# EDUCATION AND RESEARCH ON CHINESE TRADITIONAL MUSIC

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#### Abstract

'Education and Research on Chinese Traditional Music' has a history of thousands of years, making it difficult to present this topic comprehensively. Therefore, the larger theme "Education and Research on Chinese Traditional Music within a Dialogue of Civilizations and Cultures" that is partly discussed here will be limited to the contemporary history and the appearance of Chinese traditional music after the first encounters with 'so-called' Western music. This paper is mainly a reflection on the author's personal experiences, views on certain aspects of the topic, and a wider consideration of historical events that are connected to it.<sup>1</sup>

Keywords education, tradition, Chinese music, dialogue, cultural views

### AGE OF EMPIRE VERSUS NATION-STATE

From a Chinese perspective, 1840 is regarded as the year when modern Chinese history began. In 1840, when the Opium War broke out, gunfire from the West opened the gates of China. After that, the traditional idea that all lands belong to the emperor was challenged. The system that had held for thousands of years, where the key relationships were between groups in one land that one emperor ruled, was altered. From 1840, the key feature was the international relationship between China and various other countries.

After 1840, many revolutions and changes in China failed and people began to wonder how to turn this country into a powerful nation, and how to save its endangered independence. This also inspired the social elites to build a new national spirit and promote the establishment of a powerful new nation-state. Learning from the West and developing science and democracy were the main approaches that were adopted to realize this goal. A new national education system was required to support these ideas, and the old-style private schools, which tutored students for imperial examinations, were transformed into schools for the public. In short, the subjects of an empire were to be turned into citizens of a nation-state. The scholar and reformer Liang Qichao (梁启超) once said that in order to improve the populace's cultivation and spiritual education poetry and music are of great importance (Liang, 1959 [1902]: 77)<sup>2</sup>.

However, intellectuals at that time faced a great challenge in exactly deciding which of the many Chinese music genres were the most suitable for this purpose. They could not identify which of the many musical traditions – including many different kinds of Chinese song types, Chinese *xiqu* (drama) music, storytelling, repertoires for musical instruments and other combined musical genres – could be used to represent this type of new China. And which musical tradition could be representative enough to be taught within the newly established national education systems, and could become known as *guoyue* (国乐) or 'national music'.

By 1840, the court music which had been so important in China for centuries no longer existed. The music of the literati, such as that performed on the zither *guqin* (古琴), was thought to be private music

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper evolved from a keynote with the title Education and Research on Chinese Traditional Music within a Dialogue of Civilizations and Cultures" for a conference in Australia held 3 years back.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The original text is: "盖欲改造国民之品质,则诗歌音乐为精神教育之一要件".

or noble music and also unsuitable. At that time, folk songs of the ordinary people were also considered to be unsuitable as they were viewed as simple, superficial, or shallow. Therefore, there was no musical form that was suitable for representing China as a modern nation-state. Moreover, the western symphony orchestra was considered a superior musical genre, and one that Chinese intellectuals wanted to emulate as part of a new national music which could represent the modern nation-state and solidify a spirit of a new society.

But did Chinese music traditions really have nothing at all? If so, how could this country exist for so many years? In fact, music has been incredibly important in Chinese society since ancient times. However, musical activities during earlier times had two characteristics that are crucial to this discussion, and explain why the intellectuals in the 1840s encountered the situation that are described.

1. The first of these two key characteristics was the very nature of music within Chinese society. In terms of Chinese traditional culture, it is difficult to find a term that exactly corresponds with the contemporary western concept of "music". In Chinese language, we use "yue" (樂) to refer to the activities within the rituals of worshipping that are fundamental to Chinese politics and civilization for millennia. Such yue was thought of as being more than an auditory art which is defined by the movement of sound through time. Rather, it was considered to be a performative language that included physical movement, gestures and actions, and was expressed in poetry, singing, dancing and the playing of musical instruments. What we now call "music" developed over thousands of years according to these parameters. The resulting forms of yue were intimately related to their ritual function, and thus unsuited to being decontextualized and used in the service of a modern nation-state.

2. The second key characteristic was the diversity in China's various forms of *yue* or music. This was partly a result of the natural diversity in such a vast country. But it also had a socio-political rationale. Music was intimately tied to rituals, including ancestor worship and life cycle rituals related to one's birth, adulthood, marriage, and death. All these were related to ancestor worship and family reproduction. This is Chinese cultural consciousness which is centred on family bloodlines, and which was supported through ritual and *yue* – music. While it resulted in a very rich musical landscape, no single musical genre was suitable for representing the entire nation in the new political climate of modern China.

