III. Studies on the History and Analysis of New East Asian Music

1. The Reception of Western Modernism in the Music of China and Japan Since the Late Nineteenth Century

From the mid-nineteenth century, the history of East Asian music is inextricably linked to the influence and spread of Western music in East Asia, though by no means reducible to this as the sole factor (→ II.1). Although the Japanese model of a coexistence of Japanese and Western music and the Chinese model of a reform of Chinese music and instruments by Western standards have been identified as two opposing and rather momentous paradigms in the response to Western influence, there were also revealing parallels in the reception of Western music in Japan and China. It is remarkable, for example, that even at the height of anti-Western tendencies – in Japan during the Second World War, in China during the Cultural Revolution – musicians unflinchingly clung to European instruments and the European symphony orchestra as the essential medium of sound.

The distinction made by Saburō Moroi at the "Overcoming Modernity" symposium during the Second World War between Japanese spirit and Western technique (→ I.2) revisited a model in the appropriation of Western culture in Japan and China since the mid-nineteenth century. This can be traced in neo-Confucian slogans distributed from the 1850s, first in Japan and shortly afterward in China, "Japanese Spirit and Western Technology" (*wakon yōsai*),[1] or "Chinese thinking [Confucian ethics] as substance, Western thinking [administration and technology] as means of use" (*zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong*).[2] Military music, school songs (Japanese *shōka*, these in turn serving partly as a template for the Chinese *xuetangge*[3]), and political songs were often created by following Western models note for note. Early nationalist symphonic works were usually based on the constructions and inventions of national identity in late nine-

1 The slogan was coined by Tadayasu Yoshikawa (1824–1884) in his *Kaika sakuron* (Questions and Themes on Progress, 1867) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yamato-damashii). Similar slogans had preceded this formulation, such as Shōzan Sakuma's (1811–1864) "Eastern ethics, Western technical learning" (*tōyō dōtoku, seiyō gakugei*). Both were nineteenth-century re-phrasings of the Heian-period slogan *wakon kansai* ("Japanese spirit, Chinese technique"), credited to Sugawara no Michizane (845–903). See Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan*, 108.

2 Geist, *Die Modernisierung der chinesischen Kultur*, 12–20. This formula was first formulated in 1898 by the moderate reformer Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) and was provocatively turned over by the reformers of the 1980s in *xi ti zhong yong*, "Western as substance, Chinese as means of use" (ibid., 13).

3 See Gottschewski, "Eine Musikkultur auf dem Scheidewege," Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 27–63, Gild, "Early 20th Century 'Reforms' in Chinese Music," Liang, "Western Influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century," 139–144, Liu, *A Critical History of New Music in China*, 23–78, and Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 206–221.

teenth-century European "national schools," and combined this largely stylistically consistent idiom with Japanese or Chinese titles, texts, and paratexts. Indeed, the interaction between Japanese and Chinese tendencies of modernization was so complex that the whole epoch around 1900 can only be adequately understood as a "triangular relationship between Europe, Japan, and China."[4]

A concept of modernism as a progressive breach of the norm that finds itself in a tense and non-affirmative relation to societal processes may generally be of limited use with regard to East Asian countries in the twentieth century, as argued in Eisenstadt's theory of "multiple modernities" (→ II.1 *De-Nationalizing Music Historiography*). In China, the starting point for the reception of Western music was utilitarianism characterized by colonial constellations, which can be traced back to both the Opium Wars of 1839–42 and 1851–60 and the subsequent Westernization and Self-Strengthening Movement (*Yangwu ziqiang yundong*). In the musical realm, the aspects of Western tradition first received were basic materials that were always assigned clearly defined social functions: the arming of the military involved the adoption of Western military brass music, modernized school education involved the introduction of Western-oriented school songs, and – most prominently – the strengthening of national self-esteem involved creating songs, and soon also symphonic works, with nationalistically accentuated texts, titles, or melodies.[5]

In various Chinese reform movements of the 1920s and 1930s, a stronger focus on local traditions under the guiding idea of a mutual complementation of Chinese and Western cultures (*yi zhong bu xi*) was opposed by a radicalized demand for "total Westernization" as (a temporary) means of modernization.[6] One of the most important reformers of this time in the field of music was Liu Tianhua (1895–1932), who founded the Society for the Improvement of National Music (*Guoyue gaijinshe*) in 1927 along with Xiao Youmei (1884–1940), which received strong impulses from the Western-oriented *Xin wenhua yundong* (New Culture Movement, 1915–22, better known as the May Fourth Movement), which had been instigated by writers and intellectuals such as Qu Qiubai (1899–1935), Chen Duxin (1879–1942), Hu Shi (1891–1962), and Chen Xujing (1903–1967). With his ten posthumously published studies for the two-stringed knee fiddle *erhu* (1918–32), Liu contributed significantly to the establishment of a modern solo repertoire for Chinese instruments.[7] Tuning, pitch, tonal system, notation (the cipher notation *jianzipu*[8]), meter and rhythm (triple meter, march rhythm), and instrumental technique (bowing techniques, up- and down-bow, etc.) were standardized according to principles of Western music, while, at the same time, elements of Chinese instrumental practice and aesthetics, especial-

4 Gottschewski, "Zur Rezeption chinesischer Musik in Japan um 1900," 616 ("Dreiecksbeziehung Europa-Japan-China").

5 See among others Wong, "*Geming Gequ*," Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 21–32, Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 159–224.

6 The slogan of "total Westernization" (*quanpai xifanghua*) was coined in 1933 by the sociologist Chen Xujing (1903–1967). In the wake of the May Fourth Movement until the 1930s, this demand was also advocated by Hu Shi (1891–1962), and in the democracy movement of the 1980s by Fang Lizhi (1936–2012) and Liu Xiaobo (1955–2017) (Geist, *Die Moderniserung der chinesischen Kultur*, 14). While in the 1920s social changes were still almost entirely equated with "Westernization" (*xihua*), from the beginning of the 1930s the more neutral term "modernization" (*xiandaihua*) became prevalent (ibid., 13–14).

