Global Musical Modernism in China, 1927-1979

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the context of the emergence of global musical modernism in China, outlines the history of global musical modernism in China, and analyses three composers (Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong and Luo Zhongrong) and their works to whom musical modernism has made outstanding contributions in China.

Taking the works of these composers as examples, this study focuses on the specific manifestations of global musical modernism as it was practised in China from 1927 to 1979. On the one hand, it reflects Chinese composers' quest for the modernisation of Chinese music. On the other hand, it also reflects the cross-cultural interaction between global musical modernism and Chinese traditional music. Chinese composers hope that music with Chinese characteristics can be heard by the world and use music to dialogue with the times.

Finally, the thesis explores the development of global musical modernism in China after 1979 and makes suggestions. Although modernist music is still a 'new wave' in 20th-century China, it has attracted more and more Chinese scholars who are willing to create and study it. So how did global musical modernism emerge in China, and how did Chinese modernist music take shape?

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or another institution.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

With the spread of musical modernism around the world, the academic studies of global musical modernism have become popular, and the centre of the discussion has gradually expanded from its origins such as Europe and the United States to other regions. On the other hand, China gained scholarly attention due to its increasing national power and global influence.

This chapter begins by defining some terms related to the topic of this thesis. Since the choice of terminology is significant in a thesis on the theme of musical modernism in China. Each term carries its distinct meaning within a specific discourse system and may exhibit varying semantics based on the particular context. Furthermore, when these terms are employed in the Chinese context, they can display nuances and deviations. Therefore, establishing clear and consistent terminology is vital. Such definitions lay the groundwork for later discussions within the thesis.

1.1 DEFINITIONS OF CORE CONCEPTS

1.1.1 MUSICAL MODERNISM

Musical Modernism as a historical phenomenon first took shape between 1883 and 1914. However, since Baudelaire's defence of Wagner in 1861 and his use of the term 'modern' in 1863 (*The Painter of Modern Life*), the term 'musical modernism' came to represent, in a positive sense, a group of revolutionary avant-garde composers whose primary manifestation was the abandonment of historical models in the quest for a musical language that was appropriate to, and reflective of, the contemporary era. Wagner is the pioneer of modernist music and his work influenced a generation of composers such as

Gustav Mahler, Edward Elgar, Claude Debussy, Arnold Schoenberg, Béla Bartók and Richard Strauss, who went beyond him.[1]

Musical modernism is also an aesthetic stance underlying the period of change and development in musical language that occurred around the turn of the 20th century. During this period of modernism, old musical categories were challenged and reinterpreted, and a variety of different artistic responses were produced. These innovations led to new approaches to the organisation and treatment of music in terms of harmony, melody, acoustics and rhythm, and have come to be known as 'musical modernism'.[2] The most important feature is innovation. Campbell emphasised that, "Inherent within musical modernism is the conviction that music is not a static phenomenon defined by timeless truths and classical principles, but rather something which is intrinsically historical and developmental. While belief in musical progress or in the principle of innovation is not new or unique to modernism, such values are particularly important within modernist aesthetic stances."[3]

By 1933 five distinct strands of Musical modernism had come into being: (i) the Second Viennese School, made up of Schoenberg and his followers, particularly Berg and Webern; (ii) the French-Russian axis, dominated by Stravinsky; (iii) German Expressionism, which included Busoni and the young Paul Hindemith; (iv) indigenous Modernisms, characterized by Ives in America, Bartók in Hungary, Szymanowski in Poland and (v) experimentalism, characteristic of Alois Hába, Varèse, Henry Cowell and John Cage.[4]

By now, however, in the field of music, the term 'modernism' can be used more broadly to refer to a broader, more eclectic, and less radical artistic response to modernity in terms of

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[1] Botstein, "Modernism," *Grove Music Online,* 2001.
[2] David Joel Metzer, *Musical Modernism at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century,* Music in the Twentieth Century 26, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3.
[3] Edward Campbell, *Boulez, Music and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 37.
[4] Botstein, "Modernism," *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

chronology and style.[5] In the twenty-first century, the strength of musical modernism is not a way of writing that seeks to sever every conceivable link with the past, but rather acknowledges and adapts to the cultural heritage of shared practices from the past, following the path of modernism's 'radical renewal'.[6]

1.1.2 MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

Defining musical modernism in the Chinese context would first require us to search for its origin rooted in the modernisation of Chinese society. The term 'modernism' first appeared in the field of literature and the media. Firstly, hints of China's modernisation in the early 20th Century can be found in the literature. For example, Lee Ou-fan analysed author Mao Dun's novels written in 1930 and discovered a great number of material signs of modernity similar to the West.[7] Furthermore, the development of printing media aided the spread of the novel idea of 'modernity'. This term appeared in most of the articles in newspapers such as *Shenbao* [Shanghai News] and magazines such as *Dongfang Zaji* [Eastern Miscellany]. By the 1920s, it was widely acknowledged that 'modernity' was associated with all the spiritual and material manifestations of Western civilisation, which was new to the Chinese population. The founding and publication of these printing media were mainly developed in Shanghai, making this city undoubtedly the centre of modernity thinking.[8] In addition to this, according to Rosenmeier, both Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiying were known for their modernist short stories of the 1930s. Shi was a writer, translator, and poet, as well as the editor-in-chief of *Xiandai* [Les Contemporains], a Shanghai-based periodical that aimed to introduce educated, cosmopolitan readers to the latest trends in Chinese and foreign literature and art. His novels incorporated a variety of sources and genres from both Chinese and foreign literature, drawing on Freudian ideas about the subconscious, neurasthenia, dreams and the irrational. Mu Shiying was Shi Jincun's protégé. His

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[5] Botstein, "Modernism," *Grove Music Online,* 2001.
[6] Arnold Whittall, "Foundations and Fixations, Continuities in British Musical Modernism", in *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, ed. Bjorn Heile and Charles Wilson (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 358.
[7] Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Shanghai Modern: Reflections on Urban Culture in China in the 1930s," *Public Culture* 1 January 1999, 11 (1): 76.
[8] Ibid., 105. *Shenbao*, the first modern Chinese newspaper, was founded in Shanghai.

modernist short stories, set in Shanghai, attempted to utilise a variety of styles to achieve shocking fragmentary effects, breaking with the normal concepts of narrative and plot development.[9] Therefore, we can deduce that 'modernism' first appeared in China around the 1920s and 1930s.

However, the first appearance of the term 'musical modernism' is difficult to determine. Firstly, the term 'musical modernism' was not commonly used in China and not yet adopted widely by scholars. Secondly, the translation between Chinese and English sometimes caused confusion. From the existing literature, Cheong referred to Chinese musician Qingzhu's defence of musical modernism in his essay 'Fandong de Yinyue?' (Music of Dissent?) published in 1934. She argued that Qingzhu likely drew on polemical writings in Germany. Commenting on how Hitler and his followers equated musical modernism with 'musical communism', Qingzhu considered that new music had become an endangered species in Germany in the 1930s as the Nazis seized power.[10] This shows that the term 'musical modernism' had already appeared in Chinese academia in 1934.

Regarding musical modernism in the Chinese context, the Chinese composer He Luting argued that the purpose of learning Western music was not to imitate deliberately or to transform national music by applying some foreign modes, thus losing or destroying one's own national culture, but to learn from the achievements of music science and technology and to refer to them in order to find out one's own rules, to set up one's own theoretical system, and to create one's own modern music culture.[11] His teacher, Huang Zi, agreed with him on this point: "What we need is to learn good Western musical methods and use this to research and organise old Chinese music and folk songs so as to produce new music that is nationalised."[12] Therefore, the early days of China's pursuit of music modernism

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[9] Christopher Rosenmeier, "Tradition and Hybridity in Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiying," In *On the Margins of Modernism: Xu Xu, Wumingshi and Popular Chinese Literature in the 1940s* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 24.

[10] Cheong, Hong, and Tam, "From Berlin to Wuhan: Twelve-Tone Composition and the Pedagogical Legacies of Kohoutek, Krenek, and Smith Brindle in China," 48.

[11] He Luting, "The Problem of National Music - Speech at the Second Council (Enlarged) Meeting of the Chinese Musicians Association," *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], 09(1956):21.

[12] Huang Zi, "How can we produce our national music," *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 04 (1984): 14-15.

was expressed through the fusion of traditional musical elements in Chinese music with Western modernist techniques.

1.1.3 GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

As to why musical modernism in China is being studied in a global perspective, Bruno Nettl made a global perspective argument almost 40 years ago when he argued that "The most important phenomenon in global music history in the last hundred years has been the intensive imposition of Western music and musical ideas on the rest of the world."[13] Heile also described the necessity of thinking about musical modernism in a global perspective in *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*. He asserted that musical modernism is a product of modernity and is not exclusively Western. The spread of musical modernism across the globe has had an impact on 'marginal areas'[14]. If musical modernism had not spread across the globe, it would not have developed to the extent it has today.[15] The concept of 'global' conveys a dynamic process of breaking down cultural, geographic, and artistic boundaries, reflecting an increasingly interconnected world that fosters innovation through cross-cultural integration and mutual reinforcement. In other words, it is the global spread of musical modernism that has caused it to evolve and interact with different cultures, histories, and ideas to form global musical modernism. Although the political, economic and cultural systems of the capitalist world aspire to create global structures under the context of globalisation, and the trajectory of globalisation also stimulated the development of global music. The term 'global musical modernism' in this study does not refer to a specific discipline or theme related to globalisation theory. Instead, it refers to the study of musical modernism as it has expanded from its traditional European region to a wider part of the globe under the influence of the global spread of musical modernism. Thus, 'global musical modernism'

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[13] Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York : Schirmer, 1985), 3.

[14] 'Marginal areas' here refers to places like Asia, the Middle East and Africa. See Max Paddison, "Conceptualization of Modernism," in *Rethinking Musical Modernism*, ed.Dejan Despic&Melita Milin, 65-81.

[15] Björn Heile, "Musical modernism, global," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, ed.Heile, B., & Wilson, C.(London: Routledge, 2019), 175,188.

refers to the widespread dissemination, exchange and transformation of modernist musical ideas, techniques and theories across cultures and geographies. It encompasses a wide range of musical styles and compositional techniques that evolved in different regions of the world, influenced by modernism.

This evolving terminology and the notion of global connectivity hold particular significance for China. In general, 'global musical modernism in China' refers to the fusion and interaction of global musical modernism, as a transnational and cross-cultural musical movement or trend, with China's unique culture, history and art. In this thesis, 'global musical modernism in China' also exemplifies the phenomenon of Chinese musicians participating in and contributing to the development of a broader global musical modernism while reflecting their unique musical cultural and historical backgrounds. It encompasses the practice of integrating global modernist compositional techniques, styles, and ideas with Chinese traditional music, reflecting Chinese composers' exploration of new compositional languages and the tendency to explore innovative forms of musical expression in a rapidly changing global landscape.

1.1.4 CHINESE MODERNIST MUSIC, CHINESE NEW MUSIC, CHINESE TRADITIONAL MUSIC, CHINESE MUSIC

Due to the difference in semantics in the Chinese and English contexts, the following section explains some of the confusing concepts that recur throughout this thesis.

First of all, we need to point out that in many Chinese contexts, 'Xiandaizhuyi Yinyue' (modernist music) was often referred to as 'Xinyinyue' (new music) in the 20th century.[16] However, there are some differences between 'modernist music' and 'new music' as

[16] According to Li Shiyuan, the label of the 2019 Modernist Music Symposium in Jinggangshan, China, was "Contemporary Music Symposium". See Li Shiyuan, "Chinese modern music: a new way of existence-Insights from the Jinggangshan 'Symposium on Chinese Contemporary Music Creation'," *Yinyue Yanjiu* [Music Research], 6 (2019): 119.

mentioned in this thesis.

Specifically, in my view, Chinese modernist music refers to a kind of Chinese music using modern compositional techniques,[17] also known as Chinese modern music,[18] which is the specific expression of musical modernism in China.

The term 'new music' has held a significant and varied role throughout the history of Chinese music. One notable instance is its association with the 'May Fourth Movement'[19] of 1919, a pivotal cultural and intellectual movement in China. During this movement, 'new music' emerged as one of the mobilising slogans for the transformation of traditional customs, ideologies, and systems. Many scholars (Ex. Cai Yuanpei, Xiao Youmei, Wang Guangqi, etc.) believed that Western music was more advanced than the traditional Chinese 'old music', so they advocated the improvement of 'old music' and the creation of 'new music' based on Western experience.[20] In addition, in the early 1930s, Huang Zi proposed the development of 'new music' of national culture and advocated the establishment of a Chinese national music school following the example of Russia.[21] After the rise of the left-wing movement, 'new music' was widely used to describe proletarian revolutionary music. In addition, Hong Kong scholar Liu Ching-chih, in his *Historical Theory on Chinese New Music,* referred to the practice of designating music composed with Western musical techniques, subsequent to the introduction of Western music into China, as 'Chinese new music'.[22] This view has caused much controversy in the academia. However, it is widely acknowledged that the foundational concept of 'new music' is

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[17] Li, "Chinese modern music", 115.
[18] See Wang Shenshen, "Xiandaizhuyi Yinyue Zai Zhongguo De Mingyun" [The Fate of Modernist Music in China], *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], no. 12 (1995), Li Shiyuan, "Zhongguo Xiandaizhuyi Yinyue Juyou Nongyu De Minzu Fengge" [Chinese modernist music with a strong national style], *Huang Zhong* [Journal of Wuhan Conservatory of Music], 04 (1989), and Ye Songrong, "Lun Xiandaizhuyi Yinyue De Chuangxin Wenti" [On the Innovative Problems of Modernist Music], *Yinyue Yanjiu* [Music Research], 03(2000).
[19] The May Fourth Movement was a movement on 4 May 1919 led by Chinese intellectuals. It not only influenced the development of science, technology and politics, but also introduced culture and morality etc. in a comprehensive manner at the same time.
[20] Wang Yuhe, *Modern Histore of Chinese Music*, (Beijing: People's Music Press, 2002).
[21] Huang, "How can we produce our national music," 15.
[22] Liu Ching-chih, *Historical Theory on Chinese New Music* (Taipei： Music Times, 1998).

grounded in Western musical forms.[23] Therefore, 'new music' in this thesis is a synthesis of the above viewpoints and defines it from a compositional point of view: Chinese new music refers to works composed by Chinese composers based on Western compositional techniques and musical language. Thus, the defined scope of Chinese new music naturally includes Chinese modernist music. The proposal of 'new music', triggered by the May Fourth Movement, led to a fusion of East and West as a means of musical composition, making it an important initiation of global musical modernism in China.

After advocating the creation of 'new music', Chinese traditional music was often regarded as 'outdated old music'. However, Chinese new music and Chinese traditional music are not in opposition to each other. When composing new music (including modernist music), Chinese composers often use some elements or materials of Chinese traditional music to emphasise the national flavour. Chinese traditional music includes Xiqu, Shuochang (a genre of popular entertainment consisting mainly of talking and singing), folk instrumental music, folk songs and folk dance music.[24] Chinese music (Fig. 1) encompasses Chinese modernist music, Chinese new music, and Chinese traditional music.

[23] Liu Zhenyin, "A Comparative Study of Modern Music Changes in Three East Asian Countries" (PhD diss., Shanghai Conservatory of Music, 2007), 32.
[24] Wang Yusheng, "Zhongguo Chuantong Yinyue Fenlei Yanjiu" [A study on the classification of traditional Chinese music], *Yishu Tansuo* [Artistic Exploration] 01 (1989): 23-25.

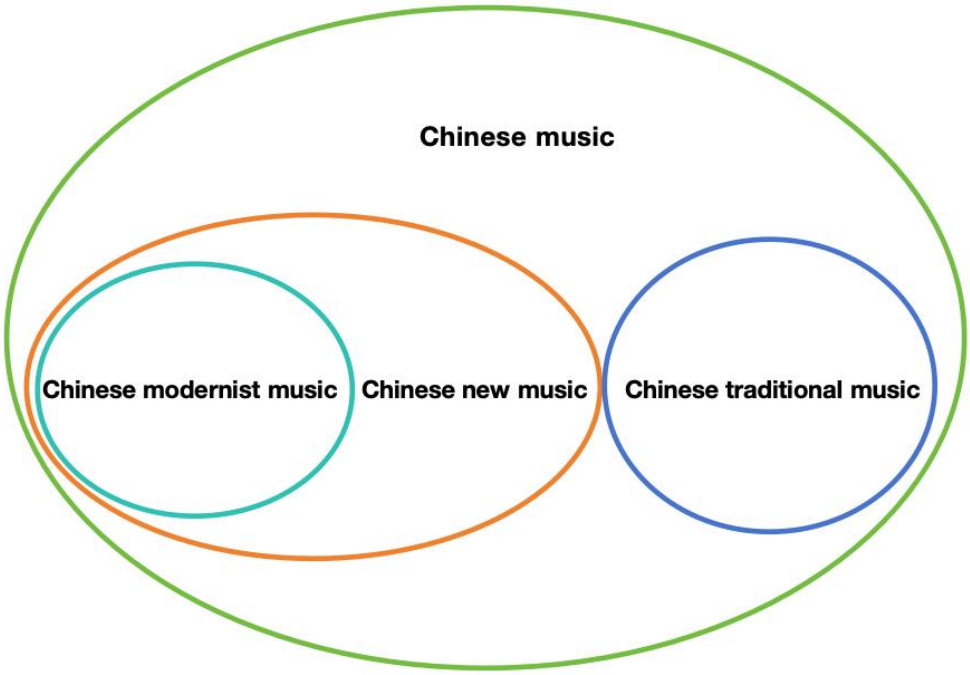

Figure 1. *Relationship between various types of music in China in this thesis*

1.1.5 THE CHOICE OF PERIOD

This thesis mainly discusses global musical modernism in China from 1927 to 1979. 1927 was the year where Shanghai Conservatory of Music was established and 1979 was the year when the policy of Reforming and Opening up[25] to the outside world was officially launched. In this year, Reforming and Opening up to the outside world became a basic state policy of China, meaning that China embraced the world with open arms and interacted with global culture. Meanwhile, in 1979, Luo Zhongrong composed the first Chinese musical work, the last work analysed in this thesis (see Chapter 6 for more details), using the twelve-tone technique. It not only represented an adventurous and bold attempt at early musical modernism in China, but also allowed the West to interpret the reality and

[25] Since Deng took over as paramount leader in 1978, the Reform and Opening-up policy were officially launched at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on 18 Dec 1978. In fact, in November 1978, reforms had already begun within China. However, China's opening to the outside world began on 15 July 1979, when the Central Government approved the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian in their foreign economic activities.

intensity of China's Reform and Opening-up.[26] Therefore, 1979 is an important historical point in the history of global musical modernism in China. This chosen period encompasses the two phases of global musical modernism in China: the formative period spanning from 1927 to 1949 and the period of precipitation from 1949 to 1979, characterised by contemplation and relative stagnation within the realm of global musical modernism. These two phases together constructed the initial period of integration between global musical modernism and Chinese traditional music.

1.1.6 THE CHOICE OF COMPOSERS

This thesis engages with three case studies of composers because detailed musical analysis would best reflect the specific manifestations of the fusion of global musical modernism and Chinese traditional music. Specifically, I chose to discuss the works of Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong, and Luo Zhongrong (Tan was the teacher of Sang and Luo) for the following three reasons. Firstly, the scope of this thesis is limited to the period 1927-1979, thus requiring composers who were active and produced compelling modernist works during this period. Secondly, this study focuses on composers who studied or taught at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, the birthplace of modernist music in China, in order to map out the trajectory of the development of modernist music in China. Finally, these three composers were chosen not only because they influenced early musical modernism in China in the specific historical period but also the impact of their compositional techniques that were developed and learnt by later musicians.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

As one of the most pioneering and controversial phenomena in the global music world for more than a century, musical modernism, with its massive spread since the 20th century,

[26] Ziyin, "Ta Yingxiang Le Jidai Xuezi-Zhuiyi Luo Zhongrong" [He Influenced Generations of Composition Students-Memory of Luo Zhongrong], *Yinyue Zhoubao* [Music Weekly] 05, (2023).

has now become an inclusive global practice and academic discourse. On the other hand, with the introduction of musical modernism to China in the 1930s, Chinese composers have gone through a process of change from initial imitation and catching up to gradual convergence with the West when confronted with this global trend. However, nowadays, with a large number of works, we have not seen the emergence of such Chinese modernist works as Chen Yi's *Duo Ye* and Zhu Jian'er's Symphony No. 4, which are renowned throughout the world, the development of global musical modernism in China seems to have entered a period of disorientation. To understand the relationship between China and the West today, we need to look at the beginnings of musical modernism in China. Thus, reflecting on the ways in which early Chinese modernist composers sought the path of global musical modernism can help provide the necessary context for a better understanding of the development of global musical modernism in China. This study is focused on understanding how Chinese composers in the early 20th century learned and implemented this avant-garde musical concept during the emergence of musical modernism in China. Through detailed textual analysis, the research aims to shed light on the history and initial expressions of global musical modernism in China. The study also combines the perspectives of notable scholars and myself to provide a comprehensive perspective on this intricate historical and artistic development.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to achieve the research objectives of this thesis, the following research questions need to be addressed:

- How did global musical modernism emerge in China within the social and cultural context of the time?
- What was the history of global musical modernism in China and how did it

develop between 1927 and 1979?

• What are some of the specific manifestations of the fusion of global musical modernism with Chinese musical practice in the period 1927-1979?

More details on the methodology used to research and answer the questions will be explained in Chapter 3.

1.4 RESEARCH VALUES

Chinese modernist music, as a kind of Chinese music composed with modern compositional techniques, has been regarded as untraditional and innovative by composers in the 20th century, and nowadays the composition of modernist music has become a common thing in China.[27] Global musical modernism in China is not a one-way process. It involves the active participation of the global music world. The exchange of ideas and participation of Chinese musicians in global musical activities and collaborations have further diversified the landscape of modernism. Therefore, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the cross-cultural interactions between Chinese and Western musical traditions, revealing how Chinese composers and musicians have integrated the idea of global musical modernism with their own cultural heritage. At the same time, this study enriches the narrative of global music history by recognising the importance of Asian cities (i.e. Shanghai) in the development of Western musical traditions and provides valuable insights into China's unique contribution to the broader context of global musical modernism. In addition, this study will appropriately advance the study of musical modernism in marginalised regions within a global context.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

[27] Li, "Chinese modern music", 120.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Specifically, Chapter 1 discusses the terminology and related definitions of musical modernism, and defines and understands global musical modernism in the Chinese context. The background, value and objectives of the study are then presented and the research questions are formulated. This is followed by an explanation of the importance of this research and why this topic has wider significance.

Chapter 2 reviews existing literature and research in different areas closely related to my study, mainly including the study of musical modernism in China, the study of Chinese modernist music, and the study of three Chinese composers. These reviews help to provide the theoretical background and methodological models.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology employed in the thesis and how these different methods are specifically applied in the corresponding chapters. At the same time, the limitations of these methods are made clear.

Chapter 4 describes the social and cultural context of the emergence of global musical modernism in China through a study of Shanghai, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and three representative foreign musicians. This chapter reveals the process of the rise of musical modernism in China, a process that provided the necessary conditions for the formation of Chinese modernist music.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the development of global musical modernism in China between 1927 and 1979. From its origins to its current status, we find global musical modernism transformed in China by historical, cultural, and political influences.

Chapter 6, through the biographies and analyses of the works of Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong and Luo Zhongrong, three historically important modernist composers in China's quest for global musical modernism, points to the bold attempts and creative fusion of modernism

by the three of them during the period 1927-1979. The chapter further notes the connections between the three of them, their compositional styles, and the circumstances that hindered the development of the modernist approach they pursued.

Chapter 7 is the concluding section of the thesis. It starts with a summary and generalisation of the main findings of this study and points out directions for further research. It then provides a brief narrative and outlook for the development of global musical modernism in China after the Cultural Revolution.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to gain a more reliable, comprehensive and updated understanding of global musical modernism in China, I will review relevant literature from different fields that has direct relevance to my research.

This study must be first situated in the global discourse of musical modernism, although some of this literature has been dominated by Western scholars, it is worth reviewing their research methods and general conclusions. At the same time, due to the vast geographical, cultural, and social differences between China and the West, the context of the emergence of global musical modernism in China shall be discussed with careful consideration of the context, in order to evaluate the applicability of these methodologies and findings (see Chapter 4). Secondly, musical modernism has gone through a difficult process from its introduction to China to its initial application. Moreover, since Chinese modernist music is the embodiment of global musical modernism in China, it is necessary to point out its unique value and significance in conjunction with some of the existing studies on musical modernism in China and Chinese modernist music. Finally, this chapter critically discusses these studies in relation to their application to my thesis, especially looking for issues that need to be improved or reconsidered. Overall, the materials reviewed in the following sections are carefully selected with their relevance to this research, which consists of both academic and non-academic books, essays, journal articles, and online materials, in both English and Chinese.

2.1 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

As mentioned in the first chapter of the thesis, the term ‘modernism’ first appeared in Shanghai. It can be seen that Shanghai held an important position in the development of

modernism in China. Lee Ou-fan suggested: "By 1930, Shanghai had become a bustling cosmopolitan city, the fifth largest city in the world, China's largest harbour and treaty port, a city that had become an international legend ('The Paris of Asia'), a gloriously modern world very different from the Chinese countryside, which was still bound by tradition." Through the depiction of some of the substances that symbolise modernity, Lee showed the modern urban life of Shanghai in the 1930s, which leads to how modern consciousness existed in the city of Shanghai.[28] Thus, in the early 20th century, Shanghai had already started to slowly embrace Western modernity.

As literary modernity expanded in Shanghai, Western music gained popularity and evolved. According to Yang, by 1922, Shanghai had become a hub for Western musical activities, attracting both Westerners and a significant number of Chinese who engaged as practitioners or enthusiasts. *Shen Bao*, the local Chinese newspaper, documents the complexity of Shanghai's musical soundscape, characterised by the coexistence of music of diverse origins— Chinese musical forms from different geographical regions as well as different kinds of Western music, classical, pop, jazz, Russian, Jewish, and so on.[29] The introduction of different Western music genres brought a new vibrancy to wartime Shanghai, and the emergence of fugitive musicians played a role in sparking musical modernism in China.

As a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Nazi atrocities against Jews in Germany in the 1930s, several Russian and German composers fled to Shanghai in the early 20th century. Their presence in Shanghai directly influenced Chinese composers to initiate the creation of modernist music, laying the groundwork for the subsequent development of musical modernism in China. John Winzenburg has described the historical significance of the Russian-Jewish composer Aaron Avshalomov (1894-1965) on the historical significance of the pre-1949 Shanghai music scene. It also provided examples

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[28] Lee, *Shanghai Modern, 1930-1945.*

[29] Hon-Lun Yang, "From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity: The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra," in *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*, ed. Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle, (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 50.

of East-meets-West compositions to illustrate Avshalomov's musical style and influence on Chinese musicians.[30] Similarly, Christian Utz used biography as a means to delve into the generative interactions between the German-Jewish refugee composer Wolfgang Fraenkel and the Chinese environment in which he lived between 1939 and 1947, influencing both his Chinese students and his own work.[31] *Networking the Russian Diaspora* is a pioneering study of the Russian community in wartime Shanghai, co-authored by a group of Chinese music specialists, with a special focus on the musical activities and influence of Russians in Shanghai. Russian musicians played a central role not only in Shanghai's renowned Municipal Symphony Orchestra but also served as instructors at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Two Russian émigré composers - Alexander Tcherepnin and Aaron Avshalomov - are cited as examples, showing how they became pioneers of cross-cultural music by attempting to incorporate Chinese elements in their works. In addition to this, Russian music educators (including Boris Zakharov, Vladimir Shushlin and others) have influenced the development of Western music in China through their educational activities at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. The Russian music scene in Shanghai, shaped by cultural contact through immigration, globalisation, and technological advances, stands as an embodiment of musical cosmopolitanism. It serves as a testament to the hybrid nature of music in the twenty-first century.[32]

All in all, as suggested in Chapter 1, there exists controversy regarding the assessment of wartime Shanghai. In my opinion, it was Shanghai's inclusivity that provided a robust foundation for the growth of modernism in the city. This provides the context for this thesis to assess the positive impact of twentieth-century Shanghai on musical modernism.