Now, let's return to China of the 1840s, and look at how the intellectuals of that time attempted to solve this problem of creating a new music for the Chinese nation-state. One important way of the scholars was to learn from the West. During that time, there were three ways in which Chinese people had access to western music and music views.

(1) First, missionaries brought some western music to China. Western music education was introduced in 1845 through missionary schools. There were music classes in the curriculum (Figure 1). The second figure shows the textbook *Enlightenment of Music Principles* (Figure 2), which was written by the missionary C.W. Mateer's wife Julia Brown in 1864.

(2) Secondly, western music was accessed through scholars who went abroad to study, including the first president of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Xiao Youmei and the pioneer of Chinese musicology Wang Guangqi.

(3) Finally, people who went to study in Japan learnt about music from the West in Japan. They saw what happened in Japan after the Meiji Reform: Western music was popular and music became a common subject. Japan was an influential model for Chinese intellectuals wishing to learn from the West, because Japan was also located in Asia and had experienced power and prosperity in its modern history.

At that time, there were three different ideas about the building of a universal music in China. Some advocated for wholesale westernization, some for nationalism, as the thought of quintessence of Chinese traditional music, and some for a combination of Chinese and Western musical forms and approaches.

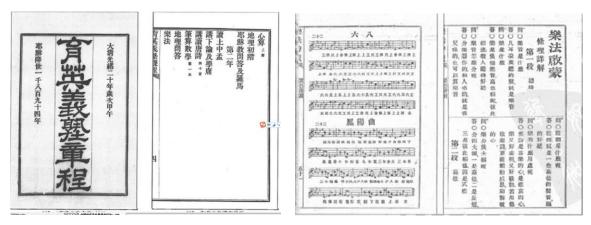


Figure 1: "Constitution of Yuying school", published in 1894<sup>3</sup>; Figure 2: *Enlightenment of Music Principles* published in 1872<sup>4</sup>.

There should be introduced as an example Xiao Youmei (1884-1940, Figure 3). He is the founder of an affiliated music school (音乐传习所) of Peking University and Shanghai Conservatory of Music. He wrote *Study of the History of Chinese Orchestra before the 17<sup>th</sup> century* [17世纪以前中国管弦乐队的历史的研究] in 1916 (Xiao, 2004), which is the first systematic study of Chinese traditional instrumental music ensembles in China. His work was based on early literature to explain the musical instrument combinations, music education system, and music applications before the Qing dynasty in China. Also, inspired by the classification and description of western musical instruments, he put forward a system of categorizing ancient Chinese musical instruments<sup>5</sup>. After Xiao Youmei, Wang Guangqi (1891—1936, Figure 4) went to study musicology at the University of Berlin. In 1934, he received a doctoral degree from the University of Bonn with his dissertation *A Study of Classical Chinese Opera* / Die chinesische klassiche Oper [论中国古典歌剧]<sup>6</sup> (Wang, 2009). What these two scholars' studies have in common is that they compare Chinese music and Western music, and are thus directly related to comparative musicology. Wang Guangqi once was a student of Erich Moritz von Hornbostel. Both scholars, Xiao Youmei and Wang Guangqi, tried to look for a direction in which China's music should develop by comparing Eastern and Western tonal systems.