7 Stock, "Contemporary Recital Solos for the Chinese Two-Stringed Fiddle *erhu*," 60–66. See also Stock, "An Ethnomusicological Perspective on Musical Style" and Liang, *Music of the Billion*, 148–150.

8 This simple type of notation, in which scale steps are rendered by numbers (1–7) and octave registers are indicated by dots placed below or above the numbers, was introduced to China by French missionaries in the early twentieth century and can be traced back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. See Picard, "Oralité et notations, de Chine en Europe."

ly with reference to northern Chinese traditions, were maintained: sectional form, programmatic titles, iconographic musical figures (for example, for imitating birdsong), and *erhu* fingering patterns. The decisive factor was that the studies were conceived and published in fixed notation and, in contrast to the flexibility of traditional music practice, assumed a largely exact rendering of this musical text in performance.

Eric Hobsbawm's concept of "invented tradition" (→ I.3, II.3) has been applied to the development of the new repertoire of that period, in particular to the solo literature of the Chinese bamboo flute *dizi* after 1949. It is characteristic that there was originally no clear distinction in the practice of local Chinese genres between solo and ensemble repertoire. In the context of the Maoist "subversion" (*fanshen*) of the feudal class structure after 1949, the rickshaw driver Lu Chunling and the simple farmer Feng Zicun were able to rise to celebrated *dizi* soloists and were commissioned to create short characteristic solo pieces, which they derived from the *dizi* part of traditional ensembles and which were distributed to the masses via cassette recordings.[9]

With the emergence of the Chinese symphony orchestra from the 1930s, a development had already begun that made the problems of the separation of spirit and technique increasingly visible: while Liu's solo works, following the idea of a "national essence,"[10] still testify to an appreciation of the aesthetics of traditional instrumental playing, the repertoire of the newly developed orchestras of Chinese instruments was commonly based on a naïve imitation of popular Western orchestral music. This made it abundantly clear that, in contrast to solos and ensembles, an independent Chinese tradition could not be used for orchestral settings. The development of the Chinese symphony orchestra, usually referred to as the "Modern Chinese Folk Orchestra," took decisive steps during the Second World War, the Chinese Civil War (1947–49), and the early Maoist period, and is thus intimately connected with the systematic invention of a national musical idiom.[11] To be able to equip a symphony orchestra with exclusively Chinese instruments, many instruments had to be rebuilt, especially instruments in the bass register. The number of instrument types was systematically expanded until the 1960s. Liu Tianhua had already introduced the standardized procedure, unusual in traditional practice, of notating all parts of a heterophonic ensemble structure. This practice was now transferred to the symphony orchestra, and the use of precisely notated parts and a conductor were adopted largely unchanged from the Western model.

Of course, the translation of Eastern models to the Western orchestra created the acute question of harmony, since polyphonic models could hardly be derived from traditional heterophonic practice. While earlier pieces usually – in analogy to earlier European harmonization of East Asian melodies (→ III.3) – added simple major-minor tonal harmonies to Chinese melodies, a new method was developed in the 1950s by Wang Zhenya and Li Yinghai as *Hanzu diaoshi hesheng* (Han Chinese Musical Modes and Harmonies). In 1959 Li Yinghai presented a book with a similar title,[12] based on Wang Zhenya's earlier *Wusheng yinjie ji qi hesheng* (The Pentatonic Scale

9 Lau, "Forever Red." See Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions."

10 The idea of a "national essence" (*guocui*, Japanese *kokosui*), taken from the Japanese discourse, had already triggered an intense debate on cultural identity in the framework of the May Fourth Movement (Geist, *Die Modernisierung der chinesischen Kultur*, 14).

11 See Jedeck, "Different Interpretations of Musical Modernity?" for a detailed discussion, and Tsui, "The Modern Chinese Folk Orchestra" and Tsui, "Ensembles: The Modern Chinese Orchestra" for a historical overview of the Chinese symphony orchestra.

12 Li, *Hanzu diaoshi ji qi hesheng* (Han Modality and Its Harmony).

and Its Harmonies) from 1949.[13] In this system, the harmonies are composed almost entirely of the notes of the pentatonic mode that form the corresponding melody. The system has also been widely used in works by Chinese composers for Western instruments and is still employed in music for the Chinese symphonic orchestra to the present day, although chromatic alterations have been increasingly introduced since the 1980s.[14] Only a few experimental works took advantage of the unique sound of the new orchestral apparatus, such as Lam Doming's (b. 1926) well-known sonorist piece *Insect World* (1979). In the dominant standard repertoire of the Chinese symphony orchestra, the problem remains unmistakable that with the alleged "modernization" and standardization of the instrumental playing, the very same subtle deviations, inflections, and variations that constitute a style like the South Chinese "silk-and-bamboo music" (*sizhuyue*) (→ III.3) in the first place were suppressed.[15] Formally, too, the flow of the melodic line that is essential for such forms is undermined by the effectively optimized dramaturgies of suspension and contrast in most works and arrangements for the Chinese symphony orchestra.

