

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<sup>56</sup> 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<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup>

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, Jenő 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-

## Wolfgang Fraenkel's Development as a Composer and Path to Exile

Wolfgang Fraenkel was born in Berlin on 10 October 1897, the son of the respected lawyer Philipp and Agnes Fraenkel (née Krenz), and married Rosa Fraenkel (née Nebenzahl) in 1929. As a child and as young man, Fraenkel took violin lessons with Max Heinecke, a member of the Waldemar Meyer String Quartet, and Issay Barmas (1872–1946), and later violin and viola lessons with P. Saager, the principal viola player of the Berlin State Opera. He studied piano and music theory at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory<sup>59</sup> and later, after being forced out of his position as a district court counselor (Amts- and Landgerichtsrat), conducting with Julius Prüwer of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. On graduation from high school, he studied law at Berlin University until the beginning of World War I, during which he served in the German army. After the war, Fraenkel completed his studies in law in 1923 and from 1929 worked as district court counselor until April 1933, when, as a consequence of Hitler's seizure of power, all Jews were removed from public office. From 1933 until November 1938, now "Landgerichtsrat a.D." (retired district court counselor), he worked as a freelance musician, composer, and conductor, taking part in a number of performances organized by the *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden* (Jewish Cultural League), which was a central instrument for the isolation and control of Jewish artists by the "culture officer" (*Kulturreferent*) Hans Hinkel and existed from June 1933 to 11 September 1941.<sup>60</sup> An example of these activities is Fraenkel's direction of a series of performances of Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat* (1918), which he conducted in 1936 and 1937.<sup>61</sup>

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jüdischen Komponisten im ostasiatischen Raum." Additional information is drawn from the Archives of the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau (DALJEWICIB) Harbin-Shanghai at The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (PBC), The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, DAL 1119 Fraenkel, Wolfgang (microfilmed for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 2007) (here quoted as DAL 1119). All material is quoted and reproduced here with kind permission of the libraries and archives. For basic information on the life and work of Jewish exiles in Shanghai in the field of music during and after World War II, see, among others, Cheung, "Divide and Connections in Chinese Musical Modernity," Fetthauer, "Das Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau in Harbin und Shanghai," Eory, "Zur Rolle der Musik für zentraleuropäische jüdische Flüchtlinge in der Diaspora Shanghai," Xu, "Youtai yinyuejia zai Shanghai," Xu, "Nacui tudao xia de toudengzhe," Xu, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," Xu, "Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai," Xu, *Xunfang Youtairen*, Tang, "Musical Life in the Jewish Refugee Community in Shanghai," Tang, "Reconstructing the Vanished Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Diaspora," Tang, *Shanghai Youtai shequ de yinyue shenghuo*, Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 100–106, and Rosenson, "Jewish Musicians in Shanghai."

59 The Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory was founded in 1893 out of an amalgamation of Karl Klindworth's (1830–1916) and Xaver Scharwenka's (1850–1924) piano conservatories. Under the direction of Xaver's brother Philipp (until his death in 1917) and Antonín Dvořák's student Robert Robitschek (until 1937), the conservatory played an important role in Berlin's musical life.

60 See Geisel and Broder, *Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933–1941*.

61 Programs of these concerts can be found in the lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, "Programme." The outstanding quality of Fraenkel's conducting of this work in Berlin and Breslau is also mentioned in a letter of recommendation from 10/09/1938 by Oscar Guttman (DAL 1119). In a late letter to Hans Moldenhauer, Fraenkel reports on these Stravinsky performances in a way that does not reflect well on the *Kulturbund*: "[...] die Leitung des Kulturbundes hat uns aber so viele Steine in den Weg gelegt, dass wir es nur zu einer Wiederholung in Berlin und zu einer Aufführung in Breslau brachten – wenn Sie über den geliebten Kulturbund weiteres wissen wollen, bin ich gerne bereit zu berichten, muss aber betonen, dass der Kbund sich ausserordentlich gut benahm, als ich im KZ. war und für meine baldige Entlassung wirklich viel getan hat!!" (Letter Wolfgang Fraenkel to Hans Moldenhauer, Los Angeles, 17/01/1973, lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, "Korrespondenz." "[...] the administrators of the *Kulturbund* have put so many obstacles in our way that we accomplished only *one* repeat performance in Berlin and one performance

In November 1938, Fraenkel was imprisoned at Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Oranienburg, near Berlin, as probably one of 6,000 Jewish males who were deported to Sachsenhausen following the “Reichskristallnacht” pogrom on 9 November. As his mother was considered to be “Aryan” and he promised to leave the country immediately, he was released from Sachsenhausen with the help of the *Kulturbund* after one or two months, probably in late 1938 or early 1939. In 1939, 12,089 German and Austrian refugees reached Shanghai as a “port of last resort,” since the international city was the only remaining place worldwide that did not require visa or even a passport for immigration.<sup>62</sup> Among the roughly 18,000 German and Austrian refugees who reached Shanghai in this period, a considerable number – 450 (2.5%) – were musicians.<sup>63</sup>

Fraenkel left for Shanghai on the *Conte Rosso*, a famous Italian Lloyd-Triestino liner, on 12 April 1939 and arrived in Shanghai on 7 May 1939.<sup>64</sup> Deprived of most of their personal belongings and only allowed personal funds of 10 Reichsmark (4 US \$), the refugees arrived in Shanghai after a long and exhausting journey, mostly in poor material condition and without any preparation for living in a Chinese – albeit very international – city. The situation of the Jewish refugees was partly relieved by the activities of several self-founded Jewish assistance organizations, such as the Speelman committee (Committee for Assistance of European Refugees in Shanghai) of the Dutch businessman Michel Speelman, which provided housing and a monthly stipend for a certain period to the victims of the Nazi regime, and the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau in Harbin und Shanghai, which established contacts to local employers and provided advice.

During the eight years he spent in Shanghai, Wolfgang Fraenkel had at least six different addresses: in November 1939 he was registered at 372 Bourgeat (*Pushi lu*, today named *Changle lu*) in the French Concession (the part of the city where most Russian as well as Western European immigrants lived).<sup>65</sup> Around 1941 he lived in *Chengdu lu* and by early 1943 in the “Cosmopolitan Centre” (*Shijie Xin Cun*) in *Tianping lu*.<sup>66</sup> On 18 February 1943 the Japanese government announced that all “stateless refugees” (designating all Jewish refugees who had arrived in Shanghai from 1937 onward) were to move to a marked-off area in Hongkou (a northern district of Shanghai) within three months. Fraenkel relocated to this Jewish Ghetto in Hongkou where, according to his former student Qin Xixuan, he first lived in *Zhabei lu*.<sup>67</sup> In the “List of Foreigners in Dee Lay Jao Police District” from 24 August 1944, he is registered as “Dolf-

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in Breslau – if you would like to know more about the beloved *Kulturbund* I am happy to report but I have to stress that the *K[ultur]bund* behaved exceptionally well when I was in concentration camp and really did a lot for my early release!!”)

62 See Ristiano, *Port of Last Resort* and Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China*.

63 Fetthauer, “Das Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau in Harbin und Shanghai,” 52.

64 Letter from the *Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland* (Aid Association of German Jews) to the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau (DALJEWICB) Harbin 14/03/1939 and Fraenkel's letter to DALJEWICB from 25/05/1939 (DAL 1119). On the Hilfsverein, which had been founded in 1901 and closed down by the Nazis in 1939, see Adler-Rudel, “Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Naziregime 1933–1939.”

65 *Emigranten Adressbuch für Shanghai. Mit einem Anhang: Branchen-Register*, Facsimile reprint of the original edition (Shanghai: The New Star Company 1939), Hong Kong, 1995. Fraenkel announced his activities as a private teacher of music theory, harmony, counterpoint, composition, and instrumental practice in the *North-China Daily News* between December 1939 and October 1940 under the address 1434 Avenue Road, Room 25 (today Beijing Road) (information provided by Sophie Fetthauer).

66 Personal communication from Fraenkel's former student Sang Tong, Shanghai, November 2002.

67 Personal communication from Fraenkel's former student Qin Xixuan, Beijing, December 2002.

gang [sic] Fraenkel, Musician,” age 48, together with his wife, Rosa Fraenkel, age 46, in 343/53 *Zangyang lu* (most likely an incorrect transcription of *Changyang lu*, formerly Ward Road/*Huade lu*, one of the main streets in the Hongkou Ghetto).<sup>68</sup> He probably moved again in 1946, to *Yuyuan lu* no. 1000 in the French Concession, where he was still registered in 1947.<sup>69</sup>

Fraenkel's artistic development before 1939 reflects different trends of the early twentieth century, namely neoclassicism, free atonality, and twelve-tone technique. His most important works of this period include the opera *Der brennende Dornbusch* (The Burning Bush, 1926–28, Kel.V. 190) after Oskar Kokoschka and the cantata *Die 82. Sure des Koran* (1936, Kel.V. 112). The cantata was premiered on 9 November 1937 under the direction of Fraenkel by the Haarlem Orchestra Association and the alto Paula Lindberg in Haarlem (Netherlands).<sup>70</sup> In addition, he composed two string quartets (1923–24, Kel.V. 19 and 20), *Musik mit konzertanter Flöte* (Music with Concertante Flute, 1930, Kel.V. 13), the cantata *Der Wegweiser* (also listed as *Musik mit obligater Oboe*, 1931, Kel.V. 110), as well as a violin sonata and a cello sonata (1935, Kel.V. 29 and 34).

The works from the mid-1930s onward in particular show a self-confident atonal style in the tradition of the early Schoenberg, largely without systematic use of the twelve-tone method, which Fraenkel had probably known since the early 1930s. Fraenkel's personal contact with Schoenberg during the latter's professorship at the *Akademie der Künste* (1926–33) or with Schoenberg's Berlin circle cannot currently be proven, however, and it seems likely that Fraenkel cannot be considered part of Schoenberg's "Berlin School" in the narrower sense. Nevertheless, his further development makes it clear that Schoenberg's music and compositional aesthetics played a central role for him, but he could synthesize them from a distance, in a very original way, with other influences from Paul Hindemith to Ernst Kurth, as documented in his theoretical main work *Afunktionelle Musik* (Afunctional Music, 1937–43, see below).