It is worth mentioning that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, an examination of Chinese musical traditions focused on identifying the shortcomings of Chinese musical traditions that were supposedly apparent through learning about music from the West. The outcomes of this comparison were then used to innovate new elements. Taking Wang Guangqi for an example, he put forward a comprehensive system for the evolution of musical temperaments, tone, music notation and musical instruments. To complete this task, they believed it was necessary to collect ancient Chinese music and folk music, while at the same time scientific methods applied to Western music should be adopted to make a new national music. In other words, the contents were taken from traditions identified as Chinese while the authoring tools and methods of presentation were added from the West.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 1845, founders of Ningpo Boy's school, missionary D.B. McCartee and R.Q. Way moved to Hangzhou in 1867. They changed the name of the school into Yuying School (育英义塾) and then into Zhijiang University (之江大学) in 1914. This is quoted from *Zhong Guo Jindai Yinyue Jiaoyushi Jinian/ Chronological Record of Modern Chinese Music Education 1840-2000 (new edition)*, ed. by Sun Jinan, Shanghai Conservatory of Music Press: 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Mengyang School (蒙养学堂) set up by a missionary from the Presbyterian Church, C.W. Mateer (1836-1908) and his wife Julia Brown (1837-1898) in 1864. Julia was writing a textbook, *Enlightenment of Music Principles* [乐法启蒙]; quoted from *Zhong Guo Jindai Yinyue Jiaoyushi Jinian / Chronological Record of Modern Chinese Music Education 1840-2000 (new edition)*, ed. by Sun Jinan, Shanghai Conservatory of Music Press: 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> He also wrote "A Comparative Study of Chinese music and Western Music" (1920); "Introduction to the musical scale in the East and the West at All Times" (1930); "Evolution of Chinese ancient music" (1931) and others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> He also wrote "The Comparison of Tonal System Between the East and the West" (1926); "The Music of the Oriental" (1929).

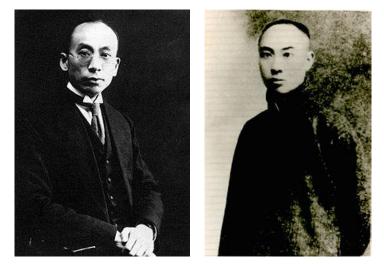


Figure 3: Xiao Youmei; Figure 4: Wang Guangqi (photos by courtesy of the Music Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Arts).

The people who really practiced this approach were those like Liu Tianhua and Yang Yinliu, who never went to study abroad.



Figure 5: Liu Tianhua (photo open access); Figure 6: Yang Yinliu (photos by courtesy of the Music Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Arts).

Liu Tianhua (刘天华 1895-1932, Figure 5) set up the Society for the Advancement of National Music (国乐改进社) in 1927. Like Xiao Youmei and Wang Guangqi introduced earlier, he advocated a combination of Chinese and Western elements. He tried to create a new way of combining tradition with the then experienced modernity. In order to achieve this goal, he planned investigations on musicians, musical composition, music notation, musical instruments and the nationals' aesthetic feelings of musical compositions. He was collecting books and musical instruments related to national music, recording national music and making improvements in musical notation and musical instruments. Overall, his studies were mainly concerned about creativity and teaching, especially regarding traditional instrumental music (Liu, 2009). His pioneering work regarding playing the erhu laid a strong foundation for an unmatched creativity and an education legacy of traditional musical instruments. Hearing his work "Bright Journey" (光明行, composed in 1931), it becomes clear that in this piece, Liu Tianhua has used a marching rhythm and a kind of modulation deriving from harmonic progressions in major chords to composite a revolutionary Chinese music "Marching on Bright Road".

Yang Yinliu's (杨荫浏 1899-1984, Figure 6) studied and made mainly contributions to the construction of Chinese music theories as well as to studies of modal temperament in ancient repertoires through analysing those notations. He dedicated his research to Chinese traditional music, especially the old type of the seven strings zither *Qin* (琴学), musical archaeology and instrumentation, and other less prominent fields (Yang, 2009).

What these scholars, Liu and Yang, shared in common was that both of them paid great attention to the gathering and collection of music practices and folk music and introduced creatively a unique field work method among those engaged in Chinese music circles.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF A UNIVERSAL MUSIC KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM ABOUT CHINESE TRADITIONAL MUSIC BETWEEN 1949 AND 1980

Before that time, the first modern scholars of education and research on Chinese traditional music were using individual and informal working methods and approaches. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China, from 1950 to 1960, the ideas and methods that they advocated were further refined to reach a national level. Chinese musicians undertook a number of activities in three key areas to develop a universal knowledge system for Chinese traditional music:

First, a professional education system of traditional music was established. The theory of the music of China's nationalities was developed as a major project and its outcomes in the "Music Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Arts" and nine major music conservatories, allowing those schools to be a place where traditional music researchers were nurtured. Also, the nine major music conservatories developed a major in the performance of traditional instruments based on instrumental traditions of the Han nationality in music performance, and they produced systematically courses and textbooks. The sources of those courses and textbook materials were drawn from the second area of activities undertaken by Chinese musicians at that time lead by the Music Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Arts in 1964 and later following projects.