The combination of Asian and European instruments was not yet provided for in the musical concepts of the reformers, and, considering the institutional separation of Western and Asian musical practice, it would hardly have been feasible. The earliest step in this direction was probably the inclusion of Asian solo instruments in the context of Western-oriented orchestral settings, although some of these, as in the case of Xian Xinghai's (1905–1945) *Yellow River Cantata* (*Huanghe dahechang*, 1939), written in the structurally weak retreat of the Communist Party in Yan'an (Shaanxi), may have been merely material makeshift solutions.[16] In a different context, Japanese instruments in Kōsaku [Kósçak] Yamada's (1886–1965) "grande opéra" *Yoake – Kuro Fune* (The Black Ships, 1929–39) merely contributed to a kind of "self-exoticizing" locality, that hardly found its way into the substance of the music. Finally, the combination of Western and Chinese instruments in the "model works" (*yangbanxi*) during the Chinese Cultural Revolution coincided with related pragmatic and political omens: the singing style of Beijing Opera was "tempered" and stylistically leveled due to a musical style based on Westernized Romantic orchestral textures.[17]

In creating musical identifications recognized by the masses, communist and nationalist-republican idioms differed primarily on the textual level. Xian Xinghai, who had studied with Vincent d'Indy and Paul Dukas in Paris from 1930 to 1935, produced perhaps the best-known piece of this genre in 1939, the *Yellow River Cantata* (*Huanghe dahechang*). In contrast to Liu Tianhua's works, Xian's style shows no signs of an intensive examination of Chinese music traditions. The harmony of the opening movement, built according to the traditional antiphonal pattern of Chinese rowing songs, characteristically combines pentatonic melody formation with simple diatonic harmonies reminiscent of the Italian (operatic) tradition in their repetitive and sequential patterns.

It is not insignificant that Xian's Cantata was characterized as late as 1984 – notably in an academic study in English – as follows:

13 Wang, *Wusheng yinjie ji qi hesheng* (The Pentatonic Scale and Its Harmony). A detailed explanation of this system is provided by Cheong and Ding, "Sposobin Remains," 62–68. See also Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (II)," 59–60.

14 See Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong."

15 See among others Thrasher, "*Bianzou* – Performance Variation in *Jiangnan sizhu*" and Witzleben, "*Silk and Bamboo*" *Music in Shanghai*.

16 See Kraus, *Pianos & Politics in China*, 56–59.

17 See Clark, "Model Theatrical Works," Mittler, "Cultural Revolution Model Works," Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 225–264, and Liu, *A Critical History of New Music in China*, 377–482.

> It is by far the most convincing synthesis of Western and Chinese musical idioms. In a single work it unites such diverse techniques and elements as, for example, the Chinese folk antiphonal singing style called *duikou chang*, the Chinese fisherman's work song called *haozi*, traditional Chinese percussive patterns and instrumentation, Hugo Wolf's declamatory recitative style (adapted to the Chinese language), the traditional Western contrapuntal technique of choral writing, and, finally, the atmospheric orchestral effects of the French Impressionistic school.[18]

One could draw a clear line from Xian's cantata to works of the 1950s and 1960s as represented by Ding Shande's (1911–1995) *Long March Symphony* (*Changzheng jiaoxiangqu*, 1959–62). National identity and authenticity are suggested here through the use of folk songs, which geographically trace the approximately 6,000-kilometer route of the long march of the fleeing communist troops from 1934 to 1935[19] from southern Jiangxi to northern Yan'an. That folk songs of the Yao people and other minorities are also included here points to the claim of national music as an all-encompassing idea of a "Great China," especially in the second movement, where this claim is even made explicit in the title: "The Red Army, Loved by Many Peoples" (*Hongjun, ge zu renmin de qinren*).

It seems evident that in the contexts mentioned so far, the reception of aesthetic modernity in the narrower sense hardly caught the attention of musical protagonists. And so, from today's perspective, it is crucial to emphasize those developments in East Asia that did not fit into this ostensibly seamless lineage of deliberate and naïve iconographic appropriation of Western (programmatic) music. Decisive for this "alternative" lineage of East Asian music of the twentieth century is, on the one hand, the temporary residence and emigration of European musicians in the 1930s and 1940s, primarily in Shanghai, the center of encounter between Western and Chinese trends, and, on the other hand, independent dynamics within the East Asian composer scenes.

The Russian composer and pianist Alexander Tcherepnin (1899–1977) served as an advisor to the Chinese ministry of culture from 1934 to 1937 in Shanghai and Beijing as well as Japan, developing models for the integration of East Asian elements into a moderately modern style (→ II.4).[20] He focused primarily on the modernist folklorism of Bartók and Russian composers, which was also reflected in the music of the most important Chinese composers he mentored, including He Luting (1903–1999) and Jiang Wenye (1910–1983). Tcherepnin cites He Luting's piano piece *Buffalo Boy's Flute* (*Mutong duandi*, 1934, Ex. 3.1) as a possible model of a new Chinese music in his 1935 article "Music in Modern China."[21] While in this piece a tonal-harmonic ambiguity is initially maintained by the consistent use of the pentatonic scale, the second part – analogous to examples cited above – is characterized by a pentatonic melodic line in the right hand and a diatonic accompaniment in the left. Contrary to Tcherepnin's appraisal, a serious reception of Chinese traditions or modern Western currents is hardly recognizable here.

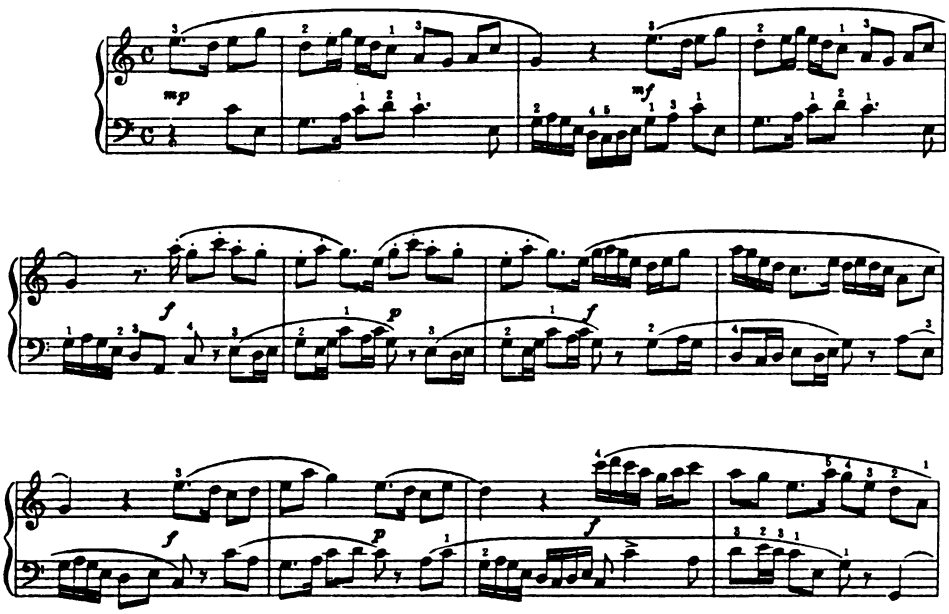
18 Wong, "*Geming Gequ*," 125.

