ic tendencies in works by Toshirō Mayuzumi, Akira Nishimura, Minoru Miki, José Maceda, and Isang Yun), all included intercultural ideas prominently in their compositional aesthetics during this period, sometimes in an explicitly universalist manner close to Stockhausen (e.g., Pousseur), sometimes with a decidedly opposing approach (Boulez, who, as a young man, wanted to study ethnology and was in close contact with the anthropologist André Schaeffner throughout the 1950s to 1970s[159]). The reason for this broad attempt at an identification with non-Western cultures, though frequently linked to a rigorous criticism of modernized non-Western musical practices, might very well be found in the precarious social situation of new music, necessitating the creation of aesthetic and cultural alliances and solidarities that transcend the limitations of the immediate (local) "realities" and constraints.[160]

3. The Ambivalence of the Local in Twentieth-Century Music

A dynamic concept of culture must concede that a tendency toward essentializing cultural symbols, idioms, or stereotypical representations of (national) cultures in musical contexts is not simply a thing of the past. Not only do the local and the global stand in an ongoing relationship of interaction or feedback (as Robertson's concept of "glocalization" tried to explain → I.2), but local and national (or nationalist) discourses are also variously interwoven. The local challenge of nationalist generalization can itself turn into a questionable nationalism when aiming to escape from a hegemonic "internationalist" standardization: a resentment of the Other may be subsumed under the local, and in a generalized form – as an "invented tradition" – turn into a (neo-)nationalist symbol. In the following, I will investigate how such specific, locally focused concepts of musical culture can be understood within the tensions between national essentialism and global standardization. This question will be broached against the background of two prominent examples from the first half of the twentieth century that had "non-simultaneous" resonances during the century's second half.

Stravinsky and Bartók: Construction and Criticism of National Music in the Tension Fields Between Composition and Ethnography

The tendency toward suppressing "ethnic" categories in most new music was primarily a legacy of the post-1945 political-musical situation. In this period, serial music acted as a self-referential counter-model to the misuse of musical topicality by the totalitarian political systems of the immediate past, especially in National Socialism (→ I.2). But a phenomenon both aesthetically and socially contradictory to serialism, such as the neoclassicism of Igor Stravinsky (a declared sympathizer of Italian fascism[161] with notoriously anti-Semitic attitudes), was also based on a renunciation of musical "language" in the narrower sense. In Stravinsky's case, this renunciation concerned above all the idiom of the national Russian school of the decades following the 1860s and was preserved and transformed in the neo-national "Russian" sound of his works before the October Revolution in 1917. In his *Autobiography* of 1936, Stravinsky attacked the

159 Borio, "Vom Ende des Exotismus," 117–118 and Zenck, *Pierre Boulez*, 63–64.

160 Meyer, "Volkstümlich – primitiv – populär," 34.

161 In 1930, Stravinsky declared Mussolini "the savior […] of Europe" (quoted in Taruskin, "The Dark Side of the Moon," 208). See Stenzl, *Von Giacomo Puccini zu Luigi Nono*, 29, Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, Taruskin, "Notes on *Svadebka*," 450–453, and Taruskin, "The Dark Side of the Moon," 208–212.

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"naive but dangerous" and "sterile tendency" of nationally minded Russian and Spanish composers including his former teacher Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov "to remake an art that has already been created instinctively by the genius of the people" on an ethnographic basis.[162] At the same time, he drastically downplayed the importance of Russian folk music as a source of his own works. Stravinsky's tendency to mask the ethnic contexts of his music continued in the influential, purely structuralist analyses of his music by Olivier Messiaen and Pierre Boulez after 1945.[163]