Like numerous other exiles from Shanghai, Fraenkel left Shanghai when the Chinese Civil War broke out and moved to Los Angeles in August 1947.<sup>71</sup> In the remaining 36 years he was able to celebrate some successes as a composer despite his slightly advanced age, and his work was beginning to be noticed in Europe. Three of his works were awarded European composition prizes, and on 21 October 1966 Bruno Maderna conducted the premiere of his *Symphonische Aphorismen* (1959), a work oriented toward Webern, at *La Scala* in Milan. At the age of 60, Fraenkel followed the latest developments in European music, writings by Karlheinz Stockhausen and Pierre Boulez can be found in his estate with notes and (sometimes critical) comments. In Los Angeles, Fraenkel also met Arnold Schoenberg and, on the latter's 75<sup>th</sup> birthday on 13 September 1949, directed a performance of the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* (1942) op. 41 in the version for string quartet, piano, and reciter. For this birthday he also dedicated his (freely atonal, not dodecaphonic) *Music for String Quartet* (1948–49, Kel.V. 21; Fig. 3.1) to Schoenberg.

68 The list is published on CD-ROM in Armbrüster, Kohlstruck and Mühlberger, *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947*. Unfortunately the facsimile of the page on which Fraenkel is listed (page 65) cannot be found on the CD-ROM (page 85 is wrongly provided instead).

69 Personal communication from Fraenkel's former students Qin Xixuan and Zhou Guangren, Beijing, December 2002. This address is also listed in the *Shi sheng tongxun lu* (Record of Teachers and Students) of the National Conservatory of Music Shanghai, July 1947, 2.

70 Program in lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, "Programme"; newspaper reviews in lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, "Zeitungs-artikel und Kritiken."

71 Fraenkel's journey from Shanghai to Los Angeles can be reconstructed from the autograph score of *Musik für großes Orchester* (1946–48, Kel.V. 8), on which the following place names are indicated: Shanghai (p. 1), Nanjing (p. 35), Kobe (p. 36), Yokohama (p. 39), Honolulu (p. 51), San Francisco (p. 53), Los Angeles (p. 55). See footnote 133.

Figure 3.1: Letter from Wolfgang Fraenkel to Arnold Schoenberg, 14 September 1949

Wolfgang Fraenkel.  
185 So.Kingsley Drive.  
Los Angeles 4, Calif.  
Tel.: FEderal 3956.

14. September 1949.

Hochverehrter Meister!

Zu meinem grössten Bedauern hatte ich keine Gelegenheit, Ihnen mein Quartett an Ihrem Geburtstage persönlich zu überreichen. Leider habe ich die Partitur noch nicht abschreiben können, aber ich werde mir erlauben, sie Ihnen sofort nach Fertigstellung zu übersenden.

Darf ich Ihnen, sehr verehrter Meister, für die mir erwiesene grosse Ehre danken, dass Sie es mir gestattet haben, Ihnen meine Komposition widmen zu dürfen.

Ich verbleibe

Ihr sehr ergebener

*Wolfgang Fraenkel.*

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Wolfgang Fraenkel died in 1983 at the age of 85. He left behind 193 works, 19 of which remained unfinished. Most of the scores have survived in Fraenkel's hand-written manuscript; only a few were published during his lifetime.<sup>72</sup>

72 Most notably, the published scores include 3 *Impromptus* for Pianoforte, Ries & Erler, Berlin c. 1921 (R 9175 E), *Die 82. Sure des Koran* for alto voice, string orchestra, and timpani, Universal Edition, Vienna c. 1948 (UE 11880), and *Variationen und Fantasien über ein Thema von Arnold Schönberg* for piano, Universal Edition, Vienna 1959 (UE 12549) (the theme on which the latter work is based is no. 3 from Schoenberg's *Six little Piano Pieces* op. 19, 1911).

## Fraenkel's Activities as Musician, Pedagogue, and Composer in Shanghai

### Fraenkel as a Musician and Conductor

In a letter to the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau written about two weeks after his arrival, Fraenkel stated that in Shanghai there would be “no prospects at all to earn money even to the most modest extent.”<sup>73</sup> He was therefore prepared to move on to Harbin or other East Asian cities. Due to its large Russian population, Harbin was still viewed by many immigrants (possibly including Fraenkel) as a city characterized by a “European” cultural life. Russian immigration to Harbin (Russian: Charbin), the “St. Petersburg of the East,” a city founded by Russia after occupying Northern Manchuria in 1898, had started in the early twentieth century with economic migrants and Jewish refugees fleeing poor living conditions and anti-Semitic persecution.<sup>74</sup> Another wave of Russian immigrants fled to Harbin after the October Revolution in 1917. Russians contributed significantly to musical life in Harbin including a symphony orchestra, a music academy, and a string quartet.<sup>75</sup> After Japan occupied Manchuria in 1931, a large number of Russian immigrants moved to Shanghai, which soon became the new center of internationalized cultural life, continuing despite the escalating Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), including the battle of Shanghai in 1937, and the Pacific War (1941–45).

The reply from the Bureau's manager Meir (Meyer Eliash) Birman<sup>76</sup> to Fraenkel states that in Harbin too, “the opportunities for serious musicians have now begun to be very restricted.” Birman recommends to Fraenkel to orient himself toward Tianjin (Tientsin), and regrets that Fraenkel had “come to Shanghai so late.”<sup>77</sup> In a letter to Fraenkel from 28 July 1939, however, the Bureau still offers to organize a position for Fraenkel at the Harbin Symphony Orchestra in autumn 1939.<sup>78</sup>

Wolfgang Fraenkel stayed on in Shanghai, however, and began work as a musician immediately after his arrival (Tab. 3.1). Two arrangements written in Shanghai, both for viola and piano, already date from June 1939 (G.F. Handel, *Passacaglia* in G minor HWV 432/6, Kel.V. 197; J.S. Bach, *Gavotte and Musette* from the English Suite in G minor BWV 808, Kel.V. 198) and were possibly performed at the first concert in which Fraenkel is documented to have participated on 15(?) June 1939. The next chamber concert in which Fraenkel is listed as the violinist of a piano trio is documented on 25 October 1939.<sup>79</sup> Possibly on the recommendation of Otto Klemperer and Hidemaro Konoe, and maybe also due to the strong support by Fritz Segall of the Berlin *Künstlerhilfe der Jüdischen Gemeinde* (Association for the Support of Artists of the Jewish Community),<sup>80</sup> Fraenkel became a member of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (SMO) in early

73 Fraenkel's letter to the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau, Shanghai 25/05/1939 (DAL 1119).

74 Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 100–101

75 Ibid., 101.

76 On Birman see Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China*, 27–28. The Bureau had its office in Harbin and only in autumn 1939 moved its office to Shanghai (Fetthauer, “Das Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau in Harbin und Shanghai,” 60).

77 Letter of the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau to Fraenkel 12/06/1939 (DAL 1119).

78 Letter of the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau to Fraenkel 28/07/1939 (DAL 1119).

79 Lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Programme.”

80 Otto Klemperer (1885–1973), who had emigrated to the USA in April 1933, recommended Fraenkel, primarily as a violist, in a letter to the influential Japanese conductor Hidemaro Konoe (→ III.1): “an Viscount Konoye. Lieber Herr Kollege! Darf ich Ihnen Herr [sic] Wolfgang Fränkel aus Berlin nachdrücklichst empfehlen. Er ist ein ausgezeichnete Musiker, der in vieler Hinsicht (vor allem als Bratschist) zu verwenden ist. Herzliche collegiale Grüße

1940, which since 1919 had developed into a professional ensemble under the direction of Mario Paci (1878–1946; head of SMO 1919–42).<sup>81</sup> The SMO gave weekly concerts every Sunday at the Lyceum in the French Concession.<sup>82</sup> In the orchestra, Fraenkel usually played the viola, although there is evidence that he occasionally played both first and second violin as well.<sup>83</sup> Fraenkel also arranged repertoire for the SMO (Table 3.1). Due to the Pacific War, the SMO officially declared its dissolution on 1 May 1942 and on 31 May gave a “farewell concert” in which Fraenkel participated. The orchestra, however, continued to give regular concerts under the name of the Shanghai Philharmonic Society from 1942 to 1945, controlled by Japanese military authorities, and officially resumed work on 18 November 1945, now mostly designated as the Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra.<sup>84</sup> Fraenkel’s estate contains sixteen programs that document

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Ihr Klemperer, Jan 24. 39” (lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Korrespondenz”). Klemperer wrote a similar short recommendation to Joseph Rosenstock (1895–1985), who at that time was principal conductor of the New Symphony Orchestra (which became the NHK Orchestra in 1951) (before his emigration, Rosenstock had been director of the Berlin orchestra of the *Kulturbund deutscher Juden* from 1933 to 1936). Fraenkel had definitely considered the option of immigrating to Japan (Xu, *Xunfang Youtairen*, 75–76), and was likely also aware of the considerable influence of Japanese musicians in Harbin, Shanghai, and other Chinese cities. Konoe (1898–1973), who was probably in Berlin at the time of Fraenkel’s departure, may have paved the way for Fraenkel into the musical life of the city in the Japanese-administered Shanghai. Konoe was the brother of Fumimaro Konoe (1891–1945, Japanese Prime Minister 1937–39 and 1940–41). Hidemaro Konoe, a conductor, pianist and composer and an important figure in Japanese Mahler reception, had studied with Erich Kleiber in Berlin and was in close contact with well-known conductors of the time such as Furtwängler, Stokowski and Klemperer; he conducted the Berlin Philharmonic several times during the 1930s. Together with the Japanese composer Kunihiko Hashimoto, Konoe had helped Manfred Gurlitt (1890–1972) emigrate to Japan in the same period (early 1939) (see Suchy, “Deutschsprachige Musiker in Japan vor 1945,” 196). The strong support from the *Künstlerhilfe* is documented in a letter by Segall to the *Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland* (26/01/1939) and to the Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau (10/03/1939) (DAL 1119).