19 See Moise, *Modern China*, 78–82.

20 See Chang, "Alexander Tcherepnin, his Influence on Modern Chinese Music," Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 110–126, Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis: Alexander Tcherepnin and New Chinese Piano Music."

21 Tcherepnine, "Music in Modern China," 398–400. On this piece see also Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (II)," 57–59.

Example 3.1: He Luting, ***Buffalo Boy's Flute*** *(****Mutong duandi****), mm. 1–11 (Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (II)," 57)*



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.[22] In Tcherepnin's argumentation, there is an implicit optimism based on the traditional non-reliance of Chinese musicians on Western tradition, as well as an enthusiasm about the potential of the most populous nation for a future independent Chinese music.

Like Tcherepnin, the composer, music theorist, violist, and lawyer Wolfgang Fraenkel (1897–1983), who lived in exile in Shanghai from 1939 to 1947 after fleeing from the National Socialists, saw the future of Chinese music in a combination of Western modernism with autochthonous Chinese music traditions, though his conception of modernism was shaped differently. Influenced by the Schoenberg school, Fraenkel conceived of new music as fundamentally different from the Classical-Romantic tradition in a specific music-linguistic sense, and in his text "Music Development?" he recommended that his Chinese colleagues develop just such an alterity: Chinese composers should absorb the "technical and sensory qualities of Western art," which would, however, only serve as a basis for making connections with traditional Chinese music without destroying its particularities. In the pronounced distance from a classical musical language, Fraenkel saw a possible connection between pre-Classical and modern European music and Chinese music (→ III.2).

Fraenkel and Tcherepnin brought a fresh perspective to the ongoing discussion on the future of Chinese music, as the basis for the controversy over the roles of Western music up to the 1930s had implicitly always referred to the nineteenth century as the source of tonal-diatonic musical language. Fraenkel's most important student at the Shanghai Conservatory,

22 Tcherepnine, "Music in Modern China," 398.

Sang Tong (1923–2011), wrote *Yejing* (Night Scenery, 1947, published in 1981) for violin and piano – the first Asian composition incorporating atonal and dodecaphonic structures[23] – and *Zai na yaoyuan de difang* (In the Land, Far, Far Away, 1947) for piano. These works represent impressive outlines of what a new Chinese music might have looked like later if this development had not been abruptly ended by political and social upheavals such as the Civil War 1947–49 and the takeover by the Communist Party in 1949 (→ III.2). Dodecaphonic works did not appear until the late 1970s, with Luo Zhongrong's (b. 1924) *Shejiang cai furong* (Picking Lotus Flowers at the Riverside, 1979) for voice and piano playing a pioneering role. In a similar fashion to Sang Tong's early works, Luo synthesized pentatonic melody with twelve-tone technique.[24] The changing political atmosphere in post-Mao China is expressed in the assessment of the musicologist Wang Ningyi, who wrote in 1981 that "Comrade Luo's courageous move into the prohibited zone of twelve-tone music should be looked upon as a meaningful exploration."[25]

Aaron Avshalomov (1894–1956) has been another important figure in the musical life of Shanghai during the 1930s and has received some attention in research recently. Avshalomov was born in Nikolayevsk-on-Amur close to the Chinese-Russian border. During his stay in China from 1918 to 1947 (Tianjin, 1918–31, Shanghai, 1931–47) and after a period of field research on Chinese folk music he became a much-respected composer and music teacher, sharing his Chinese colleague's search for new Chinese musical identities. His works exhibit a type of cultural "fusion" that in many respects seems to predate compositional concepts of both Cultural Revolution "model works" (*yangbanxi*) and the young avant-garde of the 1980s. Most notably, his "music drama" *The Great Wall* (*Meng Jiang Nü*, 1943–45)[26] and his Piano Concerto (1935)[27] exhibit the composer's conscious reaction to a sensitive, politicized environment. Labeling his *Great Wall*, premiered in November 1945 in a production requiring considerable resources and effort, a "Chinese Music Drama" (*Yinyue gewuju*) avoided obvious connections to a much-debated reform of Beijing Opera (*jingju*). Emerging from the concept of a monodrama, the musical idiom to a text spoken and sung in Mandarin Chinese is characterized by an "eclectic mixture of late-Romantic, impressionist, and early modernist styles to depict changes in the dramatic action and emotion from moment to moment."[28] While the blending of genres and styles in *The Great Wall* to some extent anticipated the *yangbanxi* aesthetic, Avshalomov's Piano Concerto in G major paved the way for the veritable sub-genre of the "fusion concerto," of which

23 See Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong," who notes that although Sang's work "is not based on any twelve-tone row, the twelve chromatic notes obviously constitute a main resource" (96). After the opening of Chinese culture in 1976/78 Zheng Yinglie and the composer himself published two analyses of this piece in 1983 and 1991 respectively (Zheng, "Sang Tong de Yejing shishi" [A Preliminary Analysis of Sang Tong's *Night Scenery*]; Sang, "Yejing zhong de wudiaoxing shoufa ji qita" [Atonal and Other Techniques in *Night Scenery*]). Both analyses emphasized the use of traditional Chinese scales and modes in this work.