Recent investigations, namely the extensive studies of Richard Taruskin,[164] show, on the contrary, how fundamental the confrontation with local music was for Stavinsky's three "Russian" ballets and other works before 1917. Much of the melodic material of *The Rite of Spring* (*Le Sacre du Printemps* 1911–13) was based on Lithuanian and Russian folk melodies, though considerably abstracted and transformed.[165] Similarly, the sonorities in large parts of *The Rite of Spring*, *Petrushka* (1910–11), and *The Firebird* (1909–10) are based on the aural impression of characteristic Russian instruments, such as the shepherd shawms *dudka* and *rozhók*, the hurdy-gurdy *líra* or the psaltery *gusli*.[166] Stravinsky used various folk song collections, but apparently also occasionally notated the music of his local environment.[167] On the whole, it is noteworthy that Stravinsky emphasized ethnographic precision and critically assessed the reliability of the melodic transcription of his sources, even considering the sociocritical context of the melodies in the context of his ballet scenarios.[168] Yet, in contrast to the "kuchkist" tradition of his precursors, "The Five" (*Mogučaja kučka*), he did not set these sources in their "original form," but rather exposed them to radical transformation processes that went as far as pre-serial methods (including, for example, the verticalization of folk melodies on the basis of serial practices).[169] Against this background, Martin Zenck's interpretation of the music of *The Rite* in accordance with Sigmund Freud's analysis in *Totem and Taboo* (which appeared in 1913, the year of the premiere of *The Rite*) seems cogent. Such an analysis seems particularly apt for the final *Danse Sacrale* (which conspicuously no longer features folk melodies); the often analyzed *Danse* seems to formulate a critique of the sacrificial practice of the ritual and not an archaistically colored

162 Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 97. See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," 503.

163 See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," 505.

164 See ibid. and Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, vol. 1, 891–950.

165 Stravinsky used at least four melodies from the collection *Melodje ludowe litewskie* [Lithuanian Folk Melodies], edited by the Polish priest Anton Juszkiewicz (1819–1880), in the composition of *The Rite of Spring*. The collection contains 1,785 Lithuanian folk songs (especially wedding songs). See, for further details, ibid., 891–923.

166 See ibid., 730, 935. The title page of volume 1 of Taruskin's *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* features a sketch of a *rozhók* player in a costume by Nicholas Roerich for *The Rite of Spring* (Bakhrushin State Central Theatrical Museum, Moskau).

167 As seen in a frequently reproduced photograph, Stravinsky notated the hurdy-gurdy (*líra*) lyrical accompaniment of a song of a sightless *lirnik* (traveling musician) in his summer residence at Ustilug (c. 1910; see Danuser, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 53, Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," 507). In his monograph (*Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, vol. 1, 870) Taruskin contradicts his own earlier interpretation of the photograph, in which he (as well as Danuser) took the photograph as evidence that Stravinsky had conducted ethnological studies "à la Bartok." Taruskin rather suggests that the photo does not allow conclusions to be drawn about Stravinsky's wider ethnomusicological activities, since it seems "posed" and that closer contact with local musicians would have contradicted Stravinsky's "class" consciousness.

168 Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, vol. 1, 893, 911.

169 See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," 541–543 and Vlad, "Reihenstrukturen im *Sacre du Printemps*."

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nostalgia for lost primitivity.[170] Thus, Stravinsky's music clearly stood in opposition to Nicholas Roerich, who designed the scenario based strictly on ethnographic authenticity. The composer implicitly distanced himself from a neo-nationalist idealization of archaic Slavic rituals.

Today, Béla Bartók's attempt to establish new art music on the basis of Hungarian, Romanian, and Slavic folk music – which initially showed a far clearer neo-nationalist emphasis – may seem even more contradictory than Stravinsky's engagement with the sources of traditional folk music forms. Only since the mid-1990s has Bartók research subjected this approach to differentiated criticism, and thus also uncovered the reasons why this composer still occupies a position of primacy in the "official" history of new music – even if this position has been reaffirmed and in a broader sense surely appears beyond doubt.[171] Julie Brown distinguishes two phases of Bartók's neo-national aesthetics, which are inextricably linked to turbulent contemporary history:[172] Bartók turned to a "pure" and "authentic" form of Hungarian peasant music (also using the central orientalist trope of the "noble savage") as a point of departure until about 1931.[173] He clearly distinguished it from the hybrid and "contaminated" form of urban gypsy music and chose it as the sole legitimate source of this new art music. Under the influence of socialism, however, Bartók re-examined his assessment of gypsy music and gave it a more neutral interpretation, defining it as "Hungarian popular art music."[174] At the same time, Bartók called the "purity" of peasant music into question. Through expanded ethnological studies, Bartók gained knowledge of the constant reciprocal influences that made it difficult to differentiate between "authentic" and "contaminated" forms of local music. However, this insight remained qualified by Bartók's demand that the ethnographic sources of new art music should be "pure, fresh and healthy."[175]