81 On the SMO, see Yang, “From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity,” Tang, *Diguo feishan bianzouqu*, Bickers, “The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez,” and Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 17–44. On Paci see also *ibid.*, 117–124, 147–154. Melvin and Cai emphasize the positive effects of Paci’s work and his support for Chinese musicians (*ibid.*, 322–323), while he is represented in some Chinese and Western studies as a representative of Western imperialism and cultural colonialism. Yang also paints a positive image of Paci by emphasizing the broad and modern repertoire introduced by the Italian conductor (Yang, “From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity,” 52–53). The orchestra had adopted the name “Shanghai Municipal Orchestra” in 1922; before, it was known as the Shanghai Public Band (emerging from a town band for British settlers in the Shanghai International Settlement founded in 1879), and is known today as the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra (SSO) (*ibid.*, 49–50). Chinese audiences were admitted to the SMO’s concerts only from 1925 (*ibid.*). About ten musicians from the German-Austrian refugee community became members of the SMO or played with the orchestra occasionally; besides Fraenkel and Ferdinand Adler (violinist from Vienna, see footnote 119), this group included the violinist Otto Joachim (1910–2010) and his brother, the cellist Walter Joachim (1912–2001) as well as the violinist and pianist Alfred Wittenberg (1880–1952), a student of Joseph Joachim. See Xu, “Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai” and Rosenson, “Jewish Musicians in Shanghai.” Other emigrants who were musicians of the orchestra included Eugen Winkler (violin), Helmut Spittel (clarinet), Adolf Steiner (violin), Alexander Spoliansky (violin), Joe Glash (double bass), and Henry Margolinsky (conducting).

82 The SMO’s concerts had taken place at the municipal town hall up to 1930 but after the town hall was sold to a private owner, concerts were held in several theater halls with the Lyceum becoming the orchestra’s permanent performance venue in 1934 (*ibid.*, 51).

83 See the concert on 21 January 1940 (Tab. 3.1) and Xu, “Yutai yinyuejia zai Shanghai,” part 2, 1–2.

84 Tang, “Japanese Musicians and the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (1942–45)” provides a detailed history of the concert activities during this three-year period. The conductors of the orchestra during this period were Arrigo Foa, Alexander Sloutsky, and Henry Margolinsky.

Figure 3.2: Fraenkel's portrait in the newspaper preview of the Shanghai Songsters' concerts, 18 and 20/2/1941 (*The Shanghai Sunday Times*, 2/2/1941)



Bavarian State Library, Abteilung Handschriften und Seltene Drucke, ANA 496

his activities as a musician (Table 3.1), but it can be assumed that he participated in many more concerts, especially in his role as a member of the SMO.

How did Fraenkel act and react in the Shanghai environment that was deeply affected by diverse and often contradictory political, economic, and cultural interests? Even if no documents have yet come to light that reveal his emotional reactions or his more personal considerations, the sociohistorical context suggests that the daily struggle for existence that characterized the life of most Shanghai refugees<sup>85</sup> was an immediate challenge for him too, at least in the beginning. In this situation, a mixture of determination, foresight, clearly defined goals, and a certain pragmatism (which does not mean opportunism) surely helped him to survive, while his multi-faceted musical talent allowed him to find a broad range of music-related occupations. Within a relatively short time, Fraenkel worked as a violinist, violist, pianist, orchestral and choral conductor (Fig. 3.2, 3.3), teacher of music theory and composition, writer of theoretical essays, and ar-

ranger and composer for dance and film productions. Even though he knew how to settle in the European enclave of Shanghai and certainly had to come to terms with Japanese rulers or Chinese collaborators – although he undoubtedly tried to stay out of political entanglements<sup>86</sup> – he never did so at the expense of Chinese or European colleagues or students. On the contrary, his high level of commitment clearly went beyond what was necessary.

In 1939, Fraenkel encountered a situation in which a musical practice based on European tradition that went beyond mere colonial culture was still in its early stages, but had already been an object of heated discussion. It was not until 1938 that the SMO began to regularly

85 See among others Armbrüster, Kohlstruck, and Mühlberger, *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947*.

86 Activities related to Japan such as the arrangement of Japanese dances for Western orchestra (for a dance evening on April 18, 1940; lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5 "Programme") or film music for a Japanese sound film (1942; note in *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* 9/8/1942; lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, "Zeitungsartikel und Kritiken") may have been concessions to the situation, which were difficult to avoid from an economic and political point of view.

appoint Chinese orchestral members.<sup>87</sup> The music created by Chinese composers during that period mostly remained in the context of a simple tonal style accentuated by pentatonic scales at a low level (→ III.1). Still, the SMO supported works by Chinese composers; the first work by a Chinese composer, Huang Zi's overture *In Memoriam* (1929), was performed on 23 November 1930.<sup>88</sup> After 1929, the SMO also began to feature Chinese soloists regularly.<sup>89</sup>

Under these circumstances, and in view of the difficult material and political situation during the war years, it was remarkable that Fraenkel was involved in building a youth orchestra (*Zhongguo Qingnian Jiaoxiang Yuetuan*) during and after the war, founded by his students Li Delun<sup>90</sup> (1917–2001), who later became one of China's leading conductors, and his later wife, the violinist Li Jue (1924–2013). The China Symphonic Orchestra (*Zhongguo Jiaoxiang Yuetuan*), which Fraenkel conducted several times in 1945 and 1946 with very demanding programs, emerged from the same context (Li Delun and Li Jue also played here). A concert on 1 March 1946 with Fraenkel conducting Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto and Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony among other works (Fig. 3.3) was praised by the German critic Alfred Dreifuß (1902–1993), who informed his readers that the orchestra had been founded during the war years “under difficult circumstances,” adding the observation that Fraenkel, a “pedagogue well-known in Shanghai's musical life,” had made a “cultural effort [...] that can hardly be overstated.”<sup>91</sup> The orchestra may have been closely linked to the conservatory, since Li Weining, the president of the conservatory, is listed on the program booklet as the orchestra's “advisor.”

87 Rosenson, “Jewish Musicians in Shanghai,” 241 and Yang, “From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity,” 58. An exception was Tan Shuzhen (1907–2002), who had been violinist of the SMO from 1927 to 1929. Tan Shuzhen later became the head of the violin department at the Shanghai Conservatory and played a prominent role in the well-known documentary *From Mao to Mozart* (1979, directed by Murray Lerner). See also the extensive depiction of Tan's impact in Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*.

88 Yang, “From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity,” 53.

89 Ibid., 54–57.

90 See Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 154–158 and Kraus, *Pianos & Politics in China*, 212–213. Li Delun was the principal conductor of the Central Philharmonic Orchestra (*Zhongyang Yuetuan*) in Beijing for many years and was one of the few musicians in China to play a key role in Chinese musical life before, during, and after the Cultural Revolution. With his orchestra he contributed to the musical realization of the model works (*yangbanxi*, → III.1) during the Cultural Revolution and after the Cultural Revolution he conducted the first performance after more than ten years by a Chinese orchestra of a European orchestral work (Beethoven's Fifth Symphony) on 26 March 1977 (in September 1973 the Philadelphia Orchestra under Eugene Ormandy had performed Beethoven's Fifth and Sixth Symphonies for the first time in China since 1963, during guest appearances in Beijing and Shanghai; see Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 268–279). Li Delun became internationally known through the film *From Mao to Mozart* (1979, see footnote 87), in 1999 he conducted a “reunion” concert with Isaac Stern in Shanghai to celebrate the film's 20th anniversary (see *ibid.*, 288–289, 296).

91 A[lfred] Dreifuß, “Wolfgang Fraenkel dirigierte!” In *The Shanghai Herald. German Supplement* 1946, no. 2, 03/06/1946: 8, lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Zeitungsartikel und Kritiken.” (“Das ‘China Symphonic Orchestra,’ [...] unter schwierigen Umstaenden schon waehrend des Krieges gebildet und arbeitend [...]. [...] Der im Schanghaier Musikleben wohlbekannte Paedagoge Professor Wolfgang Fraenkel hat mit der Heranbildung und Erziehung dieses Klangkoerpers eine Kulturarbeit geleistet, die gar nicht hoch genug bewertet werden kann.”). On Dreifuß see Fetthauer, “Alfred Dreifuß.”

Figure 3.3: Program booklet for the concert at the Lyceum Theater Shanghai, 01/03/1946; Fraenkel conducted the China Symphonic Orchestra

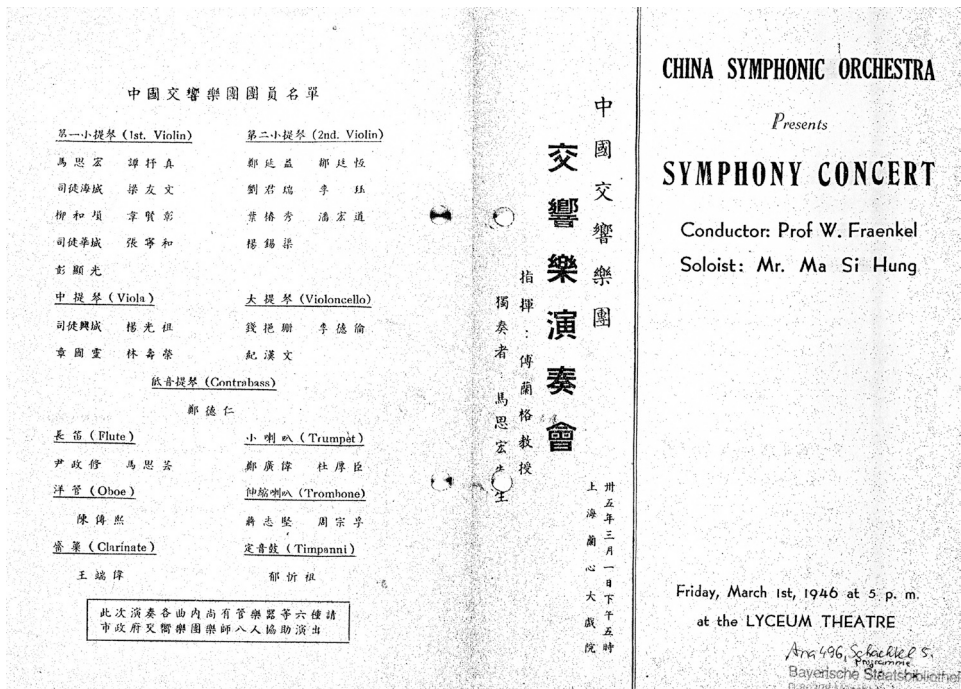


Table 3.1: Concerts 1939–1946, in which Wolfgang Fraenkel participated; lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Programme” and “Zeitungstext und Kritiken”

