

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Henry Cowell (1897–1965), Shūkichi Mitsukuri (1895–1971), and Fumio Hayasaka (1914–1955) distinguish themselves from most of their contemporaries by their dedicated and systematic attempts to adopt, incorporate, and re-invent non-Western music traditions as a *principal* feature of their music (and not, as it was far more common at the time, as a subsidiary element). Moreover, all of them acted as nodes of local and international networks and music societies (see Table 2.1), embedding their artistic work in an internationalized social context. We may retrospectively consider their independent artists' groups as key institutions of modern music in their respective countries. These groups shared a pronounced internationalism, implemented through the performance of the most recent and advanced new music from other countries, while also sharing anti-establishment aesthetics. This context was undoubtedly crucial in provoking the composers' modernist reception of non-Western musics. The guiding idea behind these approaches emerged from a pessimistic view of contemporaneous Western music, a common stance in early twentieth-century discourse. Japanese and Chinese as well as Indonesian or Indian traditional music seemed to provide all those features that Western music of the early twentieth century supposedly lacked: intricate rhythm, refined melodic design, spontaneity, "feeling," timbral differentiation, complex layering, etc.¹⁸⁸ This search for a decentering Otherness converged in an unsettling manner on tendencies of nationalist, essentialist, and isolationist thought in the wake of two world wars and major sociohistorical turns such as the Great Depression. The conflicts and paradoxical situations resulting from such "non-simultaneities" will be at the focus of the following analytical readings, which relate musical detail to historical context. Table 2.1 provides an overview of the institutions, musical works, and articles referred to throughout.

Maurice Delage: Close Listening to Asian Traditions and the Emancipation from Exoticism

Maurice Delage, born in 1879, was a leading member of the artists' collective *Apaches*, founded in 1902, and of the *Société Musicale Indépendante* (SMI), founded in 1909. Both groups were centered around Maurice Ravel (1875–1937), Delage's teacher and close friend. The *Apaches* considered themselves a rebellious group and were united by their enthusiasm for Claude Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* (premiered in 1902), their substantial interest in Russian music, and their criticism of the nationalist and conservative impact of the academic musical establishment of the *Schola Cantorum* around Vincent d'Indy who also controlled the politics of the influential *Société Nationale de Musique* (founded in 1871). The weekly gatherings of the *Apaches*, starting in 1904, took place in a pavilion in the Parisian quarter Auteuil which was rented by Maurice Delage (son of a wealthy entrepreneur) especially for that occasion.¹⁸⁹ The largely self-taught Delage was an important figure in this group which his close friendship to Igor Stravinsky reflects. Stravinsky joined the group along with Manuel de Falla, Isaac Albeniz, and other international figures during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Delage was also involved in the foundation of the more official organization *Société Musicale Indépendante* in 1909 that formally marked the rejection of the ideas represented by the *Société Nationale*. The immediate reason for its foundation was that the *Société Nationale* had declined to perform "Temples," the first of Charles Koechlin's two *Etudes antiques* (1908–10), and Delage's

188 See Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the Yellow Peril," 101–103.

189 Pasler, "Stravinsky and the Apaches," 403.

symphonic poem *Conté par la mer* (1908) due to their advanced style.¹⁹⁰ The SMI from its beginnings successfully introduced the most recent musical trends from both its French members and international composers. Among other activities, it organized the French premieres of Arnold Schoenberg's *Three Piano Pieces* op. 11 (1909) in 1913 and *Six Little Piano Pieces* op. 19 (1911) in 1914.¹⁹¹ Stravinsky's enthusiasm for Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912)¹⁹² sparked the plan to organize the French premiere of this work in what Ravel imagined to be a "scandalous concert."¹⁹³ Although the *Pierrot* premiere had to be canceled for practical reasons,¹⁹⁴ the society's concert on 14 January 1914 featured the world premieres of two pieces that were at least indirectly influenced or triggered by the enthusiasm for Schoenberg's *Pierrot*: Stravinsky's *Trois poésies de la lyrique japonaise* (1912/13) and Ravel's *Trois poèmes de Mallarmé* (1913) – along with Delage's *Quatre poèmes hindous* for soprano and chamber ensemble (1913) which is closely intertwined with these two cycles. The rebellious tone is evident in a review of this concert by *Apaches*- and SMI-member Émile Vuillermoz:¹⁹⁵

For a long time – since the heroic evenings of the old *Nationale* – musicians had not had the sensation of attending such an important event, so significant for the evolution of our art. The Salle Erard, where so many glorious pages of our musical history were already written, heard that day echo the energetic blows of the young demolishers who had been occupied for some time, to the great terror of the ignorant crowd, to tear down the walls, behind which they hope to discover the beautiful enchanted gardens of earthly paradise. [...]