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the repressions of the proto-fascist Hungarian Horthy-regime, and upcoming Nazism and anti-Semitism transformed Bartók's nationalist project into an undertaking that aimed at universality, with the dream of creating a "brotherhood of people." Romanian, Slovakian, and Arab music – and essentially music from around the world – is now being presented as a possible source ("well assimilated foreign impulses offer possibilities of enrichment"[176]), and the *Rákóczi March*, which integrates extremely diverse cultural influences, is used as an example of the hybrid nature of Hungarian folk music. Nevertheless, Bartók remains tied to the concept of "national character": despite its inner hybridity, the march is labeled "incontestably Hungarian."[177] The contradiction between isolationist and diffusionist models of culture, which, based on Johann Gottfried Herder, has determined the discourse on culture and "race" since the nineteenth century,[178] is evident in Bartók's models of thought. In that context, it is particularly interesting that Bartók ultimately did not consider philological authenticity to be relevant for art music at the highest level, but rather foregrounded the ability of a composer – such as Stravinsky – to reinterpret the versatility of folk

170 See Zenck, "Ritual or Imaginary Ethnography in Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*?"

171 See Taruskin, "Why You Cannot Leave Bartók Out."

172 Brown, "Bartók, the Gypsies, and Hybridity in Music."

173 Ibid., 128–129.

174 Bartók, "Gypsy Music or Hungarian Music?"; see Brown, "Bartók, the Gypsies, and Hybridity in Music," 130.

175 Letter to Octavian Beu, 11/01/1931. In Bartók, *Weg und Werk*, 261–263: 262.

176 Bartók, "Race Purity in Music," 31.

177 Ibid., 32.

178 See among others Young, *Colonial Desire*, 36–43 and Löchte, *Johann Gottfried Herder: Kulturtheorie und Humanitätsidee*, 128–139 (→ I.3).

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music through the transformative processes of art music. Bartók's and Stravinsky's use of local music thus did not rule out an unbroken commitment of their music to the Western art music tradition after Beethoven and its drive toward autonomy – Bartók consequently refrained from voicing any skepticism toward Stravinsky's statement that a composer could make use of all conceivable sources, and that the mere fact that he considers musical material suitable for influencing art music would make it his intellectual property.[179]

Localism in Chinese New Music Since the 1980s

The subliminal discourses of nation and race cast a problematic light on the compositionally certainly remarkable transformative processes in the music of Stravinsky and Bartók. That these dimensions of power and appropriation are more visible today than in the past cannot least be considered an important effect of the work of many composers outside the West. The discourse of cultural difference between Asian aesthetic and musical concepts and the mainstream of Western composition, founded on a broad basis by Chou Wen-Chung, Isang Yun, José Maceda, or Tōru Takemitsu since the 1960s (→ I.3, III.4), played an important part in this process. This discourse should also be understood as a reaction to the increasing Westernization of Asia since the mid-nineteenth century and the tendency, often particularly marked in this context, toward cultural homogenization according to Western models (→ III.1). The understanding of Asian musical "characteristics," which in the 1960s were still conceived in a strongly culturally essentialist way – such as the constant change, variation, coloring of single tones, the great importance of silence, non-finalistic concepts of form, or anti-causal concepts of time – has become more differentiated and pluralistic since the 1980s – a process that has ultimately led to a fundamental critique of cultural essentialism through pointed localist or pluralistic approaches (→ III.4–5).

In Asia, localism has played an important part in music history, especially in China, starting from the political upheaval at the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). Firstly, many young composers had been ordered to grow rice in the context of the large-scale relocation program (*shangshan xiaxiang*, "Up to the mountains, down to the villages") like many other "educated youth" (*zhishi qingnian*) since the late 1960s.[180] Some of them had come to know local forms of music first-hand and usually with active participation over the years. In the composition classes at the newly opened conservatories of the late 1970s and early 1980s, a Western modernity – almost completely unknown and viewed as taboo for decades – was received enthusiastically, with Bartók's work playing a key role: Many composers of this generation, known as the *xinchao* (new