| Date          | Venue                                                              | Performers                                                                              | Program                                                            | Sources/Comments                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15(?)/06/1939 | Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), 999 Bubbling Well Road | Irene Seidel-Margolinski, soprano; Max Warschauer; Wolfgang Fraenkel; Henry Margolinski |                                                                    | The North-China Daily News, 16/06/1939, 3                                                                                                                 |
| 25/10/1939    | American Women's Club                                              | Chamber music concert. piano trio with Fraenkel as a violinist                          | Beethoven, Ravel, Dvořák                                           | Program, four announcements in North-China Daily News, 22/10/1939 among others, concert review in Le Journal de Shanghai, 29/10/1939 (Ch[arles] Grosbois) |
| 21/01/1940    | Lyceum Theatre (Lanxin daxi yuan)                                  | Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (Shanghai gongbuju guanxian yuedui); conductor: Mario Paci | Scriabin, Gretchaninov, Vasily Kalinnikov, Dvořák, Richard Strauss | Concert review in North-China Daily News, 23/01/1940 (Fraenkel played the first violin and arranged two songs by Alexander Gretchaninov for orchestra)    |

|                 |                          |                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 18/04/1940      | Lyceum Theatre           | Dance performance with Slavina-Brown and Indira Devi; Aaron Avshalomov, conductor                                                     | Arrangements of traditional Indian and Japanese dances, including two Japanese dances arranged by Fraenkel: <i>Ombacha</i> and <i>Three Masks</i> ( <i>Improvisation on a Japanese Theme</i> ) | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 09/01/1941      | XCDN Radio broadcast     | Sabine Rapp, mezzo-soprano; Fraenkel, piano                                                                                           | Songs by Dowland, Purcell, Schubert                                                                                                                                                            | Newspaper announcement in <i>The China Press</i> , 08/01/1941                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 18 & 20/02/1941 | Lyceum Theatre           | Shanghai Songsters and Shanghai Cantonese Union Church Orchestra conducted by Fraenkel                                                | Bach, Purcell, Mozart                                                                                                                                                                          | Program booklet. Fraenkel's name is reproduced here as Fa Lunke and he is incorrectly presented as "Maestro Wolfgang Fraenkel, formerly of Vienna and now of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra." Several newspaper announcements, including one with a photo of Fraenkel; concert review in <i>Le Journal de Shanghai</i> , 23/02/1941 |
| 04/05/1941      | Lyceum Theatre           | Shanghai Municipal Orchestra chamber music program. Fraenkel played a viola part in a Brahms String Sextet.                           | Brahms: String Sextet, Franck: Violin Sonata (Arrigo Foa, vl.; Boris Zakharoff, pno.)                                                                                                          | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 28/03/1942      | Jewish Club Shanghai     | EJAS (European Jewish Artists Society); Henry Margolinski, Ferdinand Adler, vl.; Fraenkel, vla.; John Kraus, vc.; B. L. Usiskin, pno. | Schubert: Trout Quintet                                                                                                                                                                        | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 04/04/1942      | Chinese YMCA, Auditorium | Song recital by Sabine Rapp, mezzo-soprano; Fraenkel and Li Weining, pno.                                                             | songs by Wolf, Wagner, Brahms, Debussy, Bizet (Fraenkel, pno.), Li Weining, Schubert (Li, pno.)                                                                                                | Program book, concert reviews in <i>Shanghai Jewish Chronicle</i> 09/04/1942 (Erwin Felber) and in <i>Le Journal de Shanghai</i> 12/4/1942 (Ch[arles] Grosbois)                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 31/05/1942      | Lyceum Theatre           | Shanghai Municipal Orchestra                                                                                                          | Farewell Concert                                                                                                                                                                               | Program booklet*                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 15/06/1944      | Jewish Club Shanghai     | Fraenkel, vl.                                                                                                                         | Beethoven: Romance no. 2 F major op. 50; Henri Vieuxtemps, <i>Ballade et Polonaise</i> G major op. 38                                                                                          | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 02/04/1945      | Ximen Road               | First Private Concert of the Chinese Youth Orchestra ( <i>Zhongguo Qingnian Yuetuan</i> )                                             | J. S. Bach: Chromatic fantasy and fugue (arranged for orchestra by Fraenkel), Brandenburg concerto no. 5                                                                                       | Program booklet; Chinese newspaper report                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

|                |                                                               |                                                                                                                                   |                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 03/06/1945     | <i>Da Hua Yingxi Yuan</i> (Great Chinese Shadow-play-Theatre) | Fraenkel conducting the Chinese Youth Orchestra.                                                                                  | Beethoven: Symphony no. 1                          | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 17/07/1945     | Lyceum Theatre                                                | Fraenkel conducting the China Symphonic Orchestra ( <i>Zhongguo Jiaoxiang Yue-tuan</i> ); Leonora Valesby, vl.; William Hsu, vla. | Mozart, Otto Nicolai, Weber/Berlioz, Johann Strauß | Program booklet; concert review in <i>North China Daily News</i> 04/08/1945 (Erwin Felber); the orchestra consisted exclusively of Chinese musicians.                                                                                  |
| 01/08/1945     | Lyceum Theatre                                                | Fraenkel conducting the China Symphonic Orchestra; Leonora Valesby, vl.; William Hsu, vla.                                        | Mozart, Rossini, Weber/Berlioz, Johann Strauß      | Program booklet; Concert review in <i>North China Daily News</i> 04/08/1945                                                                                                                                                            |
| 28/02/1946 (?) | Lyceum Theatre                                                | Fraenkel conducting the China Symphonic Orchestra                                                                                 | Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, Johann Strauß          | Program booklet                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 01/03/1946     | Lyceum Theatre                                                | Fraenkel conducting the China Symphonic Orchestra, Ma Si-Hong, vl.                                                                | Mozart, Mendelssohn, Beethoven                     | Program booklet, concert review in <i>China Press Shanghai</i> , 05/03/1946, <i>The Shanghai Herald</i> , 03/06/1946 (German review, Dr. A. Dreifuss) and 05/03/1946. The violinist Ma Si-Hon (Ma Sihong) was celebrated by the press. |

(\* This program is listed in the catalogue of lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 6, but could not be found in the box; it is cited by Bickers, "The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez," from the Shanghai Municipal Archives W-1-997)

The high esteem Fraenkel enjoyed among the Shanghai music community and the cultural conflicts of this musical life are documented in a handwritten letter in English addressed to Fraenkel, dealing with a young female pianist referred to as "Kwong Kwong." The writer clearly means Tung Kwong-Kwong (Dong Guang-Guang, 1927–2013), a Chinese pianist who left China for the USA in 1947 and was married to Ma Si-Hon (Ma Sihong, 1925–2009), brother of the well-known composer and violinist Ma Sicong (1912–1987).<sup>92</sup> Ma Si-Hon was the violinist who performed Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto under Fraenkel's direction at the concert on 1 March 1946. Although the signature of this letter is difficult to decipher, the writer can be identified as Mario Paci, who directed the SMO from 1919 to 1942 and was also a sought-after piano teacher (his pupils included the young Fou Tsung<sup>93</sup> [Fu Cong, b. 1934] – the most prominent Chinese pianist during the 1960s and 70s). The letter was presumably written in 1943, since the writer refers to a period of "24 years" in which he has been working in China. Fraenkel apparently planned to perform a piano concerto with Tung Kwong-Kwong as a soloist with one of his orchestras, a project Paci seems skeptical of for reasons that are not entirely obvious:

92 Tung Kwong-Kwong studied with Artur Schnabel in New York and, together with her husband, continued her career as a pianist and teacher in the USA. Ma Sicong was "the first Chinese soloist to play with the SMO" on 22 December 1929 (Yang, "From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity," 55).

93 See Kraus, *Pianos & Politics in China*, 70–99.

My dear Fraenkel,

I am terribly sorry that circumstances (the “circumstances” in which *they* (the Chinese) have put me) oblige me to deny [*sic*] my permission to Kwong Kwong to play with your orchestra.

We have always been good friends, and I have always expressed my sincere appreciation and esteem for you as a very fine musician. I have always said to everyone that there is only one musician in Shanghai and that is you. And this I repeat now. –

I don't want therefore that you may think that in denying to play to Kwong Kwong [...] should be considered as anything against you. Personally – on the contrary – if I have something against somebody is not against you, but against the Chinese musicians who have failed to express a little appreciation to me who for 24 years I have given so much of my Art for them. –

They want Kwong Kwong. Why? Because [*she*] is the only good Chinese pianiste [*sic*]. – Why they don't come to me (they – not you) to ask me her collaboration which of course will make a success of their concert? –

If they ask me to present her, and conduct her accompaniment, I will do it free of charge and with pleasure. You can [*do (?)*] better, you should conduct the whole programme. I don't want to do it. I will be the accompanist. – But Kwong Kwong is the only thing left to me of my long years of work in China and I don't give it willingly to them. – If you don't see the point, try to come and see me<sup>94</sup> and I will explain still clearer. –

Your[s] M.[ario] Paci<sup>95</sup>

It was not possible to reconstruct the outcome of this episode. The pianist Zhou Guangren (also Paci's student and Tung's colleague around 1946) pointed out to me that Tung had played Edward Grieg's Piano Concerto in public before immigrating to the USA in 1947, but she was not sure whether this concert was conducted by Fraenkel.

### Fraenkel as a Pedagogue, Publicist, and Theorist

Fraenkel was soon able to establish contacts with the conservatory, probably through the SMO, which had been founded in 1927 by Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei as the first music academy in Asia based on the Russian model and successfully expanded in the following years (→ III.1).<sup>96</sup> In the years of the Japanese occupation, the conservatory, which was then known as the “National Vocational School for Music” (*Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao*), was in a very difficult situation. After war broke out between Japan and China in August 1937, the conservatory moved from its location in Jiangwan in the Northern part of the city to Xujiahui Street in the Southwest, and had to move again several times due to the exigencies of the war before it could

94 Fraenkel noted down the address “Kings App. House 345 / Room 7” on the first page of the letter; as this was indeed Paci's address (see Paci Zaharoff, “The Daughter of the Maestro,” 286), this indicates that Fraenkel actually met Paci for a face-to-face meeting.