As part of the second area of activities in 1950-1960, musicians and researchers looked for and collected various materials. Large-scale investigations on national folk music were organized by institutes on different levels, which was then called 'looking for properties and heritage'. Local, regional, and central governments organized festivals on folk music and dance performances of different scales. Figures 7 to 9 give some rough examples.



Figure 7: Mongolian ensemble in the first National Folk Music and Dance Performance in Beijing, 1953; Figure 8: Tibetan ensemble during the National Music Week in Beijing, 1956; Figure 9: Kam singing group in the second National Folk Music and Dance Performance held in Beijing, 1957 (all photos by courtesy of the Music Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Arts).

Also, many of folk musicians were invited to teach skills and music repertoires in conservatories of music, such as Wu Jinglue as master of the old zither *guqin* (古琴), Lin Shicheng as master of the *pipa* (琵琶), Zhao Chunfeng as player of the Suona (唢呐), Yang Yuanheng as *guanzi* player (Chinese oboe, 管子) went to the China Central Music Conservatory. The blind Sun Wenming taught as a master of the *erhu* (two-string fiddle, 二胡) in the Shanghai Conservatory of Music; Luo Jiuxiang as a master of the half tube zither *zheng* (箏) at the Tianjin Conservatory of Music, and many more.

Various resources were used to make textbooks for education (Figure 10). For example, in the early 1950s, the research division of the Central Conservatory of Music collected folk songs, not only including those of the Han but also of some of the minorities, instrumental music, ballads, Chinese *xiqu* (drama) music as well as texts written for folk music performances. Finally. In the early 1950s, the research division of the Central Conservatory of Music collected materials that included 20,939 folk songs; among which were 16,939 songs of the Han and about 4,000 songs of the minorities; 914 pieces and 45 sets of instrumental music; 2,572 pieces and 53 sets of ballads; 3,440 pieces and 27 sets of local

dramas' music; more than 100 kinds of text writings for folk music; more than 4,000 pictures of music events and informal practice; wire recordings of about 400 hours, and some others. This is mentioned in *Works of Abing* (Yang [1952] 2009, 7: 495-548).

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Figure 10: Collage of study material collected during this period of time (photo collage open access).

This development reveals the huge influence that academic thoughts mainly from Eastern Europe, including Russian developments, but also fundamentally from the activities of Bartok and Kodaly as deliverers of methods and thinkers in terms of textual collections and the reorganization of folk music pieces, had on Chinese scholars at that time (Bartok, 1961; Kodaly, 1964).

During that period, the main goal of Chinese musicians' collection, reorganization of and research into traditional music was to contribute to the construction of a new Chinese music, including Chinese music theory and compositions with the meaning of what was known about it in Western music. While it facilitated unprecedented achievements in national music education, it also brought some danger to Chinese traditional music awareness. In other words, the construction of a national music in that time transcended the locally limited heritage mode based on bloodline and geographical relationships and moved into being an integrated art education system centred on a universal knowledge system that was yet to be strengthened. In terms of methods: using various methods of western musicology of that time to collect and interpret Chinese traditional music could not be avoided and the partly erasure of differences amongst musical cultures in China was seemingly the price to be paid for it.

## WHAT WAS LOST?

Here are some post-1980-reflections and practices inspired by ethnomusicological views of that time that was then called *minzu yinyue xue* (民族音乐学), a term that was fully taken over from the West.

In the 1980s, after the end of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese musicians began to absorb ideas from ethnomusicology – understood as the study of music in culture – through their communications with international scholars. During that time, Chinese academic circles recommenced the exchange with international scholars, especially with North American ethnomusicologists. One of the most widely used writings was, for example, *Folk Music in the United States: An Introduction* (compiled by the Music Research Institute at Shanghai Conservatory of Music (1984), comprising a number of writings contributed by early influential ethnomusicologists. These communications inspired the Chinese academia to reflect on their earlier research. Mutual communication included lectures given by foreign

scholars, Chinese scholars going abroad and an exchange of ideas with scholars from Hongkong and Taiwan.

As mentioned above, a large-scale collection of traditional music was conducted in China. In comparison with Western music, musicologists were suddenly taken by the notion of "absolute music", which instead of integrative Chinese traditional '*yue*' led to the phenomenon that the relationship between music and festivals, beliefs or rituals as well as the true meaning of locality have been overlooked. The scholars focused on music production and not the process of music making in its social context. Moreover, with regard to the construction of a new music system for China, folk music was transformed in a condescending manner. This is what could be called de-contextualization.