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[30] John Winzenburg, "Aaron Avshalomov and New Chinese Music in Shanghai, 1931–1947," *Twentieth-Century China*, 37.1 (2012): 50–72.
[31] Christian Utz, "Cultural Accommodation and Exchange in the Refugee Experience: A German-Jewish Musician in Shanghai," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 1 (2004): 119-51.
[32] Hon-Lun Helan Yang, Simo Mikkonen, John Winzenburg, and Frederick Lau, *Networking the Russian Diaspora: Russian Musicians and Musical Activities in Interwar Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020).

2.2 MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

After its emergence first in Shanghai, Musical modernism experienced a complex and challenging time. If classified according to the stages of composition, musical modernism in China can be divided into the stage of imitation, integration and individualisation. The German musicologist Barbara Mittler has made a highly representative contribution to the early imitative stage of musical modernism in China. By exploring the initial compositions of Chinese musicians employing modern Western techniques, she investigated the intricate connection between politics and music in China. This research delved into their efforts to integrate Western compositional techniques with distinct Chinese elements. Mittler also came up with a concept called 'pentatonic romanticism'. It was a critique of early Chinese composers of the 1930s who composed through imitation of Western classical and Romantic music.[33] However, there are some errors in this work due to the differences between Chinese and Western cultures. In particular, like many Western musicians, Mittler underestimated the breadth of Chinese music and directly considered 'new music' as 'Chinese music'.[34]

Similarly, Kouwenhoven used the term 'Romanticism' to describe the style of the first generation of Chinese composers during the destructive proletarian Cultural Revolution that began in the 1930s and 1960s. He pointed out that they could not escape from the use of classical tonality and 'overt romanticism'.[35]

Conversely, Cheung's thesis proposed an alternative concept by researching the rise of Chinese musical modernity in Shanghai between 1918 and 1937. She developed a theory called 'musical translation'. She argued that through the practice of musical

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[33] Barbara Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes : The Politics of Chinese Music in Hong Kong , Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China Since 1949* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997).
[34] Ibid., 8, 33, 149.
[35] Frank Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (I): Out of the Desert," *CHIME* 2 (Autumn 1990), 84.

translation, the Chinese drew from pre-existing musical concepts, aesthetics and ideals to interpret and use practices imported from the West. 'Music translation' emphasised the establishment of musical equivalence between the two systems. This involved adopting Western techniques, projecting Chinese concepts and needs, and modifying Western techniques to align with Chinese conventions. The modern Chinese musical culture that emerged at the time could therefore be described as a 'modernity of translation'.[36]

In a more recent article, Cheong briefly outlined the embodiment of musical modernism in China since the 1980s. Following the clue of Luo Zhongrong's mastery of serial music in the late 1970s, she critically examined historical sources that had been previously overlooked. Some of these historical sources include Mao's Talks to Music Workers and articles in the post-Mao era. Through the analysis, she demonstrated how twelve-tone techniques spread and blended, and how socio-political and ideological changes motivated the twelve-tone compositional wave in the 1980s.[37]

The book *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization* discussed in detail the impact of the globalisation of culture on the process of art music composition and dissemination in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Under the forces of cultural globalisation, two opposing trends appeared in compositional approaches and aesthetic positions: on the one hand, since the reception of European music in Asia, Africa or Latin America has often been too hasty, the swift reception of European music in Asia, Africa, and Latin America led to a tendency to globally compositional practices according to Western standards. This suggests a continuation of the influence of colonial power structures even until the present day. On the other hand, the composition of art music and the discourses it generated had frequently served as significant catalysts for self-determination and liberation movements in non-Western countries. Therefore, Christian Utz used contemporary historical developments,

[36] Joys Cheung, "Chinese Music and Translated Modernity in Shanghai, 1918-1937" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008).
[37] Cheong, "From Berlin to Wuhan" 63-64.

cultural-political and cultural-sociological situations as a context for trying to interpret such 'paradoxes' of producing music in the globalized tension field. This approach is multi-layered, enabling the understanding of musical modernism to be more accurate.[38] With case studies of Chinese modernist composers such as Tan Dun, Qin Wenchen, Guo Wenjing, Chen Xiaoyong and Zhu Jian'er, Utz described the main manifestations of musical modernism in China from the 1950s onwards.

However, although there is a great deal of literature on the status and manifestations of musical modernism in China, most of it focuses on the imitation stage at the beginning of the twentieth century or the individualisation stage after the deep expansion of Reform and Opening-up. Therefore, this study will fill this gap in the middle stage of integration, which focuses on the process of reception, dissemination and practice of twentieth-century musical modernism in China, with Shanghai as the main research context.

2.3 CHINESE MODERNIST MUSIC

The study of Chinese modernist music has only gradually developed since the integration of musical modernism and Chinese traditional music to form Chinese modernist music in the twentieth century. Rather than an established academic subject, Chinese modernist music essentially falls into the cross-disciplinary space. Therefore, although these sources come from different fields, they are brought together in this study to achieve a common goal, which is to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese modernist music.

Li Shiyuan's "Chinese modernist music has a strong national style" appears to be the first Chinese journal article about Chinese modernist music. By analysing the national style of Chinese modernist music, he denied the claim that there was no modernist

[38] Christian Utz and Laurence Sinclair Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization : New Perspectives on Music History in the 20th and 21st Century*, (Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2021).

music in China and put forward the idea that Chinese modernist music had the aesthetic characteristics of modern art as well as some characteristics of traditional Chinese culture.[39] As for foreign literature, Y. U. Everett and Frederick Lau's *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* is the first collection of essays devoted to the relationship between Asian and Western music. As the title suggested, the book attempted to find a place for East Asia in Western art music by examining the music of Asian-influenced Western composers and Western-influenced Asian composers.[40] Although it focuses on the study of Asian music, this anthology favours the West over the East. For example, some authors use Western music theory as the main tool for analysing Chinese compositional techniques. Meanwhile, Hong Kong scholar Liu Ching-chih has analysed Chinese modernist music from the early twentieth century to 1985 to illustrate how Chinese composers attempted to develop Chinese modernist music during this period.[41] But the essay was controversial, not only in his assessment of Chinese modernist music, but also in his definition of 'new music'. After the 1980s, Chinese modernist music experienced a flourishing period. Examining various forms of musical exchanges between the East and the West, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception* illustrated that the rise of 'westernised' music in China aligned with technological advances facilitating the widespread dissemination of global culture.[42] Lau demonstrated that Chinese modernist music not only thrived domestically but also earned a place on the international stage. It became an integral part of the emerging Western aesthetic preference.[43]

However, at the beginning of the 21st century, through the Chengdu International Contemporary Music Festival in October 2003, Li realised that Chinese modernist music had lost its vitality. As socio-economic development continued, more and more

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[39] Li, "Chinese modernist music with a strong national style," 69-75.
[40] Yayoi Uno Everett, and Lau Frederick, *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 2004).
[41] Liu, "Copyright, imitating and transplanting."
[42] Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception* (University of Michigan Press, 2017).
[43] Frederick Lau, "When a Great Nation Emerges: Chinese Music in the World." In *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*, ed. Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 265-282.

composers adopted a neutral attitude towards modernist music: exploring and continuing to use modern techniques while unconsciously returning to classical traditions. Most composers kept moving between academic and commercial writing. As a result, modernist music in China has developed to an awkward stage since the 21st century.[44] Similarly, Wang Jing, through her review of the book *Studies in Western Contemporary Music Composition - Structural Thinking and Contemporary Towards*, referred to the current state of the development of modernist music in China: there has been a progressive increase in the number of performances of modern musical works, and quite a few nationals are showing interest. However, the general attitude of most people towards modernist music is one of enthusiasm, but not enough patience.[45] Therefore, this thesis hopefully provides a reference for the future development of global musical modernism in China.

2.4 THE MAIN REPRESENTATIVES OF GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

To further elaborate on Chinese modernist music, a brief introduction will be made to the literature on three representative composers who greatly contributed to Chinese modernist music.

2.4.1 TAN XIAOLIN

Since Tan Xiaolin died young before the age of forty, he left behind a rather limited body of work than the other two composers. Consequently, there is not much literature about him. The existing literature falls into two categories: biographical works by those who knew him, like Tan's friend Shen Zhibai's "A Biography of Tan Xiaolin",

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[44] Li Shiyuan, "The Observations of Contemporary Music in China," *Yishu Pinglun* [Art Review], 04(2004): 15-16.
[45] Wang Jing, "Crossing Cultural Boundaries Based on Chinese Perspectives," *Journal of Tianjin Conservatory of Music,* 01(2022): 28-37.

and Tan's student Yang Yushi's "Tan Xiaolin's Musical Orientation". These pieces briefly analyse and summarise Tan Xiaolin's musical creations, introducing his life and characteristics as a way of remembering him.

Another category is the scholars' analyses of his musical works, such as his student Luo Zhongrong's article "The Harmony of Art Songs by Tan Xiaolin"[46], which, through analysing the harmony and tonality of the art songs composed by Tan Xiaolin, summarised the characteristics of his highly innovative creations, and at the same time proved his important position in the history of the development of modernist music in China.

2.4.2 SANG TONG

Sang Tong's musical compositions were remarkable in the history of modern Chinese music for a high level of artistry and considerable advancement.

The research literature on Sang Tong is mainly classified into three categories. One focuses on the analysis of his early musical compositions. Qian Renping delves into two of Sang Tong's early representative works, highlighting their historical significance and practical value. This analysis aligns with the evolution of Chinese modernist music post-1990s, emphasising a shift where "complexity was reduced to simplicity".[47]

In addition to this, there have been a number of interpretations of Sang Tong's theoretical works. Gu elaborated on the characteristics of Sang Tong's *Heshengxue Jiaocheng* [Textbook of Harmony] from four aspects: fundamentality, pioneering,

[46] Luo Zhongrong, "The Harmony of Art Songs by Tan Xiaolin," *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music] 3 (1989): 39-46.
[47] Qian Renping, "Sang Tong and his early new music compositions," *Music Lover* 6(2001):24-27.

compatibility and practicality, and fully affirmed the academic value of the textbook.[48]

There is also relevant literature on the development of modernist music in China, using Sang Tong's music and theoretical works as examples. Cheong suggested that Sang Tong's compositions not only drew on Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* and Hindemith's *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* (1937) to incorporate modernism into the notion of the Chinese pentatonic scale, but they also resonated with Kurth's discussion of the constructive or destructive nature of harmony in relation to the rules of major and minor modes in *Romantische Harmonik* and *Wagner's Tristan* (1920). In addition, Sang Tong's textbooks on harmonic theory published after the Reform and Opening-up in China helped the students to understand how Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth's modern composition thoughts permeated the development of modernist music in China in subtle ways.[49]

2.4.3 LUO ZHONGRONG

Literature on Luo Zhongrong can be divided into three types. One type is represented by Nancy Yunwha Rao's article "Hearing Pentatonicism Through Serialism: Integrating Different", which summarised Luo Zhongrong's compositional characteristics of combining the basic qualities of pentatonicism and serialism by analysing the techniques of Luo Zhongrong's musical compositions.[50]

Luo Zhongrong's art song compositions were written throughout his entire compositional career, so there is quite a lot of literature about the analysis of his art song-singing tips. For example, Chinese singer Gong Linna wrote about her singing tips for learning and singing

[48] Gu Junsheng, "Sang Tong Heshengxue Jiaocheng De Tedian Yu Xueshujiazhi" [Characteristics and Academic Value of Sang Tong's Textbook of Harmony], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 01(2003):18-22.
[49] Cheong Wai-Ling, "Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong: Modernist Harmonic Approaches in China," *Acta Musicologica* 88, no. 1 (2016): 87-108.
[50] Nancy Yunwha Rao, "Hearing Pentatonicism Through Serialism: Integrating Different Traditions in Chinese Contemporary Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 40, no. 2 (2002): 190–231.

Luo Zhongrong's art songs, which is to control the pitch and rhythm of the songs as well as to focus on the expression of emotions. In particular, Luo Zhongrong used a variety of compositional techniques in order to express the meaning of the poem as lyrics, so as a singer, she felt the need to study the song itself more deeply.[51]

Luo's compositional career lasted for more than half a century, and the characteristics of his compositions changed distinctly from the early to the late period. Therefore, Luo Zhongrong's entire compositional history is also worth analysing. Wu Chunfu, through the analyses of Luo Zhongrong's works from the early to the late period, expressed that Luo Zhongrong's use of modern compositional techniques was a process of continuous adjustments and refinements, and fully affirmed Luo Zhongrong's artistic achievements in the role and position of Chinese modernist music composition.[52]

2.5 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This review discussed a large body of literature in areas relevant to the subject of this study. The literature shows a general trend of growing interest in musical modernism and awareness of its importance in the process of cultural globalisation, even in marginalised countries such as China. As China's role on the global musical scene continues to evolve, exploring the transformation of global musical modernism in the Chinese context will remain a vibrant area of academic research.

However, there has been insufficient research on how global musical modernism has been integrated with Chinese traditions since its introduction from the West to China. Therefore, the thesis aims to fill this gap within the field of global musical modernism, which is important for both Chinese modernist music and global musical modernism. To fulfil this

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[51] Gong Linna, "Gaojie De Yishu Linghun" [Luo Zhongrong art song singing experience], *Zhongguo Yinyue* [Chinese Music], 01(2010): 111-113.

[52] Wu Chunfu, "The Researches of Luo Zhongrong's Compositions With Modern Style of His Latter Period" (PhD diss., Central Conservatory of Music, 2004).

research aim, next chapter will explain the methodology of the thesis.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the methodology of this study. The chapter describes why I chose to use these methods and how they were applied in this study. As a holistic study of global musical modernism in China, the data collection must present a series of 'facts' that can ensure its representation, reliability, and validity. Therefore, this chapter also provides an in-depth discussion of how this data was collected and how to analyse it. Towards the end of the chapter, the limitations of this research are reflected.

3.1 METHODOLOGY SELECTED

Qualitative research originates from the study of complex human behaviour in education and social science disciplines.[53] According to Burns and Grove, qualitative research is a systematic and subjective approach that seeks to emphasise and interpret everyday experiences and further give meaning to them.[54] In Creswell's view, qualitative research is an investigative process based on an understanding of different traditions of investigative methodology designed to explore social or human problems.[55] Further, Stake explained that qualitative research attempts to explain social phenomena through the experiences and perspectives of a person or group of people.[56] In the cross-cultural context of Chinese and Western music, this study begins with the emergence and history of musical modernism in China, and explores the specific manifestations of early Chinese modernist composers in pursuit of this pioneering phenomenon. In terms of its characteristics, qualitative research

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[53] Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meanings*, 2nd ed (1984), 310.
[54] Nancy Burns and Susan Grove, *The practice of nursing research: Appraisal, synthesis and generation of evidence,* 6th Edition (Saunders Elsevier, St. Louis, 2009).
[55] John W. Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007), 15.
[56] Robert E. Stake, *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work* (New York: Guilford Publications, 2010).

is used to explore potential antecedents and factors about which little has been known,[57] and it is based on observations and interpretations of people's perceptions of different events.[58] As this study is concerned with the study of musical modernism in China (a marginalised area), a qualitative study is most appropriate. In qualitative research, our aim is to explore and reveal the phenomenon, focusing mainly on the two categories of 'what' and 'how', so identifying the variables is not an easy task, and they must be explored in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the topic of the study. Therefore, compared to quantitative research is a method of investigation aimed at quantifying data, understanding the relationship between pre-determined variables, and analysing them statistically.[59] Qualitative research is more appropriate for this study.

This study uses the case study method. In academic research, a case study is one of the most commonly used qualitative research methods.[60] Yin considered that case studies can be used to explain, describe, or explore events or phenomena that occur in everyday contexts.[61] Creswell defined a case study in this way, "A case study is a qualitative design in which the researcher explores in depth a project, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals."[62] For the most part, the case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subject of the study,[63] and explores the phenomenon in a particular context through a variety of data sources.[64] Therefore, case studies are a preferred strategy when the research focuses on contemporary phenomena in certain real-life contexts.[65] As the purpose of this study is to examine the global

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[57] Anselm Strauss & Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998).
[58] Egon G. Guba & Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Competing paradigms in qualitative research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* edit by Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 105–117.
[59] Mario Luis Small, "Lost in Translation: How Not to Make Qualitative Research More Scientific," in Michèle Lamont and Patricia White (editors), *Report from Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research* (Washington, DC: National Science Foundation).
[60] Bedrettin Yazan, "Three approaches to case study methods in education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake," *The Qualitative Report* 20, no.2 (2015): 134–152.
[61] Robert K. Yin, *Case study research, design and method*, 4 edition (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2009).
[62] John W. Creswell, *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*, 4th ed. (Sage Publications, 2014), 241.
[63] Zaidah Zainal, "Case Study As a Research Method," *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* 5, no. 1 (2017): 1.
[64] Pamela Baxter & Susan Jack, "Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers," *The Qualitative Report* 13, no.4 (2008): 544–559.
[65] Robert K. Yin, "Discovering the future of the case study method in evaluation research," *Evaluation Practice* 15, no. 3 (1994): 283-290.

phenomenon of musical modernism in China, the qualitative case study is the most appropriate choice.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

Extensive data collection from multiple sources is the basis of any qualitative research.[66] Data collection for this study was extremely challenging due to the fact that the time chosen for this research spanned a period of political upheaval in China, and some of the first-hand sources no longer exist. Therefore, looking for resources to present a relatively accurate and complete picture of global musical modernism in China from 1927-1979 became the first task of this research. Therefore, a large number of primary and secondary sources were collected as research data for this study.

The information embodied in figures or facts is called data.[67] Unlike quantitative research, which collects numerical data, qualitative research generally collects non-numerical data such as text, images and sound.[68] The data for this study include both primary and secondary sources. Among the primary sources are musical works, recordings, letters, interviews, musical scores, and archival materials related to this study. Secondary sources include scholarly articles, books, reviews, and historical documents that provide in-depth analyses of the subject. Primary and secondary sources in this study were mainly collected online.

Since this study requires a great deal of relevant information on the fields of Chinese and Western music history, music aesthetics, and ethnomusicology, collecting data online allows me to obtain data that would otherwise take a great deal of effort and time to

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[66] Shahid Khan, "Qualitative Research Method - Phenomenology," *Asian Social Science*, no. 10 (2014): 301.
[67] Sasha Hurrel, "Data collection challenges," *Retrieved from The Partnering Initiative: Case* (2005).
[68] Keith F. Punch, *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (London: Sage, 2013).

gather.[69] However, there are also drawbacks to relying on online websites for data. On one hand, the use of online databases to access research-related data usually requires precise keywords and therefore does not allow for the collection of all primary and secondary sources relevant to the research. According to research presented at San Mateo Community College, cross-referencing is much harder with online databases.[70] On the other hand, according to a study by St Mary's University in Texas, most online information is limited to the era in which the Internet emerged - 1990 onwards. There are few legitimate online sources of data outside of recent history, and much of the data on the Internet is limited to 20th and 21st century knowledge,[71] which makes it necessary to be critical of unreferenced historical information.

The following are the more heavily used websites related to this study:

- CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure) https://www.cnki.net
- Quanguo Baokan Suoyin (Chinese Journal Index) https://www.cnbksy.com/
- YouTube https://www.youtube.com/

By visiting these websites, I have gathered historical archival materials, interviews, and other secondary literature that are crucial to this study.

For example, CNKI is the largest academic literature database in China. By searching for keywords such as 'musical modernism' and 'modernist music', I obtained a large number of primary and secondary sources related to this study. Quanguo Baokan Suoyin is also a very important database of primary and secondary sources online. This site archives many 20th-century Chinese music journals/magazines that are of great value to this study. For

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[69] Sharan B. Merriam, and Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (Fourth edition. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, a Wiley brand, 2016).
[70] "Pros and Cons of Electronic Information," San Mateo Community College.
[71] "Advantages and Disadvantages of Online Databases," St Mary's University,Texas.

example, journals such as *Musical Works*, which published Luo Zhongrong's original scores, *The New Music Tide*, founded in 1927, and *Yue Yi,* the school journal of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in the early years of its founding, all provided useful data for this study. They contain a large amount of archival material, including not only factual records written by students of Tan Xiaolin, Fraenkel and others, but also articles about the history of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music.

In addition, the data is not limited to textual material, online videos provide rich resources. There are two main types of video data referenced in this study: interviews and the music itself. Both types of information are used as primary sources. For example, an interview video uploaded on YouTube by the Exilarte Center at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna——"Wolfgang Fraenkel and his Chinese students"[72] provided us with some unrecorded details about Fraenkel's teaching experience in China, which allowed me to analyse the experiences and facts about Fraenkel in my research.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

3.3.1 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

This study applied textual analysis. Textual analysis is a qualitative research method used to examine and interpret various types of texts. Data from documents, films, newspapers, paintings, web pages, and other forms can be used as the 'texts' examined in textual analysis to assess the meanings, values, and messages conveyed through them.[73] Therefore, the texts that can be used in this thesis as part of the study are in various forms. They include books; academic journals; letters and memoirs; newspaper articles; interview transcripts; institutional reports; musical scores and various public records. Such documents can be found in libraries, newspaper archives, institutional archives or websites.

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[72] Exilarte Center, "Interview: Wolfgang Fraenkel and his Chinese Students," recorded March 20, 2018 at China Conservatory of Music, Beijing. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHLJEtkxAkA.
[73] Jason A. Smith, "Textual Analysis," in *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, ed. J. Matthes, C.S. Davis and R.F. Potter (2017).

For historical and cross-cultural research, researchers can benefit greatly from textual analyses. Firstly, texts can provide the context for research. According to Storey,[74] texts are always analysed in their context. Similarly, Mckee pointed out that the more we know about the context of a text, the more likely we are to be able to make a plausible interpretation of the text.[75] For example, in this thesis, I use data obtained from texts to analyse the context and the history of global musical modernism in China (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). Secondly, there is a certain rigour to textual analysis. Normally, the research questions are based on relevant literature in the subject area under study, and the particular project or study is put into dialogue with previous work. This connection to the literature also provides the basis for reasonable interpretations in qualitative textual analysis. By relating to previous research and stating theoretical positions forthrightly, the researcher is able to make a reasoned argument that is not threatened by bias, allowing the analysis itself to maintain a degree of scientific inquiry and rigour.[76] Meanwhile, textual analysis can also be used to confirm historical information in some secondary sources. For instance, Luo Zhongrong's *Shejiang Cai Furong* was composed in 1979 and published in 1980 on *Musical Works*, a Chinese music magazine. However, Mittler, Cai Jingdong and others, when referring to *Shejiang Cai Furong* in their articles, incorrectly wrote the time of composition as 1981. This thesis corrected this information during the textual analysis. Last but not least, since this study was held in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, it was relatively convenient and inexpensive to access and analyse the data using textual analysis than other methods that relied heavily on conducting research offline. Electronic databases at universities allow researchers to access a variety of databases and textbooks[77] and the Internet provides vast amounts of data, often free of charge.[78] Through textual analysis, this study provides strong evidence for this thesis by clearly outlining the context, history, and manifestations of global musical modernism in China from its origins to its current state.

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[74] John Storey, *Cultural theory and popular culture: An introduction* (Routledge, 2015): 1-2.
[75] Alan Mckee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (2001).
[76] Ibid.
[77] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners* (Sage Publication, London, 2013).
[78] Hani Morgan, "Conducting a Qualitative Document Analysis," *The Qualitative Report*, 27(1), 65.

3.3.2 MUSICAL ANALYSIS

Musical analysis constitutes a major part of my research data. Musical analysis is a method used to study and understand music by examining its structure, form, harmony, melody, rhythm, instrumentation, and other elements. Musical analyses not only tell us visually about melodic, harmonic and other changes in the musical scores, but also summarise the characteristics of the music through the use of compositional techniques.[79] However, according to Kerman, the analysis should not be done for its own sake, but should be complemented by historically oriented criticism, which can contribute to a richer and more resonant understanding of the music in both past and present contexts.[80] Therefore, Chapter 6 of the thesis, which is dedicated to the analysis of the musical works of three representative composers, Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong and Luo Zhongrong, is based on musical hermeneutics.[81] It combines the philosophy of hermeneutics with music analysis to interpret the meaning of musical works. It involves a dialectical process that takes into account both the composer's intention and the listener's understanding in order to understand and interpret the multiple layers of meaning embedded in early Chinese modernist music. Besides, detailed musical analysis also helps this study to illuminate the process by which three Chinese composers pursued and integrated global musical modernism, as well as their significant historical positions.

3.4 LIMITATIONS

As a qualitative study, an immediate difficulty is that this thesis requires reference to a large number of secondary data from the Internet, many of whose evaluations and arguments are highly subjective. For example, when allowing outsiders to examine its documents, an organisation can provide access only to content aligning with the values of

[79] Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[80] Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Press, 1985).
[81] Musical hermeneutics, the interpretation of the meaning of musical works, genres, or performances.

its chief executives. Conducting research with texts as the sole source therefore raises questions about biased selectivity.[82] In order to avoid the problem, this thesis analyses the literature used by thinking critically about it. In addition, the authenticity of some of the resources is, to some extent, questionable. Nevertheless, this study takes a step closer to the truth by cross-referencing different materials to maximise their reliability.

As far as musical analysis is concerned, it is impossible to cover all cases, so the choice of cases and the perspective of analysis will inevitably be influenced by the personal position of the researcher. For example, for the embodiment of national style in Chinese modernist music, this thesis connects it with the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic aspects of music, while other scholars may analyse it mainly from the perspective of music aesthetics.

3.5 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter describes the methodology employed to address the research questions. Specifically, the data for this study consisted mainly of primary and secondary sources and these were examined with textual and musical analysis.

After defining terms, reviewing relevant literature, and explaining the research methodology in the previous chapters, the thesis will move on to the first theme of this study - the context of the emergence of global musical modernism in China.

[82] Glenn Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

4.1 SHANGHAI

During the Tang Dynasty, Shanghai was still a small fishing village. By the Song Dynasty, Shanghai became a market city and functioned as a commercial harbour.[83] Until 1842,[84] when Shanghai became a trading port, it has since entered a turning point in its historical development, and began to progress from an insignificant seaside county to a prosperous metropolis. By now, Shanghai has developed into a cosmopolitan, world-famous metropolis and the birthplace of modern Chinese culture. Shanghai is neither the capital of China, nor as rich in historical and cultural resources as other Chinese cities (e.g. Xi'an).[85] So how did it become the birthplace of Chinese modernism?