95 Lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Korrespondenz.”

96 See Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven, “The Shanghai Conservatory of Music” and Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 106–117.

return to its original location in the Jiangwan district in 1946. In order to avoid any obvious connection with the Chinese government, the conservatory was even referred to as *Sili Shanghai yinyue yuan* (Shanghai Private Music School) for a period during the war.<sup>97</sup>

Fraenkel was appointed as a teacher of music theory and composition in the summer of 1941 by Li Weining, who had studied in Paris and Vienna in the 1930s. Li had headed the theory and composition department since 1937, had been a member of the SMO committee since 1939,<sup>98</sup> and became president of the conservatory in 1940 after the founding president Xiao Youmei passed away (1884–1940). Li was dismissed from his position in 1946 as a “collaborator” (Li had already collaborated with the Japanese before the conservatory was officially placed under Japanese administration). After the end of the war, Fraenkel was also appointed to the National Music School Nanjing (*Nanjing guoli yinyue yuan*) on the suggestion of his student Ding Shande (1911–95). Ding himself was supposed to teach piano in Nanjing, but lessons only started in early 1947 owing to the destruction of the building. Therefore, Fraenkel only taught in Nanjing for two shortened semesters from January to July 1947,<sup>99</sup> while at the same time continuing to fulfill his teaching obligation in Shanghai. In addition to his work at the conservatory, Fraenkel gave private lessons, which he sought to expand, since here he could charge a higher fee.<sup>100</sup>

Contrary to Fraenkel’s strikingly progressive artistic stance, demonstrated by his affinity for the Schoenberg School, his music theory and composition lessons seem to have remained largely conventional, albeit at a high level. He began teaching harmony in September 1941, according to the curriculum, but subsequently also taught strict and free counterpoint, analysis, form, instrumentation, and composition.<sup>101</sup>

I have identified 24 Chinese students and one emigré student<sup>102</sup> by name (Table 3.2), including leading representatives of their generation such as Ding Shande (1911–1995), Sang Tong (1923–2011), and Zhang Hao (1910–2003), as well as the renowned popular songwriter Chen Gexin (1914–1961).<sup>103</sup> Three accounts by Fraenkel’s former students Ding Shande, Sang Tong, and Qin Xixuan give detailed descriptions of his teaching methods and the content of the theory and composition lessons.<sup>104</sup> Fraenkel’s estate contains extensive teaching materials from the Shanghai era, including several hundred pages of manuscripts on counterpoint, harmony, orchestration, and musical analyses of Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, Brahms, Richard Strauss, Reger, Hindemith, and Schoenberg.<sup>105</sup> In fact, Fraenkel used both Schoenberg’s *Harmonielehre* (1911, <sup>3</sup>1922) and Kurth’s *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts: Bachs melodische Polyphonie* (1917, <sup>2</sup>1922, <sup>3</sup>1927) as teaching materials.<sup>106</sup> For pre-Baroque counterpoint he mainly referred to examples by Girolamo Frescobaldi, rather than to Palestrina.<sup>107</sup> Fraenkel’s appreciation of

97 Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven, “The Shanghai Conservatory of Music,” 68.

98 Bickers, ““The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez,”” 862–863.

99 Personal communication with Wang Zhengya, Beijing, December 2002.

100 See “Ding Shande Festival,” in: *CHIME* 5 (1992), 144.

101 Sang, “Jinian Fulanke’er yu Xu Luoshi,” 10.

102 On Andreas Barban see King and Silk, “Barban, Andreas.”

103 See Xu, *Xunfang youtairen*, 79.

104 Dai, “Ding Shande yinyue nianpu chang bian,” Sang, “Jinian Fulanke’er yu Xu Luoshi,” and Qin, “Huiyi Woerfugang Fulanke’er.”

105 Lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 2.

106 Sang, “Jinian Fulanke’er yu Xu Luoshi,” 10. See Schönberg, *Harmonielehre*, Kurth, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts*.

107 Sang, “Jinian Fulanke’er yu Xu Luoshi,” 10.

Frescobaldi is also documented in *Afunktionelle Musik* (1937–43)<sup>108</sup> and in his arrangement of Frescobaldi's Five Organ Pieces (1957–58, Kel.V. 199).

Table 3.2: Wolfgang Fraenkel's students in China

| name | pinyin transliteration | birth-death | studied with Fraenkel from-to | place of study | major       |
|------|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 丁善德  | Ding Shande            | 1911-1995   | 1941-1946                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 鄧爾敬  | Deng Erjing            | 1918-1996   | 1941-1943                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 桑桐   | Sang Tong              | 1923-2011   | 1941-1943, 1945-1947          | Shanghai       | composition |
| 湯正方  | Tang Zhengfang         |             | 1941-1945                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 張寧和  | Zhang Ninghe           | 1926-2004   | 1941-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 楊永   | Yang Yong              |             | 1941-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 管蔭深  | Guan Yinshen           |             | 1941-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 李乃聰  | Li Naicong             |             | 1941-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 龐憲聘  | Pang Xianpin           |             | 1941-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 薛岩   | Xue Yan                | 1920-       | 1943-?                        | Shanghai       | composition |
| 朱建   | Zhu Jian               | 1924-2008   | 1943-1945                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 瞿希賢  | Qu Xixian              | 1919-2008   | 1944-1945                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 秦西炫  | Qin Xixuan             | 1922-2012   | 1944-1947                     | Shanghai       | composition |
| 張昊   | Zhang Hao              | 1910-2003   | 1944?-1947                    | Shanghai       | composition |
| 陳歌辛  | Chen Gexin             | 1914-1961   | ?                             | Shanghai       | composition |
| 楊興石  | Yang Yushi             |             | ?-1947                        | Shanghai       | composition |
|      | Andreas Barban         | 1914-1993   | ?                             | Shanghai       | composition |
| 董光光  | Dong Guang-Guang       | 1927-2013   | 1943-1947?                    | Shanghai       | piano       |
| 周廣仁  | Zhou Guangren          | 1928-       | 1946-1947                     | Shanghai       | piano       |
| 李德倫  | Li Delun               | 1917-2001   | ?-1945                        | Shanghai       | violoncello |
| 郭乃安  | Guo Nai'an             | 1920-       | 1947                          | Nanjing        | composition |
| 文顏   | Wen Yan                | 1922-       | 1947                          | Nanjing        | composition |
| 王整亞  | Wang Zhengya           | 1923-       | 1947                          | Nanjing        | composition |
| 段平泰  | Duan Pingtai           | 1926-       | 1947                          | Nanjing        | composition |
| 黎英海  | Li Yinghai             | 1927-2007   | 1947                          | Nanjing        | composition |

In the memoirs of his students, Fraenkel appears as a precise and competent educator, as well as an unconventional and non-conformist spirit. Zhou Guangren, who later became one of the leading pianists in China, reports that Fraenkel asked her to determine the best harmonic progression using a coin toss instead of following conventional harmony rules.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> See Fraenkel, *Afunktionelle Musik*, 262.

<sup>109</sup> Personal communication, Beijing, 4/12/2002.

Fraenkel's most important student, Sang Tong, began working with him in 1941, studying pieces by Claude Debussy, Igor Stravinsky, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Zoltán Kodály, Béla Bartók, and Alexander Scriabin – and, last but not least, by Gustav Mahler, whom Fraenkel described as “our great Master.”<sup>110</sup> It seems, however, that Fraenkel only introduced the twelve-tone technique to a small group of his students (Sang Tong and Yang Yushi) between 1945 and 1947, presumably using his own *Drei zweistimmige Praeludien* for piano (1945, Kel.V. 80–82).<sup>111</sup> Sang Tong's first composition experimenting with atonal and twelve-tone technique – and thus probably the first atonal work by an Asian composer – is *Yeijing* (Night Scenery, 1947) for violin and piano (→ III.1), completed in February 1947 under Fraenkel's guidance (Ex. 3.3).<sup>112</sup> Sang's next piece *Zai na yaoyuan de difang* (In the Land, Far, Far Away) for piano, completed later in 1947, was already written under the direction of Julius Schloß, Fraenkel's successor.<sup>113</sup> Due to their original and technically sophisticated combination of Western and Chinese materials (the piano piece is based on a highly abstracted version of the folk song mentioned in the title), both compositions – far from naive folklorism – can be considered key works of Chinese musical modernity, even if political turmoil and Maoist cultural policy meant that they only slowly had an impact after 1978. They were premiered in 1948 at the United States Information Service in Shanghai by Karl Steiner as pianist and the violinist Zhang Guoling, who died shortly thereafter.

As outlined in the previous part of this chapter, a modernist-driven compositional treatment of folk song material based on the model of Béla Bartók, French, and Russian composers had been widespread in China and Japan since the influence of Alexander Tcherepnin in the mid-1930s (→ III.1). Sang Tong's *Zai na yaoyuan de difang* takes this concept to a new level through the inclusion of atonal harmony and “prose rhythms” analogous to Schoenberg's early piano pieces. The heptatonic folk song from the northwest Chinese province of Qinghai alluded to in the title is treated in five variations, to which Sang Tong assigns “longing states” (“deep,” “sincere,” “passionate,” “intimate,” and “excited” longing). It is striking that the central chords at the beginning are based on tritones and sevenths (Ex. 3.4) and are increasingly replaced by octaves from the third variation up to double octaves in the fifth, in which the folk song now appears clearly in apothotic form. Despite this anticipation of the ubiquitous pathos of Chinese political music from 1950 to 1978, Sang's work gives an impressive outline of what new Chinese music could have looked like if this development had not been curtailed by political and social upheavals – the civil war from 1947 to 1949 and the takeover of the Communist Party in 1949. It was only after 1978 that a new generation of composers, the “New Wave” (*xinchao*), could resume this “short summer” of China's musical modernity (→ III.4).

110 Sang, “Jinian Fulanke'eryu Xu Luoshi,” 10. According to Sang Tong, Fraenkel even brought a Mahler “autograph” with him to Shanghai, which he showed to his master student (ibid., 11). However, it seems unlikely that Fraenkel indeed owned a Mahler manuscript.

111 Ibid., 10 and personal communication 29/11/2002.

112 Detailed analyses of this work can be found in Zheng, “Sang Tong de Yeijing shishi” and especially in Cheong, “Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong,” 95–97. See III.1, footnote 23, for further details.

