical, grammatical, and factual errors that appear in the text adversely affect its readability and weaken its professional appearance.7 In this regard, a revised edition of the book is imperative before it makes its way into the reference list of Chou literature.


5 In Chang’s dissertation, this material is placed in an earlier chapter, which makes more sense, since it provides contextual information on the issue from a historical perspective before the main discourse on Chou.

6 In addition to an analysis of the piece in chapter three, there is a discussion of its performances and reviews towards the end of chapter six (pp.167-173).

7 These errors range from the careless misspelling of words to the incorrect citation of proper names. To cite a few examples: the author Glenn Watkins is spelled ‘Glenn Waltkins’ (pp.2, 8); the composer Tcherepnine appears as ‘Tcherepen’ (p.7); and the first and last names of Ammon Shiloah are reversed.
in the bibliography (p.221). Other more serious mistakes pertaining to Chou’s music are also found: *Soliloquy of a Bhiksuni* is scored for solo trumpet and an ensemble of brass and percussion, not ‘orchestra’ (p.33; the correct instrumentation is listed later in Appendix A); *Yün* uses only one piano, not two (Appendix A); and *Echoes from the Gorge* contains a movement that has exactly the same title (situated between ‘Raindrops on Bamboo Leaves’ and ‘Autumn Pond’), but this movement is missing in Chang’s analysis of the structure on p.121.

**Eric Lai**


In his New Music and Interculturality from John Cage to Tan Dun, scholar-composer Christian Utz discusses with breadth, careful scrutiny, and a combative spirit, the use of Asian – and in particular Chinese – elements in music by Western as well as Asian composers. He pinpoints the (often unrecognized) involvement of everyone writing music interculturally in the highly politicized debates on ethnocentrism, relativism, regionalism, globalism and universalism. Utz thus demonstrates that intercultural communication can be an enormously political affair, as well as a commercial feat, or simply a way of creation.

This is an important book. By combining high-level theoretical discussion with in-depth musical analysis, Utz brings a whole new level of sophistication to the discourse on interculturality in music. From the point of view of the reception of East Asian influences in New Music, by both non-Asian and Asian composers, the author manages to introduce important categories and ideas on interculturality in music generally. Thus, this work makes a theoretical contribution to this discussion going far beyond the particular subject it examines.

The book is organized in three concentric circles: it deals with East Asian influences on Western composers, with an emphasis on John Cage, Benjamin Britten, Karlheinz Stockhausen and Mauricio Kagel (II:70-205); then turns to East Asian influences on Asian composers in Korea, China and Japan, with an emphasis on three composers from the older generation, Yun Isang, Chou Wen-Chung and Takemitsu Toru (III:206-322); and finally provides an in-depth analysis of Chinese New York composer Tan Dun’s oeuvre (IV:323-481). Although the number of independent analyses varies from one part to the next, the level of scholarship is consistent throughout. Thanks to his own particular competence, including his familiarity with Chinese traditional music and Western New Music, Utz manages to provide fresh readings even of such well-researched composers as Cage and Yun. He uses the existing literature intelligently and as a springboard from which to depart into higher – if debatable – realms.

The dry but crystal-clear theoretical introduction (I) provides a comprehensive framework for the understanding of interculturality in music. Utz draws on an impressive range of theoretical writings from linguistics to sinology, from economics to sociology, from political theory to ethnomusicology, and proposes categories through which to
consider intercultural compositions. Generally, the arguments put forth in this section are integrated well with the analytical chapters and with the brief conclusion (V). Only in a few instances could the theoretical concepts discussed here have been evoked more forcefully or thought through more carefully: the question of the ‘occidentalism’ practised by Asian composers making use of Western elements in their music – although of course not the immediate subject of the study at hand – is not even mentioned; and the idea that some Asian composers might, in their particular use of their national tradition, practise nothing but ‘self-orientalism’ (very obvious in the case of Takemitsu [pp.286, 293] and also Yun [pp.308-309]) is not made explicit. I really wonder, too, whether it is true to say that the younger generation of Asian composers refrains from the use of ‘essentialisms’ in their treatment of traditional elements. Utz identifies essentialisms in the works of Takemitsu, Yun and Chou (p.311), but the ‘other-conscious’, self-conscious renaming of Tan Dun’s *Intermezzo for Orchestra and Three Tone Colours* – which later became *On Taoism*, for example – can be considered a striking example of such essentialisms at work, too. The piece and the circumstances of its renaming are mentioned by Utz, but are not considered from this angle (see p.371).

Some of the most useful ideas set forth in this book revolve around the question of what can be called ‘authentic’ or ‘fake’ in the music under study here. Utz’s meticulous juxtapositions of a great variety of ethnomusicological sources and a number of extremely creative compositional products complicate both categories of conception and in the end serve to deconstruct them. This happens to most other classifications established in the introduction, too, a fact the author laudably admits to (p.484). Even if, in addition, one could find fault with some of his classifications in themselves, none of this takes away from the importance of attempting to establish them. Indeed, this study is an apt illustration of how the use of theoretical categories may serve to sharpen the analytical eye. What Utz eventually finds and describes in great detail in his study are a myriad of individual solutions to the question of intercultural composition that all but defy classification. Each of the composers here described gives his or her very own personal, subjective interpretation of a particular tradition, thus creating something that ultimately is beyond the traditions used.

Utz very carefully analyses various strategies of intercultural composition. He comes to the conclusion that intercultural composition is most successful when it takes into account not just the text but also the context of the traditional elements employed (pp.24, 61). In order to depart from a eurocentric standpoint, intercultural composition must be based, according to Utz, on a common ground of intercultural understanding as well as a common consciousness of intercultural difference (p.480). Accordingly, Utz condemns what he terms ‘orientalist’ approaches (most obviously in his well-conceived discussion of Karlheinz Stockhausen and Benjamin Britten). I would be the last to advocate an apolitical treatment of music such as theirs. But I think that one should not even begin to look at these pieces with preconceptions (as is done if the terms of postcolonial analysis are applied too rigidly). Politicized concepts such as orientalism and eurocentrism need to be used carefully, for what real power does a composer have, after all, even if he is Stockhausen? And are all the composers studied here actually conscious of the political implications that could be found in their intercultural compositions? Why can’t we look at different strains and different perceptions of perceiving and describing the other in music without
political qualification and, what’s worse, denigration? It is possible today, in feminist scholarship, no longer to attack the male gaze with ire but to recognize the many female gazes at work, too, which often result in the same effect – that could but need not be called ‘subordinating’. The same could apply here. First, and most important, many of the orientalisms or exoticisms in music – in spite of their negative political reputation – are beautiful, interesting, exciting musical creations. Second, we must not forget that the Asian composer, too, is prone to engage in such orientalisms and exoticisms, that is, to make use of selective constructions of Asian traditions.

Indeed, Western and East Asian approaches to such intercultural composition may not be as ‘extremely different in their preconditions’ (in den Voraussetzungen grundsätzlich [zu] unterscheiden) as Utz considers them to be (p.62). The inevitability of the Chinese composer engaging in intercultural dialogue is not a given, either, in my opinion (Utz states this on p.58). Theoretically speaking, at least, a Chinese composer could compose ‘pure’ New Music, untainted by Asian influences, if he were so inclined (and there are some Taiwanese examples from the 1960s and 1970s that demonstrate this point). But if, on the other hand, the Chinese composer engages in intercultural composition and employs Asian heritage, his difference in approach from a Western composer doing so is only one of degree. To conclude from the fact that the Japanese did not recognize their own culture in Stockhausen’s disguise is not necessarily an argument to prove his music’s orientalism (p.169), for many Chinese fail to recognize any Chineseness in Tan Dun. Nevertheless, Utz’s condemnation of Tan Dun’s neo-exoticism in his works of the late 1990s, such as his Symphony 1997, is not as harsh as that of Stockhausen (p.140n174). At one point, he even calls Tan Dun a ‘counterpoint’ to (Western compositional) orientalisms (p.202).

What Utz’s study neglects is the fact that these politicized concepts are of course relevant not just when Asian traditions are being incorporated by foreign composers (or even Asian ones, especially those with non-Chinese passports) but also when non-Asian traditions are being incorporated by Asian composers (especially eclectics like Tan Dun). Asian composers’ postmodernism no longer stops at Asian material but has tapped many other sources: their music is a mixture of cultures and styles, employing ‘canned world music’ (Weltmusikonserven) (p.165) just as Stockhausen’s does. What we need now are careful studies, preferably modelled on Utz’s, that disentangle the different layers in these musics and tell us more, especially about these composers’ interpretations of the occidental Other and their potential reverse exoticism, too.

Utz is to be praised for his choice of composers and pieces. He could of course have included many more to make his statements even more convincing; on the other hand, this would have reduced the space allocated to each of the composers discussed. The selection of composers and compositions he makes is not always explained well, however. Indeed, the author appears from time to time to have followed the path of convenience – his reasons for not including Tona Scherchen-Hsiao, for example, appear rather lame (p.196n306), and it is unconvincing in a study like this one which focuses on musical influences in intercultural composition to leave out the particular role of gagaku in Stockhausen’s compositions (p.153).