In the book *Shanghai Modern*, Lee Ou-fan described the reasons why Shanghai was able to develop a modern culture. According to Lee, Shanghai only reached its period of glory around 1930, and its cultural status has only been established since then. This marked the beginning of Shanghai's urban culture. In the opening chapter, Lee asked the question: "What makes Shanghai a modern city? What gives her the modern qualities of the commonality of Chinese and Western cultures?" Li's answer to these questions in the last part of his work suggested that Shanghai became a modern city as a result of the willingness of the Shanghainese, especially its intellectuals, to embrace Western culture, a phenomenon he called 'Chinese cosmopolitanism'. As he wrote in his book, "I prefer to

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[83] Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
[84] After the First Opium War, Britain made Shanghai one of its treaty ports through the Treaty of Nanking in 1842.
[85] As the ancient capital of China during the 13th Dynasty, Xi'an has a very deep and long history and culture.

see this phenomenon - the enthusiastic embrace of Western culture by Chinese writers in the Shanghai Concession[86] - as a manifestation of Chinese cosmopolitanism, which is one aspect of Chinese modernity."[87] Besides, Lee observed an interesting phenomenon in old Shanghai[88]-colonial power dominated all post-colonial discourses, in which the colonisers and their representatives always had supreme power over the colonised. This colonial structure derived from the previous British and French systems of colonial rule in Africa and India. In old Shanghai, however, while the 'colonial' authority of the West was indeed explicitly affirmed in the lease treaties, the Chinese residents ignored it in their daily lives. Although they did not have regular contact with foreigners, their lifestyles were modern and did not differ from those of the West. In other words, the people of old Shanghai were not in a state of 'slavery' as described by colonial discourse, either in material or spiritual terms, but instead accepted Western culture with an optimistic attitude. It was an ideological phenomenon that Lee appreciated and eventually called 'Chinese cosmopolitanism'.[89] This phenomenon is one of the key reasons why Shanghai is the origin of modern culture and even modernism in China.

As a 'semi-colony'[90], Shanghai faced an unequal power relationship with the West, a relationship that presented musical opportunities for foreign musicians. Arriving in colonial Shanghai, foreign musicians brought their memories of home and their love of music to the city and found opportunities to engage with different Chinese and Western musical practices.[91] According to Arrigo Foa, a professor at the Italian Conservatory, Shanghai was a vibrant place for artists, with a mix of Russian, German, Filipino, Dutch and Italian musicians bringing a range of art forms to the city. "Shanghai was unique in

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[86] After Shanghai was opened as a port for foreign trade, Britain, the United States, France, Japan and other countries set up concessions in Shanghai. Under the influence of the Concessions, Shanghai gradually became a semi-colonial trading port.

[87] Lee, *Shanghai Modern*.

[88] Old Shanghai mainly refers to Shanghai between 1910-1940.

[89] Lee, *Shanghai Modern*.

[90] Semi-colony is relative to full colony. It refers to a country that is formally independent and autonomous, but is in fact under the control of the imperialist State in economic, political and cultural terms. Modern Shanghai of the early 20th century was a city controlled by both Chinese and foreign powers. The British and Americans controlled the city's international settlements, and the French controlled the French Concession there. The Chinese government has sovereignty over the rest of the city and has limited rights over foreign concessions. As a result of this administrative and political set-up, Shanghai was a semi-colony. See Cheung, "Chinese Music", 5-6.

[91] Cheung, "Divide and Connections in Chinese Musical Modernity," 35-36.

those days," Foa recalled in 1981, "We were all so broadminded having experienced all cultures and religions, with no prejudices. [...] I would relive that era again and again if I could."[92] In this specific cultural and political context, Shanghai played a dual role as a safe haven for European refugees of the period and as the birthplace for the emergence of modern Chinese culture as well as Chinese modernist music.

4.2 THE SHANGHAI CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC

In 1927, the National Conservatory of Music (later the Shanghai Conservatory of Music[93]), China's first conservatory, was founded in Shanghai. "The establishment of a conservatory meant more than just a place for musical education and learning; it was seen as a symbol of the larger community, a marker of national cultural identity, and even a site of political and ideological struggle."[94] In fact, before the establishment of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, one of the founders, Xiao Youmei, initially wished to build it in Beijing. Thus, in 1923, he raised hope of establishing a conservatory with the same academic system and specifications as the professional conservatories in Europe and the United States. Unfortunately, his request was not acknowledged or responded to by authorities, but rather worsened the situation. On 21st July 1927, Liu Zhe, the chief education officer of the Beiyang government, decided that "Music is harmful to the morals and irrelevant to the public" and ordered the abolition of the music departments established in several schools in Beijing. Xiao Youmei then left Beijing for Shanghai to seek new opportunities. He again proposed the founding of the National Conservatory of Music, which received the approval and support of the Nanjing National Government. Since then, China has had its first conservatory of music.[95] Influenced by his own educational background at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music in Germany, Xiao Youmei integrated the professional

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[92] Interview note from 1981, typescript, "Arrigo Foa: Biographical Data" found in the special collection of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts, SP ML 418 F62.
[93] The Shanghai Conservatory of Music has changed its name several times since its founding. To avoid confusion, the official English name "Shanghai Conservatory of Music" will be used uniformly in the thesis.
[94] Hon-Lun Helan Yang, "Colonialism, Cosmopolitanism, and Nationalism: The Performativity of Western Music Endeavours in Interwar Shanghai," *Twentieth-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (2021): 369.
[95] Luo Qin, "A Narrative of Music in 1927: Chinese History, Society and its People in the Birth of the National Conservatory of Music (formerly Shanghai Conservatory of Music)", *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music] 1 (2013): 10-11.

music education system in Germany into Chinese reality at the initial establishment of the structure of Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Five majors were designed: theoretical composition, keyboard instruments, orchestral instruments, vocal music and Chinese traditional music. With the exception of Chinese traditional music, the curriculum and teaching content of Western music colleges were basically adopted. At the same time, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music benefited from the international exchanges in a semi-colonial background and gained unique musical resources, enabling it to recruit proficient European performers to join the Conservatory's faculty.[96] Shanghai's cosmopolitan community has bred most of European faculty members at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Many of them came from Russia and came to Shanghai after the fall of the Tsarist regime, most of them trained at the St Petersburg Conservatory.[97] In order to improve the quality of education at the school, Xiao Youmei hired them to teach. In the first ten years from 1927 to 1937, the institution has accommodated a maximum of forty-one educators, consisting of twenty-eight foreign instructors and thirteen native Chinese teachers.[98] Apart from one Chinese traditional music teacher, all teaching staff have returned from studying abroad in Europe and the United States. Because of such a high-quality faculty and the combination of Chinese and foreign music in the curriculum, the standard of education is improving rapidly and the education system is becoming more and more sophisticated.[99]

Cai Yuanpei[100] (1868-1942) and Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), the founders of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, considered that music had an important role to play in moving China towards the modern society they envisioned.[101] Their ambition can be seen in the prospectus of the Conservatory. Cai and Xiao hoped that the establishment of the Shanghai

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[96] Cheung, "Divide and Connections in Chinese Musical Modernity," 38.
[97] Hon-Lun Yang, "The Shanghai conservatory, Chinese musical life, and the Russian diaspora, 1927–1949," *Twentieth-Century China* 37, no.1 (2012): 79-87.
[98] Ding Shande, "Shanghai Yinyuexueyuan He Zhongguo Xiandaiyinyue De Fazhan" [The Shanghai Conservatory of Music and the Development of Modern Music in China], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 01(1987):2-3.
[99] Ibid., 3.
[100] Although Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei were co-founders of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Cai appointed Xiao Youmei as the acting Dean of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music on 3 December 1927 due to his busy business duties, thus Xiao's contribution was even greater.
[101] Yang, "The Shanghai Conservatory".

Conservatory of Music would unify and synthesise Eastern and Western music together. They regarded Western music as the music of the world and believed that the value of music was to nourish people's aesthetic sense and love of art, and that the ultimate goal of revitalising the nation could be achieved through music.[102] In addition to this, at the opening ceremony in 1929, Cai delivered a speech inspiring students to attempt to use music to alleviate the suffering of the people.[103]

There is no doubt that the successful creation of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1927 is a testament to China's quest for musical modernity. As mentioned above, in the 1930s, Shanghai reached a stage of prosperity in all aspects of modern cultural trade. As a result of the widespread emergence and influence of the phenomenon of 'Chinese cosmopolitanism', Western music became part of China's national educational reform and was commonly introduced into the school curriculum in the 1920s and 1930s. The establishment of a government-funded music academy to provide young Chinese with systematic and professional training in Western music was therefore seen by the country's specialists as a nationalist and anti-imperialist endeavour. Those Chinese musicians who received this form of training were regarded as capable of competing on equal terms with their Western counterparts and standing at a level commensurate with the Western powers in the cultural sphere. This idea demonstrates how colonialism shaped the mentality of the Chinese public at the time.

Ironically, colonialism was mapped onto China's national quest for modernity, an example of the symbiosis of the two contradictory processes of colonialism and nationalism.[104] This is also an important reason musical modernism has been able to develop in China. During the long period of war and oppression, Chinese musicians wanted to break the feudal system and resist oppression, and thus writing modernism into their works was a

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[102] Guoli yinyue yuan zhaosheng [National Conservatory of Music Recruitment], *Shenbao*, 1 September 1927, 2.
[103] Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao kaixue [Inauguration of the National Music Institute], *Shenbao*, 2 October 1929, 11. Due to the shortage of funds, the National Conservatory of Music was downgraded to a music institute in 1929.
[104] Yang, "Colonialism, Cosmopolitanism, and Nationalism," 370-371.

good form of expressing these desires.

In the early days of the school, most of musical works of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music were imitations of Western classical music, using traditional harmonic techniques and composing traditional musical works. The transformation of musical modernism in China owes much to some refugee musicians who brought their cultural heritage, musical skills and practices to Shanghai, which not only enriched the cultural scene of the time, but also influenced the development of music in China.[105] Among them, the influence of Alexander Tcherepnin, Aaron Avshalomov and Wolfgang Fraenkel must be mentioned. They undoubtedly played a key role in the formation of Chinese modernist music because of their musical activities in Shanghai and their teaching activities at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on the influence of these foreign musicians.

4.3 REPRESENTATIVE FOREIGN COMPOSERS OF SHANGHAI

4.3.1 ALEXANDER TCHEREPNIN

Alexander Tcherepnin was born in St. Petersburg in 1899. At the age of five, young Tcherepnin decided to follow the steps of his parents and dedicate his life to music.[106] His father was the famous composer and conductor Nikolai Tcherepnin (1873-1945), who studied with Rimsky-Korsakov, conducted at the Imperial Opera House toured with Diaghilev's Russian Ballets. His mother was a talented mezzo-soprano.[107] He left Georgia in 1921[108] and continued his studies in composition at the Paris Conservatory. By the

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[105] Yang, Mikkonen, and Winzenburg, "Introduction," 1.
[106] Ouyang Meilun, "An introduction to the life of Tcherepnin and his works," *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music] 04 (1982):107-108.
[107] Hon-Lun Helan Yang, Simo Mikkonen, and John Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis: Alexander Tcherepnin and new Chinese piano music," in *Networking the Russian Diaspora: Russian Musicians and Musical Activities in Interwar Shanghai*, ed. Frederick Lau (University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), 150.
[108] After the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Tcherepnin family fled St Petersburg and settled for a while in Tbilisi, Georgia. And then they left Georgia because of the Bolsheviks takeover in 1921. See Ludmila Korabelnikova, *Alexander Tcherepnin: The Saga of a Russian Émigré Composer*, trans. Anna Winestein

1930s, Tcherepnin began his own world tour. Due to his interests in music from the Far East, he gave up polyphonic composition and shifted to Eastern folklore and musical techniques, and travelled to China and Japan.[109] In 1934, when he arrived in Shanghai, a group of journalists interviewed him and followed his work throughout his visit in China. The journalists described him as one of the most important contemporary composers and pianists in the world. He also gained popularity among Chinese students because of his passion for Chinese culture and folk music, which further enhanced his influence in the field.[110]

As a result of his fame, Xiao Youmei, the director of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, honoured Tcherepnin with the title of Honorary Professor. Thus, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music benefited from Tcherepnin's prestige, connections, and guidance from the very beginning of its existence. Meanwhile, they also provided Tcherepnin with an institutional base that allowed him the opportunity to launch his multi-factor project.[111] Therefore, the cooperation between Tcherepnin and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music was mutually beneficial.

Tcherepnin's initial purpose of the China tour was to perform and collect folk materials. Huang Zi, a professor in the composition department of the Conservatory at the time, helped Tcherepnin to gain knowledge of Chinese folk music by learning folk songs and facilitating Tcherepnin's contacts with Chinese musicians. Although Huang Zi's own compositional style was more conservative, he still favoured the Chinese style of composition proposed by Tcherepnin. An article he published in the newspaper could reflect Tcherepnin's view that China could learn from the compositional experience of Russian nationalist music, avoiding wholesale westernisation and instead using Western music as a tool to blend with Chinese musical forms in order to create national music.[112]

(Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008), 16-40.

[109] Willi Reich, *Alexander Tcherepnin*, (New York: The Tcherepnin Society, 2008),15.

[110] Yang, Mikkonen, and Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis," 153-154.

[111] Ibid., 156.

[112] Huang, "How can we produce our national music," 14-15.

However, as he realised the ways Chinese students pursued Western classical and Romantic styles to be dangerous, excessive, and outdated, Tcherepnin changed his goal and encouraged Chinese composers and performers to blend traditions and explore 'Eastern' sounds. He was convinced that perfected European instruments could be used to express the culture of any people.[113] Disappointed by the lack of 'Asian elements' in the works of Chinese composers, Tcherepnin sponsored the "Competition for the Creation of Chinese Folk Music" for a 'Chinese song' written for piano. The competition's first prize was awarded to *Mutong Duandi* (The Cowherd's Flute) by He Luting, which Tcherepnin described as "original, concise, and with a relaxed grasp of counterpoint and form", and which he personally performed in the concert. What is noteworthy is Tcherepnin's demand that the training of Chinese musicians should begin with the adaptation of Chinese melodies to a 'modern style', oriented toward European music of the early twentieth century (Debussy, Stravinsky), not toward Classical or Romantic music.[114] After the competition, the use of polyphony *Mutong Duandi* inspired the winner of the second prize, Jiang Dingxian, to explore whether counterpoint would be the most appropriate for Chinese composers to express Chinese music. For Jiang, the answer is definitely yes. "This is not to say that we should not allow for harmony or counterpoint," he summarised. "On the contrary, by enthusiastically embracing these two art forms and leading us towards harmony and counterpoint, we are able to break new ground in folk style".[115]

Tcherepnin did not expect the early composers to produce world-renowned masterpieces, but he saw through positive results that young Chinese composers were capable of combining the musical languages of China and the West to produce works of their own. Perhaps most importantly, to the general public, this competition elevated the status of ethnic musical forms to the level of Western classical music forms. Its groundbreaking significance is still recognised today, particularly in the development of modern Chinese

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[113] Benjamin Folkman, *Alexander Tcherepnin: A Compendium*, (New York: The Tcherepnin Society, Inc, 2008), 171.
[114] Alexander Tcherepnin, "Music in Modern China", *The Musical Quarterly* 21, no.4 (1935): 398-399.
[115] Jiang Dingxian, "Jinian Qierpin" [Remembering Tcherepnin], *Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music] 4 (1982): 5.

piano music.[116]

Later in that year, in order to help "Chinese musicians stay true to their heritage",[117] Tcherepnin published a set of piano works and teaching materials in collaboration with the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. He hoped these works would guide the later development of Chinese music and its students to 1) away from the Western diatonic-heptatonic approach developed in Europe in the 17th to 19th centuries, and 2) a method based on the Chinese pentatonic scale, integrated with the 20th Century Western music language.[118]

Although these teaching materials are rarely used in China today, it is undeniable that Tcherepnin contributed to the development of musical modernism in China. Unfortunately, while Tcherepnin's intentions were very grounded, he ignored the political and cultural context at that specific period. In his endeavour to appeal to Chinese students to develop traditional music, Tcherepnin forgot that China was at that time in the midst of an ideological shift in the belief that Western music was 'advanced' and its own traditions 'backward'. From today's standpoint, Tcherepnin's view that the development of Chinese modernist music needs to be based on Chinese traditional music itself is pertinent and forward-looking, but his ideas were not recognised at the time. This is also the reason why some scholars believe that his influence on the development of modern Chinese music was not significant.

Nevertheless, we need to take a dialectical view of Tcherepnin's influence on Chinese musicians. Although Tcherepnin only became a member of the Russian musical scene in wartime Shanghai for a brief period, his influence on musical modernism in China should not be underestimated. Chinese culture had a great influence on his compositions, and he

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[116] Yang, Mikkonen, and Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis," 159.
[117] Tcherepnin, letter to Grigori Shneerson, May 6, 1965, quoted in Korabelnikova, *Alexander Tcherepnin*, 110.
[118] Yang, Mikkonen, and Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis," 159-160.

simultaneously suggested possible approaches to piano composition to a new generation of Chinese composers.[119] Although modern music in China did not develop as he expected at the time, he did contribute to the early days of musical modernism in China, due to his ideological intentions, international standing, and dissemination of his experience through his publications.[120]

4.3.2 AARON AVSHALOMOV

Aaron Avshalomov was born in a small town on the Russian-Chinese border. Influenced by the environment, he developed an interest in Chinese folk songs and theatre from an early age. Avshalomov left Russia in 1917 and spent the rest of his life seeking artistic opportunities in China and the United States. His childhood experiences motivated his life-long passion for Chinese music and his exploration of Chinese folk music.[121]

In 1931, Avshalomov came to Shanghai. His increasing confidence in his musical abilities, along with his engagement with Chinese culture and exposure to the cosmopolitan colonial setting, gave him excellent opportunities for progress. His unique compositions integrating East and West gained popularity and were frequently performed in Shanghai. His influence in China at the time was further evidenced by becoming a guest conductor for the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in the 1930s and one of its regular conductors in the 1940s.[122] His dance opera work, *The Great Wall*, caused a sensation when it premiered in November 1945, with more than thirty Chinese literary critics collectively praising it as "an important event in the development of China's music and theatre". Beginning with the concept of a one-man show, it sang the text in Mandarin Chinese, blended late Romantic, Impressionist and early Modernist styles and depicted changes in dramatic action and emotion.[123]

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[119] Yang, Mikkonen, and Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis," 151.
[120] Ibid., 160.
[121] John Winzenburg, "A New Multivoiced World: Polyphony and the First Chinese-Western Fusion Concerto," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 37, no. 3 (2018): 213.
[122] John Winzenburg, "Aaron Avshalomov and new Chinese music in Shanghai, 1931–1947," *Twentieth-Century China* 37, no.1: 55.
[123] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 161.

Musicologist Yasuko Enomoto noted that in the 1930s, the popularisation of Western music and the improvement of Chinese music was not well understood by the average person. However, someone who unexpectedly raised the issue of the fusion of Chinese and Western music, making a great impact on the Chinese music world - that was Aaron Avshalomov.[124] Chinese translator Fu Lei once spoke highly of Avshalomov's symphonic poem *Hutongs of Peking*. According to Fu, Avshalomov used the instruments and techniques of Western music while retaining Chinese melodies and flavours. This attempt not only stimulated the stagnant Chinese music world, but also pointed out a direction for the development of Chinese music.[125] In the 1980s, Avshalomov's former associates, including individuals like Jiang Chunfang and Wei Zhongle, who had emerged from the challenges of the Cultural Revolution, arranged a series of officially-approved commemorative concerts held in his honor in various Chinese cities.[126] Avshalomov's symphonic poem *Hutongs of Peking* was performed at the "China Now Music Festival" in 2022 under the theme "East of West".[127]

Furthermore, Avshalomov mentored and supported some students. One of his closest associates was the Chinese music theorist, translator, and composer Shen Zhibai. Avshalomov and Shen developed genuine friendship on top of their teacher-student relationship. While Avshalomov taught Shen Western harmony and composition, Shen helped Avshalomov to stage his dance theatre productions such as *Qinxin Boguang* in Shanghai at the time.[128] According to Sang Tong, in order to help students at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music gain access to music that explores more Chinese styles, Shen invited Avshalomov to teach his compositional experience at the Conservatory.[129] Avshalomov believed that when learning Western music, it was necessary to first bring it

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[124] Yasuko Enomoto, *Yueren zhi du: Shanghai: Xiyang yinyue zai jindai Zhongguo de faren* [Musicians' Capital: Shanghai: The Origins of Western Music in Modern China] (Shanghai: Shanghai Music Press, 2003), 206.
[125] Ibid., 221.
[126] Winzenburg, "Aaron Avshalomov and new Chinese music," 64.
[127] The China Now Music Festival is a series of concerts and lectures presented by the US-China Music Institute of the Bard College Conservatory of Music and the Central Conservatory of Music, China. Each year the festival explores a unique theme. See "China Now Music Festival," Bard College Conservatory of Music, accessed October 18, 2023, https://www.barduschinamusic.org/china-now.
[128] Because Shanghai was under Japanese rule at the time, stage performances with more obvious ideas such as drama were restricted, but activities such as musicals and dance theatre could barely survive.
[129] Winzenburg, "Aaron Avshalomov and new Chinese music," 68.

up to a standard acceptable to the Chinese audience.[130] He thus called on Chinese composers to use the Western musical techniques they had learnt to express and develop China's own musical traditions.[131]

According to Jiang Chunfang's testimony, Shen Zhibai, as a student of Avshalomov, was deeply influenced by his Chinese-style compositions. In addition, Shen had the same ideas as Avshalomov about the development of Chinese modernist music, which was to inherit and carry forward the musical traditions of the nation. According to the melody of Chinese folk music, Chinese composers should write new music of Chinese national style with modern compositional methods, and perform it with modern instruments, including orchestra.[132]

Ren Guang, a well-known Chinese composer of art songs and instrumental compositions, also said, "The path of applying Western techniques to Chinese elements has also been shaped and influenced by Avshalomov, directly or indirectly."[133]

As Kowenhoven stated, at a time when most people were in favour of total acceptance of Western music, Avshalomov, by offering experimental compositional models and encouraging Chinese composers like himself to explore their own musical traditions, helped to foster a group of 'Chinese artists' in Shanghai who were inclined to develop new forms of music.[134]

Avshalomov was part of a large Russian community in Shanghai during World War II. During that period, he had a tangible impact on the development of Western music in

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[130] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 162.
[131] "Biography of Russian-American musician Aaron Avshalomov," 1894.
[132] Jiang Chunfang, "Yi Shen Zhibai Xiansheng" [Remembering Mr Shen Zhi Bai], *Yinyue Yishu*[Art of Music] no.1(1979): 6.
[133] Xue Zongming, "Along Afuxialuomufu de Gushi" [Aaron Avshalomov's Story], in *Yinyue Lan* [Music Reading], 30 (2001), 6.
[134] Frank Kouwenhoven and A. Schimmelpenninck, "The Shanghai Conservatory of Music," *Chime* , 6(1993): 65.

China as a composer, performer and teacher.[135] It can be said that Shanghai inspired Avshalomov and he contributed to Shanghai. Although he did not formally teach or mentor any musicians or scholars in Shanghai, his new forms of music works were enough to bring a new experience and response to Shanghai at the time. It was as if he had planted musical modernism as a seed in the hearts of Chinese musicians.

In general, Avshalomov's influence did not play a major role in the development of modernist musical-theoretical system in China, and his compositional style was not imitated at the time, but his attempts at fusion of Chinese and Western music encouraged Chinese composers to compose with an experimental fusion of Chinese and Western materials.

4.3.3 WOLFGANG FRAENKEL

Wolfgang Fraenkel (1897-1983) was born in Berlin. He arrived in Shanghai[136] in 1939 as a refugee from the Nazis and was active in China for a total of eight years until he left after the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War. At first, Fraenkel was a conductor in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra. Then, he taught composition and music theory at the Shanghai National Music School (i.e. Shanghai Conservatory of Music) from 1941 to 1947. In 1947, he was invited by Ding Shande to teach at the Nanjing National School of Music (i.e. Nanjing University of The Arts). During these years he was not only active as a performer, composer, teacher and conductor, but also thought about the future of Chinese music. His influence on musical modernism in China was far greater than that of any other refugee musician of the period. Although in later decades this influence was severely limited by Chinese political activism, he provided the theoretical basis on which musical modernism was able to emerge and develop in China.[137]

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[135] Hon-Lun Helan Yang, Simo Mikkonen, John Winzenburg, and Frederick Lau, *Networking the Russian Diaspora: Russian Musicians and Musical Activities in Interwar Shanghai*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020.
[136] At the time, Shanghai was the only place left in the world where you could enter without a visa.
[137] Utz, "Cultural Accommodation and Exchange in the Refugee Experience," 120.

Fraenkel's works before 1939 showed different compositional trends of the early 20th century, namely neoclassicism, free atonality and twelve-tone technique. Among the works from the mid-1930s onwards, they followed the tradition of the earlier work of Schoenberg. Even though there was no documented personal connection with Schoenberg before this point, his subsequent compositional style clearly demonstrated the significant influence of Schoenberg's musical and aesthetic concepts. He exhibited proficiency in harmoniously integrating Schoenberg's ideas with the theories of Paul Hindemith, Ernst Kurth, and other composers, as evidenced by his teaching activities in Shanghai.[138]

Fraenkel's teaching experience in China made him one of the most influential figures in the development of musical modernism in China. He trained a number of first-generation composers and performers for the People's Republic of China, such as Ding Shande, Qu Xixian, Sang Tong, Li Yinghai, Dong Guangguang and Zhou Guangren. Table 1 below lists some of the Chinese students taught by Fraenkel. Fraenkel's teaching had a long-term impact on the works of these Chinese musicians even after he left China.