113 For a discussion of this piece, see Kouwenhoven, “Mainland China's New Music (I),” 85, Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 350–351, and Cheong, “Reading Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Kurth in Sang Tong,” 88–93. During his one year at the conservatory, Julius Schloß (who left Shanghai one year after Fraenkel in 1948) wrote two *Chinesische Rhapsodien* for Violin and Orchestra (1947/48 and 1948/49) after he had to stop composing between 1935 and 1947 due to persecution, detention (Dachau Concentration Camp), and the hard life in Shanghai exile (Fricke, “Julius Schloß”).

Example 3.3: Sang Tong, *Yejing* for violin and piano, p. 1

*Molto Lento*

The musical score is for a piece titled "Yejing" by Sang Tong, page 1. It is marked "Molto Lento". The score is written for violin (vln.) and piano (pno.). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-3) features a piano introduction with a "mysterious" texture, marked "pp" and "p espress." with triplets. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the piano part with "p dolce" and "mf" markings. The third system (measures 7-9) introduces the violin part, marked "p espress." and "pp", with the piano accompaniment marked "pp" and "mf". The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

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From this perspective, although Fraenkel's contribution to musical modernity in China may appear rather marginal, one must take into account how his modernist-informed view of early – European and Asian – musics had a lasting impact on the musical thinking of an entire generation. In fact, many former students agree that of all the teachers and artists, Fraen-

Example 3.4: Sang Tong, *Zai na yaoyuan de difang* for piano, p. 1

*Lento molto*

*con espressivo*  
*p*  
*pp*  
*ppp*

*pp*  
*pp*  
*ppp*  
*pp*  
*mp*  
*pp*

*mf*  
*f*  
*ff*  
*p*  
*ppp*

*più mosso*  
*p*  
*mp*  
*p*

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kel had the greatest influence on their view of music.<sup>114</sup> This appreciation seems completely plausible, not least with reference to Fraenkel's demand for an independent and self-assured development of Chinese musical modernity: Fraenkel's manuscript "Music-Development?," apparently edited and translated by his student Zhu Jian (1924–2008) in October 1945 under the title *Weilai de Zhongguo yinyue* (The Future of Chinese Music) in the first edition of *Music Weekly*,

<sup>114</sup> Personal communication with the Fraenkel students Sang Tong, Zhou Guangren, Wang Zhengya, and Duan Pingtai, Shanghai and Beijing, 29/11 to 05/12/2002.

a short-lived weekly paper produced by the *Guanghua Daily*,<sup>115</sup> proves that Fraenkel reflected in a forward-looking way on the current situation of Chinese music and took a very unusual view for a European at the time. He argued that the European musical tradition should not be adopted uncritically by Chinese artists, and that the main task for the formation of a meaningful synthesis fell to the Chinese musicians themselves, not the Europeans (Fraenkel's sometimes unidiomatic English and orthography have not been modified):

One of the most important problems regarding the future music-life in China is the relationship between chinese and western music. Combination of these both divergent branches of music-art seems advisable on account of the fundamental character of western music: to conceive and write concerted music.

The western musician cannot shape a new development of chinese music, he only can prepare the way, perhaps try to exert some kind of influence; the completion must be carried out by chinese composers. It will be up to them, first to absorb the technical and sensational items of western art, and then to find out ways to form connexions to the existing (old) chinese music without disturbing it's characteristic peculiarities.

To judge the prospects of a development of such kind is rather difficult, as there are not made even beginnings yet. I am convinced that it will be of no use for chinese musicians to create typical western music: such work means neither development nor progress; maybe it is remarkable and noteworthy, but it remains to be some kind of copy, as the innermost feeling is heterogeneous. The essential knowledge of western music should be the basis only, which it is necessary to advance from, an advance which may in fact hold out incalculable prospects.

To my mind the technical starting-point for attempts of such kind is not the music of the classic period of western music. The newest development in Europe demonstrated that the classic period is some terminated unit which hardly can produce new offsprings of real value. The modern western music, which is developed since about 40 years, found it's point of contact in the events of the preclassic music and counterpoint which give more freedom and quite other possibilities of evolution. Here seems to be the way to insert the fundamental princip of concerted music to a system which is inwardly not connected with the western music-ideas.<sup>116</sup>

This perspective, which added new elements to the discourse on new Chinese music established by figures like Avshalomov and Tcherepnin, did not see the future of "concertante" Chinese music in connection to the Classical-Romantic European tradition. This tradition, however, was the mainstream practice of Chinese composers during the 1930s and 1940s, and, despite many attempts at reform, it was largely retained until the end of the Cultural Revolution. Fraenkel's perspective, in contrast to this common practice, recommended that composers claim an alterity to this Classical-Romantic tradition in analogy to European new music, pos-

115 Email communication with Zhang Yi, Shanghai, 31/05/2003, who interviewed Zhu Jian on his teacher Fraenkel. The first and only edition of *Music Weekly* also included articles by Fu Cong and Shen Zhibai.

116 Two-page typescript dated "October 1945" in lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 3; handwritten drafts in German and English under the sketches for the opera *Hölle, Weg, Erde* (mus. est., Mus.ms. 19605, supplement: unnumbered sheet and Mus.ms. 19605, 96 verso). Since Fraenkel counted the words in the handwritten version, one can assume that the text was intended for publication.

sibly also in combination with pre-Classical European music forms, but certainly with a sustained orientation toward the Chinese music tradition.

As shown in part 1 of this chapter, several efforts had been made by Chinese reformers and researchers since the 1910s – like Wang Guangqi (1892–1936), Liu Tianhua or Yang Yinliu (1899–1984), who criticized the spreading influence of Western music in China – to reflect on a synthesis of Chinese and European music in the wake of the May Fourth Movement (→ III.1). Criticism of Western music, however, usually had a nationalist angle and was commonly directed exclusively against the Classical-Romantic music tradition, not against Western modernism. In the same period, during his work on the influential *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shi gang* (A Draft History of Ancient Chinese Music, 1944), Yang Yinliu wrote in his article “Guoyue qiantu jiqi yanjiu” (The Future of National Music and Its Study), published in three installments from 1942 to 1944:

Western music has already had an affect [*sic*] on Chinese culture, and we have encountered problems here which we have never met with before [...]. Consequently, the development of Western music – unproblematic in its own context – is highly problematic in China, which has its own history, life customs, and national background. [...] Part of this problem with regard to Western music and national music in China emerges from their mutual relationship; its future resolution must also be present in their interrelationship: the proper course of development of each, very probably, will be a common one [...]. National music has so far followed its own path, but to develop further, Western music, rather than being swallowed whole in China must be properly and naturally digested.<sup>117</sup>

Fraenkel's perspective under these conditions must therefore have seemed new and fresh to his readers, although most probably only a few had a very vague idea of the “newest development in Europe” or of “modern Western music” that he outlined as a model. Especially by suggesting the synthesis of traditional Chinese and modern Western music, Fraenkel was putting forward a vision whose time would only come in the 1980s (→ III.5), despite Avshalomov's pioneering works of the 1930s. Fraenkel thus implicitly criticized the era-defining style of (politically coded) pentatonic Romanticism, as represented by the works of He Luting, Huang Zi, Xian Xinghai, or Ma Sicong, a style which has remained a principal musical code for neo-bourgeois audiences throughout East Asia – even under changing and diverse political conditions.

In a broader context, it is evident that Fraenkel's ideas were part of a dedicated movement toward a balanced confluence of Chinese and Western music that had been advocated by Avshalomov since the early 1930s (→ III.1) and had been supported by Paci and the SMO who in 1933 even introduced a “special grand Chinese evening” featuring Chinese ensemble music performed by *Datong Yuehui* (Union Music Club) and a *pipa* solo performance by Wei Zhongle, along with orchestral works by Avshalomov.<sup>118</sup> Avshalomov's son, the composer Jacob Avshalomov (1919–2013), has documented a letter in which his father expressed sincere appreciation for Fraenkel, shortly after the latter's arrival in Shanghai:

<sup>117</sup> Yang, “Guoyue qiantu jiqi yanjiu” (The Future of National Music and Its Study), quoted in Shen, “Ethnomusicology in China,” 14.

<sup>118</sup> Winzenburg, “Aaron Avshalomov and New Chinese Music in Shanghai, 1931–1947,” 60–61 and Yang, “From Colonial Modernity to Global Identity,” 54.

There is no stimulus for work here, although there is much musical activity in Shanghai today (mainly of inferior quality). Many refugees from Austria and Germany. Of the numerous musicians two are outstanding. One a violinist, Adler by name. The other is a composer, Frankel, who is first class. A follower of Schoenberg, with many compositions, a very erudite man, skillful orchestrator and theoretician. Nice fellow, too, the only person except Grisha with whom it is possible to talk music with understanding.<sup>119</sup>

It is also documented that Fraenkel had an artistic exchange with the influential baritone and choral conductor Chao Mei-Pa (Zhao Meibo, 1905–1999), who had studied in Belgium and lived in the USA before returning to China in 1936 and serving as head of the conservatory's vocal music department.<sup>120</sup> In 1937, Chao had published an article "The Trend of Modern Chinese Music" in which he had to some extent refuted the enthusiasm about Tcherepnin's impact, claiming an enhanced independence from Western ideas – in words clearly driven by a nationalist undertone (as well as by a skeptical position toward modernist Western tendencies):

Tcherepnine soon [...] cursed the danger of Western influence. [...] In his lectures he declared that Chinese do not have to learn from Bach, Handel, or Beethoven; and if Chinese do adopt Western music they should go directly to the impressionistic composers, such as Debussy or Stravinsky. [...] But whether Mr. Tcherepnine's principle is workable or not still remains an open question, for after all Tcherepnine is a European himself.

In the field of composition, suppose we should follow Tcherepnine's idea, shall we be satisfied with a harmony based upon the pentatonic scale with modulations? Should we invent a harmony and a science of orchestration by ourselves? [...] It is interesting to know that Chinese are inclined to counterpoint. But will counterpoint without harmony satisfy us? Mr. Tcherepnine was right in one way when he recognized the capacity of Chinese in counterpoint, and he did not agree with our blind acceptance of Western ideas; but how far can his study help? [...]