24 See Zheng, "Letter from China: The Use of Twelve Tone Technique in Chinese Musical Composition," Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (III)," 81, Zhang, *Akkulturationsphänomene in der gegenwärtigen Musikkultur Chinas*, 104–107, Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 154, Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 360–361, Rao, "Hearing Pentatonicism Through Serialism," and Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong," 91–92.

25 Wang Ningyi, "Farenshensi de tansuo: Ping Luo Zhongrong de 'Shejiang cai furong'" [A Thought-Provoking Experiment: A Critique of Luo Zhongrong's *Picking Lotus Flowers at the Riverside*], 45, translation quoted after Cheong, "Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong," 92.

26 See Winzenburg, "Aaron Avshalomov and New Chinese Music in Shanghai, 1931–1947," Winzenburg, "Musical-Dramatic Experimentation in the *Yangbanxi*," and Winzenburg, "Partnering with the Shanghai Arts Community."

27 See Winzenburg, "A New Multivoiced World."

28 Winzenburg, "Musical-Dramatic Experimentation in the *Yangbanxi*," 193.

John Winzenburg has currently assembled more than 400 representative examples.[29] The second movement of this concerto, an adagio carefully incorporating a *kunqu* opera tune, hints at Chinese performance techniques such as sliding pitch lines. The movement was arranged by the composer for an ensemble of 14 Chinese instruments that enter into a dialogue with the solo piano. This arrangement was performed separately from the three-movement work at the premiere on 19 January 1936 in Shanghai,[30] and, according to the composer, the confrontation between the two performances and settings was intended to demonstrate the key role of timbre for the understanding of musical identity:

> Working on the modernizing of Chinese music, i.e., trying to bring it up to a standard acceptable to the present generation, one is confronted with the problem of losing, in the process, very much of what is typically and characteristically Chinese. Since it must be recognized that the Chinese instruments, in spite of the charm of their ton-colour [*sic*], cannot be yet efficiently employed to perform on them symphonic music on account of technical shortcomings, the only way out (the composer sees it for the present and until that time when the mechanical and technical possibilities will be improved) is to use the western orchestra trying the [*sic*] preserve *only* the spirit of Chinese music as expressed in the thematic material, not taking into much account the loss of that peculiar colour which could not be obtained by using Chinese instruments. The present experiment […] is not a comparison: it is a desire to explain through actual music that although (as in the case of this "Adagio") the two versions are *entirely identical* as regard instrumentation, harmonization, form, and thematic material, the western orchestra does not – (perhaps cannot?) – sound as what is ordinarily called "Chinese music." Or does it?? … This the composer leaves for the audience.[31]

During the same period, some – equally implicitly political – comparable approaches emerged in Japan, most notably in the orchestral works *Akebono* (1931) by Kunihiko Hashimoto[32] (1904–1949) and the *Nagauta Symphony "Tsurukame"* (1934) by Kōsaku (Kósçak) Yamada.[33] In both works, a choral *nagauta shamisen* ensemble (an ensemble consisting of *shamisen*-accompanying singers in unison) and a Western symphony orchestra are connected in a variety of ways. These works emerged in a politicized context of increasing nationalism that had spread in the wake of Japan's occupation of the Manchurian peninsula in 1931/32. Hashimoto's 30-minute *Akebono*

29 Winzenburg, "A New Multivoiced World," 222–223; see also Winzenburg, "Heteroglossia and Traditional Vocal Genres."

30 Winzenburg, "A New Multivoiced World," 224.

31 Aaron Avshalomov, "Notes upon the Orchestral Works," in *The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra at the Lyceum, Fifteenth Sunday Concert Symphonic Programme* (19 January 1936), 4–5, quoted after Winzenburg, "A New Multivoiced World," 231.

32 From 1934 to 1937, Hashimoto studied in Vienna with Egon Wellesz. On returning to Japan, with a stopover in Los Angeles, he met with Schoenberg (Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 205). *Akebono* was performed again in 2005 at the Tokyo University of the Arts (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku)* under the direction of Hiroshi Wakasugi to great acclaim. The text is by Tatsuyuki Takano (1876–1947), the underlying *shamisen* music was composed by Kosaburo Yoshizumi (1876–1972) and Rokeshiro Kineya (1904–1987).

33 Yamada was the most internationally respected composer in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. He had, among other teachers, studied in Berlin with Max Bruch and Karl Wolf (1910–12), and contributed significantly to the development of Japanese music life. During the Pacific War, Yamada offered his services to the militarist regime, leading to fierce controversies in the immediate postwar period (Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 130–131). Some further information on Yamada has been provided in Chapter II.4.

(Sunrise), written for a huge ensemble, caused a scandal at its premiere on 14 November 1931, followed by harsh and politically charged press reviews that insisted on the basic incompatibility of the intimate character of Japanese music and the representational character of Western orchestral styles.[34] The composer himself published an extensive list of harmonic strategies and ensemble combinations used in his work, concluding that he had "failed to achieve a synthesis, to combine these techniques into a single procedure."[35] Yamada's *Nagauta Symphony "Tsurukame,"* by contrast, was much better received, although it pursued an agenda similar to Hashimoto's, namely "the urgently needed overcoming of the opposition between Japanese and Western music with the aim of creating a Japanese national music."[36] It is evident that Yamada's success was not least due to the allusions to nationalist tropes and symbols in the quoted *nagauta* material, and not merely to the astonishing inventiveness of how this material is technically interwoven, through considerable effort, with harmonic and contrapuntal structures.[37]