[138] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 170.

name	pinyin transliteration	birth-death	studied with Fraenkel from-to	place of study	major
丁善德	Ding Shande	1911-1995	1941-1946	Shanghai	composition
邓尔敬	Deng Erjing	1918-1996	1941-1943	Shanghai	composition
桑桐	Sang Tong	1923-2011	1941-1943, 1945-1947	Shanghai	composition
汤正方	Tang Zhengfang		1941-1945	Shanghai	composition
张宁和	Zhang Ninghe	1926-2004	1941-?	Shanghai	composition
杨永	Yang Yong		1941-?	Shanghai	composition
管荫深	Guan Yinshen	1927-1993	1941-?	Shanghai	composition
李乃聪	Li Naicong		1941-?	Shanghai	composition
庞宪聘	Pang Xianpin		1941-?	Shanghai	composition
薛岩	Xue Yan	1920-2015	1943-?	Shanghai	composition
朱建	Zhu Jian	1924-2008	1943-1945	Shanghai	composition
瞿希贤	Qu Xixian	1919-2008	1944-1945	Shanghai	composition
秦西炫	Qin Xixuan	1922-2012	1944-1947	Shanghai	composition
张昊	Zhang Hao	1910-2003	1944? -1947	Shanghai	composition
杨与石	Yang Yushi	1923-2011	? -1947	Shanghai	composition
董光光	Dong Guangguang	1923-2013	1943-1947?	Shanghai	piano
周广仁	Zhou Guangren	1928-2022	1946-1947	Shanghai	piano
李德伦	Li Delun	1917-2001	? -1945	Shanghai	violoncello
郭乃安	Guo Nai'an	1920-	1947	Nanjing	composition
文彦	Wen Yan	1921-	1947	Nanjing	composition
王震亚	Wang Zhenya	1922-2019	1946-1947	Nanjing	composition
段平泰	Duan Pingtai	1926-	1946-1949	Nanjing	composition
黎英海	Li Yinghai	1927-2007	1947	Nanjing	composition

Table 1: Chinese Students taught by Wolfgang Fraenkel in China (incomplete version)

In the memoirs of his student Zhou Guangren, Fraenkel was described as a precise and competent educator, as well as an unconventional and non-conformist spirit. In Utz's conversation with Zhou Guangren, she stated that Fraenkel asked her to flip a coin to determine the best harmonic progression, rather than following conventional harmonic rules.[139]

Among the surviving records from Fraenkel's time in Shanghai, there exists a substantial collection of handwritten analyses pertaining to the music of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Schoenberg, Hindemith, and various other composers. Additionally, there are several files containing teaching materials on topics such as counterpoint and other musical disciplines,

[139] From a personal communication between Utz and Zhou, Beijing, 4/12/2002. See in Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 181.

with indications that some of these materials may have been intended for publication. These documents demonstrate that while Fraenkel was more closely aligned with 20th century modernist compositional techniques, he would address both traditional and modernist composers and techniques in his teaching. It also includes references to other concepts - notably Ernst Kurth's theory, which is based on the concept of 'kinetic energy' in musical structure.[140] According to his most prominent student, Sang Tong, his learning journey with Fraenkel commenced in 1941, focusing on the study of compositions by modernist composers such as Claude Debussy, Igor Stravinsky, Béla Bartók, Alexander Scriabin, and others. Interestingly, Fraenkel appears to have introduced the twelve-tone technique to only a select group of his students, including Sang Tong and Yang Yushi,[141] between 1945 and 1947. This introduction was exemplified by his composition *Drei zweistimmige Praeludien* for piano (1945).[142] At first glance, it might appear that Fraenkel's contribution to musical modernism in China was somewhat limited during this period. However, we need to consider how his views on musical modernism in China have had a lasting impact on and continue to be passed on to generations of composers.[143]

A thorough analysis of the accounts of Fraenkel's students and of the vast amount of teaching material that survives reveals Fraenkel's unique musical philosophy and his innovative teaching methods, as well as his impact on musical modernism in China. His former students, in addition to praising their teacher's energy, integrity and originality, affirm that Fraenkel's instruction had the most profound effect on their own and general understanding of music.[144]

In addition, Fraenkel suggested that Chinese composers incorporate Western modernist music while maintaining Chinese musical traditions. This idea clearly adds a new element

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[140] Utz, "Cultural Accommodation and Exchange in the Refugee Experience," 133.
[141] For example, in interviews with his students in Nanjing, Duan Pingtai and Wang Zhenya, both said that they had not heard Fraenkel refer to Schoenberg's compositional techniques and ideas. In contrast, in the article records of some of his students at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, there were references to the music of Schoenberg and Hindemith. See Exilarte Center, interview.
[142] Sang Tong, "Jinian Fulanke'er yu Xu Luoshi" [In Memory of Fraenkel and Schloss], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 1(1990):10 and Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 182.
[143] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 184.
[144] Utz, "Cultural Accommodation and Exchange in the Refugee Experience," 135.

to the theory of a ‘new style of Chinese music’ advocated by Tcherepnin and Avshalomov, among others, and is part of the fusion of Chinese and Western music advocated by Avshalomov.[145]

In conclusion, the musical and pedagogical activities of the three musicians, Tcherepnin, Avshalomov, and Fraenkel, in Shanghai brought new energies to the development of Chinese music, played a decisive role in the emergence and rise of global musical modernism in China, and laid the foundation for the development of global musical modernism in China after the 1980s.

4.4 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The emergence of modernity in Shanghai, the establishment of China’s first conservatory of music, and the contributions of three foreign musicians, Tcherepnin, Avshalomov, and Fraenkel in Shanghai, created the environment, built the platform, and trained the talents to support the emergence of global musical modernism in China. In addition to this, the Western music education system suitable for China has been gradually formed and improved, all of which provided the necessary conditions for the integration and expansion of global musical modernism in China. The next chapter will introduce the formation of Chinese modernist music.

[145] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 185-186.

CHAPTER 5: AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

5.1 THE ORIGINS OF GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

Chinese music has a rich history of interaction with Western music, dating back to the 7th century when Nestorianism was introduced to China.[146] However, up until the 19th century, the influence of Western music in China remained limited. This was primarily due to the enduring prominence of the pentatonic scale in Chinese traditional music, in contrast to the Western emphasis on the more harmonious heptatonic scale. This distinction in musical scales has significantly shaped the development of Chinese and Western music. The basic scale of Chinese traditional music is the pentatonic scale, which appears in many compositions. The pentatonic scale (Fig. 2) has five fundamental notes and two auxiliary notes.[147] Many Chinese composers use different modes of the pentatonic scale in their compositions to express the essence of Chinese traditional music.[148] Thus, Chinese traditional music was developed mainly within the pentatonic scale. While the emphasis was placed on the pursuit of melody, timbre and rhythm, the role of harmony was downplayed. However, the development of Western music was the opposite of Chinese music. Western music has developed from the monophonic music of ancient Greece to polyphonic music, and then to the emergence of the theory of harmony, which focuses more on the embodiment of harmony.[149]

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[146] Ancient books found in the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang in 1889 contained records of Nestorianism Bible and hymn verses. Therefore, we can infer that Nestorianism Bible chanting and Western European musical melodies had already been introduced to China during the Tang Dynasty.

[147] Trân Van Khê, "Chinese Music and Musical Traditions of Eastern Asia," *The World of Music* 27, no. 1 (1985): 80.

[148] Ho Lu-Ting and Han Kuo-huang, "On Chinese Scales and National Modes," *Asian Music* 14, no. 1 (1982): 135.

[149] Frederick Lau, "When a Great Nation Emerges Chinese Music in the World," in *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception* ed. Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 270.

Figure 2. *A basic pentatonic scale*

As discussed earlier, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that China began to embrace Western music. China was in the midst of political turmoil, and the nation began to question the value system of Chinese traditional music itself. Whether Western knowledge could be used to reposition Chinese culture, which was seen as backward, became a more pressing issue. During the national ideological crisis with the growing foreign military threat, Chinese people started to encounter Western music more frequently. This exposure primarily occurred through modern Western musical forms like church hymns, military bands, organs, school songs, and violins.[150] As the Korean Composer Lee June-hee observed, towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, there existed a consensus among the three East Asian countries that embraced Western music. They collectively regarded Western music as 'more advanced' than their own traditional forms of music, leading them to prioritize the emulation of the modern Western musical system.[151] Chinese musicologist Song Jin made a similar point, "In terms of music theory and musical thought, both Chinese and Japanese musicians had considered Western music to be superior and local music to be inadequate. It was for this reason that they took the initiative to learn from the West."[152] By 1919, the failure of Chinese diplomacy at the Paris Peace Conference caused intense discontent among Chinese intellectuals and the public. This directly resulted in the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, which caused China to begin to fully embrace Western culture, including Western music. In this context,

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[150] Lau, "When a Great Nation Emerges", 270.
[151] Lee June-hee, "A Comparative Study of the Ways of Receiving Tradition in Contemporary Music in Three East Asian Countries: Focusing on the Works of Isang Yun, Toru Takemitsu, and Tan Dun," *Music and Culture* No. 8 (Daegu: World Music Association, 2003), 61. The original text is a Korean publication, and this title is translated into English by myself.
[152] Song Jin, "A Comparison of China and Japan: the Treatment of East-West Relations in Music," *Journal of Fujian Normal University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), 03 (1996): 113.

the musical aspect advocated was the improvement of traditional Chinese 'old music' and the creation of 'new music'.[153] The 'new music' referred to here is relative to the 'old' Chinese traditional music, and is not exactly the same as the 'new music' defined in this thesis. However, the approach advocated by Chinese composers when encountering Western music was largely uniform, emphasising mutual integration and co-development. At the beginning of the 20th century, when Chinese musicians came into contact with Western music, the question of "to what extent shall we accept Western music" was discussed. Liang Qichao believed that it was not necessary to completely westernise Chinese music, musicians should purposefully absorb some elements from Western music into Chinese traditional music.[154]

By the 1920s and 1930s, most musicians, such as He Luting, Huang Zi, and Xian Xinghai, advocated the use of the scientific methods of Western music to organise Chinese music, accepting Western techniques and forms, but retaining the spirit of Chinese music.[155] Since then, Chinese composers have entered the stage of composing with Western techniques. In the musical compositions represented by these composers, a new method of composition emerged, that is, applying Western classical or Romantic harmonic techniques on the basis of traditional Chinese musical melodies to develop a new form of Chinese music. Their compositions made superficial attempts at the fusion of Chinese and Western music, focusing more on the expression of the times and the national spirit. As a result, before the end of the Cultural Revolution, these Chinese style of music, characterised by the fusion of traditional Western harmony and Chinese pentatonic melody, although it had been the dominant style of Chinese music 'officially promoted', was at the same time criticised by numerous music scholars.[156] For example, Mittler doubted the value of such music that followed government-mandated nationalism and imitated Western Romantic styles to achieve the modernisation of Chinese music.[157] In fact, under the political demands and the pursuit of a 'new' form of music, this kind of experimental fusion of

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153 Wang Yuhe, *Modern Histore of Chinese Music*, (Beijing: People's Music Press, 2002), 98-102.
154 Liang Qichao, *Yingbingshi Shihua* (Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1959).
155 Liu, "A Comparative Study," 40.
156 Utz, "Cultural Accommodation and Exchange," 142.
157 Mittler, *Dangerous tunes*, 386.

musical techniques was their maximum creative activity under the circumstances.

By the 1940s, as a result of the spread of musical modernism in China and the teaching of modern techniques, composers such as Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong, and Luo Zhongrong began to conduct bold experiments in Chinese modernist music based on Western modernist techniques and incorporating elements of Chinese traditional music, including the application of Schoenberg's 'Free Atonality', Hindemith's 'Harmonic fluctuation' and other modernist techniques to Chinese folk songs or harmonies.[158] The bold attempts of these early Chinese modernist musicians led to the basic formation of Chinese modernist music and established the beginnings of the development of global musical modernism in China.

5.2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL MUSICAL MODERNISM IN CHINA

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the earliest documentation of the term 'musical modernism' in Chinese public media was in 1934. After that, Chinese composers began to experiment with Western modernist musical techniques and the practice of musical modernism. This phenomenon depended on two basic premises: firstly, some of these Chinese composers were exposed to Western modernist music overseas, such as Tan Xiaolin; and secondly, western modernist music had already been disseminated to a certain extent in China.[159] In 1927, Ke Zhenghe published an article entitled "New Music" in a Chinese music magazine of the time. This article introduced people to Western modernist music. The article mentions 'Polytonality', 'Atonality', 'Multi-Rhythm', 'Poly-Rhythm', 'Poly-instrumenality', etc., and it explained a brand new concept of 'new music' to the readers. Judging from the surviving sources of early Chinese music magazines, Ke's article may be the first to introduce Western modernist music through a music magazine in China.

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[158] Li Shiyuan, "From tonality to atonality - the use of Western modernist musical techniques in Chinese music composition before 1949," *Huang Zhong* [Journal of Wuhan Conservatory of Music] 4 (1992): 70-74.
[159] Li Shiyuan, '"New Music", a Brand New Concept - The Spread of Modernist Music in China before 1949,' *Huang Zhong* [Journal of Wuhan Conservatory of Music], 02(1992): 36.

In this article, Ke also pointed out the fact that "Modernist music had not yet become relevant to the Chinese."[160] Therefore, we can assert that the birth of this article was one of the earliest signs of the spread of Western modernist music in China. Since then, there have been more and more introductory articles and translations of Western modernist music in Chinese music magazines.[161]

In 1928, Ke Zhenghe published another article, "The Music of Schoenberg", in *The New Music Tide,* in which he mentioned three modernist masters of music - Scriabin, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky.[162] This was the fifth year after Schoenberg published his first complete twelve-tone work, Suite for Piano (Op. 25). It is clear that the spread of Western modernist music in China was quite rapid at that time. Since then, Chinese music magazines have slowly been filled with introductory articles and translations of Western modernist music.[163] For instance, Song Shouchang described the inevitability of the emergence of modernist music in an article entitled "Atonalism", "Although atonalism was rejected by the old guard, its emergence was only in line with the development of the trend. The opponents of atonality, who said that atonal music was dissonant noise music, were too biased. ..... Anyone who truly understood the theory of atonality would know that atonality has nothing to do with dissonant music." Song also pointed out the historical inheritance and existential rationality of Western modernist music. In addition to this, he believed that atonality could serve musical expression.[164] Besides this, there are articles such as Qingzhu's "Introducing Richard Strauss"[165] and Liao Fushu's "Mahler"[166].

However, the development of global musical modernism in China has not been as smooth as expected. From 1927 to 1949, China experienced the first phase of the Chinese Civil War (1927-1937), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), and the War of Liberation (1946-1949), and the development of music was unavoidably affected by the wars. Across

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[160] Ke Zhenghe, "New Music," *Xinyuechao* [The New Music Tide], 1.2 (1927).
[161] Li, '"New Music",' 36-37.
[162] Ke Zhenghe, "The Music of Schoenberg," *Xinyuechao* [The New Music Tide], 2.1 (1928): 12-19.
[163] Li, '"New Music",' 37.
[164] Song Shouchang, "Atonalism," *Yinyue Jiaoyu* [Music Education], 4.1 (1936): 97-101.
[165] Qingzhu, "Introducing Richard Strauss", *Yinyue Jiaoyu* [Music Education], 2.5 (1934): 11-16.
[166] Liao Fushu, "Mahler", *Yinyue Jiaoyu* [Music Education], 5.9 (1937).

this period, the National Government of the Republic of China[167] did not allocate significant funds to music education, frequently implementing budget cuts. As a result, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music faced financial difficulties, ultimately resulting in its downgrade to a music college in 1929.[168] At the same time, some influential music journals were forced to shut down due to political and economic reasons. For example, *The New Music Tide*, founded in 1927 by Ke Zhenghe and others, as one of the few music publications in China at that time to introduce Western music knowledge, was closed in 1929 after publishing only ten editions.[169] By the 1930s and 1940s, the school journal of Shanghai Conservatory of Music, *Yue Yi*, which was used to publish students' and teachers' works along with educational announcements. Although it was full of quality and quantity, it did not sell well due to its high cost and price. Eventually, it was discontinued in 1932 under the influence of the 'January 28 Incident'.[170] In the same year, the journal *Yinyue Zazhi* was founded. As a quarterly journal, it was difficult to have a steady readership and ceased publication in less than a year.[171] Even under these difficult circumstances, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music still organised occasional concerts and insisted on music performances to promote and disseminate music.[172] It is precisely because of its persistence that the Shanghai Conservatory of Music has continued to make outstanding contributions to Chinese music education, performance, and music composition since the first generation of graduates in the 1930s, and has laid the foundation for global musical modernism in China.

Since 1949, when the Communist Party of China (CPC) came to full power, Chinese music has been under political influence, and global musical modernism has encountered a new difficulty in China. In particular, the absolute criteria for evaluating works of art stemmed from Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art of 1942, which

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[167] This refers to the government led by the Kuomintang (KMT).
[168] Chen Lingqun, "Ten years of entrepreneurship from the National Conservatory of Music to the National College of Music," *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 03(2007): 52-53.
[169] Li Yan, "Shuofeng Qishi Nong Yuechao" [Xiyueshe, Aimei Music Society and Ke Zhenghe in the 1920s], *Yinyue Yanjiu* [Music Research], 03(2003): 40.
[170] The January 28 incident (January 28 – March 3, 1932) was a conflict between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.
[171] Chen Lingqun, *Xiao Youmei Yinyue Wenji* [Xiao Youmei Music Anthology] (Shanghai: Shanghai Music Press, 1990), 457.
[172] Chen Lingqun, "Ten years", 54-46.

suggested 'popularism' as an essential quality of art works.[173] However, modernist music, as an avant-garde art of work at that time, was opposed to the 'artistic popularism' advocated by Chairman Mao. Modernist music neither reflected the lives of the working class nor regarded them as audiences, and its development was naturally limited during this period. Furthermore, China's alignment with the Soviet Union in its early years of nation-building shaped its musical culture to be significantly socialist. On top of this, the theme and content of the music were censored, anything related to capitalism would be heavily criticised. Only works that were directly or indirectly 'Ode' were encouraged, such as Nie Er's revolutionary songs, which has remained popular to the present day.[174] During this period, modernist techniques were forbidden, music had to include melody, and the use of chromaticism or complex harmonies was not allowed.[175] This has limited the composer both in terms of compositional style and musical language. Most of the works of this period were of the 'pentatonic romanticism', but there was also a little Chinese modernist music. For example, Chiang Wen-yeh[176] composed works such as *Xiangtu Jielingshi* (Folksy Festival Poems), *Du Fu Zange* (Du Fu's praise song), *Qixiangqu-Yufu Xiange* (The Fisherman's String Song) during his time in Beijing (1949-1953).[177] After returning to China, he consciously combined elements of traditional Chinese music with Western modernist techniques in his compositions, gradually forming a unique style of Chinese modernist music.[178]

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[173] The Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art was a conference held in May 1942 in Yan'an under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and was best known for Chairman Mao's speech on the role of literature and art in the state. Two of the main points were that (1) all art should reflect the life of the working class and treat them as audiences, and therefore create works that are easily received by them; (2) art should serve politics, especially the advancement of socialism. The overuse of the latter point during the Cultural Revolution led to the current Party policy discarding it, but retaining the first point. See Bonnie McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, (University of Michigan Press, 1980).

[174] Liu, "A Comparative Study," 41.

[175] Ibid., 73.

[176] Chiang Wen-yeh was an early modernist composer in China. He was born in Taiwan and went to Japan at the age of 13 to study, so his earliest compositional style was a mixture of Japanese and Taiwanese music flavours. In Japan, he met some young Japanese composers who were keen on Western modernist music, and then began to be addicted to the works of Debussy, Bartók, Stravinsky, Hindemith and other Western modern Masters. As a result, his early compositions were influenced in many ways by Western modernist techniques and national styles. See Wang Yuhe, "Buduan Xiang Minzuwenhua Chuantong Tiejin -Shilun Jiang Wenye Yinyue Chuangzuofengge De Yanbian" [An Experimental Study of the Evolution of Chiang Wen-yeh's Musical Composition Style], *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music] 11 (2000): 11.

[177] Wang, "Buduan Xiang Minzuwenhua Chuantong Tiejin", 14-15.

[178] Chiang Wen-yeh was wrongly classified as the "right wing" in 1957 because of his Taiwanese identity, which led to the interruption of his teaching and composition activities, and the banning of his works. He was arrested during the Cultural Revolution and suffered various indignities and blows until 1978, when he was rehabilitated.

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the Chinese music world suffered an unprecedented disaster. For political reasons, almost all musical activities were forced to stop. In addition, the criteria for censoring music became even more strict. It not only required scrutiny by the government's cultural censorship agency but also mandated that the content of the work had to be revolutionary, promoting themes such as anti-Japanese propaganda and criticising the Kuomintang.[179] Music gradually became a political tool, and with the exception of authorised *Yangbanxi*, ballets on revolutionary themes, and a few model symphonies, the publication or staging of other works was greatly restricted. As a result, the development of musical modernism in China during this period was almost at a standstill. A few modern musical techniques were either used only in the dramatic portrayal of antagonistic characters or existed in fragments of certain works.[180] Even under special historical conditions and at political risk, the older generation of musicians did not stop exploring musical modernism. For example, Luo Zhongrong's study of Hindemith's *The Craft of Musical Composition* was done secretly in the cowshed, and he even translated part of it.[181] Although Chinese modernist music was not able to achieve wider dissemination during this historical period, it did provide an opportunity for thinking and contemplation for the development of musical modernism in China.

After 1976, a generation of so-called well-known Chinese composers, represented by Tan Dun and others began to gain prominence. At first, they inherited the compositional concepts of the previous generation of modernist composers, i.e., combining Western compositional concepts and techniques with Chinese cultural elements and musical materials. With the continuous innovation on the path of pursuing the fusion of Chinese and Western music, he gradually developed his own compositional styles. For example, For example, Tan Dun composed his first symphonic work, *Li Sao*, in 1979. He chose his musical themes and inspirations from traditional Chinese culture, and boldly used

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[179] Liu, "A Comparative Study," 73-74.
[180] "Modern music in China," China Conservatory of Music, accessed July 25, 2023, https://yyyjs.ccmusic.edu.cn/ysxw/9c7386950c1e4e33b873478c0aa4257c.htm#.
[181] Jiang Xiaofeng, "The Musical Composition of Luo Zhongrong," in *Selected Research Essays on Luo Zhongrong's Works*, ed. Yang Tongba (Shanghai: Shanghai Music Publishing House, 2014), 20.

avant-garde acoustics and techniques such as Gu and Xiao, while using Western orchestral forms and techniques as a vehicle to fully express Chinese national flavour.[182] Unlike the earlier generation of modernist composers who endeavoured to try to create a national style in their music using traditional Chinese instruments, the new generation of composers such as Tan Dun tried to keep the complete Chinese elements and blend them with the essence of Western music for composing a global modernist music.[183]

By the end of the 1970s[184], global musical modernism was still in its initial stages of development in China due to socialist ideological and political turmoils. However, the early Chinese modernist composers, as the pioneers of China's exploration of global musical modernism, have an irreplaceable historical significance in China's quest for global musical modernism because of their innovative modernist works that fused East and West. Next, three composers, Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong, and Luo Zhongrong, will be discussed as case studies for specific analysis.

[182] Yao Yaping, "Tan Dun - One of the Fifth Generation of Chinese Composers Featured in Music Creation," Huayin, posted September 20, 2023.
[183] Liu, "A Comparative Study," 100.
[184] Since musical modernism in China after 1979 is beyond the scope of this thesis, it will not be specifically discussed in the main text. In the concluding chapter, we will further reflect on and discuss the development and current status of global musical modernism in China.

CHAPTER 6: COMPOSERS AND ANALYSIS OF WORKS

6.1 TAN XIAOLIN

It should be said that Tan Xiaolin was a musician of great tragedy. To his former friends and students, he was seen as a talented and gracious man, but he died of illness at the young age of 37. Even his mentor, Paul Hindemith, regretted it when he wrote the preface to the anthology of Tan's music:

> As far as I am concerned, Tan Xiaolin's death has deprived the Chinese music world of a talented and intelligent musician. I admired him for being an outstanding virtuoso of Chinese instruments. In addition to this, he had a deep study of Western musical culture and compositional techniques. If he had a chance to give full expression to his talents, he would have become a great revivalist of Chinese music. He would also become a keen communicator between the two musical cultures of China and the West.[185]

Technically, Tan Xiaolin occupied a pivotal position in the history of 20th-century Chinese music. Qin Xixuan called him the first composer in the history of modernist music in China who effectively combined Western modern composing techniques with Chinese traditional music.[186]

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[185] Paul Hindemith, translated by Yang Yushi, Tan Xiaolin Quxuan [Anthology of Tan Xiaolin – Preface], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 3 (1980): 7. After Tan Xiaolin's death, his close friend, the translator Fu Lei, wrote first to Hindemith himself and then twice to the Head of Yale School of Music, informing him of the sad news and asking Hindemith to write a preface to Anthology of Tan Xiaolin. This anthology was not published at that time, but came out more than thirty years later.

[186] Qin Xixuan, "Tan Xiaolin Gequ Qianxi-Jinian Tan Xiaolin Shishi sishizhounian[An Analysis of Tan Xiaolin's Songs - A Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Tan Xiaolin's Death]", *Renmin Yinyue*[People's Music], 6(1988): 18.

Tan Xiaolin was born in 1912 into a wealthy feudal family in Shanghai. Due to the influence of his family, Tan received a formal school education from an early age and was well-educated in traditional culture. He also had a passion for Chinese traditional music and various folk music. At the age of seven, he began to play the erhu, pipa and other folk instruments. With such foundations, he began to compose music at eleven. In 1931, he entered the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, where he studied Pipa with Pudong Pipa master Zhu Ying, and was always at the top of his class in the subject. The following year he took a minor in composition theory and composition, studying with Huang Zi. He studied at the Conservatory for seven years until Huang Zi passed away.[187]

In 1939, Tan Xiaolin went to the United States to pursue further studies of composition. He started learning with Professor Norman Lockwood at Oberlin Conservatory of Music, then with Professor Richard Donavan at Yale School of Music for 18 months in 1940, and with Hindemith for four years in 1942, where he was considered one of Hindemith's favourite students. In 1943, Tan Xiaolin's "Duet for Violin and Viola" was performed successfully and he won a scholarship to Yale University. The following year, this work was performed again in Chicago, with Hindemith himself playing the viola part and on a recording. In addition, another of Tan's works, String Trios, won the J. D. Jackson Award in 1945 as "an outstanding work of chamber music". At the end of April 1946, with Hindemith's encouragement, Tan held a recital of Chinese instruments, which was enthusiastically reported in the New York newspapers as a feat of "The East conquers the West".[188] Therefore, Hindemith's previous high praise for Tan Xiaolin perfectly illustrates his achievement. Tan has a deep understanding of Chinese instruments as well as a mastery of Western compositional techniques.

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[187] Wang Yuhe, "Tan Xiaolin Jiqi Yinyuechuangzuo[Tan Xiaolin and his musical compositions]", *Zhongyangyinyuexueyuan Xuebao*[Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music], 3 (1988): 68.
In this journal, Tan Xiaolin's birth date is given as 1911 and his admission to Shanghai Conservatory of Music as 1932. According to Qian Renping's "Tan Xiaolin Yanjiuzhiyanjiu [A Study of Tan Xiaolin]", these two dates have been corrected, so the two dates given in the thesis are the current reconfirmed dates.
[188] Ibid., 68-69.