Nevertheless, Utz’s careful and often provocative analyses make this book fascinating reading. Especially well argued are: the passage on Mauricio Kagel’s ironic Exotica (pp.173-186); the ‘ethnomusicological’ reading of Eight Colours (pp.393-396); and the
illuminating remarks on the compatibilities of Sprechgesang and certain Chinese vocal qualities (pp.427-429). The interpretation of Chou Wen-chung, specifically Chou’s qin pieces for piano, which Utz views as ‘conventional piano music’ (pp.269-274, especially p.273), as well as his treatment of Takemitsu, which breaks with the former consensus that his compositions expose the musical differences between the ‘Japanese’ world and the ‘Western’ world (especially pp.296-299), make for stimulating reading, not least because they invite disagreement. His linking of Tan Dun’s Nine Songs with the Tiananmen Massacre, on the other hand, when he denies such a connection (in the music) for Snow in June, appears a little forced (p.420 vs. pp.434-435). However meticulous, then, these readings demonstrate the versatility and ambiguity of music as a language. Many of Utz’s interpretations may be just as adequate or speculative as others undertaken earlier – and while the combative spirit in much of Utz’s writing can be rather enjoyable, a slightly self-righteous tone sometimes does get the better of him.

In spite of the difficulty of the subject, this is an extremely reader-friendly book. The author provides useful brief introductions to the historical background of each of the areas discussed, and the index contains non-Western terms in Chinese, Korean and Japanese script (though unfortunately not all of them). Although not a specialist in any of the regions discussed, Utz has immersed himself in many of the historical, political, philosophical, ethnomusicological and sociological questions that come to bear on the music of the (East Asian) composers in question. He is most familiar with the Chinese case, and his typology of Chinese musical characteristics is very well conceived (pp.54-57), however essentializing such a project necessarily is (and the fact that Utz at times equates Chinese with Asian makes this all the more evident [see p.56]).

There are, to be sure, quite a few mistakes in the details. In the case of China, which this reviewer is most familiar with, it must be asked what kind of romanization the term Keihosao (p.155), also missing in the index, is supposed to follow; the first Chinese symphonic work is not Huajiu (p.216) but Huaijiu, and again, the expression is missing in the glossary, which makes correct spelling all the more important; it is unclear why Jiang Wenye should be receiving a compositional prize as a Japanese citizen in 1936 (p.217) – Utz fails to mention that the composer was born and raised in Taiwan, which was under Japanese colonial control until 1945; Shi Yongkang’s concerto for Chinese flute, dizi, called Huanghe de gushi (p.256) does not deal with the Yellow River (Huanghe), as Utz’s translation suggests, but refers to a crane (huanghe), and again there is no character in the index to clarify the situation; the second character in Bright Sheng’s name is zong (ancestor), not zhong (middle) (pp.320 and 525), a mistake admittedly inherited from earlier work by Kouwenhoven and Mittler; ‘Diary of a Madman’ is a translation of Lu Xun’s famous ‘Kuangren riji’, not ‘Kuangren de riji’ (p.315); not to use David Hawkes’s seminal translation of the Chuci, but a myriad of others (p.495 n243) is unfortunate; there was no playwright Guan Hanqing in the Yuan Dynasty (p.434, and accordingly he does not get any characters in the index, either) – his name was Guan Hanqing; and there may be a myriad more such instances. Most probably, experts on Korea, Japan or some of the Western composers discussed in the second chapter will each have similar complaints and find flaws in what is presented there. These are more or less minor matters – although their number is a sign of a certain sloppiness that might taint slightly the reader’s belief in the author’s reliability. Nevertheless, they do not take away from the inherent value of this
detailed independent study. It is a courageous (and successful) attempt to provide more than a dilettante reading of East Asian composition and its importance on the global scale.

As an afterthought: Utz cannot really be faulted for the numerous typos and printing errors throughout, especially in the second half (but must be reprimanded for the many annoying grammar mistakes, which betray, once more, a certain sloppiness in treatment). Most probably he provided camera-ready copy to the publisher and was himself the only copy-editor, but – and this is an appeal to German publishers – if German scholarship is to compete on the international market, it ought to be edited, presented and marketed in a more professional manner.

1 ‘Pentatonic romanticism’, for example, is characterized precisely by its attempt at synthesis (albeit partly through subordination) and not juxtaposition of two musical sources as defined by Utz (p.67). There is contained in this style a strong attempt ‘die so entstehende Antithese zu versöhnen’ (which Utz denies). Indeed, this is the reason why the Chinese folksong must, in the process of being included in such compositions, lose its idiosyncracies.

2 See especially the angry passage on Stockhausen on p.171: ‘”Die Idee des Komponisten ist souverän, als Material kann er sich wählen, was er gerade will . . . ,” . . . – gewissermaßen ein Freibrief zur musikalischen Welteroberung von Kürten aus, die sich aus der Genie-Tradition allein ableitet.’

3 I would agree, for example, with the type of argument made by Claus Raab in his discussion of Kagel’s Exotica (cited in Utz, p.181): ‘Ich würde es für verfehlt halten, diesen Gebrauch exotischer Instrumente umstandslos als Ausbeutung, Neokolonialismus, Imperialismus oder ähnliches zu deuten. Vielmehr wäre darin eine Haltung zu sehen, die, indem sie ein großes musikalisches Potenzial nutzt, sich konträr zu einer Wirklichkeit stellt, in der noch immer das riesenhafte geistige und ökonomische Potenzial der Dritten und Vierten Welt ignoriert wird.’

Barbara Mittler


Georges Goormaghtigh, who taught Chinese at the University of Geneva for many years, is one of the many notable disciples of Hong Kong-based qin master Tsar Teh-yun (1905-2007). He has produced numerous scholarly works on the instrument, notably L’art du qin: Deux textes d’esthétique musicale chinoise (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 23, Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1990), and three articles in Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles (in volumes 7 [1994], 11 [1998] and 14 [2001]). This slim volume is clearly not designed for the specialist – it lacks references, Chinese characters, and even pinyin originals for many French translations of Chinese terms and titles. In fact, as implied on p.10, it appears to be largely a simplified presentation of the author’s previous academically oriented publications aimed at a curious general readership. The book is divided into seven unnumbered chapters. The first, ‘Préambule’, a partial representation of a previously published essay, gives a brief overview of the instrument,
its history and culture. The second, ‘Témoignages’, a re-working of the Cahiers article from 1998, presents the writings of five important qin players from past centuries on their instrument: Liu Zongyuan (773-819), Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), Wu Cheng (1249-1331), Zhu Fengjie (?-1864), and Tsar Teh-yun (1905-2007). The third, ‘Le jeu et son ivresse’, is little changed from the 2001 Cahiers article; it focuses in particular on the elaborate finger motions of the qin, mentioning also the close relationship of calligraphy to qin playing. Unfortunately this later version of the article omits the 15th-century illustrations present in the Cahiers rendition that shows some of these finger movements and the images of nature they evoke. Especially for a non-specialist audience, inclusion of these remarkable images would have made the complex descriptions come alive.


The seventh chapter, ‘Un apprentissage’, starts with a charming reminiscence of Goormaghtigh’s first encounter with live qin playing in Hong Kong, and of his first meeting there with his qin teacher, Tsar Teh-yun, in 1973. It continues by recounting her method of teaching, and describing in highly poetic terms her elegant playing style. We also learn through several reflective paragraphs what the qin means to Goormaghtigh himself. It is interesting to compare Goormaghtigh’s memories of Tsar laoshi with those of her other students who have put their own reminiscences on record (such as Lau Chor-wah, Yip Mingmei, and Bell Yung, for all of whom see Bell Yung, ‘Tsar Teh-yun at Age 100: A Life of Qin Music, Poetry, and Calligraphy’, in Lives in Chinese Music, ed. Helen Rees [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009]). The final section of Goormaghtigh’s book is a ‘Petit dictionnaire’ that explains some basic terms, such as ‘cordes de soie’, ‘Empereur Jaune (Huangdi)’, ‘glissandos’, ‘tablature’, etc.

I find myself somewhat puzzled as to the purpose of this nicely written and attractively presented little volume. Because of the omission of citations, Chinese-language titles, and Chinese characters, Chinese music specialists will want to go straight to Goormaghtigh’s conventional scholarly publications; but quite a lot that would have made the general reader’s understanding easier is also missing. Thus, for example, the qin’s unique tablature notation is briefly introduced on pp.19-20, and yet there is no illustration of what the notation looks like, still less a useful deconstruction of one or two notational clusters to show how the system works in practice. In fact, a few more illustrations throughout would have helped. Also perplexing is the lack of an accompanying CD or discography of recordings readily available to the French-speaking enthusiast (including, oddly enough, the set by Tsar laoshi herself issued in 2000 by ROI Productions); and in the final ‘Petit
dictionnaire’ entry, on ‘Vieux disques’, the failure to give details of the 1912 and 1930s qin recordings mentioned is quite irritating – one would like to know where to find them. There is no doubting the breadth and depth of Goormaghtigh’s knowledge of the qin and its literature, but overall the reader is left with the sense that this book skims the surface, darting somewhat impressionistically from topic to topic.

Helen Rees


Under the label of ‘folk and popular literature’, Victor Mair and Mark Bender have collected an extremely useful sample of oral literature or texts that find their origins in oral performance. I am very grateful for this anthology, which will allow us to assign our students different types of text than the usual literary canon. For advanced students as well, myself included, the material provides an opportunity to learn about other genres and types of content that they may not yet be familiar with. As such, this is a teaching tool for all levels, from the beginning student to the advanced scholar. Since the field is a recent one, the compilation of the anthology was a difficult process and while a fair amount of oral or orally related materials are now available, proper studies of the performance and transmission context are still largely lacking. There is indeed still plenty to be done and this anthology may serve as a reminder of the rewards lying in store for those who work in this field.