Especially, the music practice kept through the then modern staff or cipher notation, the classification of traditional music was referred to, followed an identical path as the one of Western thoughts. In return, the music analysis of Chinese traditional music was also referred to in Western music theory. There have been changes related to the tonal construction of any music tradition. For instance, western staff notation is not completely suitable to describe an actual Chinese tune. To mention an example, when I sing a piece of a *Kunqu* (昆曲) song one can follow it through looking at the applied cipher notation *gongche* (工尺谱) used in *Kunqu* while listening to the specific melody *Bubujiao* (步步娇, which is the name of the *Qupai*). The example shows that it is not one pitch as a notated tone as often provided in Western classical music, but it consists of a certain range of frequencies. The Chinese ethnomusicologist Shen Qia named this phenomenon *Yinqiang* (音腔; Shen, 1982). *Yinqiang* (音腔) is one tone step, but it can have gradual changes of its actual pitch and all kinds of changes in timbre and dynamics. It is sad to observe that after a hundred years of formal music education, some of our students at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music consider the sound of *Yinqiang* as out of tune. This fact shows the students' perception has been trained and shaped in an unwanted direction by neglecting the differences in the music itself.

In addition, there had been changes relating to musical transmission. The modern music education system required a hierarchy of choices and textbooks. Orally transmitted musical legacies were altered by the use of new staff and cipher notation. This also changed the original focus in Chinese traditional music in the perspective of the performers. The music became centred on texts and composers, leading also to a reduction of musical aspects such as creativity and interpretation of traditional musical frameworks.

Additionally, there had been changes related to stage musical performance. The rich and diverse range of instrumental music ensembles suitable for local music genres was transformed into a new kind of Chinese orchestra resembling Western symphonic orchestras. This inevitably brought changes to traditional musical instruments and their performance, especially to features such as the employment of a unified temperament, changes in volume, and a reform of instrumental timbre.

During this period, the most important feature of academic work was a reflection on the methodology of fieldwork. The scholars began to consider the relationship between the researchers and those being researched. In the past, scholars thought that since they studied the culture of their own nation, they could regard themselves as part of the group. This led naturally to imagining themselves as representatives of a particular ethnic group or region. So, they began to emphasise local knowledge. Music studies should not only be concerned with the music itself, but should also consider the behaviour of the musicians in the corresponding social and cultural environment. In terms of education, such an approach also became standard for Masters and PhD theses. Hence the large number of musical ethnographies provided educational resources and promoted the implementation of the educational policy of 'musical education in the mother tongue' (母语教育).

Ritual music, religious music, and historical court music were once again the focus of interest and research. In these areas, studies of shamanic music, Taoist music, music used in Buddhist context and the ritual music of popular beliefs were the most prominent.

## SHADOWS OR DIALOGUE:

## **EXPERIENCES AND CURRENT ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL PRACTICES IN CHINA**

From the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the present, a hundred years passed by but the education and research of Chinese traditional music still got a strong impact from Western music practices, musicology, and ethnomusicology as well as in whatever subcategory such as music theory and comparative musicology prior to 1980 or ethnomusicology after 1980. Nowadays, Chinese scholars are concerned about and may think deeply whether Western academic thoughts, concepts, and methods cast a shadow over Chinese scholars, or has there been a scholarly dialogue between China and the Western world over the past century.

First, let's go back to the issue of "local knowledge". For the past thirty years, as we focused our studies on ethnographic cases, the questions around these studies were: why, in China's long history, was it able to maintain such a long-lasting culture? What kind of civilized world did create it, and how could that be reflected through music? To answer these questions, I'm afraid that using only ethnographic methods focusing on case studies ('one place at one time') situated among small-scale societies is somewhat limited. Chinese scholars recognized that China is a multi-ethnic country and that while the Han are the major ethnic group, China's musical culture is characterized through inclusion of the music of various communities in different places. Therefore, now it is time to ask how to incorporate an in-depth exploration of 'local knowledge' in balance with studies that move beyond the local. Chinese scholars to truly see the relationship and mutually affecting the dynamics among different cultures in the course of history. This is an important new direction. There are four broad research areas in which Chinese scholars have been working now:

At first, I think that in China, Western ethnomusicology is defined as studying the 'other' in foreign countries. This seems to have been the main goal of research for a long time. The epistemology along with its methodology is developed for a field work in this sense. As experienced through currently available literature, Chinese scholars have been working domestically. Their main field is 'at home'. Now we face the problem of not really recognizing the diversity within the Chinese communities. Chinese scholars may have to explore possibilities to show the perspectives of different cultures within the overarching Chinese culture. Particularly different scholars of smaller communities, including living among the minorities, conduct research more easily on their own groups. They may easily understand personal relationships and cultural features. Of course, those scholars take more efforts on how to 'jump' outside the limited circles of Chinese scholars ('跳出', jump to the outside). One important method for the recognition of the self in culture by Chinese scholars is to look at themselves in the mirror, to take a comparative view in order to balance the difference. And the word comparative here is different from the meaning of comparative studies at the early age of musicology, it is not aiming at similarities, but at the differences. These studies can be conducted by comparing the music of the East and the West, or by comparing the music of the 56 officially different ethnic groups within China.

Another approach is focused on area studies concerning a regionalized cultural geography. An area study includes the idea of mapping zones of musical cultures onto a map of China's territories. In the 1980s and 1990s, these studies were based upon tonal system structures, with reference to culture, history, language, migration of population and geographical background (Qiao, 1998). Studies with this goal also include geographical groupings of ethnic minority music based on topography, historical origins and the geographical distribution of ethnic groups. Until now, many scholars developed regionally-oriented studies of music. The outcomes of it and the ongoing efforts include conducting research on just one musical genre throughout just one region – such as research into the funeral music of the middle and lower reaches of Yangtze River (长江中下游丧葬仪式音乐研究), or research on the wind and percussion music of the central Hebei Province (冀中笙管乐研究). There is also a research on the music used in Theravada Buddhism of China (南传佛教文化圈研究, Yang, 1999). And it also includes comparative studies of cross-border cultures. Since China has a long borderline, and many ethnic groups have been divided into various groups due to politics or border issues, questions like what separation changes and how to do a useful cross-border research (跨界族群音乐文化研究 Yang, 2011; Zhao, 2011). Besides, cross-cultural studies are also very important, like the comparative study of shamanic

music in southern and northern China (南北方萨满音乐比较研究), and the study of shamanic music on the Sino-Vietnamese border.

For these regional studies, we need to go back to combine a general investigation or survey with the consideration of a special topic and/or specific cases. One example of this is the research that has been undertaken on wind and percussion music in central Hebei Province. When people were doing investigations in one village after another in the Beijing-Hebei region they discovered the extent of the area where wind and percussion music was performed, and then went on to undertake specific research on topics such as music scores, musical composition, the *gongdiao* theory (宫调理论), musical instruments, music associations and musicians. This allowed them to complete a study on the nature, history and contemporary evolution of wind and percussion music in a specific region. Their results were presented in seven doctoral dissertations, more than twenty master's theses, about 50 academic papers and one English monograph, written by Stephen Jones<sup>7</sup>.

Lastly, there have to be mentioned historical studies in ethnomusicology. The Chinese civilization has a long history yet Chinese music scores have traditionally only provided a concise summary or skeleton of the music played or sung with just the main framework written down. Under such circumstances, it seems difficult to study the sound of ancient music. On the one hand, interpretations of ancient music scores can help if the context is understood. On the other hand, it is also possible to trace back to ancient music practices by investigating existing traditional music. For example, Huang Xiangpeng completed his research on melodies (曲调考证)<sup>8</sup> by investigating living musical genres. Others have conducted research on ancient drum music in Xi'an (西安鼓乐) and compared their outcomes with available knowledge about music in the Tang Dynasty (7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries).

These are currently the most important research approaches amongst the many Chinese scholars. It is a pity that due to language barriers, there is little direct communication between Chinese and the international academia in this regard. Therefore, the world that we see – and the West that we know – is far from complete. In the current context of complex global relationships, it is of utmost relevance to communicate with the world, to reach a mutual understanding, to enhance academic and social relationships in a dialogue of academic culture. I do hope that the younger generations can improve this situation.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Jones, Stephen. 2004. *Plucking the Winds: Lives of Village Musicians in Old and New China*. Leiden: Chime Foundation.

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