In the autumn of 1946, Tan returned to China and became a Professor of Composition and Head of the Department of Theoretical Composition at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. He was also the first Chinese composer to introduce the Hindemith composition technique into his teaching and composition of works.[189] According to Sang Tong, before that time, the teaching of composition theory at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music was mostly based on the works of the English music theorist Ebenezer Prout. Even the dormitory building of the composition department of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music at that time was named after him. However, China was in a period of civil war between the two parties and young people were eager to seek for ways to construct a modern society and end the chaos. Therefore, music students were more passionate about modern music, new compositional techniques, and creating new styles of national music. In the 1940s, two teachers of composition theory at Shanghai Conservatory of Music introduced something new to the teaching of composition theory, one of them being German-Jewish musician Fraenkel, who used Schoenberg's Harmonic textbook and Bach's Counterpoint as teaching material on harmony and free counterpoint, introducing twelve-tone techniques, late Romantic Music and the Second Viennese School, beginning with Wagner. The other is Tan Xiaolin. He brought Hindemith's system of composition theory to musical modernism in China. Although he did not fully subscribe to the twelve-tone system and aesthetic ideas of the Second Viennese School, he shared Fraenkel's view on the development of Chinese music, i.e., he favoured the combination of the spirit of Chinese folk music with new compositional techniques as an influential means of musical composition.[190] Thus, Tanxiaolin's return brought new modernist techniques to music education at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, and this further brought hope for the development of musical modernism in China. In addition to his emphasis on in-class teaching, he took his students home for music appreciation after class to broaden their horizons. Tan also encouraged his students to work with folk tunes because he valued traditional folk music in his own compositions. With his strong support, on 18 November 1947, Tan and his students held a concert of "Folk songs and compositions", in which they

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[189] Yu SuXian, "Tan Xiaolin Chuangzuozhongde Xiandaijifa[Modern Techniques in the Composition of Tan Xiaolin]", *Yinyue Yanjiu*[Music Research], 1990(3): 51.
[190] Sang Tong, "Jinian Tan Xiaolin [In Memory of Tang Xiaolin]", *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 3 (1988): 61 and Sang, "Jinian Fulanke'er yu Xu Luoshi", 11.

performed 14 sets of songs, including two adaptations of Tan's folk songs, *Xiaolu* (Little Road) and *Song Qinglang* (See Her Lover Off), as well as five other compositions.[191] This concert of bold practice was extremely valuable. It can be said that it has set up a landmark for Chinese composers in terms of compositional direction as well as the pursuit of national styles. According to Yang Yushi, after that concert, a Western music critic published a review in an English-language newspaper in which he lavishly praised the organisation of the concert: "This concert is very noteworthy because it shows an important development of a new style of Chinese musical art, a development which is likely to make a creative contribution to modern music as a whole ..... almost all of the composers were trying to integrate the local musical language with modern techniques. It could be said that this concert is a signpost, marking the point at which Chinese composers are putting on display what they can contribute to modernist music." Tan's participation throughout the organisation of this concert was very enthusiastic, he even went as far as opposing the school authorities to ensure the concert was carried out successfully.[192] Due to this commitment, Tan Xiaolin was highly cherished by his students during his tenure at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Therefore, his untimely death is regarded as a significant loss to the Chinese music community.

Despite his relatively short life, Tan Xiaolin left behind a musical legacy as a composer, (although some manuscripts of his early works have been lost). Overall, Tan's compositional career can be roughly divided into two phases. The first phase was during his composition studies at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and the early years of his studies in the United States. During this period, he composed a number of vocal and folk music works. The second stage was the last six years of his life, his artistic creations became more and more mature, and he composed the famous Duet for Violin and Viola, Romance for viola and harp, as well as the art songs *Penglangji*, *Bieli* (Farewell), and the folk songs *Xiaolu* (Little Road) and *Song Qinglang* (See Her Lover Off), and the a cappella

[191] Qian Renping, "Fengzhongde Huainian – Tan Xiaolin Jiqidui Zhongguoxinyinyue Fazhande Gongxian [Nostalgia in the Wind - Tan Xiaolin and His Contribution to the Development of New Music in China]", *Yinyueaihaozhe*[Music Lovers], 11 (2002): 30.
[192] Qu Xixian, "Zhuinian Tan Xiaolin Shi[A Tribute to Teacher Tan Xiaolin]", *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 3 (1980): 11.

Zhengqige (The Song of Justice).[193]

Looking at Tan Xiaolin's early works, it is clear that he showed a great deal of passion for Chinese traditional music. Aside from composing songs directly for folk instrumental music, he also composed most of his vocal works with ancient Chinese poems as lyrics.[194]

For example, Tan's early vocal work, *Chunfeng Chunyu* (Spring Breeze and Spring Rain), is based on the poems of Zhu Dunru, a poet of the Song Dynasty. The poem tells the story of a woman who met her old lover on a bright spring day. The two of them then spent the beautiful day drinking. In terms of compositional technique, this work has a modern impressionist compositional style, with a more national flavour in the melody. It has a beautiful tune and a single but lively rhythmic piano accompaniment, forming a well-integrated rhythm. This may be the reason why this song was popular in the "Folk songs and compositions" of that year.[195] Tan himself, however, was dissatisfied with the work. He felt that the piece was technically immature, thus leaving the musical style and lyrics of the song not fully integrated.[196]

When it comes to Tan Xiaolin's later musical compositions, it is important to mention his teacher Hindemith. Several of his more famous later works were more or less influenced by Hindemith. In Wang Yuhe's view, Tan Xiaolin's musical compositions, whether instrumental or vocal works, solo or choral music, were obviously trying to get rid of the music style of classicism and romanticism, avoiding the traditional harmonic tonal structure based on major and minor keys, so as to achieve the free use of pitch, rhythm, beat as well as traditional and modern harmonies according to the content, ultimately forming a rigorous and refined artistic whole.[197]

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193 Wang, "Tan Xiaolin Jiqi Yinyuechuangzuo," 69.
194 Ibid., 70.
195 Qu, "Zhuinian Tan Xiaolin Shi," 13.
196 Wang, "Tan Xiaolin Jiqi Yinyuechuangzuo," 70.
197 Ibid.

Moreover, regarding the fact that his name was often mentioned together with Hindemith, Tan responded:

> It was a great honour to be linked with Hindemith, the only fear is that I am not good enough to be a worthy student …… He never claimed to be a School himself. It is important to note that Hindemith never imposed rigid doctrines on his students but encouraged them to develop their own artistic identities. Therefore, there is no 'Hindemith School' of composition, and I wouldn't seek to conform to it even if it existed. First of all, I'm Chinese, not Western. I should respect my own identity. Secondly, I am me, not him or anyone else, and I should have my own personality. …… My compositional style is that the tonality is remarkable, using Chinese tonality.[198]

His compositional technique, therefore, is not a rigid application of Hindemith's compositional theory, but rather a natural blend of modern harmony and tonality with Chinese folk melodies, thus pioneering the path of Chinese modernist music. Indeed, Hindemith himself stressed that "The technique should be consistently accessible and executed so masterfully that its operation becomes unnoticeable."[199]

In order to better analyse Tan Xiaolin's musical works, it is necessary to first introduce Hindemith's composition theory. Hindemith took the twelve tones of the chromatic scale and constructed a row called Series 1 (Fig. 3), based on their value in the overtone series, which he considered to be the basis of composition and the most suitable scale for harmony and melody.[200] The first tone, C, in Series 1 is called the progenitor tone (any tone can be a progenitor tone), and the remaining eleven tones are related to C. The specific ranking is based on their value and relationship to the C tone. For example, the

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[198] Qu, "Zhuinian Tan Xiaolin Shi," 15-16.
[199] Paul Hindemith, *Xindemite Zuoqujifa* [Hindemith Unterweisung Im Tonsatz: Theoretischer Teil], trans. by Luo Zhongrong (Shanghai Music Publishing Press, 2015), 10.
[200] Ibid., 13-52.

second tone, G, is related to C by a fifth, so the value of the fifth relationship is the highest, it's also the most closely related. Followed by fourths, sixths, thirds, and so on. This also leads to a natural division of these tones into two groups. The first six tones G, F, A, E, E♭, A♭ (pure fifths, pure fourths, major sixths, major thirds, minor thirds and minor sixths) are close to the progenitor tone are the first generation, and the next four tones (second and sevenths), which are more distant from the progenitor tone, are the second generation. The last tone, F♯ (tritone) is furthest away from C.

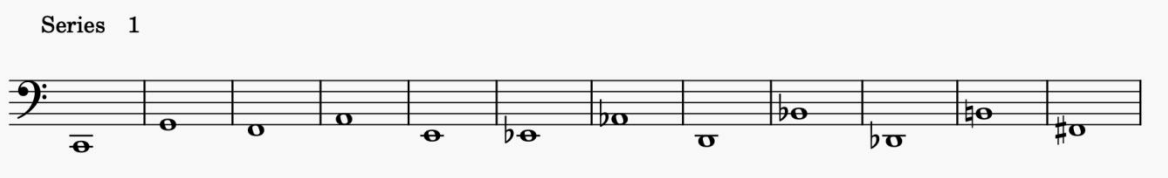

Figure 3. Series 1

In addition, Hindemith introduced a new idea that music was produced as a result of combining at least two tones. Two tones moving horizontally would create melodic tension, while two tones stacked vertically would create harmony. It follows that intervals are formed by connecting two tones and that an interval is the basic unit of musical structure. The sequence of intervals that he deduced from the increasing melodic tension is known as Series 2 (Fig. 4). Then, Hindemith set up a table (Table 2) for determining chords, arranged into two main groups (A: without the tritone; B: with the tritone), according to the intervallic components (with the second, with the seventh, etc.) and subdivided according to the position of the root. He divided all the chords into six sets according to the value of the chords, i.e. I, II, III, IV, V and VI. Group A includes I, III, and V, and Group B includes II, IV, and VI. With the new theory of chords came a new concept of chord roots. Since chords are not tertian chords, it is completely different from the concept of the root in the traditional theory. In Hindemith's harmonic theory, the determination of the root in a chord is based on the value of the intervals in Series 2. Since chords are made up of intervals, each chord consists of many different intervals, and among these intervals, the

best interval is identified according to the value of Series 2, and the root of the best interval is the root of the chord. In addition, Hindemith proposed the concept of 'harmonic fluctuation'. High-value chords have low tension and low-value chords have high tension. The rise and fall of tension in different chord progressions is called 'harmonic fluctuation'.[201] Composers can design harmonic fluctuations according to the needs of the style and content of the music.

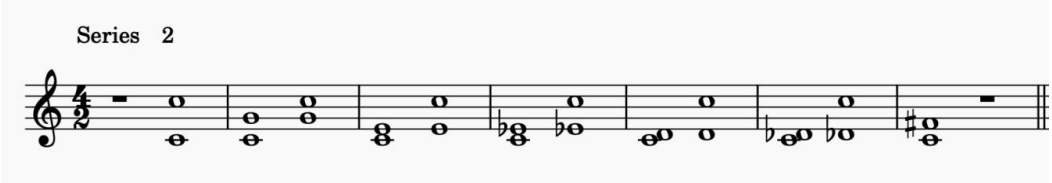

Figure 4. Series 2

[201] Hindemith, *Xindemite Zuoqujifa*, 87-114. The above compositional theory of Hindemith is referenced from the Chinese version of *Unterweisung Im Tonsatz: Theoretischer Teil* translated by Luo Zhongrong. Therefore, it may not be exactly the same as what is stated in the original book.

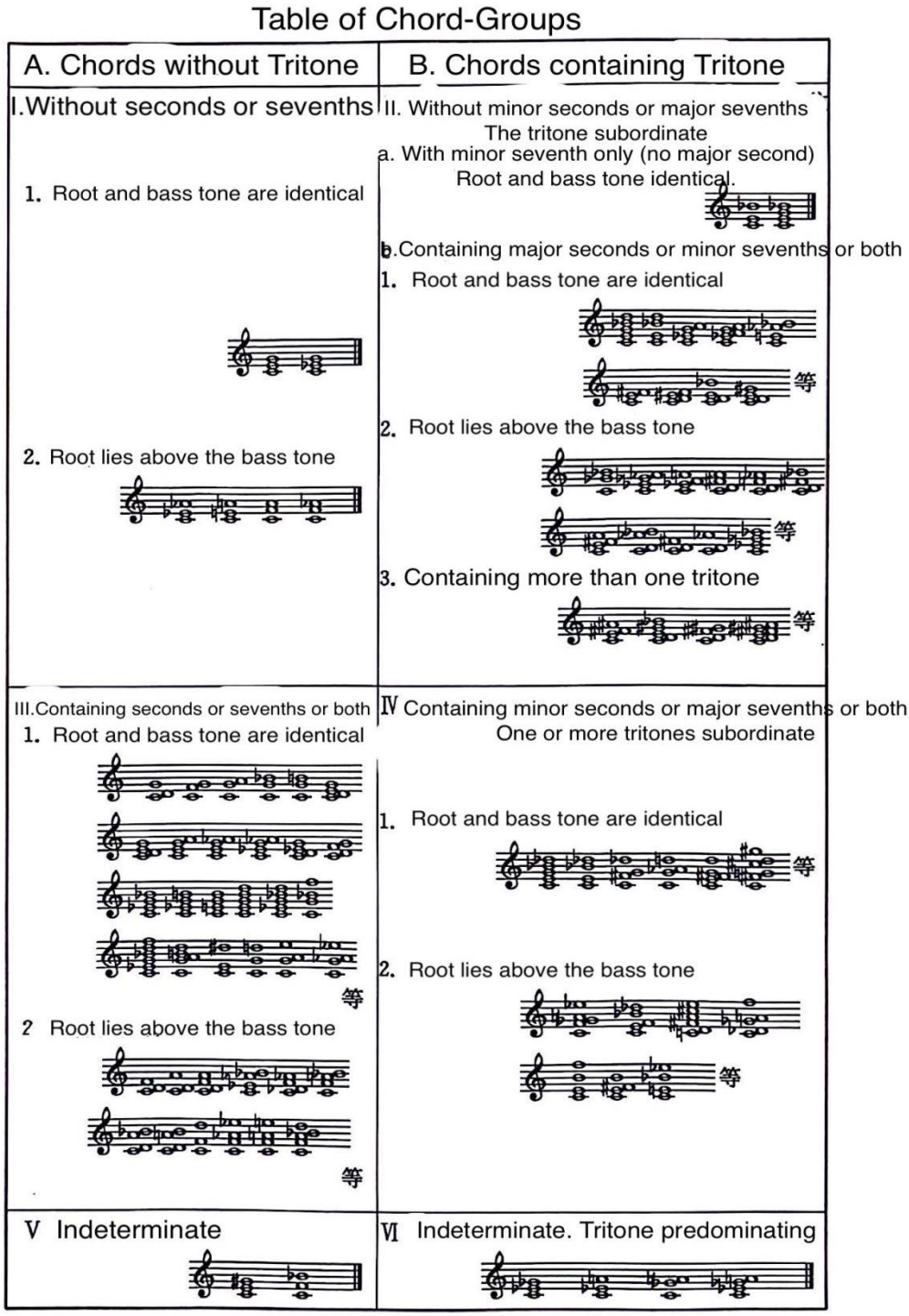

Table 2. Classification of Hindemith's chords

As a student of Hindemith, there is no doubt that Tan's later work is largely dominated by Hindemith's harmonic theory. At the same time, however, Tan did not copy it completely,

but added his own interpretations in order to give it a bold treatment. For example, Hindemith believed that the twelve tones in Series 1 belonged to the same tonal accession, so there was no need for a key signature to indicate the tonal relationship. However, Tan never avoided combining modern harmonic techniques with traditional tonal thinking in his compositions, and he would also use the key signatures to demonstrate the unique charm of Chinese national modes.[202]

In the following, two pieces of Chinese modernist music composed by Tan Xiaolin will be used as examples to analyse his practical integration of modernist techniques with Chinese traditional music using the Hindemith system.[203]

6.1.1 *PENGLANGJI*

Penglangji is an art song composed by Tan Xiaolin while he was studying in the United States with Hindemith.[204] The lyrics are based on a poem by Zhu Dunru, a poet of the Song Dynasty. The poem articulates the poet's sentiment of exile arising from the war and underscores his concerns for his country. Tan kept the original sentiment through a combination of Chinese pentatonic scale and modern harmonic techniques.

Tan Xiaolin adhered to the traditional tonal thinking in this piece by using two flats to signify the tonal nature of the primary melody and to demonstrate the flavour of Chinese mode. In the second part of *Penglangji* (Ex. 1), from bar 18, the mood gradually progresses from calm to high-energy. Tan used harmonic fluctuations to express the changing moods in the song. The melody in bar 18 is followed by a V chord, which serves to fill in the rhythmic gaps and show the timbre. The melody in bar 19 is followed by an III_2 chord with

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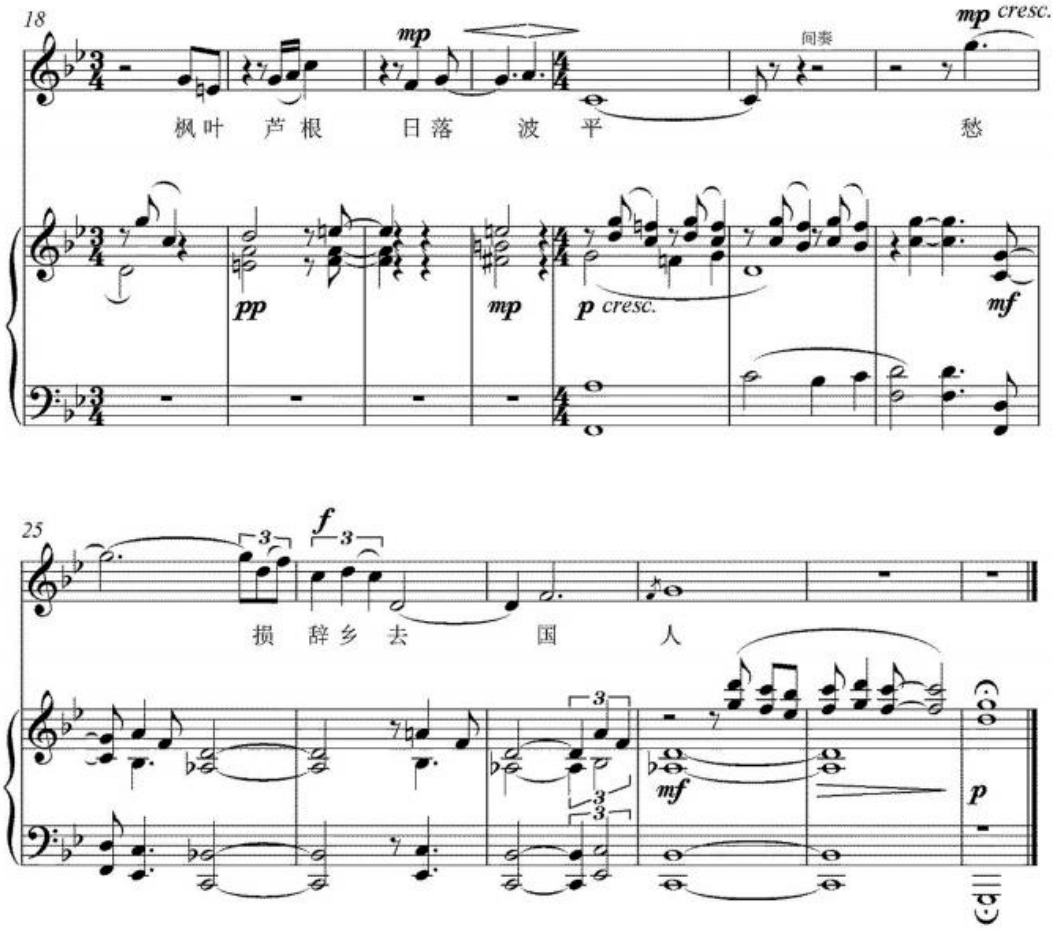
[202] Yu, "Tan Xiaolin Chuangzuozhongde Xiandaijifa," 52.
[203] In analysing Tan's two works, Hindemith's system was used rather than the traditional method of analysing tonal harmony using Roman numerals.
[204] Qian Renping, "Tan Xiaolin Yanjiuzhiyanjiu [A Study of Tan Xiaolin]", *Huang Zhong*[Journal of Wuhan Conservatory of Music], 2(2004): 32.

a major 7th, which still serves as a filler. From bar 20 to bar 23, the chords are all III chords. Bar 24 is an III_1 chord with the root F. The second chord in bar 24 is an octave down from the previous chord, and then a continuous group B chord appears. The first chord in bar 25 is the IV_1 chord with E♭ as the root, containing intervals of high tension such as tritone and major seventh. In the same bar, it then progresses to another IV_1 chord. In the same bar, it progresses to an II_{b2} chord. The chord progression from bars 26 to 28 is IV_1-II_{b2}-IV_1-IV_1. The IV_1 chord in bar 28 continues for two bars and becomes an important chord in the formation of the cadence, ending directly at the end of the I_1 chord with the root of the tonic centre, G.[205]

Example 1:



[205] Yu, "Tan Xiaolin Chuangzuozhongde Xiandaijifa," 55-56.

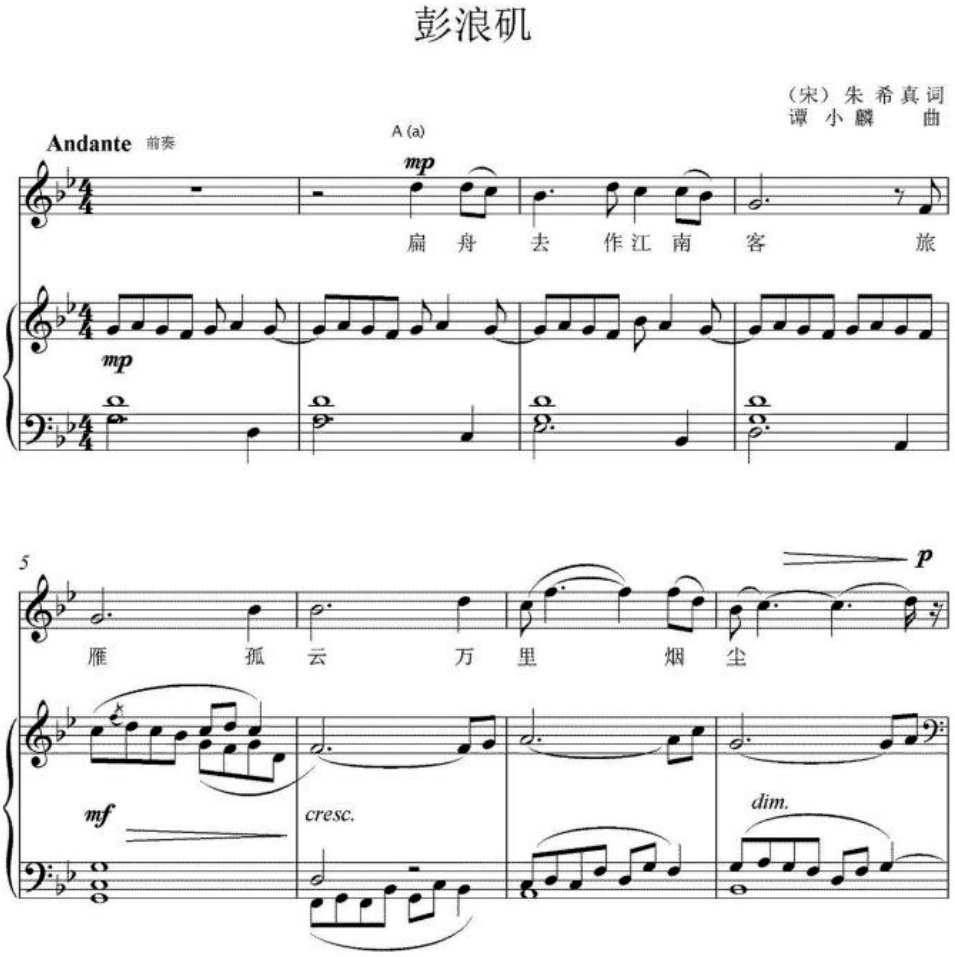
Through the above harmonic analysis, we can see that the middle section of the song (bars 19-23) is mainly dominated by III chords, with little harmonic fluctuation. In the last part of the song (bars 24-30), all chords except the last one are B chords, the tension increases rapidly and the harmonic fluctuations are obvious, contrasting with the smooth harmonies before.

The last section of the song uses a five-bar IV chord, which brings the chord to its highest tension. The emotional trajectory of the song evolves from calmness in its initial section to a state of heightened excitement in its later part. In addition, the harmonic fluctuation is cleverly designed to suit the mood of the song. It may seem strange that the tension in the last phrase reaches a peak and then plummets, but the melodic phrase in the last chord continues with a national style, showing the characteristics of Chinese national modes and a gradual decrease in tension, so that the I_1 chord at the end is very clever and reasonable.[206]

In addition to the harmonic fluctuation, Tan's composition of tonality is also interesting. For example, the first five bars of *Penglangji* (Ex. 2) are not written using functional harmony exclusively to clarify tonality as in traditional harmony, but more like a linear counterpoint. The music consists of four lines, each of which, while progressing in its own logical way, points to the G tone. The first line is the melody from the dominant d^2 to the tonic g^1; the second line is a pattern of mainly upper and lower seconds around g^1; the third line is a sustained repeated fifth with g as the root; and the fourth line is a sequence of fourths from g to G. It is thus shown that the tonal centre is established mainly by the emphasis of the tonic and not by functional harmony.[207]

Example 2:

[206] Yu, "Tan Xiaolin Chuangzuozhongde Xiandaijifa," 56.
[207] Luo Zhongrong, "Harmony in the Art Songs of Tan Xiaolin," *Yinyue Yishu*[Art of Music], 03 (1989): 44-45.



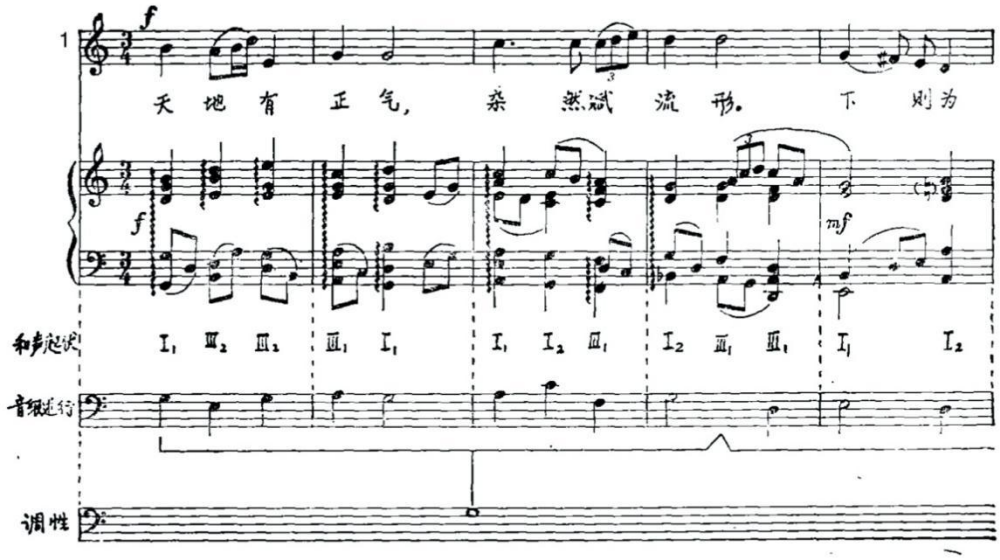
It is clear that when composing his works, Tan diligently adhered to several of Hindemith's contemporary compositional techniques, integrating his distinct innovations, notably melodies influenced by Chinese folk styles. This synthesis results in music that embodies both modernist musical characteristics and a pronounced national flavour. It is important that the composer did not blindly apply modernist techniques and lose his own personality. Therefore, this seemingly simple art song reflects the composer's unique creativity. It is worth exploring and reflecting on the context of this song.