There is no longer any security on the market of the sixteenth notes and new cataclysms are preparing. The SMI has just torn down a whole wall and, blinded by the cloud of sound dust that rose after the collapse of the wall, some listeners are already trying to discover, among the chunks, a road toward the obscure sensed delights.¹⁹⁶

190 Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et la Société Musicale Indépendante," 257. Both pieces were performed in the first orchestral concert of the SMI on 9 June 1910 in Salle Gaveau with considerable success, see *ibid.*, 261–262, 274.

191 op. 11: 28 May 1913, Salle de la Société des concerts (Ancien Conservatoire); op. 19: 9 February 1914, Salle Erard. See Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et la Société Musicale Indépendante," 278–280, Meyer, *Ensemblelieder in der frühen Nachfolge* (1912–17) von Arnold Schönbergs *Pierrot lunaire*, 141.

192 Stravinsky had attended the fourth performance of the work in Berlin on 8 December 1912; later Stravinsky claimed that he had been merely interested in the instrumental music of the *Pierrot lunaire* (Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 43–44; see Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 26–28).

193 "Projet mirifique d'un concert scandaleux [...]." Maurice Ravel, letter to Hélène Kahn-Casella (for the *Comité de la SMI*), 2/4/1913, quoted in Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 29.

194 See *ibid.*, 32–33.

195 See *ibid.*, 137.

196 Vuillermoz, "La musique au concert." ("Depuis bien longtemps – depuis les soirs heroiques de l'ancienne *Nationale* – les musiciens n'avaient pas eu la sensation d'assister à une manifestation aussi importante, aussi capitale pour l'évolution de notre art. La salle Erard, où s'écrivirent déjà tant de pages glorieuses de notre histoire musical, entendit ce jour-là résonner les énergiques coups de pic des jeunes démolisseurs occupés depuis quelque temps, au grand effroi de la foule ignorante, à abattre des murs derrière lesquelles ils espèrent découvrir les beaux jardins enchantés du paradis terrestre. [...] Il n'y a plus aucune sécurité sur le marché de la double-croche et de nouveaux cataclysmes se préparent. La SMI vient d'abattre tout un pan de mur et, aveuglé par le nuage de poussière sonore que souleva sa chute, certains auditeurs cherchent déjà à se frayer péniblement, parmi les plâtras, une route vers d'obscures délices pressenties.")

This radicalized rhetoric initially seems unjustified in light of the fragile pieces performed during this concert, but it documents the struggles of the younger generation of Paris-based composers in the aftermath of the *Sacre* scandal of 29 May 1913.

Their drive to reach beyond the limitations of a narrowly defined nationalism made the *Apaches* and the *Société Musicale Indépendante* a fertile ground for openness toward non-Western music. Such interests were necessarily prefigured by the superficial appropriations of French orientalism and exoticism reaching back at least to Jean-Philippe Rameau's ballet opera *Les Indes galantes* (1735) and still present in Ravel's song cycle *Shéhérazade* from 1903, one of the first artistic achievements of the *Apaches* group (Tristan Klingsor, whose poems provided the lyrics for Ravel's cycle, was also a member). Debussy's simultaneous, refined efforts at incorporating Javanese gamelan structures into some of his piano pieces, most notably in *Pagodes* from 1903,¹⁹⁷ gave way to attempts at a closer modeling of non-Western traditions as in Charles Koechlin's *Deux pièces javanaises*, which were based on transcriptions of Javanese gamelan pieces and were premiered in the second concert of the SMI on 4 May 1910.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, given that, during his studies with Ravel, Delage had been encouraged to accept the concept of stylistic imitation as a major technique in developing one's own style,¹⁹⁹ it seems consistent that his approach to Asian traditions was based on detailed study, close listening, and reconstruction of these traditions' musical details in his scores. These features were elaborated to their furthest point in a series of works for soprano and piano or chamber ensemble, most notably in "Lahore," the second movement of *Quatre poèmes hindous* (1913), in *Ragamalika* (1914), as well as in *Sept Hai-kaïs* (1923/24).

The reception of Indian music by Maurice Delage has been documented and discussed in great detail by Jann Pasler and Andreas Meyer, and thus this aspect of Delage's work will only be briefly summarized here.²⁰⁰ The *Quatre poèmes hindous* were composed in the wake of the composer's five-month trip to India and Japan in 1911 and 1912. The exact dates of composition are not easy to determine. In the autograph and the printed edition of the piano score, the following dates are indicated at the end of the movements: I. *Madras (Une Belle...)* [Madras, Mars 1912]; II. *Lahore (Un Sapin isolé...)* [Lahore, Février 1912]; III. *Bénarès (Naissance de Bouddha)* [Bénarès, Janvier 1912]; IV. *Jeypur (Si vous pensez...)* [Jeypur, Janvier 1912].²⁰¹ Delage mentioned in a letter to Stra-

197 See, most recently, Tamagawa, *Echoes from the East: The Javanese Gamelan and Its Influence on the Music of Claude Debussy*.