In their introduction Mair and Bender discuss some of the relevant terminology, such as ‘folk’, ‘popular’ and ‘oral’, which is important because most of the materials have come to us through some form of written record. Even in the materials that do originate in fieldwork (for instance the folksongs collected by Antoinet Schimmelpenninck and Frank Kouwenhoven or the hand-puppet theatre witnessed by Sue-mei Wu), much of the messiness of many performances and the interaction with the audience have been removed. The same is true of much of the material from local cultures (so-called ethnic minorities) which is usually translated in this anthology through the intermediary language of standard Chinese. Indeed, much of the material, as the editors point out, although it is connected to oral traditions and oral performances, is transmitted to us in writing. More so than in other anthologies of Chinese literature the crucial noisy, smelly and chaotic dimension of the context in which these texts were transmitted and performed is of necessity left out and largely beyond reconstructing. Of course, this is also true of more conventional genres of literature, since the way we read (here I mean silent reading from a printed page, often alone in a quiet space) today is also quite different from reading aloud or reciting by heart to a smaller or larger audience which was a common activity in the past.

Ironically, the nature of the materials collected in this anthology resembles at least one aspect of the ordinary performance, which is its fragmentary and incomplete nature. While in reading a short story or novel we usually read from the beginning to the end, in the oral
type of literature anthologized in this volume the nature of the performance would usually have been that one did not get the complete story all in one go. It accumulated gradually and the listener might never have the complete version of a story or song cycle, much as my maternal grandfather would tell stories when I was a child, always leaving something for next time (and I never had a chance to hear the ending – if it had one to begin with). Some of the introductions to individual items provide information on the performance context (for instance pp. 132, 146 [note 30], 160, 162, 244-245) but most of the time they do not. Luckily, in their introduction (pp. 11-12), Mair and Bender suggest some ways in which the reader can make up for the lack of context on the printed page.

At this point, I should stress the importance of searching for illustrations of oral culture on the internet, for instance through YouTube and its derivatives (Mair and Bender do refer to the internet briefly at the very end of the introduction). Recordings of popular songs are readily found there, and whilst checking I found the story of Du Shiniang (pp. 314-325) in several local versions. Those who want to read about Yuan theatre would do well to watch performances of local opera or, where available, of exorcist ritual theatre (nuoxi). While these recordings are often made in theatre houses or studios, at least they add sounds and image. Some of them do stem from temple festivals, and as a result include audience responses as well as the general background din that is customary during traditional performances. Such recordings at times provide a necessary antidote to an overly stilted view of tradition, since they may include innovations such as sound and light effects. The only things still lacking are the smells of food and incense, and the feeling of standing in a crowd of spectators or sitting on wooden benches.

I do have some qualms about the terms folk and popular, since I am not so certain that they convey properly the oral dimension of this material. The fact that something is somehow oral in origin surely does not necessarily make it folk or popular, if by this we mean either non-elite (as we usually do, using these terms as a miscellaneous category) or widely shared. So-called folksongs may well, before they died out (and the material collected by Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven was already dying out when they collected it), have been popular in a different sense, being shared by all local people and sung in elite households as well. Moreover, the fact that some of the top literati (a tiny minority even within the educated elite) disapproved of oral culture does not mean that their fellow literati, or others living in their households, did so. The fact that such oral (or orally derived) culture is included in some detail in *The Plum in the Golden Vase* not only means that the extremely well-educated author of that novel thought that it fitted in with the life of the debauched protagonists, but also indicates that he was fully acquainted with oral culture alongside more conventional forms of written culture. Educated male elites would have listened to it as children with the female members of their household, but also while attending temple festivals. More generally, it is my impression based on my ongoing research that the bandwidth within which writing was used was far more restricted than in the West, meaning that the bandwidth in which the oral was still the dominant means of transmitting information was much wider than we tend to assume on the basis of our current habits. Moreover, while at some level of abstraction and for some periods, it may be true that oral culture may have been associated more strongly with non-elite groups, this would be radically different for the local cultures (ethnic minorities) whose cultures are also extensively anthologized in this book and where the distinction folk/oral versus elite/ written would have made even less sense than in the dominant Chinese culture.
At the very least, the notion of a folk (in the sense of non-elite) background to oral culture is the temporary end result of a long history that we have barely begun to investigate. Common understanding has it that this history begins with the *Odes*, which are still assumed to be “folk” in origin because they were oral songs. Instead, it seems much more plausible to me that they were (also, or even first and foremost) part of the Zhou elite court culture and spread through that channel across the northern Chinese feudal courts as an intrinsic part of elite culture. Thus, I believe that we need historical work that focuses on the question of the oral dimensions of traditional Chinese culture and their social ramifications much more than has been customary until now. I have worked a bit on the issue of storytelling in daily life and will continue to work on aspects of oral culture in future projects. I defer to ter Haar (2006) on this matter as an example of what I think could be done.

Equally, we ought to reflect more explicitly on the assumption that this anthology reflects ‘Chinese’ oral culture. I find this assumption problematic since the book really follows the present political construction of the People’s Republic of China (the PRC, but including Taiwan and Hong Kong) as if it is also a meaningful cultural or ethnic unit, avoiding the issue of how the anthologized cultures actually relate to each other. Thus, materials from Han culture divided roughly according to local language variants (dialects) or provinces are placed alongside materials from the various recognized local cultures (ethnic minorities). It is unavoidable in an anthology to put materials side by side that have little cultural relationship to each other. Still, confining the volume to the PRC has meant excluding equally meaningful Sinitic locations in Southeast Asia such as Singapore and Penang, as well as even more meaningful local cultures outside the PRC that are intimately related to those inside (such as the Kazakhs and Mongols to the north, or the Yao and others to the south). Furthermore, treating the several Yao cultures which have been labelled as such in the early 1950s as a single culture is a real distortion. For instance, Miluotuo, the ‘creation epic’ that is included here as a Yao narrative (pp. 244-275), is only transmitted within one specific branch of the Yao as a modern construct, a branch with a very different language (not Yao-Mien, but Hmong) and without the Daoist ritual traditions so common among the other Yao branches.

We need much more fieldwork before it is too late, assuming that it is not yet too late. I still get angry when I encounter Chinese compilations in which only one variant of a story is given, with the comment that there are many local variants but they are all roughly the same. There is for instance a substantial folkloric tradition on the deity Guan Yu that does not come from the narrative traditions of the Three Kingdoms, which is well worth studying. When we do fieldwork, we should not aim merely at collecting a single version of a story or song or ritual, but should study the interactions between audience, customer, occasion, location and performer in shaping the event.

In studying a particular narrative complex or other issue surrounding the singing of songs or telling of stories, we do not necessarily need to confine the study to a single region. Take for example the case of the famous story of Red Riding Hood (AT 123) or the Wolf and the Seven Young Goats (AT 333), which have different numbers in the Aarne-Thompson classification system, although they are clearly of the same basic type. This story is one of the best-attested folktale in all of China, among Han Chinese as well as local cultures (ethnic minorities). It is included in this anthology (pp. 43-47) in a Nuosu version as if it reflects specific Nuosu ideas, despite its widespread popularity elsewhere.
Here we encounter a good example of one of the most curious lacunae of the anthology, namely the lack of references to the works of Wolfram Eberhard (such as Eberhard 1971 on AT 123 and AT 333, and Eberhard 1937, 1966 and 1974 on oral literature more generally) and Ting Naitung (Ting 1974 on the Cinderella cycle and Ting 1978 with an index of Chinese folktales). Both scholars have contributed seminal work on this type of story and should have been mentioned in this volume. I myself have also written extensively on AT 123/333 in a more recent publication (ter Haar 2006). Including such works would have provided the user of the anthology with crucial insight into this story as not necessarily related to Nuosu culture. Conversely, including this larger body of secondary literature, at least in terms of general discussion, does support the inclusion of Nuosu culture in an anthology of Chinese folk and popular literature, since it demonstrates that these oral cultures are related.

Are these few comments intended as criticisms? Not really – except the absence of references to Wolfram Eberhard and Ting Nai-tung. As Mair points out in his preface (pp. xiii-xiv), this was an exceedingly difficult book to compile. It is a milestone in research on oral culture and I am most grateful that we have this anthology, which can now be used as a starting point for teaching as well as further research.

Barend ter Haar

REFERENCES


This is a comprehensive study of the development of western-influenced composed music in China in the period from the late 19th century to the present. Its initial version, written in Chinese, was completed in 1996, and the book was revised and updated in 2003-2006 while being translated into English (a task excellently undertaken by Caroline Mason).
The book is, first and foremost, a magnificent source for the first half of the 20th century, with elaborate chapters on the early beginnings (military music and school songs) (Ch.2), the May Fourth period (1919-1937) (Ch.3), the Anti-Japanese war period (1937-1945) (Ch.4), the Civil War and early communist period (1946-1966) (Ch.5) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), with its model operas, ballets, symphonic pieces and songs (Ch.6). What we get is an extensive reception history for Chinese music in this entire period, illustrated with quotes from articles, reviews, personal documents, composers’ statements, and samples from music scores (nearly all in western staff notation). The remaining four chapters are devoted to composers active in the post-Cultural Revolution period; developments on the mainland and ‘New Wave’ music are discussed in chapter 7, new music in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao examined in chapter 8, and there is a general essay on the ‘sinicisation’ and modernization of New music (ch.9). The final chapter deals with the latest developments in new Chinese music (since 1996). Overall speaking, I found the last four chapters less rewarding than the first six, but every part of the book is packed with information, and there is an elaborate index in the back listing individual composers, concepts, documents, music institutions etc., also giving Chinese characters.