6.1.2 *ZHENGQIGE*

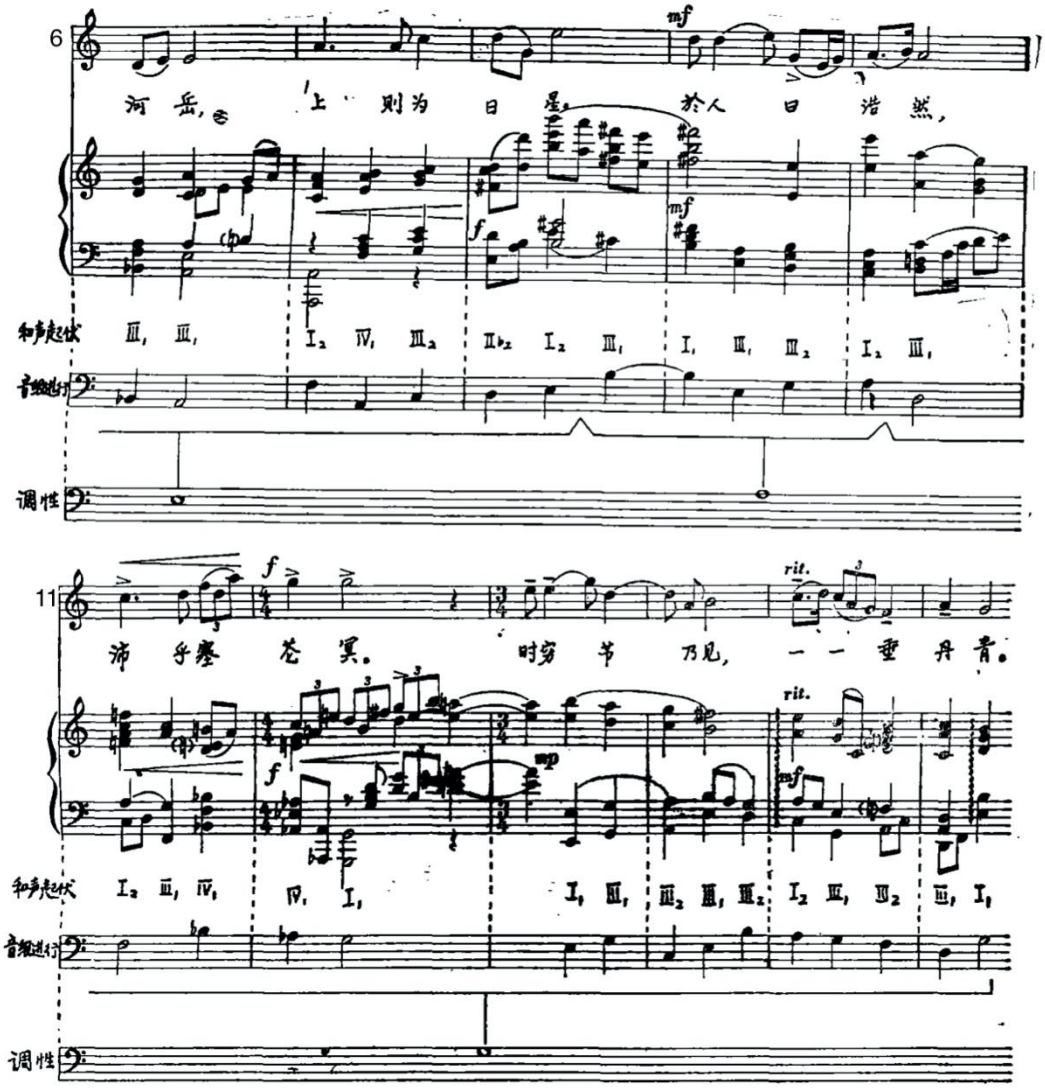
The following work (Ex. 3), *Zhengqige* (The Song of Justice), is an art song composed by Tan Xiaolin after his return to China, and it is one of his last two compositions, by which

time he had become more experienced in his compositional skills.[208] The lyrics are based on the poem written by Wen Tianxiang from the Song Dynasty. Wen's poem was written when he was captured by the enemy forces during wartime. Therefore, Tan's patriotic spirit was reflected by his adoption of Wen's words.

Example 3:



[208] Qian, "Tan Xiaolin Yanjiuzhiyanjiu", 32.



The first beat of bars one to nine is the first harmonic part. The harmony is characterised by several continuous I chord progressions, such as the three continuous I chords with different roots in bars 2 and 3. The harmonic fluctuation is characterised by the interplay of harmonic rise and fall with the division of the melody into phrases, which gives the music coherence and full strength.

The harmonic fluctuations in bars 9 to 12 are more purposeful. This harmonic part not only prepares for the climax of the piece, but also creates an appropriate harmonic progression for it. As a result, this harmonic part creates a strong harmonic fluctuation. The two strongest chords, IV_1, are used in bars 11 and 12, the first one containing two tritones (F-B,

B♭-E), a major 7th chord (F-E) and a minor 2nd chord (B♭-B), pushing the harmony to a climax. Then, the tension does not drop directly, but the chords are used to continue the mood until the last beat of the bar, i.e. the harmonic fluctuation does not descend suddenly, because the mood does not need the musical momentum to calm down immediately, to achieve the purpose of artistic expression.[209]

In general, Tan Xiaolin used mostly Group A chords in his later compositions. In my opinion, Tan's frequent use of A chords is due to the need to develop the Chinese pentatonic style. Because the main difference between A and B chords is the presence of tritones in the chords. Since tritones do not exist in pentatonic modes and are an obstacle to the shaping of pentatonic style, Tan seldom used Group B chords. In Group A chords, he also used more III chords. This is probably because, in Tan's opinion, III chords are more stable. This is confirmed by Qin Xixuan's article "Practical Application of Hindemith Harmony Theory". Qin Xixuan has mentioned that "Tan Xiaolin often used III chords as more stable and consonant chords."[210] As for the use of B chords, in his later compositions, they are often used out of the need for harmony tension, with harmony fluctuations based on the content or mood of the piece. This is also advocated by Hindemith.

Tan Xiaolin was a pioneer in the teaching of Hindemith's modern compositional theory in the history of Chinese modernist music. His musical works, both instrumental and vocal, shared an eagerness to move away from the traditional tonal-dominated harmonic system of Western classical music. Therefore, his compositions are characterised by the use of new techniques of 20th-century musical modernism while also making bold use of Chinese modes, or Chinese folk characteristics, thus creating musical works in his unique style. It is easy to see that the modernism of music and the nationality of Chinese music are co-existing apparent in his works, fully reflecting the fusion of musical modernism and Chinese traditional music.

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[209] Yu, "Tan Xiaolin Chuangzuozhongde Xiandaijifa," 57-58.
[210] Qin Xixuan, "Practical Application of Hindemith Harmonic Theory," *Yinyue Yishu*[Art of Music], 03 (1996): 58.

While Tan did not recognise himself as belonging to the 'Hindemith School', by analysing his works, we can find that he used a great deal of Hindemith compositional theory. This may have something to do with the fact that he was a student of Hindemith and that several of his famous works were produced under his teacher's guidance, it is a further indication that he has not yet developed a distinctive personal style in his short compositional career.

Overall, as a trailblazer of Chinese modern music, Tan Xiaolin is historically significant in China's pursuit of global musical modernism, both in the dissemination of the theory of musical modernism and in the innovation of modernist music.

6.2 SANG TONG

Sang Tong (1923-2011), an early Chinese composer of modernist music. In 1941, he was enrolled in the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, where he studied with Fraenkel, and after taking a break from his studies in 1943 due to illness, he was re-admitted to the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1946, where he studied with Fraenkel and Julius Schloss[211], and at the same time attended Tan Xiaolin's composition class. As a result, Sang Tong's early works were notable for their high artistry and forward-thinking features, thanks to his timely understanding and grasp of modern Western techniques.[212]

In fact, Sang Tong's interest in modernist music composition came from Fraekel's remark "Be creative in composition." This inspired Sang to pursue modernist music and prompted him to start reading books on modern music theory and techniques (Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Scriabin, etc.), to work with scores by modern composers (Schoenberg,

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[211] A student of Alban Berg, he was recommended by Fraenkel to succeed him as professor of composition at Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1947, and left China for the United States in 1948. See Sang, "Jinian Fulanke'er yu Xu Luoshi", 10-15.

[212] Qian, "Sang Tong and his early new music compositions," 26.

Bartók, etc.), to listen to records of modern music and to attempt to compose works using non-traditional techniques.[213] Taking Fraenkel's suggestion, he also studied the scores of Gustav Mahler, because Fraenkel referred to Mahler as "our great master." According to Sang Tong, Fraenkel even brought a copy of Mahler's original manuscript to Shanghai to show to his students.[214]

Under Fraenkel's supervision, Sang composed *Yejing* (Night Scenery, 1947) for violin and piano, which was the first atonal work in the history of Chinese music. In the same year, he completed *Zai na yaoyuan de difang* (In the Land, Far, Far Away, 1947) for solo piano through his studies in Schloss's class. These two works are the beginning of Chinese modernist music. If this progress had not been abruptly terminated by political and economic forces, it could have written a new chapter in the history of Chinese music.[215]

In the 1940s, Sang was equally bold in the exploration of musical modernism and politically forward-thinking. He emerged as a 'progressive' student around the same time when he composed *Yejing*. He took part in a number of large-scale protests organised by the Shanghai branch of the underground Communist Party. In March 1949, Sang joined the Communist Party of China (CPC), with Luo Zhongrong as one of his two referees. Shortly after the 'liberation' of Shanghai, Sang, by then a Party member, was sent back to Shanghai to work in the Military governing committee. In June 1949, just a few months before he began to teach at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Sang assisted Red Army representatives in taking over the school.[216]

But the good times did not last long, he was soon forced to abandon his pursuit of

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[213] Recorded from a letter dated 9 July 2007 from Sang Tong to Zheng Yinglie. See Zheng Yinglie, "The Combination of Folk Song Theme and Atonal Harmony - The 60th Anniversary of the Composition of He Sang Tong's Piano Piece *Zai na yaoyuan de difang*," *Yinyue Yishu*[Art of Music], 4(2007):111.
[214] Sang, "Jinian Fulanke'er yu Xu Luoshi," 11. However, there is no clear evidence that Fraenkel actually possessed a copy of Mahler's original manuscript in his own handwriting.
[215] Utz and Willis, *Musical Composition in the Context of Globalization*, 161.
[216] Qian Yiping, "The Colourful Life and Charisma of Sang Tong," *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], 11(2011):17.

musical modernism. Kouwenhoven concluded that "Sang tried to resist the growing political pressure on Shanghai's musical life, but eventually lost his job as a music teacher at Shanghai Conservatory of Music (in 1955)".[217] During the Cultural Revolution, any tiny hint of modernism had to be erased. Therefore, Sang was strongly condemned and persecuted by the Red Guards.[218]

After the Cultural Revolution, Sang was rehabilitated and returned to the Shanghai Conservatory of Music as a teacher. Despite the difficulties he experienced, his passion for musical modernism did not diminish. Although Sang did not produce as many exciting compositions as he did in his early years, he wrote a large number of textbooks and articles on music theory, such as *Heshengxue Jiaocheng* [Textbook of Harmony], *Banyinhua De Lishiyanjin* [Historical Evolution of Chromaticisation], and so on. In particular, Tutorial on Harmony includes analyses and applications of traditional and modern harmony, and is now used as a textbook for harmony classes at most conservatories in China.[219]

In the following, both of his two masterpieces will be analysed, starting with *Zai na yaoyuan de difang.*

6.2.1 *ZAI NA YAOYUAN DE DIFANG*

According to Sang, "After composing *Yejing*, I wanted to write a solo piano piece. Given the prevalent interest in folk songs following the victory in the war against Japan, and the prevailing notion of following the path of folk song development, I thought of composing a piece that combines folk songs and atonal harmony. This approach can be seen as influenced by the styles of Kodály and Bartók." Kodály and Bartók's inspiration for Sang Tong's treatment of folk songs was the 'Strophic form'. This means that the folk song is

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[217] Kouwenhoven and Schimmelpenninck, "The Shanghai Conservatory of Music," 77.
[218] Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg," 93. According to sources such as Kouwenhoven, Sang has been deaf in one ear since boiling hot water was poured into his ear.
[219] Qian, "The Colourful Life," 18.

repeated several times, each time with different variations. However, despite being a repetition of the same folk song, the music has layers of development and variation. The piece is divided into a total of five repetitions according to different emotional developments: 1. affectionate thoughts; 2. true thoughts; 3. passionate thoughts; 4. deep thoughts; 5. excited thoughts. Each change in the melody and the treatment of the accompanying voices is based on this level of expression and requirement."[220]

In terms of content, the division into these five parts also matches the lyrics very well.[221] Horizontally, the piece consists of folk songs, which appear five times as the theme that makes up the melody of the piece. Vertically, the theme is represented through atonal harmony. Unlike the traditional variations, there are no obvious structural divisions or cadence between the five parts of this work; instead, phrases consisting of a number of bars between the parts serve as transitions between changes in mood and chordal texture.[222]

Part A (Bar 1 to 22):

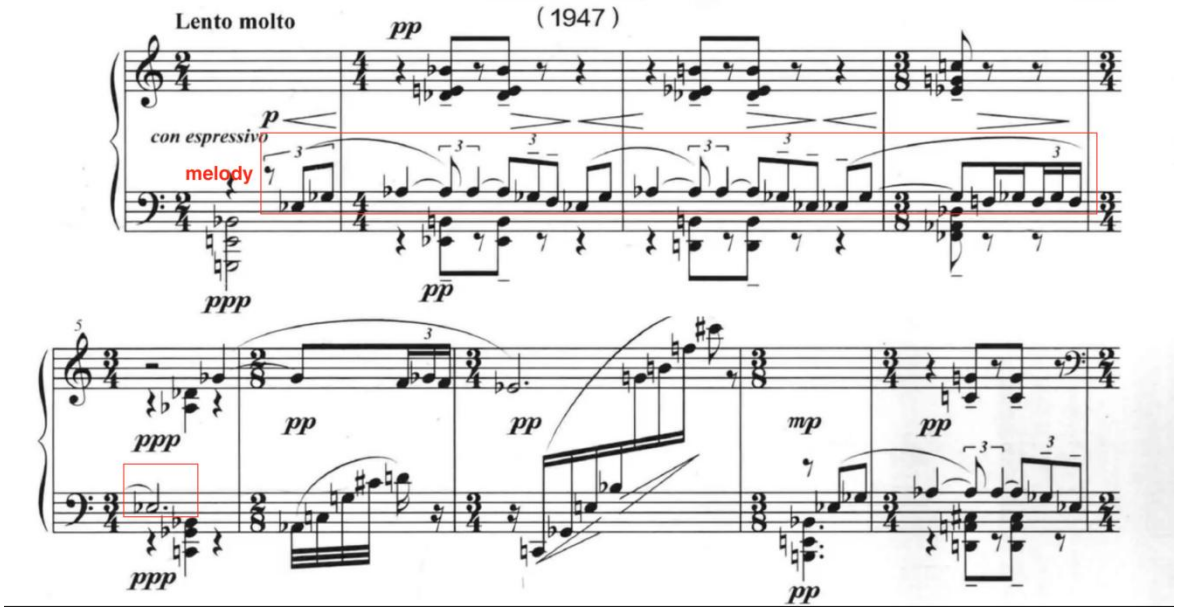
The entire folk song consists of two phrases. Due to the limitation of space in this thesis, only the first phrase or part of the first phrase is shown in each example.

It (Ex. 4) begins with the left hand playing an atonal chord in the bass with a very weak strength (*ppp*), consisting of a tritone and a perfect fourth. The theme then appears in the inner voice, and the accompanying harmonies do not overlap with the melody in order to ensure the clarity of the melodic presentation.[223] From bar 2 to bar 5, the two outer voices have an ascending and descending chromatic progression, respectively. The soprano voice is: B♭- B- C- D♭ (in the lower octave) and the bass voice is: E♭- D- D♭ (in the inner

[220] Zheng, "The Combination of Folk Song Theme and Atonal Harmony", 111.
[221] Zheng Yinglie, "Minge zhuti yu wudiaoxing hesheng de qiaomiao jiehe"[A skillful combination of folk song themes and atonal harmonies], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 4 (2007): 115.
[222] Ibid., 111.
[223] Ibid., 112.

voice)- C.[224] The successive descending scale here enhances the effect of atonality.

Example 4:

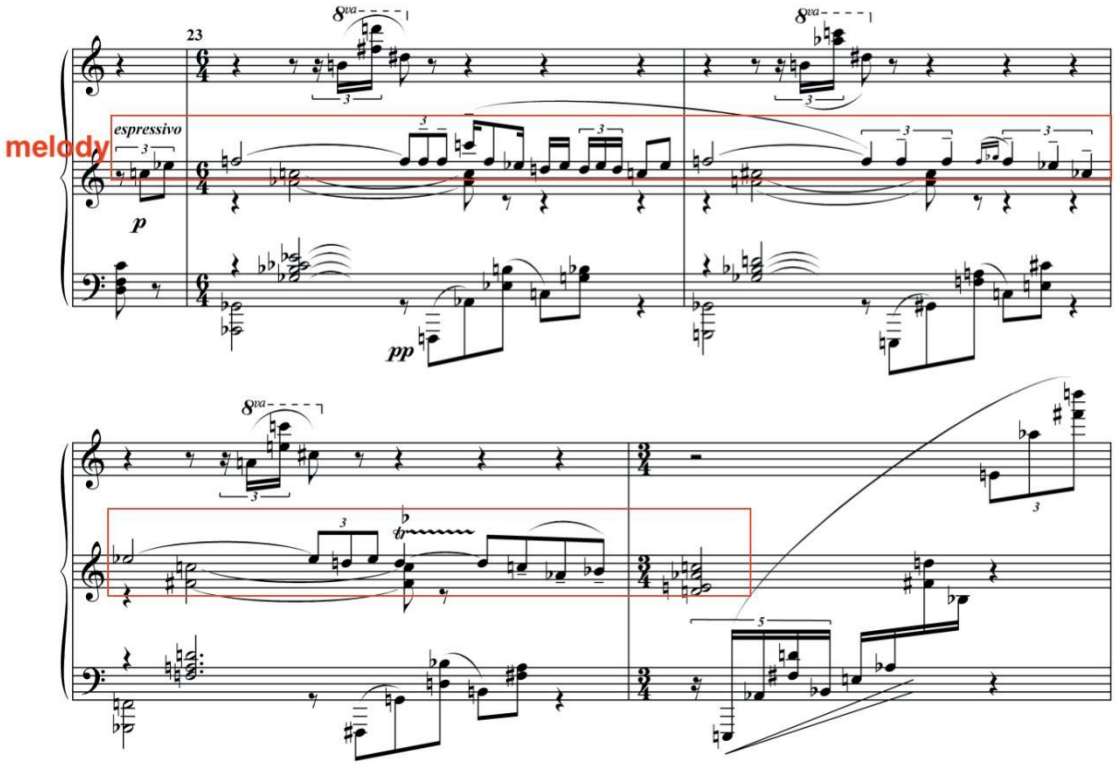


Part A1 (Bar 22 to 40):

A1(Ex. 5) begins in the second half of bar 22, with the melodic voice still in the inner voice. The tonic changes from A♭ (Part A) to F. The melody is further chromaticised by the three appearances of the C♭ (B) note in bars 24, 30 and 32. In terms of accompaniment, the flowing arpeggiated texture that occurs in bars 26, 30, and 34 is derived from the figures that appear in bars 15 to 18, which is the accompaniment to the soprano section. The first half of bar 35 to bar 40 is the transition between parts A1 and A2.[225]

[224] Zheng, "Minge zhuti yu wudiaoxing hesheng de qiaomiao jiehe," 112.
[225] Ibid., 112.

Example 5:

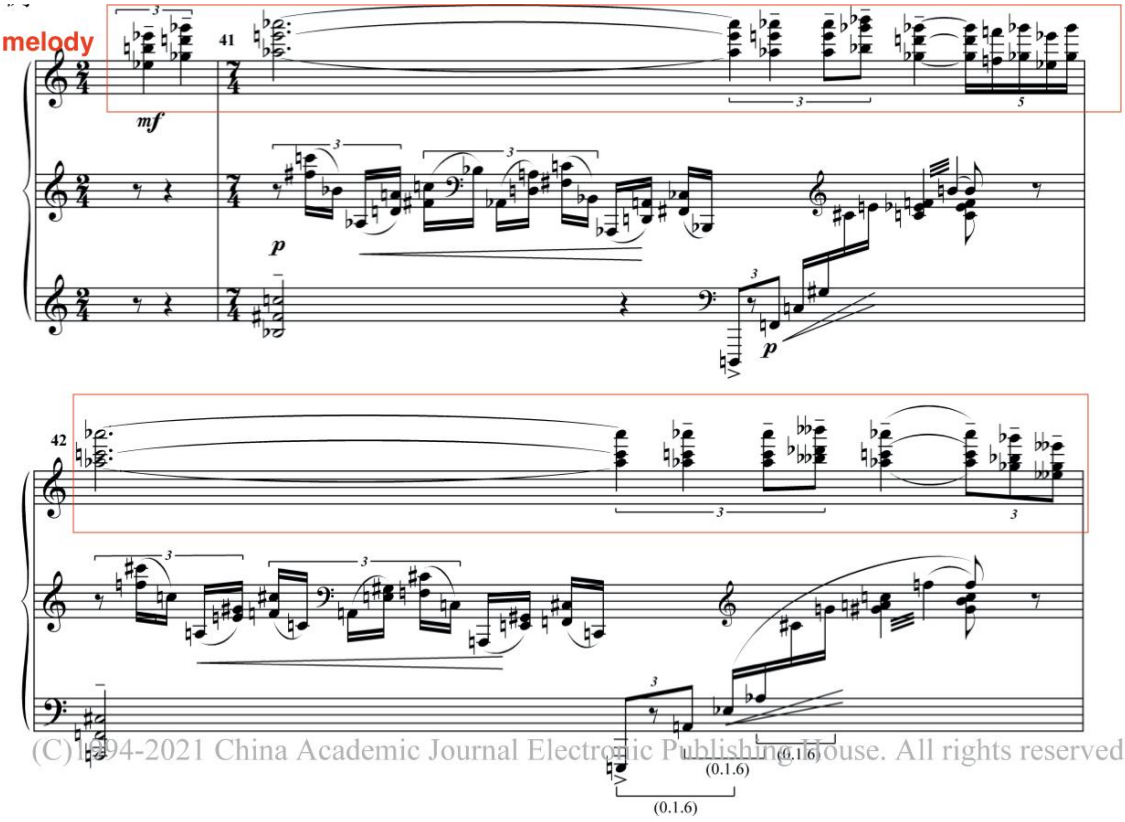


Part A2 (Bar 40 to 55):

The melody in this part (Ex. 6) progresses in the soprano voice and ends at the note G♯ (i.e. A♭) in bar 54, which corresponds to a return to the original tonic. From the second half of bar 40, the melody in the soprano voice is in a parallel progression of augmented fifths within the octave, while from bar 51 the melody changes to an alternation of descending octaves by right and left hands. It is worth noting that the arpeggiated accompaniment for the left hand in bar 42 is atonal.[226] The natural blending of the atonal harmonic accompaniment with the tonal melody not only ensures the atonal effect that the composer wanted to emphasise, but also meticulously presents the changing moods of the piece.

[226] Zheng, "Minge zhuti yu wudiaoxing hesheng de qiaomiao jiehe," 113.

Example 6:

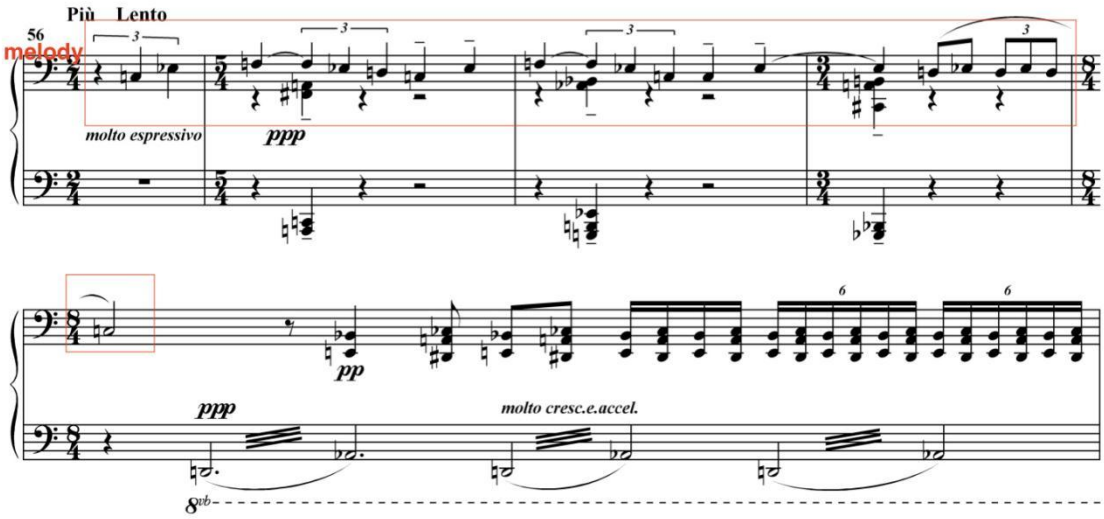


Part A3 (Bar 56 to 60):

In this part (Ex. 7), the composer plays the first phrase of the folk song at a slow tempo (Più Lento) in contrast to part A. The phrase ends on the note C, which can be regarded as the tonic if we only look at this phrase. However, in the context of the whole song, the note C is a dominant, and the tonic should be 'F'. The melody in this part is in monophonic form, and the accompaniment is still in atonal harmony.[227]

Example 7:

[227] Zheng, "Minge zhuti yu wudiaoxing hesheng de qiaomiao jiehe," 114.