179 Bartók, "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music," [1931], 343 ("Stravinsky […] wants to demonstrate that it does not matter a jot whether a composer invents his own themes or uses themes from elsewhere. He has a right to use musical material taken from all sources. What he has judged suitable for his purpose has become through this very use his mental property. […] The question of origins can only be interesting from the point of view of musical documentation. […] This much is certain, that if among the thematic material of Stravinsky's there are some of his own invention (and who can doubt that there are?) these are the most faithful and clever imitations of folk songs.") See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," 501–502. See also Bartók's similar statement referring to Stravinsky's neoclassicist period: "[…] when I once met Stravinsky in Paris, he told me that he thinks he has the right to incorporate into his music any material he believes to be fit or appropriate for his purposes. […] Stravinsky uses this material in his own way, arranging and transforming it according to his own individual spirit, thus creating works of a new, individual style." (Bartók, "Harvard Lectures," 360.)

180 See Bernstein, *Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages* and Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 296. See also https://chineseposters.net/themes/up-to-the-mountains.php.

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*Example 2.1: Guo Wenjing, **She Huo**, rehearsal number 6*

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wave), initially referred explicitly to Bartók's concept of hybridity and attempted to amalgamate Chinese local traditions in an analogous way.[181] It was, however, only after the Bartók model had been overcome that genuinely original concepts of cultural difference emerged through radicalization, hybridization, and abstraction of local traditions in works such as Qu Xiaosong's (b. 1951) *Mong Dong* for voice and chamber ensemble (1984), Tan Dun's (b. 1957) *On Taoism* for voice and orchestra (1985), or Guo Wenjing's (b. 1956) *She Huo* for chamber ensemble (1991). Guo's work for Western instrumental ensemble is not so much about the musical depiction of a harvest festival to which the title refers[182] as a general atmospheric characterization of Chinese country life. In this work, the means of reinforcing, distorting, and intensifying the textures found in the models of Chinese rural music practice are more reminiscent of Stravinsky's technique than Bartók's, such as when the cross-rhythms of two cymbal players from the local Sichuan Opera (*chuanju*) are extended to three players (Ex. 2.1) and thereby condensed. Following the same principle, the blurring of the instrumental tuning of various local ensembles is "radicalized" by microtonally adjusted tunings of the stringed instruments and by using a violin with four A-strings (Ex. 2.2).

Similarly, Qu Xiaosong's known ensemble work *Mong Dong* for male voice and ensemble would be unthinkable without the complex experience of the *xinchao* generation. What is decisive for the quality of this work is not so much the nature-symbolic aspect, the attempt to summon a lost originality between man and nature, evident in the adoption of vocal techniques of *shan'ge* folk songs, the use of microtones, and the renunciation of a text setting. The reference to the local here also involves the integration of a new dimension of structural thinking. Possibly influenced by techniques of the older generation, such as Luo Zhongrong (b. 1924) (→ III.1), Qu refers to the *yu-he-ba* patterns of the *shifan luogu* percussion ensembles.[183] In a dialogic manner, short phrases of eight beats each are grouped in ever new proportions, for instance in measures 85–92 as 7+1, 5+3, 3+5, 1+7.[184]

Perhaps the most spectacular result of the move toward localism in Chinese new music has been Tan Dun's "ritual opera" *Nine Songs* (1989).[185] Tan Dun recombines fragments of the famous archaic poetry cycle *Jiu ge* (Nine Songs) by Qu Yuan (340–278 BCE), and has them articulated in an "imaginary dialect" of the archaic Chu culture (c. 800–223 BCE), using singing, screaming, and whispering, as well as ceramic instruments that were largely newly built for this project. Tan develops his imaginary archaist music from a very broad repertoire of vocal characters such as the *shan'ge* folk songs, simple rhythmic figures, and a largely monophonic melodic texture, determined by the goal to redesign the ritualist music conjured up in Qu Yuan's poetry. This conception refers to an attitude of the literary *xungen* ("root") movement in China during the 1980s, whose main representative Han Shaogong (b. 1952), as well as Tan Dun from Hunan Province, derives a fluid connection between local – rather than national – identity with an openness to international tendencies – but without the goal of "total Westernization" often demanded by China's early reformers (→ III.1). Tan Dun also positioned himself with *Nine Songs* in a time of political upheaval in China: the premiere took place in New York on 12 May 1989, shortly before the massacre in Tiananmen Square on 4 June 1989.

181 See Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (III)," 85–86 and Wong, "Bartók's Influence on Chinese New Music in the Post-Cultural Revolution Era."