If there is anything China is taking from the West, it is only for temporary use. In the long run, China will always be Chinese, in style and in expression, and not less so in her music.<sup>121</sup>

Fraenkel's position also agreed with that of Tan Xiaolin (1912–1948), who returned to China from studying with Paul Hindemith at Yale University in 1946, as Sang Tong testifies: "Like Tan Xiaolin, he supported the idea of a synthesis from the spirit of [Chinese] folk music and the new compositional techniques and saw this as an influential means of musical creation."<sup>122</sup> It can be

119 Letter from Aaron Avshalomov from 24/04/1940 (Avshalomov and Avshalomov, *Avshalomov's Winding Way*, 162). By "Grisha," Avshalomov means the Russian pianist Gregory (Grisha) Singer. The violinist Ferdinand Adler emigrated from Vienna to Shanghai in 1939 after being imprisoned at Dachau concentration camp. He became a member and concertmaster of the SMO in 1939, and Professor of Violin at the conservatory in 1941. See, Fethauer, "Ferdinand Adler."

120 Since 1937, Chao had been involved in conducting mass choral singing at rallies during Chiang Kai-Shek's New Life Movement (*Xin shenghuo yundong*) aiming at China's unification, started in 1934, and partly oriented toward National Socialist propaganda (Jones, *Yellow Music*, 49).

121 Chao, "The Trend of Modern Chinese Music," 283, 286. See Winzenburg, "From 'Folk Cure' to Catharsis: Alexander Tcherepnin and New Chinese Piano Music."

122 Sang, "Jinian Fulanke'er yu Xu Luoshi," 11 (translated by the author).

assumed that Fraenkel was in contact with Tan, who on his return became head of the theory and composition departments at the conservatory. Similarly, Fraenkel may have exchanged views with Fritz Kuttner (1903–1991), who probably arrived in Shanghai as a refugee shortly after Fraenkel in May 1939 and worked as a music journalist (1948–49 for China Press) and teacher of music history and theory at St. John's University (from 1944). After moving to the United States in 1949, he continued to research ancient Chinese instruments and tuning systems.<sup>123</sup>

In his “Music-Development?” Fraenkel outlined the idea of a fundamental contradiction between new and classical (European) music, an argument which he had already proposed a few years earlier, based on the analogy of music and language and its limits, in his article “Grundprobleme der Neuen Musik: Der neue Tonsprachkreis und seine Begriffsbestimmung,” published in Shanghai in 1941. The first part of this article was published in the sole issue of the journal *Der Kreis* in December 1941, while the second part, announced at the end of this article, has probably never been published.<sup>124</sup> As in his main theoretical work *Afunktionelle Musik* (“Afunctional Music”), which Fraenkel continued to work on in Shanghai, this article makes it clear that Fraenkel saw language and music as related means of “presenting imagination and ideas”<sup>125</sup> – as evidenced by the focus on the concept of “Gedanke,” certainly shaped by the Schoenberg School. In the realm of music, however, the close coupling of the musical idea to the underlying “tonal language” makes this idea untranslatable, as it were: “Ideas and tonal language are so closely related that one must almost speak of interpenetration, of outer events rubbing off on inner events.”<sup>126</sup> For Fraenkel, classical and new music are both “musical languages” in this emphatic sense.

Fraenkel's comprehensive theoretical-aesthetic knowledge and interests were gathered together in his extensive theoretical work *Afunktionelle Musik*, written in 1937/38 and revised in Shanghai in 1942/43.<sup>127</sup> This book-length study attempts to apply Ernst Kurth's music theory to the analysis of “afunctional” (atonal or post-tonal) music. *Afunktionelle Musik* can be understood as a nuanced examination of trends in new European music from 1910 to 1935 (with a focus on the Schoenberg School and Hindemith), and the theoretical discussion deals with a wide range of music theory writings, including those by Hugo Riemann and Joseph Yasser, but most prominently Ernst Kurth and his concept of musical “energetics.” As other surviving documents show, Fraenkel engaged intensively with Kurth's writings.<sup>128</sup> Fraenkel's term “afunctional music” implies a profound skepticism toward the nineteenth-century idea of musical “functionalism” as reflected primarily in Riemann's influential theory of tonal functions in

123 Fetthauer, “Fritz A. Kuttner,” Rosenson, “Jewish Musicians in Shanghai,” 243–245, and Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven, “The Shanghai Conservatory of Music,” 71–72. Kuttner's research into ancient Chinese music is documented in Kuttner, *The Archaeology of Music in Ancient China*.

124 Wolfgang Fraenkel, “Grundprobleme der neuen Musik. Der neue Tonsprachkreis und seine Begriffsbestimmung,” *Der Kreis* (December 1941), 13–18 (lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 3).

125 Ibid., 16 (“Darlegung von Vorstellungen und Gedanken”).

126 Ibid., 18. (“Gedanke und Tonsprache [sind] miteinander so eng verbunden, dass geradezu von einer gegenseitigen Durchdringung, einem Abfärben des äusseren Geschehens auf das innere gesprochen werden muss.”)

127 An edition with a commentary on this work, based on the complete manuscript and notes from Fraenkel's estate, has been completed as an academic thesis by Markus Köhler in 1989 (Fraenkel, *Afunktionelle Musik*).

128 Fraenkel had studied Kurth's four major publications in great detail, as revealed by his notes collected in the 71-page file “Kritische Notizen über musikwissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen” (March to October, 1937), which contains commentaries on Kurth's books *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts*, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners Tristan*, *Bruckner*, and *Musikpsychologie*.

harmony. Discarding the idea of functions, Fraenkel conceives of music as “kinetic energy” in Kurth’s sense. In his introductory chapter, there are a number of inserts that show the influence of his exile experience. Writing about general musical principles, for example, he limits the concept of “music as a demonstration of musical ideas” to the “occidental musical area” and criticizes those who think that Chinese or Arab musical traditions cannot be labeled “music.”<sup>129</sup> In such passages (as in the adherence to this voluminous theoretical project as a whole), it becomes clear how Fraenkel consolidated his identity as a representative of musical modernism in exile, but also palpably incorporated his exile experience.

### Fraenkel as a Composer

Even if no performance of Fraenkel’s works is documented during the time in Shanghai, the papers in his estate prove that he was unusually active in composition during these years. His compositional activity only seems to have included “applied music” (arrangements for orchestra [see above], arrangements of traditional Chinese and Japanese music [see below], film music<sup>130</sup>) in a few cases, an area in which most other exiled musicians worked. In at least one case, Fraenkel’s compositional activity shows a very interesting reaction to his exile environment: *Drei Orchesterlieder* (Three Orchestral Songs, Kel.V. 113–115), after Chinese poems from Tang and Song Dynasties, translated into German by Vinzenz Hundhausen (1878–1955).<sup>131</sup> Composed between 9 May and 24 September 1941, it is the only major work that Fraenkel was able to complete during his time in Shanghai. In addition, only the aforementioned *Drei zweistimmige Praeludien* (Three Two-part Preludes, Kel.V. 80–82, 1945) for piano were completed, which were to be part of a planned cycle of twelve-tone inventions and preludes and were probably written along the lines of Bach as both compositional and pianistic studies (only one of the inventions was composed after the time in Shanghai, in 1951<sup>132</sup>). The *Praeludien* combine a relatively simple form of dodecaphonic technique with an imitative counterpoint based on Hindemith (Ex. 3.5). It was not until 1964 that Fraenkel collected the three completed preludes (without the invention) for a volume of his collected piano works to create the preserved three-movement series.

In addition to the orchestral songs and the *Praeludien*, Fraenkel worked on the following pieces in Shanghai: the Third Symphony (Kel.V. 3), begun on 4 December 1937 in Berlin, interrupted on 23 March 1940; the Fourth Symphony (Kel.V. 4), begun on 10 May 1942, interrupted on 6 May 1944; the opera fragment *Hölle – Weg – Erde* (Hell – Path – Earth, Kel.V. 191) after Georg Kaiser, begun on 19 September 1944, and *Musik für großes Orchester* (Music for Large Orchestra, Kel.V. 8), begun on 2 November 1946, interrupted on 12 September 1948.<sup>133</sup> None of these unfinished works were completed later.

129 Fraenkel, *Afunktionelle Musik*, 16 (“Darlegung musikalischer Gedanken”; “abendländischen Musikkreis”), 18–19.

130 A German-language newspaper note in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (09/08/1942) mentions that Fraenkel was rehearsing the music for a Japanese film with the Shanghai Philharmonic Society (ANA 496, Sch. 5, “Zeitungsartikel und Kritiken”).

131 See Walravens, *Vincenz Hundhausen* (1878–1955).

132 See Kellermann, “Kellermann-Verzeichnis der Werke von Wolfgang Fraenkel,” 92.

133 The *Musik für großes Orchester* breaks off in measure 208 of the second movement. As mentioned in footnote 71, entries in the score show Fraenkel’s route from Shanghai to Los Angeles.

Example 3.5: Wolfgang Fraenkel, *Drei zweistimmige Praeludien*, p. 1

The musical score is for a piano piece in 3/4 time, consisting of three systems of two-stemmed preludes. The first system is marked 'Schnell' (fast) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The second system is marked 'Rit. molto' (very ritardando) and 'mp' (mezzo-piano). The third system is marked 'A tempo' (return to tempo). The score is written for piano with treble and bass staves. The composer's name 'W. Fraenkel. 1945' is in the top right corner.