Liu Ching-chih is a Hong Kong-based music scholar who has taught at conservatories and universities in Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai, Taiwan, as well as abroad in Heidelberg and Oxford. His bulky book is a work of love, the fruit of an evident passion for new music in China, which he defines as ‘music composed by Chinese musicians using European compositional techniques and musical idioms’. It leaves open the possibility that these composers also employ elements of Chinese traditional music, which many of them do, but the binding element is the reference to European music. It justifies the combination, in one volume, of a great many different musical realms, from rather plain educational songs (‘school songs’) written around 1900, to early choruses employing western harmony, and from revolutionary ‘model operas’ to the complex symphonic and operatic works written by Chinese avant-garde composers over the last two decades. We have several standard books by western authors which cover western music during the same period. Those books, too, cover a wide spectrum of styles and repertoires. The historical backdrop of some of the western composers, forced to flee from war or persecution, was occasionally as dramatic as that of their Chinese counterparts, but the artistic challenges facing Chinese composers could not have been more different from those of their western counterparts.
Chinese composers only began to explore European idioms around 1900, and at first had little practical knowledge about it. Moreover, they lived in a country marked by major social transitions, political clashes and street violence, and frequent military conflicts. They had to face the basic question how to reconcile their Chinese background with extensive borrowings from a foreign culture, which was often seen as superior. They needed to define their position vis-a-vis Chinese traditional music, a realm that many of them (as urban dwellers) actually didn’t know a lot about. How Chinese should they try to be in their own music; how much western influence would be acceptable? What sort of instruments and performers should they write for? Viewpoints on this shifted considerably as social and political pressures in China increased, and artists became ever less free to make choices of their own in such matters.

Politics continue to exert a great deal of influence on composing and musical criticism in China today. Liu partly wrote his book to do justice to artists whom he felt were given insufficient or unbalanced attention in Chinese sources. Liu finds that particularly Taiwanese scholars should devote much more time and space to new Chinese music. He wrote the book for other important reasons as well: he points at the wide gap that he discerns between the interests of Chinese composers of new music and Chinese scholars of traditional music, the latter group showing little or no interest in China’s new music. ‘...Even worse is the absolute indifference displayed by most of them to any musical culture but their own’, he writes in his prologue (p.4). Liu would like to reconcile these two groups, or at least bring them closer together. But if his book is meant to serve as a bridge, it contains remarkably little in-depth reference to Chinese traditional music – there are references to Chinese elements in individual compositions, and there are ideological excursions into ‘new versus old’ and what constitutes ‘Chinese-ness’, but the actual realm of China’s native musical traditions remains at a distance. It is as if Liu Ching-chih’s composers occupy a different musical planet from the very start.

Liu says he was struck by the very different cultural and historical backgrounds of Chinese New Music and western music, and fascinated by the confrontation between these two worlds: Chinese communism/socialism on the one hand, European Christianity, humanism, romanticism and modernity on the other. This, too, stimulated him to write the book, and he states that he wants to give a ‘relatively comprehensive and objective account of the evolution of New Music, in which the focus is on music and on Chinese culture (p.4). But the bulk of the book is still concerned with the impact of politics: party directives, ‘movements’, the draconian demands put on individual artists to satisfy the state’s need for propaganda... there is politics on almost every page.

Liu paints sympathetic portraits of early song writers, of early scholars like Wang Guangqi and Feng Zikai, and of relatively obscure composers of the 1940s such as Tan Xiaolin. He provides a wealth of details about still lesser known composers, and naturally about more famous ones like Xian Xinghai, Jiang Wenye, and Ma Sicong. It is regrettable that the book is at times unbalanced in its judgments, not nearly as ‘critical’ as its title promises, and often fails to provide a wider framework for composers’ achievements. We do not often move beyond the spheres of Chinese politics and Chinese scholarly criticism. Composers and music outside China hardly seem to exist as possible points of reference, and even the position of composers among colleagues in China is not always clearly delineated.
Liu’s reporting on composers’ careers tends to be detailed and chronological. He meticulously documents composers’ honours, chairmanships, presidencies, provides lists of compositions, and often starts his introductions to individual composers with factual data about where they were born, where they studied, etc. Perhaps we would rather have learned first how each composer was influential or offered unique contributions to Chinese music, or was marked by special problems or circumstances, before getting to the rest. We have to read ten pages on Xian Xinghai’s life and death before we learn that, for many decades, it was only Xian’s propaganda songs and his Yellow River Cantata that could be heard in China, since the many other pieces he wrote, including two symphonies, did not fit the communists’ ideas of music for the masses (p.213). These are telling facts which ought to be put up front.

Liu does write clearly and elegantly. His judgments tend to be plain and direct. About the revolutionary opera Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy he says: ‘This kind of east-west hybrid cannot be called revolutionary, or even modern, and has little connection with the proletariat. It might conceivably be described as experimental Peking opera’ (p.399). Another model opera, The Harbour, is criticized for its flawed orchestration and for being musically inferior to Taking Tiger Mountain (p.404), and about The Red Lantern he writes that the music of this opera ‘elicits a better response from the audience (...) The singing is pleasant to listen to, and the orchestral accompaniment works well, with a flexible report between the Chinese instruments and the Western ones’ (p.408).

As the book progresses, the author appears to feel less secure when it comes to judging composers of the ‘New Wave’, especially artists of the younger generation. He struggles with concepts of ‘Chinese-ness’ and ‘Chinese style’. And time and again problematic statements turn up. Liu refers to a former mayor of Shanghai who expressed a desire for Chinese people to learn to listen to symphonies, and then he remarks in response: ‘I consider that the cultural tradition and conditions in China are not appropriate for symphonic music or symphonisation, and that to press ahead with symphonisation regardless could destroy the whole environment of Chinese music’ (p.487). It sounds like a party official struggling to defend his next five years’ plan for Chinese concert music! Symphonies have found their way to Chinese concert halls long ago, and they do not destroy anything, as little as there is any reason why they should be specifically recommended to listeners.

On p.490, Liu Ching-chih singles out Zhu Jian’er’s Tenth Symphony for special praise: ‘In the first half of the twentieth century, it was Jiang Wenyue whose works for orchestra showed most promise; at the end of the century, it is Zhu Jian’er, in his combination of traditional Chinese xiqu and European orchestral music, who has opened up exciting new prospects.’ Zhu Jian’er is basically defined here as the greatest (or most promising) Chinese master of innovative orchestral music for the second half of the twentieth. Perhaps this is a view widely shared by concert-goers in China, I do not know, but it is not backed by the international response to Zhu’s music. Zhu Jian’er is definitely a fine composer, with an impressive oeuvre of symphonic music. Several of his orchestral works have won international acclaim, but not nearly as much as (say) the orchestral works of Chen Qigang or Tan Dun.

Liu Ching-chih refers to the successes of several Chinese composers abroad, but he often does so without any further comment. Sometimes he questions the value of an international reputation, as in the case of Tan Dun, who ‘writes for non-Chinese’. Liu
grumpily observes that ‘it is an economic reality that an artist who can make a name for himself in the United States will be in demand all over the world’ (p. 747). A plain fact is that many composers successful in America are not played much outside the United States. Achieving the status of one of the world’s best-known composers is not a mere matter of good marketing in the United States, as Liu suggests.

Tan Dun, the best-known Chinese composer of his generation, is granted one and a half page in the initial version of the book, his colleague Guo Wenjing half a page, Chen Qigang one third of a page. This was balanced to some extent by an added chapter in the English version in which the more recent achievements of these composers are discussed. But the attention they get still compares poorly to (say) the 18 pages devoted to Xian Xinghai, or the 11 pages about Tan Xiaolin – composers worth an occasional hearing, but virtually unknown outside China. This is basically true for nearly all the composers discussed in the first 500 pages of the book. Liu Ching-chih is right if he argues that an international reputation doesn’t say everything. Arnold Bax or John Ireland do not get much exposure outside Britain, Jean Cras or Guy Ropartz are seldomly heard outside France; nevertheless these composers are viewed as important exponents of their own cultures. It is attractive that Liu highlights many artists whose names are familiar only to native Chinese, sometimes not even to them. But he hardly attempts to position Chinese new music in an international framework, as if Chinese music by definition operates in a different universe. It makes him guilty of what he blamed others for: ‘indifference to any musical culture but their own’. Liu fails to convince when he writes about the representants of the New Wave. One of his statements is that ‘one cannot really expect people in their late teens and early twenties to compose works of any maturity’ (p.542). Mozart, Schubert, Mendelssohn and many others did, but not in Liu’s view.