182 Mittler, *Neue Musik aus China*, 14–15.

183 See Jones, *Folk Music of China*, 260–269.

184 See Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (III) – The Age of Pluralism," 83–85, 93.

185 A detailed introduction to this work can be found in Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 403–423.

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Example 2.2: Guo Wenjing, ***She Huo****, rehearsal number 26*

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His concept would thus immediately become a criticism of Chinese nationalism as well as the homogenizing tendencies of Western cultures.

Toward a Critique of Authenticity-Based Thinking

The works of Guo, Qu, and Tan remain ambivalent in their attitude. Their musical character sketches of rural Chinese atmospheres cannot only be considered a critique of nationalism. Rather, they may be heard also as a "paradoxical redemption" of Mao Zedong's anti-urban ideology, as an aftereffect of the idealization of rural life during the time of relocation. The ideological dimension of compositional localism is thus hardly less complex here than in Bartók or Stravinsky, as it always flirts with a mythically transfigured ethnological authenticity, which can then be "abstracted" almost arbitrarily in the process of appropriation. Here

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lies the basic problem of musical localism as a whole: on the one hand, composing as an act of cultural or intercultural positioning seems more plausible the more *specific* it becomes, and the more precisely art takes certain local traditions seriously, with all their implications, and draws comprehensive compositional conclusions from them. On the other hand, such a rigorous restriction of the musical-idiomatic "listening field" – as becomes very clear in Tan Dun's *Nine Songs* – risks approaching imitation, a culture-specific onesidedness and – in an international context – a flirtation with one's own exoticism: self-exoticization.[186] In this context, however, it should be noted that since 1986, Tan Dun's works have been produced in the United States and are primarily aimed at Western audiences – even though they have been no less successful in China – and that Guo Wenjing's and Qu Xiaosong's larger works in the 1990s have likewise been predominantly performed in Europe and the USA.

This paradox makes it clear once again that musical traditions – art music and local music genres – are in a constant process of transformation and do not produce immutable "authentic objects," so that any compositional action inevitably decontextualizes such traditions. Every musical or compositional act will therefore operate, consciously or unconsciously, within this tension field – whether concrete local traditions are explicitly addressed or not. Both extremes that can be deduced from this are problematic: the notion of an "absolute authenticity" of local music, which must not be touched by art music, as well as the image of a "hypercultural" supermarket that music creators can freely navigate. Only compositional designs that completely transform these extremes through variety and precision of compositional ideas and solutions can attempt to outstrip the ideological accents of the local – especially in view of the resurgent nationalism in Asia today, especially in China (and in parts of Europe and the Americas), and its demagogically leveling construction of national characteristics. Effectively rejecting nationalist or provincial discourses involves an artistically substantive reference to local identities as refracted, pluralistic, and critical. The final statement in Theodor W. Adorno's *Philosophy of New Music* is rather topical in this regard: "Perhaps that art alone would be authentic that would be liberated from the idea of authenticity, of being thus and not otherwise."[187]

4. Modernist Reception of Japanese and Indian Traditional Music between 1910 and 1945: Delage, Cowell, Mitsukuri, and Hayasaka

Having reapplied Ernst Bloch's concept of the "non-simultaneity of the simultaneous" (*Ungleichzeitigkeit des Gleichzeitigen*) to music historiography in Chapter II.1 (section *De-Nationalizing Music Historiography*), I will now attempt to show, in Chapters II.4 and II.5, how composers and musicians during the pre- and postwar decades developed similar musical ideas and approaches against radically differing social backgrounds, motivated by distinct social and aesthetic agendas. Guided by the principle of an "entangled history" (→ II.1), the following case studies highlight the differing cultural and historical situations in which these protagonists acted, focusing on the degree to which their works exhibit affinities and entanglements.

The four composers introduced in this chapter represent three generations born in the decades around 1900, three countries or continents (France/Europe, the United States/America, and Japan/Asia), and different compositional schools and aesthetics. Maurice Delage (1879–1961),

186 On the subject of "self-exoticization" in the Japanese context see Hijiya-Kirschnereit, *Das Ende der Exotik*, 13–16.

187 Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, 158. ("Vielleicht wäre authentisch erst die Kunst, die der Idee von Authentizität selber, des so und nicht anders Seins, sich entledigt hätte." Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, 196.)

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