In both works, the melodies of the *shamisen* ensemble are integrated into the idiom of the orchestra by coloring and developing them with the means of major-minor tonality. At the same time, the composers claimed to have left the traditional idiom of the *shamisen* ensemble largely untouched. In this formalized dialogue, the juxtaposed ensembles describe a kind of coexistence of Japanese and European music that had been characteristic of the Japanese modernization model since the Meiji era (1868–1911) as a whole. While Hashimoto, a member of *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* (Federation of Innovative Composers, founded in 1930, → II.4), was the only composer of his generation to have studied both European and Japanese music, Yamada's music had initially been strongly influenced by Richard Strauss, but increasingly turned toward an integration of traditional Japanese instruments and genres. Already in Yamada's symphony "Inno Meiji" (1921) a *hichiriki* is used, which, however, – like the Japanese instruments in the opera *Yoake – Kuro Fune* (see above) – does not play a major role. The *Nagauta Symphony* is based on the play *Tsurukame* ("Crane and Tortoise," a story documenting imperial worship), adapted from the *nō* theater for *kabuki*. In sum, both symphonies reflect increasingly nationalist tendencies of Japanese music of the 1920s and 1930s, with Yamada's work expressing a more explicit political undertone.

After early attempts to make structural use of the modes and timbres of Japanese traditional genres during the 1930s in the context of the *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei*, Yoritsune Matsudaira (1907–2001) extensively linked current European developments from neoclassicism to dodecaphony, serialism, and aleatoricism with structural and tonal aspects of *gagaku*, during the postwar period.[38] Matsudaira's *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1952) on the fa-

34 See Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 125–133.

35 Hashimoto, "Nagauta shinkyoku 'Akebono,'" 45, quoted after Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 127 ("Obwohl ich danach trachtete, die oben beschriebenen Techniken in Synthese zu bringen, zu einer einzigen Verfahrensweise zu verbinden, […] muss ich leider bekennen, dass mit dieser entscheidende Schritt nicht gelungen ist.").

36 Tsuyuki, "Nihon ongaku to yōgaku to no kōryū," 36, quoted after Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 134 ("[Tsurukame] […] versteht sich als Schritt in Richtung der dringend nötigen Überwindung der Opposition von japanischer und westlicher Musik, mit dem Ziel, eine japanische Nationalmusik zu schaffen.").

37 See Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 134–141.

38 Yoritsune Matsudaira was one of Japan's most influential and internationally active composers; he became known in the West already during the 1930s after being awarded the Tcherepnin composition prize in 1935. He attended the 1957 and 1958 Darmstadt Summer Course (Caitano, "Intercultural Perspectives in the International Summer Courses for New Music," 336–342). In 1958 his orchestral work *U-Mai* (1957–58) was premiered in Darmstadt. Among his later works, the *Drei Arien nach Gedichten aus der "Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji"* (1990) for soprano, *shō*, flute, and *koto*, a preliminary work toward his late opera *Genji Monogatari* (1991–97), made use of

mous *gagaku* piece *Etenraku* (in the mode *banshikicho*) was awarded a prize at the ISCM festival 1952 and afterward conducted by Herbert von Karajan in Vienna (1952) and Tokyo (1954). In 1930, Matsudaira had been the youngest founding member of the *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei*, which encouraged "the development of Japanese tonal systems suitable for primarily pentatonic and modal melodies, structured after the type of 'quartal harmonies' derived from the vertical tone clusters of the *shō* in *gagaku*"[39] in the second of its four guidelines (→ II.4). As outlined in Chapter II.4, this demand was met in particular by Fumio Hayasaka (1914–1955) in works such as *Kodai no bukyoku* (Ancient Dance, 1937) along with the second movement of Matsudaira's Sonatine for Flute and Piano (1936) that uses a *gagaku* melody in a predominantly neoclassicist context, "alienating it from its origins."[40] As discussed in detail in Chapter II.4, in the 1930s, Japan's tendency toward cultural renewal, known as *shinkō*, had sparked an intense debate over "Japanese harmony," in which Shūkichi Mitsukuri, Shōhei Tanaka, and Klaus Pringsheim participated alongside Hayasaka.[41] Hayasaka's and Matsudaira's works of the postwar period conveyed these principles to the younger generation. In his works of the 1950s, Matsudaira continued to explore specific concepts of Japanese harmony, such as in his adaptation of the mouth organ *shō*'s *aitake* chords in his central work *Saibara ni yoru Metamorfōzu* (Metamorphoses on Saibara, 1953/58).[42]

Reforms in traditional music were far less radical in Japan than in China. A central figure was the *koto* player Michio Miyagi[43] (1894–1956), who became the protagonist of *Shin Nihon ongaku* (New Japanese Music), a movement that sought to gently integrate Western elements into traditional Japanese instrumental structures.[44] The movement aimed to expand the performance techniques of traditional instruments, but also experimented with modifications (usually enlargements) of the instruments. Already before Miyagi, the *koto* genre *shinkyoku* (New Pieces) had been created during the Meiji Period (1868–1911) in Osaka, in which elements of Western music were included. Noboru Tateyama (1876–1926) played a significant role in the formation of that repertoire.[45] After the Second World War, a broader trend toward the confluence of Japanese and European musical traditions was not re-established until the 1960s, primarily by musicians who, following Miyagi (who died in 1956) adopted the term *gendai hōgaku* (Traditional Japanese Music of the Present). This notable group of distinguished soloists was able to arouse a new interest in traditional instruments among Western-educated composers.[46] Most prominently, the "Group of four for traditional Japanese music"

Japanese instruments for the first time. On Matsudaira see, among others, Sawabe, *Neue Musik in Japan von 1950 bis 1960*, 48–51, Sawabe, "Der lange Weg zur 'Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji,'" Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 82–85, 137–144, 259–260, as well as the essays in Benítez and Kondō, *Gagaku and Serialism*. Some further information on Matsudaira is provided in Chapter II.4.