In Chapter 9, he reflects on the ‘sinicisation’ of new Chinese music, and he pleads for educating composers thoroughly in the realm of Chinese traditional music: ‘we learn our mother tongue first’, he says, ‘and only then do we move on to learn foreign languages’ (p.634). In the same chapter he speaks of the ‘backwardness of musical culture in China’, and states that ‘it would be problematic for some Chinese musical instruments and certain Chinese musical forms and language to represent the life of modern Chinese people’. He believes that this is the reason why western(-style) music found a niche in Chinese culture in the first place (p.627). But neither those Chinese instruments and musical forms that he seems to think of as inadequate nor the western music that so confidently entered China were ever meant to represent the entire nation, or ‘modern life’. Liu Ching-chih appears to harbour hopes for the birth of a nationally unifying musical style. In any event he discusses at length ideas which emerged in China about what a ‘Chinese style’ might amount to: ‘The principal point about music in China (...) has been that it conveys ideas, and is permeated by philosophy. There is not the emphasis on beauty of sound, line and form found in European music.’ Really? I would say that some Chinese music comes with philosophical ideas, other Chinese music doesn’t. Beauty of sound and line is very important in classical zither music. Philosophical ideas do not amount to much when it comes to thousands of Chinese mountain song melodies sung in the countryside. They are vehicles which may carry any text, any meaning, but have no fixed meaning of their own. Should they not be counted as Chinese music? Melodies of silk and bamboo musicians in Jiangnan are primarily named after the number of beats or other aspects of the melodical structure. Are they not Chinese
because they do not carry references to Confucius or to plum blossoms? There is no general way to define Chinese musical style, because there are thousands of genres, all unique in their own ways, and it is not meaningful to search for ‘Chinese universals’ in new music. For a moment, Liu appears to come to the same conclusion: ‘once China possesses a stream of great masters of the stature of Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart (...), I believe that the question of Chinese style will no longer be discussed’ (p.621). But ten pages further on he writes: ‘If Chinese music is to be modernised, a wholly Chinese theoretical framework is needed.’ Here is an author struggling with basic questions about Chineseness, authenticity and artistic value in contemporary Chinese works. He arrives at the dull conclusion that ‘the true value of a work of music lies in the motivation, expressive capacity, sentiments and particular qualities of its composer’ (p.621).

At times one would have liked to see a more authoritative, more unifying approach to the musical era discussed in this book. But it exemplifies the confusion that reigns in China about new music, and that turns it into an important document, too.

Liu clearly sympathizes with many of the artists he describes, but he generally keeps a distance. Composers are seldomly portrayed as characters, their experiences rarely made palpable. Writing about Luo Zhongrong, he summarizes Luo’s life during the Cultural Revolution in a single sentence: ‘his energy was temporarily stifled by the Cultural Revolution, but he was soon composing again’ (p.492). Actually, Luo Zhongrong spent ten years in jail during that period, separated from his family, and greatly worried about the fate of his mentally handicapped son, who had been taken away from the family. We are dealing with a man, a human being who went through experiences of the most ghastly kind. Such facts might alter the way in which we listen to Luo’s music. Similarly, we read about He Lüting that he was tortured and sent to prison for many years for defending the music of Debussy (p.473). Liu does not mention that He Lüting was publicly humiliated on Shanghai television for millions of viewers, and that one of his daughters was murdered (pushed out of a window in her parents’ home). Perhaps, for the period of the Cultural Revolution, there are so many similar stories that individual suffering does no longer count for much. Everyone suffered. It may be the reason that Liu ends his report on He Lüting and the ‘Debussy incident’ with a bland remark: ‘This is just one example of what happened during the literary inquisition that took place in music circles.’

Liu Ching-chih’s study on new music in China is an uneven book, but also a veritable treasure-house of data, a major historical document, attesting to the giant cultural changes that took place in China and in Chinese music over the past one hundred years. Certainly for the period up to (and including) the 1980s it must count as a valuable reference source. The book includes portrait photos of ninety composers and documents the achievements of hundreds of artists. Liu asks some very pertinent questions, for example about the exaggerated importance attached in China to the foreign training of scholars and musicians (p.631): ‘why is that those who have studied traditional Chinese music so rarely rise to positions of leadership?’ He rightly pleads for more exchange between traditionalists and new music adepts, and for a more thorough training in the realm of Chinese traditional music in composition departments, and perhaps more generally in institutions for higher learning. In sum, I am very glad that this book was written. Anyone interested in Chinese urban music history and Chinese composers of the past one hundred years will want to have it near at hand for reference.

After dedicating the first volume of this series to the shawm bands in northern Shanxi, Jones moves westward in this second volume to explore the living traditions of folk ‘rituals and music’ in Shaanbei, i.e. northern Shaanxi province. This book is an excellent ethnomusicological study. Despite the plethora of names, toponyms, mentions of family relations that sometimes disorients the reader, it is a page turner instructive and full of brilliant insights.

The book can be considered a combination of two monographs – one on the bards and the other on the shawm-and-percussion bands known as ‘blowers’ (chuishou) – framed within an introduction about the region and its performing arts and a final chapter reviewing the music scene of Yulin city. Hence, the author gives us a glimpse on the folk music typical of rural towns and poor mountain villages in the northern Shaanxi. Although the picture is different from the one Jones observed in Shanxi, one must remember that the diffusion of folk traditions does not always match administrative subdivisions of the territory (a misunderstanding that the Chinese-edited Anthology of folk music of the Chinese Peoples following a classification based on China’s provinces may induce. – The Anthology is quoted in Jones’s book.). In fact, like many genres, such as Mihu opera or the Xintianyou folksongs which one finds in Shaanxi, but which are spread in other provinces too, the blowers can be active across different provinces, as mentioned by Jones (see for instance p. 108), although the extent of their geographical diffusion remains to be documented.

Apart from the musical samples presented in the fascinating DVD that accompanies this volume (where the author appears to have grown more sophisticated in the use of a camera than in the DVD Doing Things accompanying his previous book on Shanxi) and a few paragraphs illustrating the features of local music *per se*, this book is mostly concerned with the lives of musicians and the historical evolution of the society and rituals supporting what Jones calls “expressive culture” in Shaanbei. On the whole, the author has written a history of folk music and rituals of the last one hundred years based on oral accounts by local musicians and people. Information about Shaanbei folk music during the late Qing dynasty and the early republican period is sparse. Therefore, Jones outlines his historical survey following a political periodisation which firstly concentrates on testimonies about the decades before Liberation (1949), then goes through the Maoist age and the early reform era (1980s-90s) and concludes with today’s situation (early 2000s).

The main theme of the book is the reiteration – substantiated by new evidence deriving from fieldwork in Shaanbei – of a conclusion which Jones already drew in his work about Shanxi, namely that, contrary to a prevalent commonplace, the Maoist period did not extinguish folk expressive culture. Although political repression caused a decline of many ceremonial and religious events, it failed to eradicate rituals and ritual music from rural society. What today appears to be an impoverishment of many elements of ritual performance is the result of several factors that cannot always be ascribed to political campaigns. In fact, Jones argues that much loss and change of expressive culture has occurred during the reform period following the Cultural Revolution and Mao’s death,
meaning at a time when a more relaxed political climate has allowed folk culture to gain a larger space for self assertion.

In support of this conclusion, Jones places in front of the reader a rich amount of musicians’ biographical sketches so that, if the main argument seems to be repetitive, by contrast the variety of personal histories and testimonies, together with the author’s insights and witty remarks, make the reading very enjoyable. The case of Shaanbei, as Jones points out, is emblematic. It is the region surrounding Yan’an, a city that for the Chinese Communists is shrouded in an aura of mythology. In the early history of the party Yan’an had been the cradle of political and economic experiments that included the adoption and manipulation of folk arts for propagandistic aims. Despite the peculiar role of Yan’an in the party’s revolutionary epic and art policies, folk culture in that region nowadays maintains much of its original identity. If decades of convulsive political campaigns and censorship of popular culture have apparently reduced (or even eliminated) the presence of religious specialists such as Buddhist bonzes and Daoist priests, other ritual agents – itinerant bards, shawm players, geomancers, operatic priests, shamans and so on – have continued to perform in rural districts until today. They have been answering to the needs of Shaanbei’s peasantry and preserving traditions. In particular, they are still active in ceremonial and ritual events connected to calendrical observances and life-cycle events. The rituals in which they perform are linked to the daily necessities of a very poor population that continually relies on the generosity of nature for its survival.

While pointing out the variety of music-making popular in Shaanbei, Jones focuses on the cases of bards and chuishou bands as those most associated with ceremonial events. Both play an important role at ritual occasions like funerals, weddings and temple fairs, and yet both suffered — and in different ways keep suffering today — from an ingrained ostracism whereby they oftentimes find themselves relegated to the condition of outcasts. The bards are usually blind artists, popularly considered healers and protectors of children. Their ritual role consists principally in telling fortunes and singing stories for healing and other types of rituals, accompanying themselves on the sanxian banjo (or sometimes pipa lute) and clappers. The stories they sing are meant to entertain the gods and obtain their merciful intervention. The bards’ music is unpretentious and intended to support and punctuate the spoken and/or sung narration. Melodies are simple and made of material stylistically related to other local genres. The bards take pride in the literary effect of their performances, more than in their music. While the bards work alone, the blowers work as a team. A chuishou ensemble traditionally includes two shawms, a drum, small cymbals and a gong. Recently, other instruments (trumpet, sax, trombone and drum kit) and even a singer have been added to create what Jones translates as the ‘big band’ format. This evolution in instrumentation parallels the one in repertory. The patterns of impoverishment and innovation already noted by Jones among the shawm bands in Shanxi are at work also in the case of the chuishou ‘big bands’: traditional repertory is performed less, whereas new pieces are adopted from other folk genres and from ‘pan-Chinese’ pop. This innovative tendency of the blowers sets them very much apart from the bards who remain more conservative. While presenting these major trends, Jones also describes a variety of cases that prevents the reader from forming a too unilateral picture of Shaanbei. The large amount of information that the author presents – while often making clear his own assessments of
the situations he describes – is one of the main strengths of this book. However, as Jones himself indicates, the panorama of Shaanxi is still more variegated. According to local scholars, the number of *chuishou* bands at the time of the author’s fieldwork was between 120 and 130 (see p. 93). One is led to expect the presence of a corresponding variety of further repertoires, stylistic variations and approaches to performance during rituals.