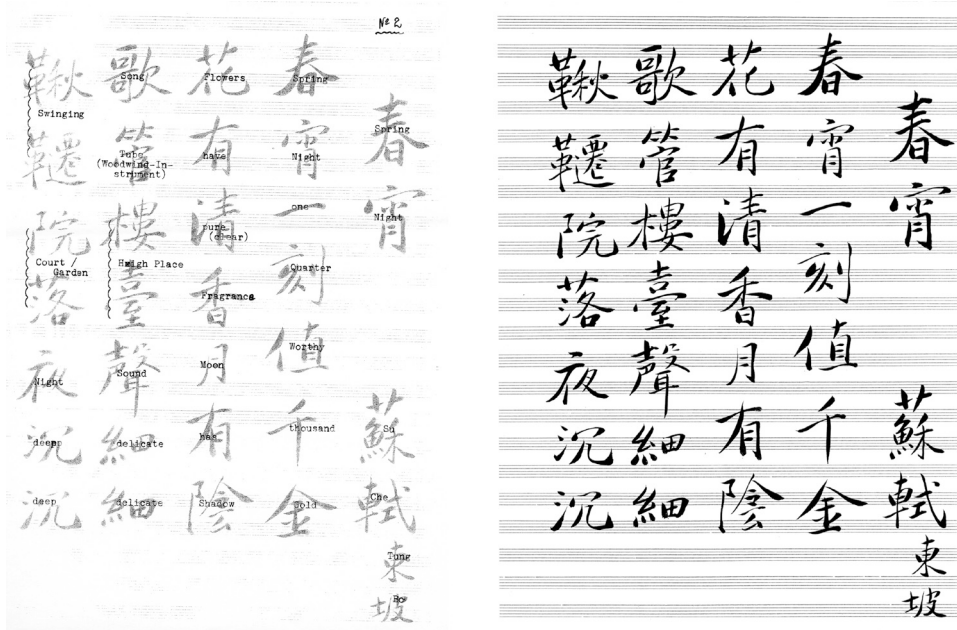
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus.ms. 19804

The three poems that Fraenkel set in *Drei Orchesterlieder* likely came from Hundhausen's publication *Chinesische Dichter in deutscher Sprache, mit 2 Bildern nach Originalen des Wang Ting-Dsche* (Beijing/Leipzig 1926). All three poems evoke spring in their titles:

- No. 1 "Frühlingsnacht" (Spring Night, *Chun xiao*) by Su Dong-Bo (Su Shi, 1036–1101);
- No. 2 "Am frühen Frühlingstage" (On an Early Spring Day, *Chun xiao*) by Meng Haoran (689–740);
- No. 3 "Ein Flötenlied in Lau-Yang" (A Flute Song in Lau-Yang, *Chunye Luoyang xin di*) by Li Tai-Bo (699–762).

Hundhausen's German *Nachdichtungen* (free adaptations) of classical Chinese poems were generally based on word-for-word translations by his Chinese friends and students. Interestingly, this approach to the Chinese is shown in the appendix to Fraenkel's score. The Chinese characters are written on the score sheet and an English word-for-word translation is provided on an overlaid sheet of transparent paper (Fig. 3.4). This analogy to Hundhausen's work could indicate Fraenkel's personal contact with the Beijing-based poet and literature professor. It also proves that Fraenkel endeavored to gain an adequate understanding of the original versions of the texts set to music.

Figure 3.4: Wolfgang Fraenkel, calligraphy from the appendix to the **Drei Orchesterlieder**; the poem “Spring Night” (Chun xiao) by Su Dong-Bo (Su Shi) is shown, which is set in the first movement;<sup>134</sup> left: the English translation of each individual character is placed on the Chinese characters using transparent paper; right: calligraphy without transparent paper



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus.ms. 19654, p. 50a

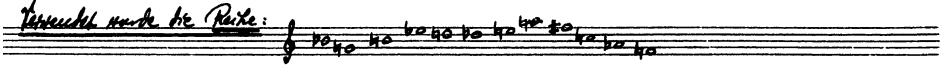
All three orchestral songs are based on the same twelve-tone row, which Fraenkel provides in the appendix to the score (Ex. 3.6). Fraenkel designed a quasi-symmetrical structure: songs I and III use only the four basic forms of the series (P, I, R, RI) as well as transpositions one fourth higher (I) and lower (III), while the second movement uses the tritone transposition and two related rows. While this systematic application of the dodecaphonic technique points to an intensified examination of the twelve-tone method in the context of his extensive theoretical writing in *Afunctional Music* (1937–43), the deliberate, sometimes almost “impressionistic” use of orchestral colors (e.g., no. 2 “Am frühen Frühlingstage,” score, mm. 23–27, Ex. 3.7) certainly comes from an attempt to interpret the atmosphere of the Chinese poems musically in a (post-) exoticist manner. Despite such coloristic experiments, the quality of the work can be seen in that Fraenkel largely refrains from any kind of plain exoticism and instead tries to render the atmosphere of the texts with his personal (Western) means. The work was not performed during his time in Shanghai, but it seems that a premiere may have taken place after Fraenkel moved to the US, since the score has notes obviously made during rehearsals.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Fraenkel mistakenly identified this poem as no. 2 in the manuscript, but later corrected this mistake.

<sup>135</sup> A recent performance of the work in Beijing (March 2019) has been co-organized by the Vienna organization *exil.art* (e-mail-communication with Gerold Gruber, 25/05/2020).

Example 3.6: Wolfgang Fraenkel, row analysis in the appendix of the score of **Drei Orchesterlieder**: first line: prime twelve-tone row; below: row forms and variants used in the movements 1 to 3

Erste Reihe:



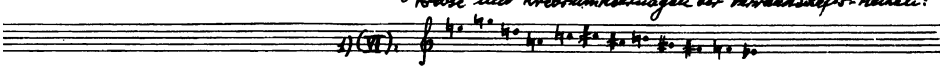
Im ersten Lied:

a) Original-Transraum der Reihe, Umkehrung, Krebs und Krebsumkehrung;  
 b) daraus resultierende Transpositionen.

Im zweiten Lied:

a) Uniaxial-Transposition von Reihe, Umkehrung, Krebs und Krebsumkehrung;  
 b) die daraus resultierenden uniaxial und transraum-ähnlichen Reihen, Umkehrungen, Krebs und Krebsumkehrungen der Verwandschafts-Reihe.

1) (M):



2) (M):



Im dritten Lied:

a) Original-Transraum der Reihe, Umkehrung, Krebs und Krebsumkehrung;  
 b) daraus resultierende Transpositionen.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus.ms. 19654, p. 50d

Extensive transcriptions of recorded music show that Fraenkel also tried to understand traditional Chinese and Japanese music. Yet the transcriptions of works by the Chinese instrument and repertoire reformer Liu Tianhua (→ III.1), recorded on the LP *Chinese Classical Music* (Lyricord LP, LL 722, 1956), may have arisen only some time after the stay in Shanghai, probably around the end of the 1950s. They formed the basis for the sketched *Chinese Song* (Kel.V. 35, c. 1960) for alto flute and guitar, an attempt to find a “Chinese tone” in Liu’s style.

The transcriptions of Japanese music,<sup>136</sup> on the contrary, probably already largely originated in Shanghai in the context of a dance evening with Slavina-Brown and Indira Devi on 18 April 1940, where two arrangements by Fraenkel were performed under the direction of Aaron Avshalomov (see Tab. 3.1): *Ombacha* and *Three Masks (Improvisation on a Japanese Theme)*. Both arrangements were most likely based on transcriptions of pieces recorded on the LP *Om-bat-tha* (Victor-Records no. 52282-a [3740]). A transcription of the famous Japanese *gagaku* classic *Eten-raku* is also preserved in Fraenkel’s estate; he very likely transcribed it from the record *Music over the Sky* (Victor-Records, no. 13487 [8745/46]), and notes in the transcription suggest that an arrangement for Western orchestra was considered. It is still unclear whether this arrangement was carried out or indeed performed.

136 Lit. est., ANA 496, Sch. 4, “Japanische Platten.”

Example 3.7: Wolfgang Fraenkel, **Drei Orchesterlieder**, no. 2 “Am frühen Frühlingstage,”  
score, mm. 25–27

[illegible]

## Perspectives

Aside from the aspects summarized here, it is not easy to reconstruct Fraenkel's time in Shanghai in great detail. In many respects, we still have to rely on assumptions, for example, when trying to reconstruct the exact circumstances of his release from Sachsenhausen and his trip to Shanghai, but, most importantly, also his artistic and cultural impact during the exile years: how did Fraenkel make contacts in Shanghai? How did he find a connection to the city's music scene so quickly, gaining a comparatively privileged position in the impoverished immigrant community, in contrast to Julius Schloß or Karl Steiner, who had to make ends meet in bars as accordion and piano players?<sup>137</sup>

Further studies of his estate, a more comprehensive consideration of the oral history, which was only cursorily included here, and, last but not least, more precise analyses of his musical works could certainly help to answer these and other questions that arise. For the time being, it remains remarkable how sensitively Fraenkel reacted to the state of music in China and how this was partly reflected in his writings and works.

From the perspective of Chinese music historiography, Fraenkel is a small but crucial building block. Without him, the early reception of musical modernism in China would probably not have taken place at all, and the sensational "second musical modernity" in China during the 1980s and 1990s (→ III.5) would not have found any point of reference in its own past. Fraenkel's work as a pedagogue, conductor, musician, and composer deserves to be further examined in China as well as in the West. Publishing his writings and performing his highly original and innovative musical works would undoubtedly be worthwhile, and would help to rescue an important mediator between Europe and Asia from oblivion.

### 3. The Travels of a Jasmine Flower: A Chinese Folk Song, Its Prehistory, and Tan Dun's *Symphony 1997*

The history of the Chinese melody *Molihua* (Jasmine Flower, also known as *Xianhua* [Fresh Flower]), which became famous through Giacomo Puccini's opera *Turandot* (1920–24), offers a manifold impression of the intricate and recursive intercultural processes that provided the background for composition in East Asia in the twentieth century and persist to this day. That Tan Dun quotes – and above all, how he quotes – this melody in his politically charged *Symphony 1997* requires us to look closer at this historic source of Chinese identities. We can compare its various versions here from a (music-)historical perspective. We can show how they have changed since the first written source for the melody in 1795 to the most recent contemporary version (summarized in Table 3.3; see also Examples 3.8, 3.9, and Table 3.4). It remains to be discussed in which ways these variations refer back to the changes in culture and environment that they record. From an ethno(musico)logical perspective, the different versions of the melody within the musical practice of China or Asia can be investigated and potential conclusions drawn about the transregional traditions of the melody. After all, through the musical analysis of the respective melodic figures and, if applicable, the harmonization, orchestration, or per-

<sup>137</sup> The remark in the Fraenkel entry in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* that Fraenkel had enjoyed the protection of Chiang Kai-Shek, who had asked him to coordinate the musical training in Shanghai and Nanjing, should be followed up in this context. To the extent suggested here, it seems rather unlikely, at least before 1945, given the political situation and the extensive control by the Japanese authorities. See Slonimsky, "Fraenkel."