39 Quoted in Herd, "The Cultural Politics of Japan's Modern Music," 44 (→ II.4).

40 Lehtonen, "'March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,'" 181. Lehtonen (ibid., 167–185) provides a close reading of this movement and other prewar works by Matsudaira.

41 Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 66–73, 79–82.

42 Ibid., 138–141.

43 The blind *koto* player Michio Miyagi was one of the most important reformers of traditional Japanese music in the twentieth century. At the age of 18, he reached the highest rank (*kengyo*) with the traditional Japanese musician system. See Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 52–55.

44 See especially Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 66–82.

45 See Flavin, "*Meiji shinkyoku*" and Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 55–65.

46 See Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 238–254.

(*Hōgaku yonin no kai*) and the *koto* player Kayoko Suzuki developed the rapprochement. In this context, Yoshirō Irino (1921–1980) wrote *Music for Two Kotos* (1957), the first dodecaphonic work for traditional Japanese instruments,[47] and ten years later Tōru Takemitsu composed his seminal works for traditional instruments *Eclipse* (1966) and *November Steps* (1967) (→ III.4).

In China, Shi Yongkang's (b. 1929) concerto *Huanghe de gushi* (The Story of the Yellow Crane, 1955) represents an early example of a "fusion concerto" with a Chinese solo instrument, reversing Avshalomov's setting twenty years earlier. The solo instrument is the Chinese bamboo flute *dizi*, but the piece almost entirely conforms to the conventions of the Western Romantic virtuoso concerto tradition.[48] An appropriation of Western virtuosity has generally acted as a determining factor in the repertoire of almost all Chinese instruments since the 1930s. The resulting style is marked by an integration of Chinese sound resources into an almost entirely European nineteenth-century idiom. This goes hand in hand with a considerable reduction in complexity at all musical levels and is generally summarized as "conservatory style" since it is closely linked with the establishment of academic music education institutions since 1927:[49]

> Many virtuosos in the conservatories or professional state-supported urban troupes come from the background of hereditary village "folk artist" families, but they have largely abandoned the traditional ethos in favour of a modernized, virtuoso and partly Westernized style, using a tempered scale, abbreviating pieces considerably and exaggerating dynamics and gestures for stage performance. This "conservatory style" is more accessible but of less complexity than the traditional rural music-making.[50]

The use of Chinese solo instruments in orchestral contexts became significantly more sophisticated after the end of the Cultural Revolution in the 1980s and 90s. For example, the *dizi* in Zhu Jian'er's (1922–2017) Fourth Symphony (1990) represents a structurally looser principle, acting within a stylistically complex amalgamation of dodecaphony, sound masses, and Chinese percussion ensemble rhythms. This situation is similar to the role of the musical saw in Zhu's Second Symphony (1987). An obvious narrative interpretation is one that that understands the solo instruments in these two works as depicting the articulation of the individual in a repressive and coercively constrained society, thus processing the traumas of the Cultural Revolution, which were the explicit theme of the First Symphony (1977–86).[51]

Zhu Jian'er's ten symphonies were written between 1986 and 1999, and can be seen as an almost systematic undertaking to find a music differing in significant ways from the Western symphonic tradition by means of different experimental arrangements while upholding the emphatic aesthetic claims of the symphonic tradition (→ III.5).[52] At the age of 50, Zhu, who

47 Sawabe, *Neue Musik in Japan von 1950 bis 1960*, 47.

48 The score of this work is extensively discussed and fully reproduced in Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 321–323, 440–457.

49 In 1927, the Shanghai Conservatory was opened. See Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven, "The Shanghai Conservatory of Music" and Yang, "The Shanghai Conservatory, Chinese Musical Life, and the Russian Diaspora, 1927–1949."

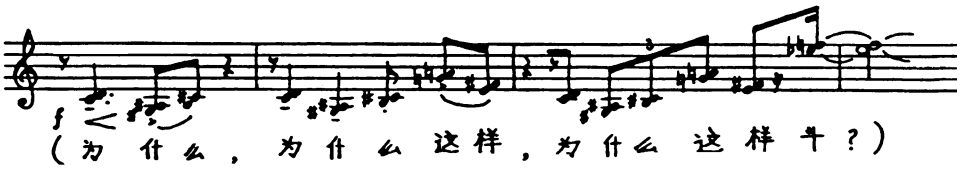
50 Jones, "China §IV. Living Traditions."

51 See in particular Barbara Mittler's interpretation of Zhu's First Symphony in *Dangerous Tunes*, 97–105. On the continued importance of post-Cultural Revolution "scar music" for Chinese composers until the 1990s see Mittler, "Sound Patterns of Cultural Memory."

52 The scores of Zhu's ten symphonies and his sinfonietta were released, along with CD recordings, in 2002 in an elaborate three-volume edition of the Shanghai Music Publishing House. See also Sun, "Zhu Jian'er's Symphonies."

had mostly composed unnoticed before and during the Cultural Revolution, attended composition classes at the Shanghai Conservatory with Chen Mingzhi (1925–2009) and Yang Liqing (1942–2013) to explore and appropriate new techniques, including the twelve-tone method in particular.[53] While the First Symphony, in its long formation and methodological eclecticism, aptly documents the difficulties of finding a new musical language in the years following the Cultural Revolution, the Second Symphony compresses the traumatic experiences into an extreme density. The two halves of the twelve-tone row (C–A–G♯ – F–E–C♯ – D♯–F♯–G – A♯–B–D; all trichords being members of the same set class 014), similar in structure to Anton Webern's dodecaphonic symmetries, appear in the main theme permuted and simultaneously sharply accentuated by a whole tone (T_2) transposition, which articulates the Chinese speech rhythm of the question "Why?" (Ex. 3.2).[54]

Example 3.2: Zhu Jian'er, ***Second Symphony*** *op. 28, rehearsal number 16+3–6: main theme with the underlying words "weishenme, weishenme zheyang, weishenme zheyang dou" ("Why? Why so? Why is it such a struggle?")*[55]



In the broad introduction to the first movement, the fragile sounds of the musical saw continue in extensive solo fields of other instruments but are repeatedly cut off harshly by rolling tutti sounds. These spread out considerably in the second part of the work until, at the end, after a painful polytonal "apparent triumph" of the brass, an echo of the saw becomes audible – which can easily be understood as the barely audible, yet sustainably articulated voice of the individual.