A major methodological critique Jones makes in this work concerns the risk of outsiders getting partial views by relying on official, sanitised representations of Shaanbei’s culture (which in many cases appear like instances of ‘reinvented tradition’). Interesting in this respect is the comparison the author draws between a stage performance by the Yulin Folk Art Troupe and those viewed in the countryside to stress the fact that only through fieldwork observers can gain a more realistic and accurate perspective on expressive culture in both urban and rural settings. In the countryside, the performance of the ritual repertory remains unaffected by the conservatory style promoted via official cultural agencies. The fact must be emphasised, since rural folk culture represents the vast majority of Shaanbei and indeed of China at large, but it remains mostly unknown. As a consequence, Jones insists on the urgent need for further fieldwork, so as to balance our present picture of China. It goes without saying that one major challenge implied in such a call to action is the relationship of foreign fieldworkers with Chinese research institutions. In this respect, a new feature of this book compared with the previous one on Shanxi’s shawm bands is the author’s more open disclosure of details about his collaboration with Chinese researchers: an experience which may benefit future fieldworkers. In addition to unveiling his contacts and fieldwork practice, through the brief anecdotes placed in boxes within the text Jones candidly exposes his own troubles in adapting to the place and communicating with Chinese villagers. These tongue-in-cheek accounts of the fieldworker’s adventures are not only amusing but – considered from a methodological perspective – also prove Jones’s intellectual honesty and the high standard of his scholarship.

*Enrico Rossetto*
Announcements

The editors of the CHIME Journal encourage readers to submit news about their own research projects and fieldwork trips, announcements of meetings, notices of recent publications, abstracts of papers, theses and dissertations, and news about performance activities, commercial recordings and new compositions in the field of Chinese music.

People and Projects

In Memoriam Antoinet Schimmelpenninck (1962-2012)

It was hard to believe, but it happened. After a struggle of two years against a debilitating disease (ovarian cancer), Antoinet Schimmelpenninck died on 15 April 2012 at our home in Leiden. She had decided to go it all the way, to experience her own deterioration to the very end. Always a deeply religious person, and so very courageous, she opted not to have euthanasia, and to take the disease in whichever way it would come. No further hospital stays for her either. After all the operations and shots of chemo she wanted to die at home, peacefully and in the company of her family, and this was possible because we got excellent home support from a team of nurses, and from our indomitable private doctor Kea Fogelberg, who has remained a dear friend.

Everyone who met Antoinet knows what a beaming, radiant person she was, always full of interest and curiosity for other people, always ready to help, wonderfully energetic, and gifted with a lovely sense of humour. It is not possible for me ever to forget her merry laughter, it still rings in my ears every day... We had such animated talks, so many moments of great joy, of shared warmth, even in the final weeks before her death. The constant flood of visitors went on until the end. It actually brought us many new friends, and I consider them as something of a gift from her, across the grave, since I have learned to know some of her relatives and early friends more personally only after she died.

Antoinet communicated so well with people. She reached out to people, and this evidently turned her into an excellent fieldworker, too. She gave me a great sense of safety whenever we travelled together in China. Perhaps it should have been me, the man, to protect her, not the other way around. I suppose we felt safe in each other’s company. But her Chinese was a thousand times better than mine, and she felt like a fish in the water in rural China. The other great thing we did, time and again, was coming back home from our fieldwork trips, back to our children. My son and daughter have inherited Antoinet’s easy-going character, her humour, her love for music. Nuria (now aged 10) is as crazy about singing as her parents, and Elias (15) is an excellent dancer. Antoinet and I met in a student choir in Leiden.

In the academic world, Antoinet became known as a scholar, a collector of Chinese folk songs, and a co-founder of CHIME. She graduated as a Sinologist at Leiden University in 1987 and completed a dissertation on *shan’ge* (mountain songs) in 1997. Many of our friends in Leiden know her primarily as a very active parent at the Haanstra school, who helped to serve meals to the children, to remove lice and to carry out all kinds of other odd jobs. To others in Holland and across the border she was known as an active organizer of Chinese concerts. In the course of twenty years, we invited over a thousand Chinese musicians to Europe, some for extended tours. I have lost track of all the things we did. Films, CDs, articles, exhibitions, radio programmes, conferences, guest lectures, the Chime library, the sound archive, Chinese music festivals in Basel, Cologne, Brussels... I must refrain from elaborating on all of it. It was good that we did it together, and enjoyed it so much. I have great memories of the Amsterdam China Festival (2005) where we shared a hotel room but almost never

*Antoinet Schimmelpenninck*
stayed together - we failed to see much of one another for three weeks, constantly running off in different directions, day and night, to arrange rehearsals, solve problems, trace musicians who had fallen ill or had suddenly disappeared. We interpreted, prepared last-minute subtitling for Chinese operas and storysinging shows, managed to avoid some disasters and probably created some as well. For whatever reason, our hotel room gradually filled up with Chinese instruments and concert props. It was all deliciously chaotic. I have similar memories of our Chinese travels, but I should not start on that here.

Antoinette was born on the First of July 1962 in Dordrecht, the second daughter of Count G.E.G.W. Schimmelpenninck and Charlotte Verbeek. Her father was greatly interested in agriculture, and worked for a while on a farm in Canada before settling in Holland again, as a teacher and librarian at the Agrarian School in Dordrecht. Although a countess, Antoinette preferred to think of herself as a farmer’s daughter. Her father greatly loved cows, and still does. It may in part account for Net’s interest in rural China. She went off to Nanjing to study Chinese poetry at the university there, but soon found herself collecting folk songs in the villages of Jiangnan. I quit my job as a journalist to join her in the collecting work; we imagined ourselves to be like Béla Bartók, but the best thing was getting drunk on rice wine, stuffing our bellies with fried lotus, and listening to villagers’ songs. We also made some useful musical discoveries about shan’ge.

Languages, songs and music have all played key roles in Antoinette’s life. As a child she tried to study every instrument she could lay her hands on: piano, violin, flute, tin whistle, zither, guitar, mandolin... She wanted to study the most difficult language in the world, and opted for Chinese. By the time I learned to know her in Leiden, she had her own folk band, a rowdy lot. She sang and played folk songs from all over Europe. Some time after we met in the Leiden student choir Collegium Musicum, we founded a madrigal and barbershop quartet. By the time she fell ill, in 2010, she had just begun to study the cello. We managed to play some early Mozart string quartets together with our two children. Typically, she continued to study the cello until she was too weak to hold it. There was nothing heroic about her, but I did feel that she was one of strongest persons I ever learned to know. We had many plans still ahead of us, with the Chime journal, the Chime website and further research on folk songs. Our tasks were not finished. We had only just begun. I miss her terribly.

In Memoriam Lin Youren (1938-2013)
Lin Youren, one of China’s finest traditional musicians, died on the 12th October, 2013 in Shanghai. He was 75. Lin Youren studied the guqin, the Chinese seven-stringed zither, with such great masters as Xia Yifeng, Liu Shaochun, Wei Zhongle, Gu Meigeng, Shen Caonong and others, and he became a master in their wake. Those who met him in person, and had the pleasure of hearing him play, will remember the poise and tranquility of his performances, notably in a favourite piece like Pu’an zhou. They will also remember the twinkle in his eye, his special brand of humour, his great love of alcohol, his gentleness, his perpetual wordplay, and somewhat nervous manner of speaking. One is tempted to call him a charmer, an eccentric, perhaps a rascal, although the worst (actually best) thing he ever did was stick to his personal teaching methods. Instead of exams, he organized meetings, where all his pupils played, and where incense was burnt. He was a non-conformist, whose ideas did not suit the Shanghai Conservatory leadership. The continuing interest of pupils, after he stopped teaching at the conservatory, proved that his traditional approach to the qin was appreciated by many. He struck a chord with students who were ready to view the qin as a way of life, rather than as a career instrument. He would say to new pupils: ‘I’m going to introduce a faithful companion to you – it’ll never let you down.’ For him, qin playing was about cultivating the heart.

Lin Youren disliked performing on concert stages, and criticized the tendency at the conservatory to mainly let students work towards stage performances — the conveyor-belt mentality. Following a retreat in a Buddhist monastery in Tiantaishan in 1993, he explained his viewpoints: ‘In formal professional teaching people tend to ignore the amateur side of the qin. I do not believe that the instrument belongs on a concert stage. Artistry should not be about fame, power, glamour... Art is food for the mind.’

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His preferred way of playing was alone with a few friends and a bottle of Shaoxing wine. He tried to arrange informal qin meetings in a coffee bar near the conservatory, but only a handful of listeners turned up, and after a while he stopped. ‘But the atmosphere was better than that of staged concerts’, he commented about these meetings. In spite of his reservations about concert recitals, Lin Youren accepted invitations to perform abroad, in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, France, the USA, Amsterdam, London... At times he was lucky: ‘In Paris I did a concert where we stopped after two pieces, giving the audience an opportunity to respond. We had brief discussions in-between some of the pieces. And I had brought some calligraphy. This was a good ambiance for the qin. The instrument is like a plant, it cannot grow in every kind of soil.’