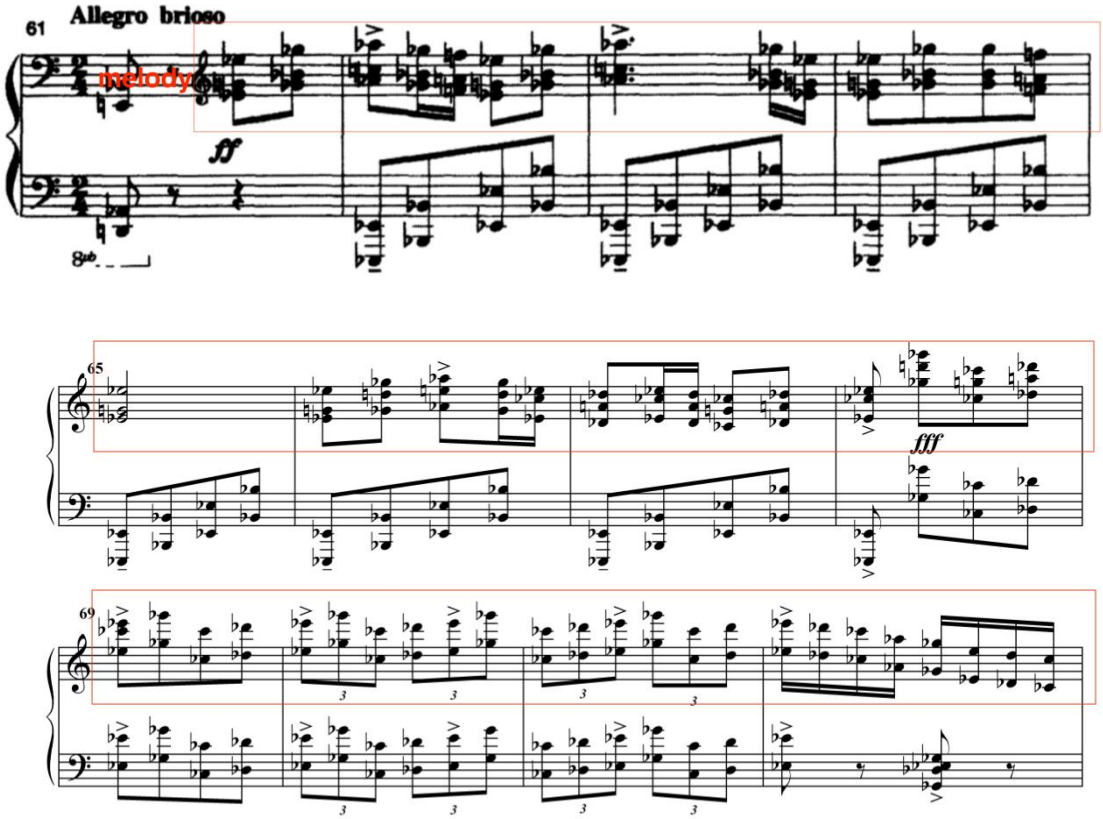


Part A4 (Bar 61 to 79):

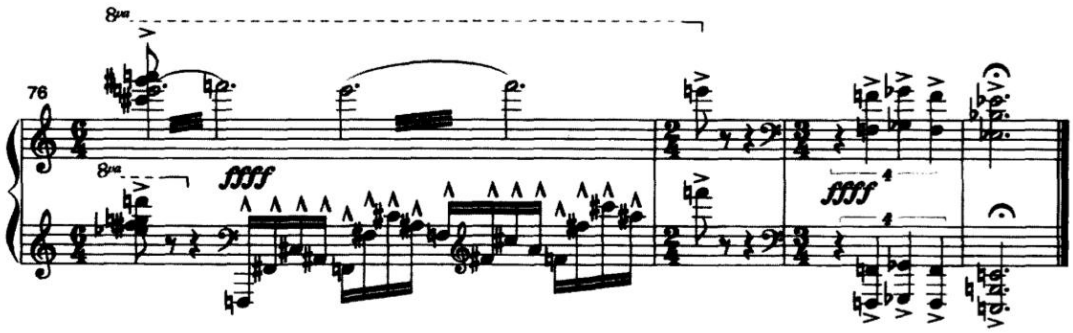
The final presentation of the theme (Ex. 8) begins at bar 61, where the "Allegro brioso" and the strength of *ff* reveal the 'excited thoughts' that this part seeks to highlight. As Sang Tong said, "The melody here is also close to the original folk song, but the mood is different. Here is excitement and the joy of meeting each other."[228] According to Zheng's analysis, this piece of music applies a 'thickening of texture' commonly used by Debussy and Bartók, in which the right hand plays the melody in octaves, and in the middle of the octave there is a note that forms a major third to the melodic note below. This technique not only enhances the momentum of the music, but also functions as a modal ambiguity.[229] In the accompaniment, the arpeggiated texture of bars 15 to 18 reappears at the end of the Cadenza (bar 76), constituting an echo. After the quarter rest in bar 78(Ex. 9), the left and right hands end with *ffff* strength on the atonal chords of E-B-E and E♭-B♭-E♭ respectively.[230]

Example 8:

[228] Recorded from a letter dated 9 July 2007 from Sang Tong to Zheng Yinglie.
[229] Zheng, "Minge zhuti yu wudiaoxing hesheng de qiaomiao jiehe," 114.
[230] Ibid.



Example 9:



It is important to note the use of chromatic scale and a variety of rhythms in this piece. This allows for better integration of tonal melodies and atonal harmonies, and a better presentation of the effect of atonal music. The national character of the piece is highlighted

by the perfect blend of atonal music and folk songs.

6.2.2 *YEJING*

Another violin work by Sang, *Yejing*, in addition to being described as the first atonal work in China, is also said to be the only atonal work composed during disastrous years of political turmoil (*Yejing* was composed on the eve of the People's Republic of China in a period of political turmoil).[231] Sang's *Yejing* is often mentioned in conjunction with *Shejiang Cai Furong* (Picking Lotus Flowers at the Riverside) by Luo Zhongrong, a vocal work that came to be looked upon as the first twelve-tone work in China (Fig. 5).[232] According to Zheng, it was inspired by Luo's work that Sang decided to publish *Yejing* more than thirty years after completing it.[233]

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[231] Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg," 95.

[232] Luo Zhongrong, "Shejiang cai furong," *Yinyue chuangzuo* [Musical Works] 3 (1980), page numbers not known; reprinted in *Luo Zhongrong yinyue zuopin xuan* [Luo Zhongrong: Selected Musical Works] (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 2006), 1–3.

[233] Sang's *Night Scenery* was published in the first issue of *Yinyue chuangzuo* [Musical Works] in 1981, shortly after the publication of Luo's *Picking Lotus Flowers* at the *Riverside* in the third issue of the same journal in the previous year. For Zheng's testimony, see Cheong, " Reading Schoenberg."

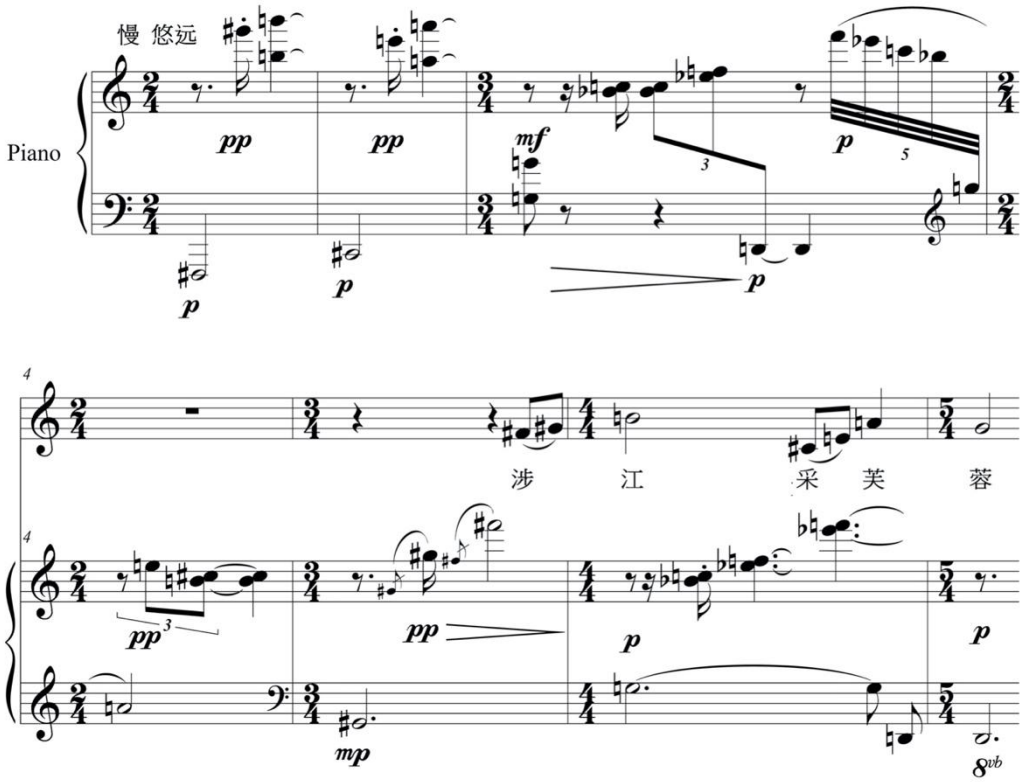


Fig. 5: Luo Zhongrong, *Shejiang Cai Furong,* bars 1-7.

"Written in the spring of 1947, *Yejing* is a program music intended to represent a poet wandering alone by a lake on a quiet night, with nightingales singing in the woods, sometimes mournfully, sometimes impassioned, and finally with only the nightingale's song and the aftermath of the poet's lament."[234] Sang described the techniques he used to create the atonal harmony of *Yejing*. In order to avoid establishing any clear tonal centre, he refused to use traditional modes, scales, tertian harmonies or traditional harmonic progressions. Instead, he made liberal use of chromatic scales and various dissonant harmonies. The occasional use of tertian harmonies is combined with other structures to eliminate any possible hint of tonal function.[235]

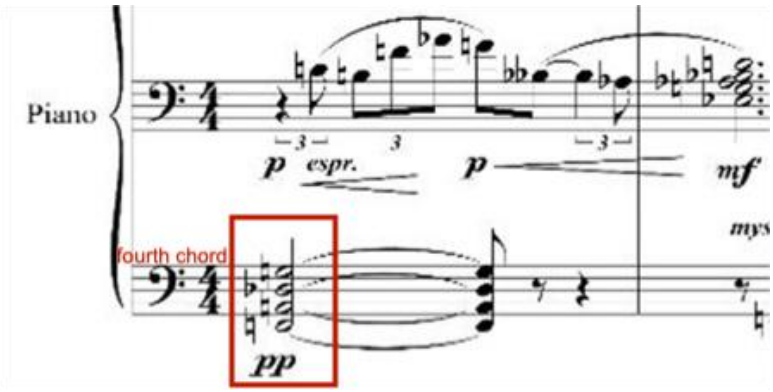
According to Sang, *Yejing* is themed on varied manifestations (contraction, extension, etc.) of the melody first heard at the outset of the piece. He named this melody the 'thematic

[234] Sang Tong, "Yejing zhong de wudiaoxing shoufa ji qita" [Atonal and Other Techniques in Night Scenery], *Yinyue yishu* [Art of Music], 3 (1991): 56.
[235] Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg," 96.

motif' or the 'poet's motif' (Ex. 10). Played on the piano, this is a phrase composed mainly of semitones, tritones and syncopated rhythms.

1. This phrase (including the harmony) has eleven semitones in total, with only F♯ (or G♭) missing, with highly chromatic.
2. The 'fourth chord' (see Ex. 10) that serves as a harmonic background is, in fact, a dominant seventh chord in D with tertian. The dominant seventh chord could have implied tonality, but each of its tones is chromatically related to another tone in the melody, and any possible suggestion of tonality is offset by these chromatic relationships.[236]

Example 10:



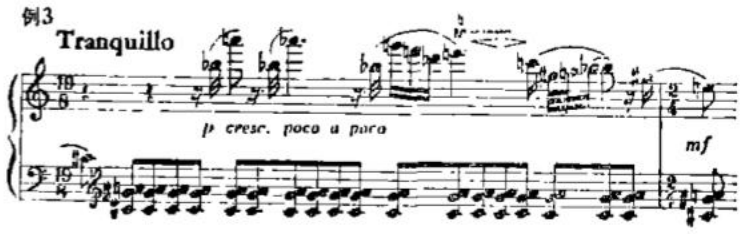
It can be seen that this theme fully employs the compositional techniques described by Sang Tong to achieve the effect of atonality.

Additionally, there is another theme in this work - the nightingale theme (Ex. 11). The

[236] Zheng Yinglie, "Sang Tong de Ye Jing shishi" [A Preliminary Analysis of Sang Tong's Night Scenery], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music] 5, no. 2 (1983): 57.

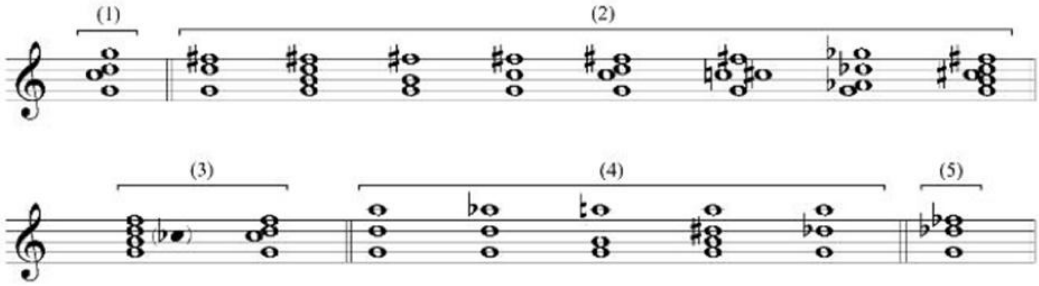
nightingale theme appears in bars 29, 34-37, 62-65, etc., echoing the poet's motif. The semitones and tritones are the basic materials that make up this theme.[237]

Example 11:



Sang also mentioned that the harmonic materials used in this piece are all chord structures containing dissonances (Ex. 12), with chord forms containing major seventh intervals being the most frequent and widely used.[238] It is easy to see that Sang's composition was also influenced by Hindemith's harmonic theory, using intervals of high tension to reflect the needs of the music and emotional development.

Example 12:



[237] Ibid., 56.
[238] Sang, "Yejing," 60.

In terms of compositional technique, *Yejing* is undoubtedly an atonal piece. Combining atonal harmony with traditional Chinese folk songs is a characteristic of Sang Tong's compositions, but his works are not limited to atonal works. He believed that he should compose with techniques that express individual feelings, thoughts and needs.[239] It can be seen that Sang Tong's musical composition not only inherits the path of Chinese modernist music pioneered by Tan Xiaolin, but also fully embodies the fusion of musical modernism and Chinese traditional music.

Sang Tong's achievements in the history of Chinese modernist music are inextricably linked to the environment in which he studied at the composition department of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. During the 1940s, this institution introduced a range of modernist musical theories, notably the theoretical frameworks of Schoenberg and Kurth, taught by Fraenkel, and Hindemith's composition theory, instructed by Tan Xiaolin. As a student of both professors, Sang Tong's compositions were influenced by several modernist composers.

The above two works by Sang Tong are bold attempts at the compositions of early Chinese modernist music. It is also because of the appearance of these two pieces established Sang Tong's historical significance in the development of musical modernism in China.

6.3 LUO ZHONGRONG

Luo Zhongrong is considered one of the most influential composers of musical modernism in China, following the departures of Wolfgang Fraenkel and Julius Schloss.[240] In the 1940s, Luo Zhongrong majored in violin at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, where he also studied composition under the influence of his fellow student, Sang Tong.[241] It is

[239] Sang, "Yejing", 63.
[240] Cheong, Hong, and Tam,"From Berlin to Wuhan," 49.
[241] Ibid.

uncertain whether he studied composition with Fraenkel during his school years, but as an auditor in Tan's composition class, he would have been influenced by Tan and Hindemith in his compositional techniques.[242] However, according to Luo himself, a more direct yet lesser-known factor influenced his early composition, *Shejiang Cai Furong* (Picking Lotus Flowers at the Riverside), which was the essay on the twelve-tone technique by the Czech composer and theorist Ctirad Kohoutek (1929-2011).[243]

In fact, after the Civil War in 1947, modernist music was restricted, and musical modernism in China entered a slow phase of development.[244] After the founding of New China (PRC), modernist music has been condemned as a 'product of capitalism'. This was further intensified during the Cultural Revolution[245], when serious adverse sanctions were applied to any music involving modernism. This social upheaval brought musical modernism in China to a standstill. Eventually, this continued repression thus gave birth to a rebellious impulse in some composers, which sparked a boom in Chinese modernist music after the end of the Cultural Revolution.[246]

By 1979, despite the fact that the Cultural Revolution had ended, Reform and Opening-up had just begun, but there was still no clear sign of official approval of modernist music. In the following year, Luo Zhongrong succeeded in publishing a twelve-tone art song, *Shejiang Cai Furong*, in the magazine *Yinyue chuangzuo* (Musical Works), a move which he exemplified for other modernist composers. His friends, such as Sang Tong, have also published a Chinese modernist musical work that had been composed more than 30 years earlier. From then on, musical modernism in China entered a phase of rapid development in the 20th century. Luo's risky behaviour was also acknowledged by musicologists. Wang Ningyi pointed out, "For a long time, the twelve-tone compositional technique has been

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[242] The Chinese version of Hindemith's *The Craft of Musical Composition* was translated by Luo Zhongrong.
[243] Cheong, Hong, and Tam, "From Berlin to Wuhan" 50.
[244] The civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party between 1947-1949, and after the founding of the new China in 1949, the development of musical modernism was clearly limited by political and social turmoil.
[245] From 1966 to 1976, China's Chairman, Mao, unleashed the decade-the Cultural Revolution.
[246] Cheong, Hong, and Tam, "From Berlin to Wuhan", 52.

perceived as an unknowable monster and has been naively associated with political concepts such as the so-called 'dying imperialism' and 'waning capitalism'. Now, Luo Zhongrong bravely breaks through this forbidden zone and carries out an experimental practice, which can be regarded as a meaningful exploration."[247] As a scholar of musical modernism in China, Zheng Yinglie expressed a similar view, "For quite some time, twelve-tone system and such twentieth-century compositional techniques and works have been denigrated as 'formalism' and regarded as a heresy in music ..... Luo Zhongrong's *Shejiang Cai Furong* signalled that the long-standing confinement was finally broken."[248] It can be said that the political environment in China at that time gave Luo's *Shejiang Cai Furong* a more significant meaning, it meant a new practice and a breakthrough of global musical modernism in China.

Luo Zhongrong's musical career can be divided into three periods. It began in the late 1940s and lasted for more than half a century. The early period, spanning from the 1940s to the early 1960s; the middle period, extending from the early 1960s to the late 1970s; and the final period, encompassing the early 1980s to the 1990s. During his 'early period' of more than a decade, Luo paid more attention to the practice of composing music through a wide range of subjects and forms, boldly exploring the combination of Western traditional compositional techniques with Chinese folk music (especially folk songs and dances, folk instrumental music and Xiqu), in order to find a way to create new styles of Chinese music. During this period, he has completed nearly half of the works of his compositional career.[249] Traces of the Western European Classical School and the Late Romantic School can be seen in his musical compositions of this period.

During the middle period, which lasted nearly twenty years, Luo Zhongrong continued to

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[247] Wang Ningyi, "Farenshensi de Tansuo—Ping Luo Zhongrong de *Shejiang Cai Furong*", *Yinyue Yanjiu* [Music Research] (1981):41-45.
[248] Zheng Yinglie, "Gequ *Shejiang Cai Furong* de chuangzuo shoufa [The composition of the song *Picking Lotus Flowers at the Riverside*]", *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music] 3 (1981): 78-81.
[249] Wang Yuhe, "Yiwei zai yishuchuangxin shang buduantansuo de zuoqujia-Luo Zhongrong jiqi yinyuechuangzuo [Luo Zhongrong and his musical compositions]", *Zhongguoyinyue* [Chinese Music], 4 (1995): 6.

experiment with the ethnicisation of music, following the tradition of the previous period. In terms of compositional technique, he began to experiment with modernist techniques in some of his works. However, this was on the eve of the political turmoil in China, which later led to the unprecedented 'Cultural Revolution'. Meanwhile, as modernist composers of the same period as Sang Tong, they shared similar experiences. During the Cultural Revolution, Luo, who was in Beijing, was not exempted and was censored as a counter-revolutionary. Therefore, in terms of the number of compositions, Luo Zhongrong did not write as much as he had in the earlier period.[250] At this stage, Luo's compositional thinking was mainly in the chromatic system of harmony.

In the latter stages of his career, the Cultural Revolution had ended, and China was entering a new period of political, economic and cultural Reform and Opening-up. This new socio-cultural environment therefore greatly stimulated Luo Zhongrong's enthusiasm for musical exploration. In terms of musical forms, he became more interested in various forms of chamber music (including chamber art songs).[251] In the later phase of Luo's career, he shifted away from the pursuit of emotional expression and began experimenting with more modernist techniques. As Liu pointed out, significant societal changes and personal experiences can lead to transformations in an artist's creative approach. To Luo, the experiences during the Cultural Revolution prompted him to alter his music style, evident in his subsequent works. Structurally, he moved further away from traditional compositional norms.[252] During this period, Luo has become more diversified not only in terms of compositional mentality, but also in terms of genres as well as techniques. In particular, the emergence of the 'pentatonic twelve-tone technique' marked the establishment of his personal musical language. His compositional career reached its peak due to his work from this later period.[253]

6.3.1 *QIUZHIGE - NANLING DAOZHONG*

[250] Wang, "Yiwei," 6.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Liu Juanjuan, "Conversations and Reflections - One of Luo Zhongrong's Research," *Music Research*, 3 (2004): 55-56.
[253] Ibid., 64.

Luo's compositions span a wide range of genres and are quite numerous. Art songs are his favourite genre, most of which are composed with lyrics from ancient Chinese poems. When it comes to the composition of art songs based on ancient Chinese poems, Tan Xiaolin can be regarded as the pioneer of modern harmony in the history of early musical modernism in China. As analysed earlier, Tan specialised in combining Western modernist compositional techniques with the Chinese pentatonic mode, creating modern harmonies with a Chinese national style. Luo Zhongrong, on the other hand, inherited the compositional style of his teacher Tan Xiaolin, but added his own thoughts and innovations to the harmonic language.

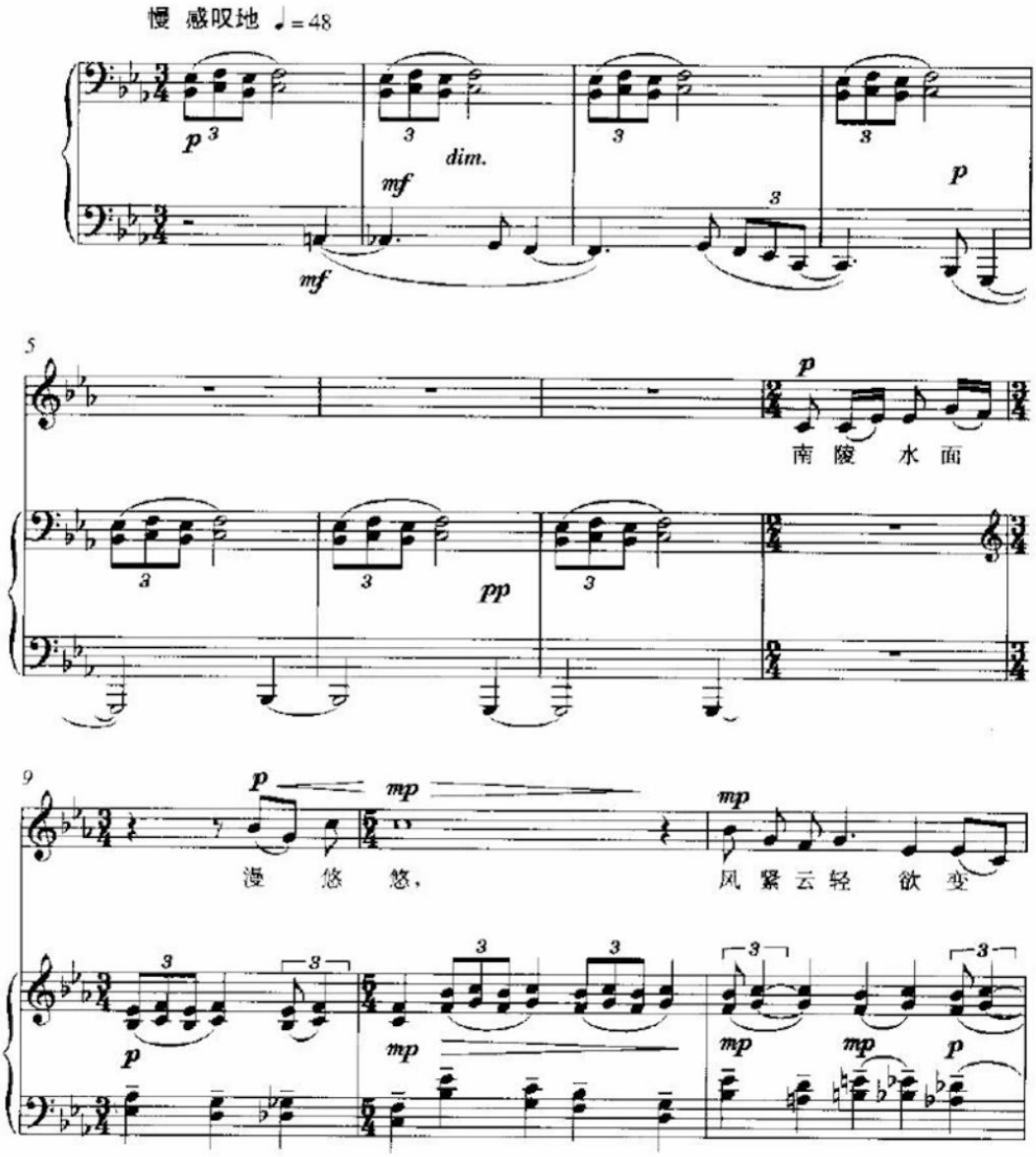
Qiuzhige (Songs of Autumn), which Luo composed in the 1960s, is an art song suite featuring three poems by poet Du Mu from the Tang Dynasty as lyrics. The second of the piece, *Nanling Daozhong* (In the Road to Nanling), will be analysed in detail. This poem is structured in seven words per line, describing the scenery the poet saw on his way to Nanling by boat and expressing his loneliness.

The prelude (bars 1-7) of this art song (Ex. 13) starts with the left and right hands in the bass, the right hand is the repetition of ostinatos that lasts for 7 bars, and the left hand plays a singing melody, the combination of the descending melody and the accompaniment of the ostinatos. In the application of harmony, the composer does not use traditional tertian harmony, but instead quartal harmony, which makes the harmony not only modern, but also has a strong national flavour. The bass and tenor voices of the piano are descending semitones at bar 9, and the right hand's playing at bar 10 is a sequence of a fifth upwards from the previous bar.[254]

Example 13:

[254] Zeng Guanghai, "Qiuzhige-Dumu Jueju Sanshou" [Analysis and Singing of Luo Zhongrong's Songs of Autumn-Three Du Mu Jueju], *Modern Music* 08 (2019): 19.