In completely different social and historical terms, the treatment of the Japanese solo instruments *shakuhachi* and (*satsuma-*) *biwa* in Takemitsu's *November Steps* (1967) is also characterized by a much greater flexibility of tempo, synchronization, and articulation when compared to the orchestral structures, resulting not least from the mostly unmetered, partly ambiguous notation for the solo instruments (→ III.4). Owing to the differences in tone and technique, the Asian instruments for Zhu and Takemitsu become carriers of an individualization process, and produce an autonomous music that disengages from the determinism of compositional ideas and penetrates open spaces removed from large-scale formal processes.

Reform, imitation, coexistence, integration, and individualization: these historical concepts in dealing with East Asian sounds, instruments, and genres make it particularly clear how closely composition in East Asia was, and still is, linked to broader sociocultural developments, but also how differently the responses to the challenges of aesthetic and political modernity could be conceived. In these conceptual constellations, a realm of absolute alterity (Hashimoto's and Yamada's dualistic orchestral settings, Zhu's and Takemitsu's contrasting time strata), rationalized mediation (Liu's and Miyagi's reforms), and stylistic leveling and appropriation (the Chinese symphony orchestra, Shi's virtuoso concerto, the conservatoire style) –

53 Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 151.

54 Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (II)," 65 and Sun, "Zhu Jian'er's Symphonies."

55 Kouwenhoven, "Mainland China's New Music (II)," 65.

was staked out along with substantial attempts at a re-invention of an independent Asian modernity filtered through the ethics and aesthetics of recent musical modernism (Avshalomov, Tcherepnin, Fraenkel). The potential for intercultural mediation and transformation in East Asian music history emerging from these fundamental concepts will now be further explored by the case studies in this chapter.

2. Triggering Musical Modernism in China: The Work of Wolfgang Fraenkel in Shanghai Exile

The history of early musical modernism in East Asia has not yet been written with an adequate multiplicity of perspectives. Initial studies that have approached this topic[56] confirm that European composers and musicians sometimes played important roles in the formation of a modern musical identity in East Asian countries. These European figures' roles, however, often remained ambivalent in a colonial, semi-colonial, or postcolonial situation due to the obvious tension between a sometimes obvious contempt for Asian musicians and a sensitive empathy for local circumstances and traditions. The Shanghai of the first half of the twentieth century offers a wealth of examples. The interactions, collaborations, and conflicts between Russian and Western European and Chinese inhabitants as well as colonial (Western and Japanese) administrators in Shanghai's internationalized music scene in the late 1930s and early 1940s were intensified by the presence of a significant number of Jewish musicians fleeing Nazi Germany and Austria. Only three of them may count among representatives of Western musical modernism: Alban Berg's German student and assistant Julius Schloß (1902–1972); the pianist Karl Steiner (1912–2001), also from Schoenberg's Viennese circle; and the Berlin composer, musician, and judge Wolfgang Fraenkel (1897–1983). All three arrived in Shanghai in 1939 as refugees from Nazism after being detained for a few months in concentration camps. The lives and artistic work of Schloß and Steiner have been documented as part of research on the history of the Schoenberg school[57] and Fraenkel's case has only been studied since 2003. The following overview summarizes his work in Shanghai as a musician, teacher, and composer while attempting to identify essential starting points for research on Fraenkel.[58]

---

56 See Sawabe, *Neue Musik in Japan von 1950 bis 1960*, 15–33, Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 21–32, Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 27–123, Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 206–222, Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, and Liu, *A Critical History of New Music in China*, 23–286.

57 On Schloß see Krones, "Es waere die Erfuellung eines meiner ernstesten Wuensche und Pflichten, die LULU zu vollenden," Krones, "Julius Schloß," Fricke, "Ein saarländischer Vertreter der Zweiten Wiener Schule," and Fricke, "Julius Schloß." On Steiner, see Krones, "Karl Steiner – ein später Pianist der 'Wiener Schule,'" Gaub, "Karl Steiner," Baier, "50 Jahre danach: Julius Schloss, Karl Steiner, Jenö Takács," Steiner, "50 nian zhi hou," and Steiner, "Report About My Years in Shanghai, 1939–1949." In 2003 I published the first of several articles on Fraenkel, on which this part of the chapter is based (see Appendix).

58 The documents of the Fraenkel estate cited below are part of the musical estate of Wolfgang Fraenkel, Bavarian State Library, Music Department, Mus.ms. 19557–19828 (here cited as mus. est.), and the literary estate Wolfgang Fraenkel, Bavarian State Library, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, ANA 496, Sch[achteln] (boxes) 1–6 (here cited as lit. est.). So far, only two studies have dealt with Fraenkel's estate: Kellermann, "Kellermann-Verzeichnis der Werke von Wolfgang Fraenkel" and Fraenkel, *Afunktionelle Musik* (edited and with a commentary by Markus Köhler). Fraenkel's musical works are identified below using the Kellermann catalogue of Fraenkel's works (Kel.V.). There is also a rudimentary overview of the Fraenkel estate in McCredie, "Komponisten, die in den westpazifischen Raum und nach Ozeanien emigrierten" and McCredie, "Die emigrierten euro-