Lin Youren, whose ancestors came from Taiwan, was born in Shanghai on 11 August 1938. He was brought up in Nanjing under the trauma of the Japanese occupation and civil war. His dentist parents were amateur musicians, and his early musical tastes were for Western music, which he heard on record. He began learning the Western violin, then took up guqin, and especially cherished his lessons with Liu Shaochun. In 1958 he entered the Shanghai Conservatory to continue his qin studies, but the Great Leap Forward intervened. Lin and his fellow pupils and teachers were dispatched to rural Anhui and Henan to make amends for their decadent intellectual attitudes, and to learn from the peasants. He was only able to resume his qin studies in 1961, with masters like Gu Meigeng, Shen Caonong, and the great Wei Zhongle. He graduated in 1963, and was given a research position at the Conservatory under Xia Ye. He began to do research into the early history of qin when the Cultural Revolution broke out. At the end of that era, Lin was a different man, and the qin had become an oasis in the midst of a turbulent world. After his retreat from the Conservatory, he published many articles on the qin and on Chinese music history. He recorded several qin CDs – both in China and abroad – and continued to play the instrument in private until his final period of illness. He spent many summers in monasteries in the mountains of Wudangshan and Tiantaishan, in the vicinity of a waterfall, where he would play the qin outdoors. Lin’s stature as a musician is likely to grow as time passes. He has a daughter, Lin Chen, who works as a scholar of qin history at the Music Research Institute in Beijing. She looked after her father devotedly in his last years. Lin Youren took great pride in her eagerness to be his pupil and to learn from him, and in her achievements as a performer. His art lives on in his recordings, and in the fine qin playing of his daughter.

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In Memoriam Yang Liqing (1942-2013)
The well-known composer and former President of the Shanghai Conservatory Yang Liqing died on 10 June 2013 from lung cancer. He was 71. Yang was appreciated both as an authoritative author of books and articles on contemporary music, and as a composer of exuberant orchestral works, widely performed both in East Asia and in the West. He wrote in a style that hovered between fullblown romanticism and avant-garde.

Yang Liqing was born in Sichuan on 30 April 1942. He studied piano and composition at the Shanghai and Shenyang Conservatories under the guidance of Huo Cunhui and Sang Tong. A chain-smoker, a nervous and active man with a keen interest in music analysis and the technicalities of composition, he continued his studies in 1980, spending several years in Germany at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Hannover. Yang was among the very first Chinese who, shortly after the Cultural Revolution, were allowed out of China to study musical composition in the West. Then aged 38, he knew very little of new Western music. The confrontation with Penderecki’s *Violin Concerto* was an overwhelming and painful experience for him. Yang: ‘I couldn’t believe my ears. It was very difficult for me. In Hannover, I met various people from the contemporary music scene, such as Lachenmann, Kupkovic and Malherbe, some of whom taught me composition, for some time, but I found it hard to adjust my ears to their music.’ Eventually, he became a pupil of Alfred Koerppen, a more moderate figure at the local Musikhochschule. ‘It was mainly Koerppen who familiarized me with notions like serialism and *Klangfarbenmelodie.* When I returned to China in
1983, my musical style had changed, somewhat comparable to that of Zhao Xiaosheng: it was modern and romantic by turns.’

In China, Yang was praised for exuberantly romantic orchestral works like ‘Grievances at the Wujiang River’ for pipa and orchestra (1986), and the ambitious symphonic ballet Waci bei (1988), based entirely on a ten-note row of Rodion Schermin and written in co-operation with fellow-composer Lu Pei. The two composers pursued rather different musical goals and employed very different idioms in this ballet, which resulted in a rather incongruous piece that could perhaps have been written only in China: Yang’s creative co-operation with Lu Pei is somewhat reminiscent of the collective creations of Chinese artists under Maoism. At the same time, Waci bei was one of the first genuinely modern dance scores written and performed inside the People’s Republic. It was followed in 1989 by an impressive and gloomy piece for choir and orchestra, ‘Prelude, Interlude and Postlude’, as part of a larger dance drama, Memorial without Words. Some of his vocal chamber works, written while he was still in Germany are perhaps more important, but they have received little attention in China. Mainland Chinese composers with an interest in modern Western poetry or literature are rare, but Yang Liqing was a fine exponent. In 1982, he wrote Die Entstehung der Taodejing von Lao-Tze for unaccompanied choir, based on a text by Brecht, and in the same year, he composed Three Songs, on poems by Lorca, for soprano, flute, cello and piano. The Brecht piece retains the original German, which is quite unusual. (One can think of many Western composers who set Chinese poetry to music, but few who did so in the original language).

From a Western point of view, Yang Liqing remained an essentially conservative composer, but his influence as an advocate of new music in China was tremendous. He was not only a respectable craftsman but also the author of many noteworthy Chinese books and articles on new music – including a monography on Olivier Messiaen, whom he greatly admired – and he paved the way for many younger Chinese students to go abroad. In 1990, Yang himself returned to Europe to teach new music for a year at the Mozarteum Musikhochschule in Salzburg, Austria. He also guest-lectured in Germany, Switzerland and the United States. He produced further notable scores for orchestra, such as Taiyangshen song (Ode to Apollo, 1991), Beige (Elegy), Tianshan muyangnü (Tianshan shepherd girls) and Yizhi hua (A branch of blossom), all three of them works for erhu and orchestra (1991, 1996, 1998), as well as Huangmo muse (Desert dusk), for zhong and triple wind orchestra (1998). He also wrote a substantial work for zheng and Chinese orchestra, Zhantai feng (Battling the typhoon, 1995), and a number of chamber works, including a fine quintet for traditional instruments (Sì, ‘Thinking’, 1997).

Yang Liqing began to teach at the Shanghai Conservatory in 1984, and he was appointed President of the Conservatory in 2000. It allowed him practically no time to continue his work as a composer. He was greatly supportive of young talents, and was appreciated as a mild, thoughtful and soft-spoken person. Many of his works have been recorded on cd, and have been played by symphony orchestras all over Asia, in Germany, France, Norway, Hungary and Mexico.

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In Memoriam Feng Guangyu
The renowned Chinese music scholar Feng Guangyu (冯亢钰) passed away in February 2011 in Beijing. Feng Guangyu (born in 1935 in Chongqing, Sichuan) was an ardent fieldworker and author of many books and more than one hundred articles on opera, folk songs and Chinese music theory. He studied and later taught for many years at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music in Chengdu (Composition and Folk Music Research Departments), before moving to the Chinese Conservatory of Music in Beijing in 1981. Feng acted as Executive Secretary of the Chinese Musicians Association.
He helped to set up the publication project of the Chinese National anthologies of Folk Songs, Folk Instrumental Music, Opera, and Storytelling, undertaken under auspices of the Ministry of Culture, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Chinese Musicians Association. Feng worked on these anthologies as the senior editor, responsible for coordinating the collecting and editing of materials. He was awarded several state prizes and was widely appreciated for his pioneering views on qupai and local tunes, and his general contributions to musical scholarship. His book publications include: Chinese Qupai Research 中国曲牌考, Hefei, Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 2009, The History of Ethnic Music in China 中国少数民族音乐史, (three vols) Beijing: Jinghua chubanshe, 2007, and The Spreading of Chinese Lineage Folk Songs 中国同宗氏民间乐曲传播, Hong Kong: Huawen guoji chubanshe, 2002. Furthermore: The Spreading of Hakka Music 客家音乐传播, Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2000, and Chinese Lineage Folk Songs中国同宗氏乐, Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban gongs, 1998.

For more on Feng Guangyu, you can check: http://www.facebook.com/il/01a4c/www.ccmce.net/htmlnews/2010/03/31/1341018882.html
Film on qin players in Hong Kong

‘Heart of Qin in Hong Kong’ is a highly recommendable 52-minute documentary film by Maryam Goormaghtigh on the activities of the Deyin qin society, a society of musicians who play and teach the art of the qin, the classical seven string zither in Hong Kong. The students of Madam Tsar Teh-yun (1905-2007), one of the most eminent masters of Chinese literati arts, perpetuate this 3,000-year old tradition in the context of Hong Kong’s vibrant modern city life. The film has been produced by the Deyin Qin Society, with assistance from Lau Chor Wah, and with sound by Cyril Harrison. A commercial DVD-version of the film (with English and Chinese subtitles) is available via http://www.yesasia.com/global/the-heart-of-qin-in-hong-kong-dvd-hong-kong-version/1024360439-0-0-0-en/info.html

Online catalogue of digitized recordings of Chinese music

The Chinese Music Archive of the Music Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong has launched her online catalogue of digitized recordings of Chinese music in February 2011. This online catalogue, in Chinese, provides information about the digitized audiovisual collections at the Archive, which cover traditional musical genres (including instrumental ensemble genres, solo traditions, operatic genres, and narrative singing genres), revolutionary music and pop music from the early 20th century to 1970s. The digitized recordings are open for use by interested parties at our Archive. Users may search the catalogue of digitized recordings via the link below.
http://cmais.mus.cuhk.edu.hk/mmdb/

Amiot’s Divertissements chinois on the internet

More than two hundred years ago, Amiot sent his Divertissements chinois to France, where it was kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Recently, scholar-musicians François Picard and Jean-Christophe Frisch examined and edited this collection, with the object of performing the music with their respective ensembles, Fleur de Prunus and XVIII-21 Musique des Lumières, now renamed XVIII-21 Le Baroque nomade. They performed the first divertissement, Xi Shijian yinyue pu with Tan Longjian (sanxian) and other scholars of the Beijing Central Conservatory in Paris and during a concert tour, and published a CD Vêpres à la Vierge en Chine, issued by the label K617. Now, after a decade has passed, Chinese scholars have begun to take an interest in this splendid repertoire, transmitted in manuscript form. It was therefore decided to make the scores available on the internet: François Picard (ed.) Joseph-Marie Amiot, Divertissements chinois, 1779, présentation et édition, 2013, can be viewed at: http://www.plm.paris-sorbonne.fr/spip.php?article29

Meetings

18th CHIME, Aarhus, Denmark, August 2014

China is filled with sounds; indeed, some people would say that it is a noisy place. Some sounds immediately come to mind, for example those of music, radio and TV broadcasts, along with blaring loudspeakers, public announcements and street conversations, or speech/language and communication more generally. Sounds appear everywhere, with a variety of different intentions and meanings; the same can be said for noise and silence.