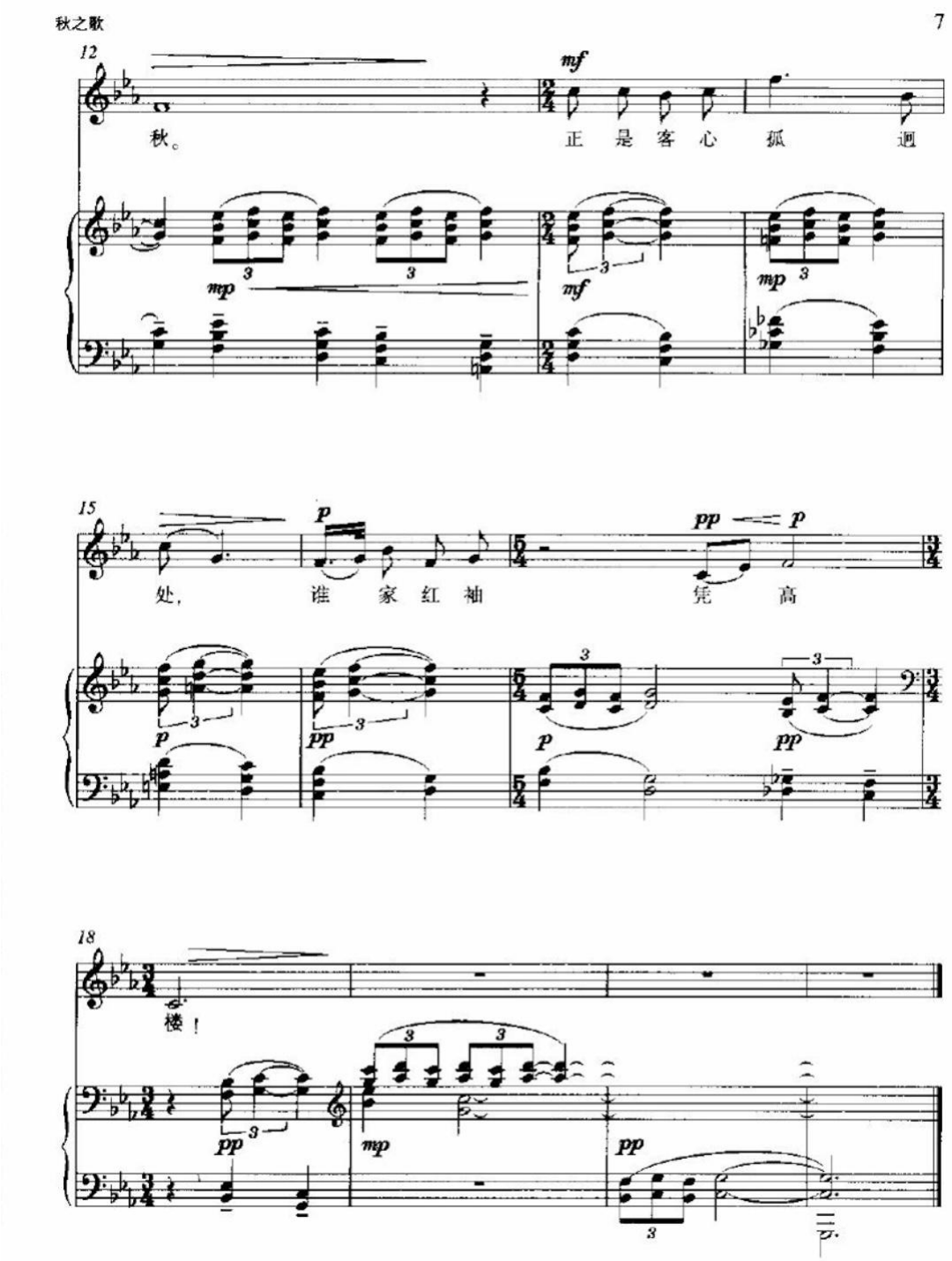
二、南 陵 道 中



By bar 12 (Ex. 14), the chord has an added interval of a fourth on the left and right hands, to thicken the texture. Bar 14 is the climax of the song. In terms of harmony, both the left and right hand use quartal chords which are built from the intervals of perfect fourth, making the harmony extremely intense. The whole piece is dominated by Hindemith's III chords, with only two IV chords (Ex. 15) used to show tension, at the climax (bar 14) and

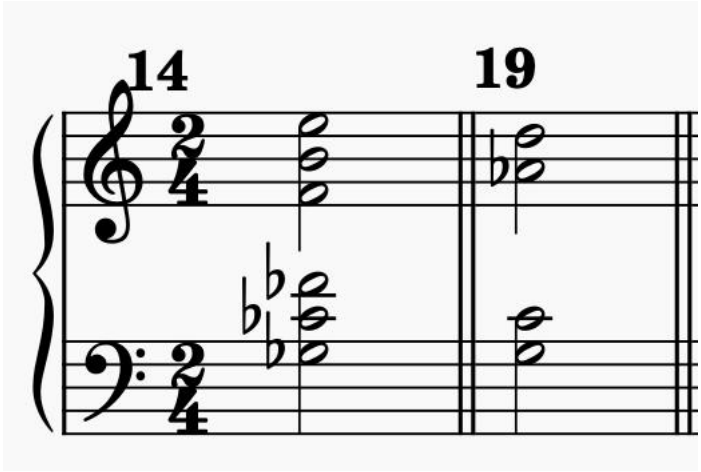
in the coda (bar 19).[255]

Example 14:



Example 15:

[255] Wu Chunfu and Wang Ying, "Luo Zhongrong De Yishugequ Chunagzuo" [Luo Zhongrong's art song composition], *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], 04(2011): 26.



In addition, the composer's application of rhythms is very much in line with the rhythm of the poem recitation, with 3/4, 2/4 and 5/4 beats used throughout the piece, making the melodic fluctuations of the whole song similar to the tone of the poem. From the melodic progression and rhythmic organisation of the piece, there are in fact some characteristics of Tan Xiao Lin's art songs, but the composer uses his creativity in the harmonies. In this piece, Luo blended the quartal harmony of modern harmonic techniques with pentatonic scales, reflecting the strong national flavour of Chinese modernist music.[256] It was composed at a time when people were still singing the praises of revolutionary songs, and this context gave it a historical significance.

6.3.2 *SHEJIANG CAI FURONG*

Shejiang Cai Furong is Luo Zhongrong's bold attempt and innovation of the twelve-tone technique. Unlike the atonal *Yejing*, in Zheng's opinion, Luo's *Shejiang Cai Furong* was a twelve-tone work close to tonal music and it proved that it was entirely possible to embody the pentatonic scale with a twelve-tone row as the material.[257] And its unique use of pentatonic collection, while going against the central idea of Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique, sets it apart.[258]

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[256] Zeng, "Qiuzhige-Dumu Jueju Sanshou", 19.
[257] Zheng, "Sang Tong de Ye Jing shishi", 59.
[258] Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg," 91.

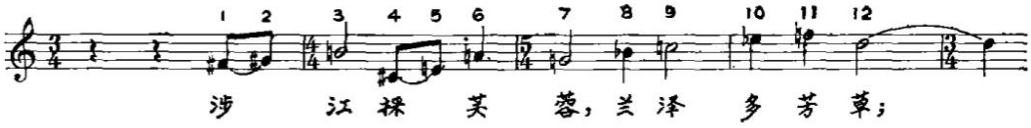
Shejiang Cai Furong is a poem in a five-word per line structure, in which the wanderer picks flowers and finds no one to give them to, evoking his deep longing for his wife, with a sad atmosphere.

The song is structured in a balanced binary form, with the four phrases applying the four forms of row in turn. This gives formal consistency to the lyrics, melody and rows.[259] The piece is based strictly on the twelve-tone technique, with each phrase containing twelve different semitones. First of all, we need to start by sorting out the rows (Ex. 16) of the piece.

The twelve-tone row of the first phrase forms a rigorous twelve-tone system, known as prime, or 'P-O' for short.

Example 16:

(P-O)

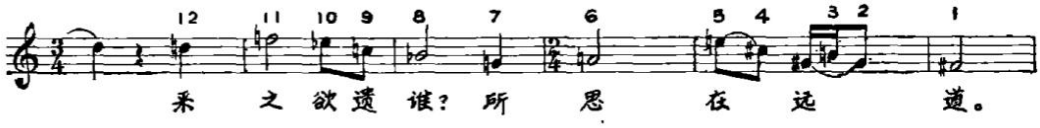


The second phrase (Ex. 17) is the first transformation, forming the retrograde of the prime form, known simply as 'R'.

Example 17:

(R)

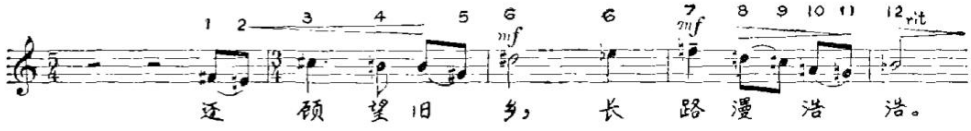
[259] Zheng, "Gequ *Shejiang Cai Furong* de chuangzuo shoufa", 78.



The third phrase (Ex. 18) is the second transformation, called the ‘Inversion’, which refers to the flipping of intervals. For example, if the second tone in the prime form is an ascending major second of the first tone, then the second tone in the ‘Inversion’ is a descending major second of the first tone. ‘Inversion’ is shortened to ‘I’.

Example 18:

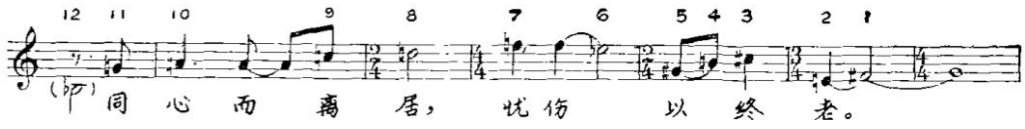
(I)



The last phrase (Ex. 19) is the combination of the two transformations, forming the Retrograde Inversion, also known simply as ‘RI’.

Example 19:

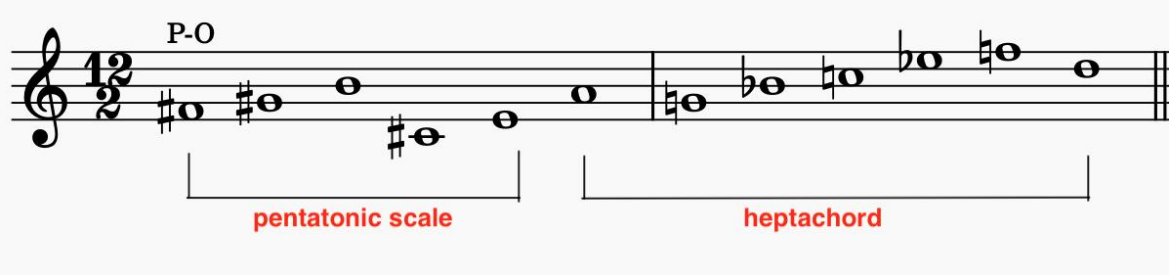
(RI)



The melodic part of the piece is thus composed of the prime form and three transformations. This structure allows a characteristic twelve-tone system to be tightly integrated, with the ending tone of the first phrase being the beginning of the next, and

with a natural succession of the previous and the next, with strict internal logic.[260] As shown in (Ex. 20), the prime form can be divided into two scales, the Chinese pentatonic scale and a heptachord which is arranged in the interval relationship of the pentatonic scale. Such a serial structure establishes the pentatonic style of this piece.

Example 20:



In terms of harmony, Luo applied Hindemith's harmonic theory. Zheng believed that the semitones in the chords of the climax (Ex. 21) of the part (bars 19-21) promote a change in harmonic tension.[261] However, Luo disagreed with Zheng on this point, so he explained his understanding of Hindemith's theory of harmonic tension in his correspondence with Zheng:

> I find Hindemith's theory of harmonic tension very convincing. His theory of harmonic tension is based on his series 2. According to Hindemith's theory, the harmonic tension of chords containing both semitones and tritones (i.e., chords in his group IV) depends on the tritone [not the semitone].[262]

Example 21:

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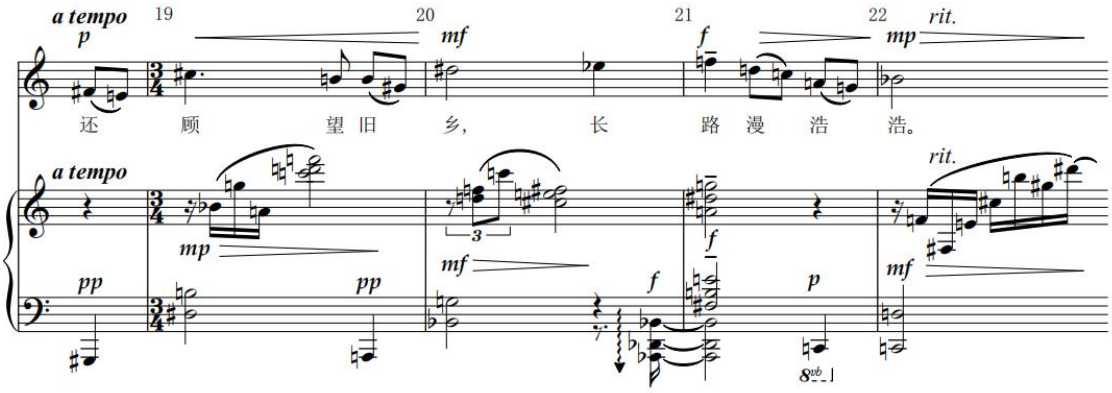
[260] Wang, "Farenshensi de Tansuo", 42.
[261] Zheng, "Gequ *Shejiang Cai Furong* de chuangzuo shoufa", 81.
[262] Luo Zhongrong's letter to Zheng Yinglie, dated September 24, 1982. See Qian Renping, *Zhongguo xin yinyue nianjian* 2012 [New Music in China 2012 Yearbook] (Shanghai: Shanghai Conservatory of Music Press, 2015,) 443–49.



Luo's answer confirms that the work was indeed influenced by Hindemith's theory of harmony.

Such a distinctly pentatonic style, combined with the modernist compositional technique, makes the whole work not only modernist in its Western-musical character, but also adds a lot of Chinese flavour. Chen Mingzhi and Zheng Yinglie highly praised this work as an example of serial music taking root in China. They used this work as an example to advocate compositions favourable to Chinese modernist music through the application of pentatonic twelve-tone technique.[263]

By analysing the above two pieces of Luo Zhongrong, it is clear that he is a creative explorer. From the traditional technique in the early stages to the modern technique in the middle and late stages and the flexible use of national material, it shows that he constantly pursues the innovation of compositional technique. In addition, his works are largely influenced by his teacher Tan Xiaolin. As Luo Zhongrong said in a 1995 interview, "My musical ideas come from Tan Xiaolin and Shen Zhibai."[264] And this innovation not only carries on well the national style of Chinese modernist music created by Tan Xiaolin, but also demonstrates a more diverse fusion of musical modernism and Chinese traditional music. His musical style is somewhere between Impressionism and serialism with a

[263] Cheong, Hong, and Tam,"From Berlin to Wuhan," 60.
[264] Song Jin, "Danru Huajing——Fang Zuoqujia Luo Zhongrong," interviewed by Song Jin, 1995.

distinct pentatonic flavour, and he has been regarded by many musicians as "the spiritual father of Chinese modernist music".[265]

6.4 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

Overall, the works of these three composers reflect an early manifestation of the fusion of global musical modernism and Chinese traditional music. Although the compositional techniques of these three composers were different, they learnt from each other and influenced each other to pursue this global trend together.

In the specific practice of Chinese modernist music, the question of how to integrate "tradition and the modern" and "China and the West" in their works became an ongoing issue for Chinese composers. Under the complex social background, early Chinese modernist musicians such as Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong, Luo Zhongrong and others broke through the constraints of traditional concepts, explored boldly and practiced courageously, and answered this question: on the basis of the framework of global musical modernism, blend it with the elements of Chinese traditional music, to compose Chinese modernist music with both modern characteristics and strong national styles. Meanwhile, their active musical activities and composition teaching not only laid the theoretical foundation for the development of musical modernism in China, but also nurtured talents in modernist music for China. After the Cultural Revolution, some modernist musicians and scholars, such as Luo Zhongrong, Sang Tong, and Zheng Yinglie, resumed their musical or teaching activities, joining several of China's music academies, such as the China Conservatory of Music, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, and the Wuhan Conservatory of Music. While composing, they also continued to disseminate music modernist theories throughout the country, inheriting and carrying forward what they had learned and experienced.

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[265] Frank Kouwenhoven, "Luo Zhongrong," *Grove Music Online*, 2001.

Therefore, they have an irreplaceable significance in the history of the development of Chinese modernist music. The musical path they opened up influenced a large number of young composers and led the future development of global musical modernism in China.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Through qualitative research, this study explored and demonstrated the emergence, early history, and specific manifestations of global musical modernism in China. For most scholars of musical modernism, musical modernism in China remains a relatively marginal area for global musical modernism, and this study helps to incorporate the theme of musical modernism in China into the current discourse of global musical modernism studies, modernist music studies, musicological studies, and modern Chinese cultural studies. This chapter summarises and concludes the main findings of this study, while pointing out directions for further research.

Through different methods, including collecting primary and secondary sources, and conducting data analysis (musical analysis and textual analysis), this thesis develops a scholarly study from various aspects of musicology, music historiography, and modernist theory.

7.1 MAIN FINDINGS

Specifically, from 1927-1979, global musical modernism in China experienced four stages- imitation, learning, application, and innovation. In 1927, the establishment of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, China's first music academy, symbolised the beginning of China's acceptance and imitation of 'advanced' Western musical techniques through musical and pedagogical activities. After musical modernism began to spread in China, Chinese composers began to catch up and practice with Tan Xiaolin, Sang Tong and Luo Zhongrong as their representatives. Their forward-looking fusion of Western modern techniques with traditional Chinese musical elements not only pioneered Chinese modernist music, but also led the

direction of Chinese music throughout the 20th century.

Just as China is a marginal but still integral part of the global musical modernism landscape. In the 21st century, while Chinese modernist composers are fusing Chinese and Western cultures, Western avant-garde composers are also actively composing with Eastern elements.[266] This phenomenon underscores that in an age of cultural globalisation, the fusion of diverse cultures can give new life to global musical modernism.

As a study that takes global musical modernism in China as its object of research, the above original preliminary findings have led to a more in-depth understanding of the field and have made this thesis an indispensable part of the study of musical modernism as a whole. However, due to the constraints of time, space, personal capacity, and many other reasons, this study may address more issues that have not yet been discussed, and leaves a wide space for future research and exploration in this field. Further research could be conducted with primary reference to the following direction: comparative studies of the trajectory of musical modernism in China with other regions or cultures, or exploring the intersection of musical modernism with other disciplines such as literature, visual arts, politics and technology. These directions can provide insights into the distinctive features and global influences that have shaped Chinese musical modernism and also enrich the global narrative of musical modernism in China.

7.2 EPILOGUE

In fact, it is precisely because of the bold innovations and fusions of the older generation of

[266] Qian Yiping, "Ershi Shiji Xiabanye Yinyue Yuyan Tedian Ji Jiegou Leixing" [Characteristics and structural types of musical language in the second half of the 20th century], *Yinyue Yishu* [Art of Music], 01(2011):150.

composers that young composers after 1979 inherited and deeply explored global musical modernism on this basis. The following is a brief analysis of the development of global musical modernism in China after the Cultural Revolution.

After a decade of darkness, hope finally returned to Chinese music with the announcement of the resumption of the college entrance exams[267] in 1977, ushering in the world-famous "The Class of '77"[268] at the Central Conservatory of Music, comprising members such as Tan Dun, Chen Qigang, Guo Wenjing, Qu Xiaosong, Zhou Long and Chen Yi. They are the third generation of Chinese composers, also known as the 'New Wave' composers.[269] On the one hand, some of them studied under second-generation composers such as Sang Tong and Luo Zhongrong, learning and benefiting from their teachers' modernist compositional techniques. For example, Chen Qigang, one of the Class of '77, wrote in memory of his teacher Luo Zhongrong, "Mr Luo was keen on delving into 20th century compositional techniques ..... The most useful knowledge that Mr Luo taught me was the practice and use of 'pentatonic twelve-tone technique', both in melodic writing and harmonic progression, maximising the richness of the pentatonic rows while avoiding the tensions of the twelve-tone progression."[270] Zhao Xiaosheng, one of the 'New Wave' composers, has also expressed his respect and gratitude to his postgraduate supervisor, Sang Tong, for his devoted teaching. As one of the first postgraduates in the composition department of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Sang Tong not only corrected all the exercises of Hindemith's *A Concentrated Course in Traditional Harmony* for him, but also held an advanced harmony class entitled 'Six Lectures'[271] for them. In Zhao's view, Sang Tong was not only a pioneer of modernist music in China, but also an academic model for modern harmonic textbooks as well as theoretical research.[272]

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[267] It is a national undergraduate admission examination in China, which was resumed in 1977 after a ten-year interruption due to the effects of the Cultural Revolution.
[268] Due to the expansion of enrolment and other reasons, they were actually enrolled in 1978, so some people refer to them as the "Class of '78".
[269] "Third Generation/composers", *Encyclopedia of contemporary Chinese culture*, last modified 2011.
[270] Chen Qigang, "Huainian Wodelaoshi Luo Zhongrong" [In Memory of My Teacher, Luo Zhongrong], Beijing Ribao [Beijing Daily], last modified September 10, 2021.
[271] These lectures were collected and published in 1980 as a book on harmony, *Six Lectures*.
[272] Zhao Xiaosheng, "Chentong Daonian Enshi Cifu Sang Tong Jiaoshou" [Sorrowful Mourning for my Teacher, Prof Sang Tong], posted on November 2, 2011.

On the other hand, as a result of the Reform and Opening-up policy, the composition department at the Central Conservatory of Music expanded its horizons beyond Soviet and Russian modernist composition theory, and students had a more diverse range of options. During this time, composer Chou Wen-chung, who had already emigrated to the United States, played a significant role in assisting these domestic musicians.[273]

"The Class of '77", of whom Chou thought quite highly, represented the specialist of the Chinese generation.[274] This is due to their first-hand experiences of living in the countryside and access to folklore during the Cultural Revolution. Mittler also commented on the experiences of this generation of composers:

> The third generation was born during the 1950s and did not have the opportunity to be educated until the end of the Cultural Revolution. Some of them, even in their twenties, had already had a lot of practical experience, such as playing and orchestrating music in local cultural troupes, instrumental ensembles, or Peking Opera troupes, before they started to study music as a subject. Most of the young people had been sent to the countryside and had been exposed to folk music. This exposure was not the kind of 'travelling study tour' occasionally arranged by the conservatory, but rather a daily engagement with folk music that lasted for several years. This direct contact with traditional folk music was decisive for the stylistic development of most of the composers: tradition took on a different dimension in their work. By combining the 'experience' they had in the countryside with the modernist music they received after the Cultural Revolution, these composers soon created a 'new wave' in Chinese music.[275]

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[273] Wen-chung Chou, "Whither Chinese Composers?" *Contemporary Music Review* 26, no. 5-6 (2007): 507-508.
[274] Chou, "Whither Chinese Composers?", 508.
[275] Mittler, *Dangerous tunes*, 164-165.

It was during this period that the phenomenon of 'root fever' emerged in the Art field. In music, the 'root fever' was manifested in the pursuit of modern techniques based on Chinese traditional music, and the fusion of Chinese folk music with modern western music to create a unique musical world.[276] If the early modernist composers of Tan Xiaolin's generation added Chinese elements to musical modernism, the New Wave composers incorporated modernist elements into Chinese traditional music. Though also a fusion, the third generation composers bring a more varied and controversial fusion, a compositional tendency that is generally referred to as 'reinterpretation of tradition'.[277] Composers such as Tan Dun said, "The music I want to create is neither a concept inherent in China nor a concept inherent in foreign countries. Rather, I am looking for something from it that may belong to me and may belong to the future of our national music."[278]

By this time, musical modernism had made some fundamental changes in China. Chinese composers began to pursue a new kind of national music, that is, a kind of world music that transcends both the division between China and the West. In early Chinese modernist music compositions, the Chinese parts were often expressed by direct adoption (or minimal adaptation) of Chinese folk melodies.[279] The innovation of the 'New Wave' composers, however, was to reject the notion that "national characteristics could be expressed through the direct adoption of a melody". Instead, these composers "dug deep into the essence and spirit of traditional melodies and recreated them with new musical ideas and new musical techniques".[280] In addition to this, their concepts of melody, harmony and treatment of instrumental combinations are more diverse and innovative, aiming to both satisfy modern Western compositional trends and revive traditional Chinese aesthetic tendencies.[281] They have gradually composed modernist works that have gone out of China and shown a certain influence in the world. For example, Tan Dun, Chen Yi and Chen Qigang have

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[276] Liu, "A Comparative Study," 51.
[277] Ibid., 76.
[278] Tan Dun, "I want to contribute to the Conservatory and serve the motherland,"*Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music], 02 (1986): 67.
[279] Timothy Lane Brace, "Modernization and music in contemporary China: Crisis, identity, and the politics of style" (PhD Diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1992), 278.
[280] Jiang Jing, "Zhongguo chuantong yinyue dui zhuanye qiyue chuangzuo de shentou" [The Permeation of Chinese Traditional Music into Professional Instrumental Composition], *Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music], 01(1991):15.
[281] Brace, "Modernization and music", 281-282.

each won international composition awards for their works. One of the most important achievements of the Third Generation is their elevation of Chinese instrumental music to a completely new level, creating a new repertoire of this genre and developing a strong personal style.[282]

Perhaps because of the phenomenal success of the 'New Wave' composers, modernist techniques became the dominant compositional method in China and were gradually used for teaching in conservatories. At the same time, the method of teaching composition students to learn predominantly modernist techniques was controversial. As a professor of composition at the China Conservatory of Music, Shi Wanchun critiqued this phenomenon: "Due to the fact that many contemporary composition departments at schools have a strong emphasis on encouraging exploration and innovation, the traditions were neglected. Modernist works are blindly revered, resulting in students who, in the end, learn neither traditional music nor modernist music well."[283] In the 21st century, with the growing number of professional conservatories in China and a substantial population of composition students, the progress of global musical modernism in China finds itself caught in a dilemma. The anticipated development of Chinese modernist music has not materialised as expected, and, regrettably, it has also seen a decline in its initial robust critical spirit, as well as its cultural and philosophical significance.[284] On the one hand, most composers became constrained to write commercially, probably because modernist music did not have a large audience and so did not bring them revenue. On the other hand, this generation of composers lacked the interest and enthusiasm for Chinese traditional music. Unlike the early modernist composers and the 'New Wave' composers, they did not study Chinese traditional music in depth, and even the emphasis on national styles in some of their works was purely motivated by a political emphasis on 'popularisation'.[285] This made it difficult for them to produce modernist works as outstanding as those of the 20th century. As Chou Wen-chung clearly pointed out, "Ultimately, the future of music will be

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[282] "Third Generation/composers."
[283] Shi Wanchun, "Modernism Should Not Become the Mainstream of Composition Teaching in Conservatories: Reflections on the First 'Voice of China' Composition Competition," *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], 5(2013):30.
[284] Li, "The Observations," 15-16.
[285] "Fourth Generation/composers", *Encyclopedia of contemporary Chinese culture*, last modified 2011.

determined not by the talent of Chinese composers, but rather by the potential of Chinese culture, much of which has been overlooked, allowed to decline, and at times, suppressed."[286]

However, in today's commercially orientated 'global music' environment, this is not just a problem that needs to be addressed in the pursuit of musical modernism in China; quite the contrary, it is a global problem. With the death of the masters of the early twentieth century, Western composers also seem to be lost in their compositional direction. In order to resist the increasingly egoistic and commodified character of modern music, we need to find a new musical language.[287]

Many attempts have been made to find a new way for the survival of modernist music in China. In addition to changes in music teaching, modernist music events are organised very frequently. For example, until the COVID pandemic, "Beijing Modern Music Festival" has been held 17 times; "Shanghai New Music Week" has been held 12 times; "China-ASEAN Music Festival" has been held 8 times. In addition, there are some other music festivals with the titles of 'new music', 'contemporary music' or 'international music', such as "Wuhan International New Music Festival (2007)", "Autumn Rhythm - Chengdu Contemporary Music Festival (2012)", and the "Beijing International Music Festival (BMF, held 22 times since 1998)".[288] These music festivals have produced lots of modernist musical works which aim to promote the deep integration and development of global musical modernism in China.

As stated from the outset, this thesis does not aim to provide solutions for the future development of global musical modernism in China, where the debate continues about the direction of global musical modernism in China. With less than a century of modernist music being composed in China, it is too early to predict its rise and fall. In

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[286] Chou Wen-chung, "Whither Chinese composers?", *Contemporary Music Review*, 26 (2007): 509.
[287] Ibid., 504.
[288] Li Shiyuan, "Chinese modern music," 116-117.

my opinion, Chinese music continues to hold boundless potential. Whether it will be the one to overcome these challenges of global musical modernism, let's wait and see!

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