Aarhus University and CHIME invite scholars from all disciplines to explore ‘sounds & noise’ in China. The conference ‘Sound, Noise and the Everyday – Soundscapes in Contemporary China’ (featuring for CHIME as its 18th International Meeting) does not focus on any particular historical period or research methodology, but seeks for the first time to bring scholars together who share an interest in aspects related to sound. Can we identify a specific Chinese sound? If so, where are the roots to be found, and how did this sound achieve its current form? Sound production, associations and entanglements, meanings and (listening) effects as well as issues of promotion, manipulation and elimination will be discussed in relation to Chinese history, culture, society and politics. The publication of a conference volume is planned.

The deadline for submission of abstracts is February 16, 2014. All abstracts should be forwarded to: [ostas@hum.au.dk]. Abstracts of around 300 words are invited for twenty-minute presentations on the conference theme. Proposers may also submit panel sessions of a maximum of 120 minutes (including discussion). In this case, an abstract of around 300 words should detail the focus of the panel as a whole, with abstracts of 100-200 words for each contribution. We will also schedule poster sessions in the conference, enabling work in progress to be shared using video/image as well as other media. A brief description of the material and technical requirements should be submitted for this. A conference web-page with further information will be organized in Fall 2013.
CHIME Workshop: Storysinging and storytelling in China, Venice, October 2014
[This is a closed meeting. Participation is possible only on personal invitation.] Data: Thursday 16 to Sunday 19 October 2014, Fondazione Cini, Island of San Giorgio, Venice, Italy.

Ever since antiquity, teahouses, traditional theatres, public markets, elegant gardens, and other indoor or outdoor spaces in China have set the stage for regional storytelling and storysinging (shuochang). The spectrum ranges from truly sophisticated art forms such as Suzhou storysinging (Suzhou tanci), Yangzhou storytelling (Yangzhou pinghua) and southern love balladry (Nanguan) to all kinds of lesser known forms: rural or urban, professional or amateur, with or without music, rough or refined. Some genres are sung throughout, some alternate between singing and speech, or rely on speech altogether. The most commonly used musical instruments are lutes, fiddles, drums, clappers, gongs and cymbals. The narrative content draws on everlasting historical, religious and spiritual themes, and ranges from classical tales about love, betrayal and heroism to ghost stories, gossip, local news, political commentary and commercial advertising.

What do we know about the performers, their oral repertoires, their art of improvisation, the many different traditions, their impact on society, and future prospects? How many of the historical genres or repertoires which existed in China's past have been documented or, in some form or other, preserved? When and how did they influence other Asian traditions or were influenced by them? What cultural transformations are taking place in Chinese narrative performance today? Can Chinese storysinging and storytelling still function today as the principal livelihood for professional performers?

From 16 to 19 October 2014, the Cini Foundation in Venice, the Department of Asian and North African Studies of the Ca’Foscari University of Venice and CHIME (the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research) will jointly host an international workshop on storysinging and storytelling in China. We aim at bringing together some thirty scholars and performers for an informal meeting consisting of short lectures, presentations, round-tables, performances and discussions. Our goal is to create a lively exchange, to bridge the distance between scholars and practitioners, to assess the current state of knowledge in this realm, and (eventually) to publish the proceedings of the workshop in book or journal format.

The languages of the workshop are English for papers, Chinese for performances, and English and Chinese for discussions. The meeting will honour the lifelong achievements of one major scholar in this field, the pioneer sinologist in the study of Chinese storytelling, Dr Věra Hrdlicka, from the Czech Republic. Scholars and performers will be asked to join this meeting by personal invitation. The programme committee for the workshop consists of Frank Kouwenhoven (CHIME Foundation), Senior Researcher Dr Vibeke Bordahl (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies), Professor Dr Giovanni Giuriati (Fondazioni Cini, Venice, and University of Rome La Sapienza, Music Department), and Professor Dr Nicoletta Pesaro (University of Venice). A full programme for the workshop will be made public by the end of March 2014.

For further information concerning the meeting, please feel free to contact Frank Kouwenhoven at chime@wxs.nl or Vibeke Bordahl at vibeke.bordahl@gmail.com.

ICTM Study Group for Musics of East Asia (MEA), Aug. 2014, Nara

The Study Group for Musics of East Asia (MEA), which was formed within the framework of the International Council for Traditional Music in 2006, is pleased to announce its fourth symposium, to be held from 21 to 23 August 2014 at Nara University of Education in Japan. The dates are 21 to 23 August 2014. The submission deadline is 20 December 2013. Those interested in East Asian Musical Cultures are welcome to become members and attend the symposium to exchange knowledge and ideas and further develop the field. For more information about how to join and where to submit paper proposals, please consult the group’s web page at www.ictmusic.org.

The mission of the Study Group is to provide a forum for ICTM members from all parts of the world who share an interest in the music of East Asia, broadly defined musically and geographically, including East Asian music in the diaspora as well as indigenous, transplanted, and syncretic music within East Asian countries. Other performing arts related to music will also be part of the subjects of study.
Publications

ABAROKA, Ruard – ‘An Interview with Coco Zhao, Shanghai Jazz Singer.’ In: Harris et al, Gender in Chinese Music, 2013, pp. 127-131. (See for more details under Harris.)


GORFINKEL, Lauren – ‘From Transformation to Preservation: Music and Multi-Ethnic Unity on
Television in China.’ In: Howard, Keith (ed.), *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2012. (See under Howard for more details.)

HAN Mei – ‘Al Bic Bac and the Marriage Customs of the Dong’. In: Kouwenhoven & Kippen (Eds.), *Music, Dance and the Art of Seduction*, 2013, pp. 167-184. (See under Kouwenhoven for more details.)


HOWARD, Keith – ‘East Asian Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage.’ In: Howard, Keith (ed.), *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2012. (See above.)


INGRAM, Catherine – ‘Ee, mang gay dor ga ey (Hey, Why Don’t You Sing)? Imagining the Future for Kam Big Song.’ In: Howard, Keith (ed.), *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2012. (See under Howard for more details.)


KOUWENHOVEN, Frank – ‘Love songs and temple festivals in China’s Northwest. Musical laughter in the face of adversity.’ In: Kouwenhoven & Kippen (Eds.), Music, Dance and the Art of Seduction, 2013, pp. 115-166. (See below for more details.)


KRAEFF, Olivia – ‘Strumming the “Lost Mouth Chord”: Discourses of preserving the Nuosu-Yi Mouth Harp.’ In: Howard, Keith (ed.), Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2012. (See under Howard for more details.)


LAM, Joseph – ‘Impulsive Scholars and Sentimental Heroes: Contemporary Kunqu Discourses of Traditional Chinese Masculinities.’ In: Harris et al, Gender in Chinese Music 2013, pp. 87-106. (See for more details under Harris.)


LAW, Ho-Chak – ‘Making the Ancient Past Serve the Global Present: A Review of Suzhou Kun Opera


LINGQVIST, Cecilia – Qin. En beträttelse om det kinesiska instrumentet qin... [Publication in Swedish on the author’s experiences with the guqin and its players in China in the 1960s. This has also appeared in a Chinese translation.] Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 2006, 272 pp., illus, index, 1 CD.


[Anthology of lyrics of one singer of the Kammu, an upland people located in Laos, Yunnan and Thailand.]


MILLER, Christopher A. – [Book review] Gavin Douglas – Music in Mainland Southeast Asia:


MusikTexte, Vol.116, August 2008 (in German). The autumn edition of this quarterly journal (112 pp) is devoted largely to composer Chou Wen-chung, with contributions by Eric Lai, Reinhard Oeltschlägel, Don Gillespie, Mark Steinberg and many others.


NICOLETTI, Martino – The Path of Light. Ritual Music of the Tibetan Bon. [Compact disc devoted to the ritual music of Bon, the prebuddhist religion of Tibet, with 100-page booklet introducing bon-po music, musical instruments and liturgy; the cd includes a rare collective performance of the chöd, a meditative ritual of self-sacrifice.] Borgatti Edizioni musicali, Bologna, 2008. More info:


SBORGI LAWSON, Francesca R. – *The Narrative Arts of Tianjin: Between Music and Language*. SOAS


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