198 Duchesneau, "Maurice Ravel et la Société Musicale Indépendante," 264. This work, catalogued by Orledge, *Charles Koechlin (1867–1950): His Life and Works*, 345, as the *Suite Javanaise* op. 44b, is an arrangement of two Javanese gamelan pieces "Gamelan palag" and "Gamelan salandro" (transcribed by Louis Laloy) for eleven European instruments, and was composed in April 1910. Koechlin wanted to reconstruct the impression he had of this music during the World Exposition in 1889 based on the transcriptions by Laloy, see Koechlin, *Écrits*, vol. 1, 88.

199 See Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 152.

200 Pasler, "Reinterpreting Indian Music," Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," and Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 31–35, 149–153, 244–268.

201 Madras, modern-day Chennai, is the capital of the Tamil Nadu state in South-East India and was the center of the East India Company; Lahore, formerly part of Northern India, is the historical capital of the Punjab region (today the second largest city of Pakistan); Bénarès, now Varanasi, in the North Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, is considered the spiritual capital of India and attracts pilgrims who go there to bathe in the Ganges; Jeypore (Jaipur) is the capital of the Northern Indian state of Rajasthan (close to New Delhi). Thus, it would seem that Delage's trip followed the route Jeypore (Jan. 1912) – Bénarès (Jan. 1912) – Lahore (Feb. 1912) – Madras (Mar. 1912). Delage's "Lettre de l'Inde" from Kandy (Ceylon, today Sri Lanka), published in the *Revue musicale S.I.M.* on 15 June 1912, is dated 4 March 1912 (see below).

vinsky, however, that he completed these pieces only in the summer of 1913, so it seems likely that the dates indicated in the score signify the time of Delage's visit to the four cities during his trip rather than the dates of composition.²⁰² This would mean that more than one year passed after the trip before Delage actually composed this work. The chamber ensemble version for 2 flutes (1 also piccolo), oboe (also English horn), 2 clarinets (in both A and B \flat , 1 also bass clarinet), harp, and string quartet, probably completed in November 1913, was of particular significance for Delage, as he indicated in a letter to Stravinsky eight days before the premiere: "I am restless about my small orchestra since I have searched for Hindu sonorities that send chills up my spine."²⁰³

Based on Delage's "Lettre de l'Inde," a short account of his Indian trip published in the journal *Revue musicale S.I.M.* on 15 June 1912²⁰⁴ and other sources, Jann Pasler has singled out those characteristics of Delage's approach to Indian music that differed from the common exoticism of his epoch:²⁰⁵ he followed Debussy's strategy in focusing on those features of Indian music that seemed to expose a culture-specific logic – deemed opaque to the Western listener – as well as the continuity of pitch, rich timbres, especially in vocal music, and their supposed spontaneity and emotional effect. Like many composers in the following decades, Delage was concerned about "contaminating" Western (phonograph, harmonium, violin) and particularly Muslim influences on "Hindu music."²⁰⁶ Like Dane Rudhyar about ten years after him, he held on to the image of a "pure" Hindu music.²⁰⁷ Delage was in personal contact with several distinguished soloists from different Indian music traditions and bought several recordings of Indian music, which served as his main source for the adaptations elaborated in his scores after he had returned to France.

Pasler has identified the beginning of *Lahore* (a song based on the French translation of a poem by Heinrich Heine²⁰⁸) as a transcription of a *surbahār*²⁰⁹ performance of *Jaunpuri Todika*

202 "Heureusement que j'ai fait quatre poèmes Hindous cet été. Ravel pretend que c'est bien." Maurice Delage, letter to Igor Stravinsky, 9/12/1913 (Collection Igor Stravinsky, Paul Sacher Foundation Basel), quoted in Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 31.

203 "Je suis inquiet pour mon petit orchestre, car j'ai cherché des sonorités Hindoues qui me donnent froid dans le dos." Maurice Delage, letter to Igor Stravinsky, 6/1/1914 (Collection Igor Stravinsky, Paul Sacher Foundation Basel), quoted in Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 32.

204 Delage, "Lettre de l'Inde."

205 Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," 100–103.

206 *Ibid.*, 101.

207 See Rudhyar, "A Call to Indian Musicians."

208 Delage obviously relied on the French translation of this poem by Gérard de Nerval, first published in 1848 (although no source is provided in the two printed editions of the work): "Un sapin isolé se dresse sur une montagne / Aride du Nord. Il sommeille. / La glace et la neige l'environnent / D'un manteau blanc. / Il rêve d'un palmier qui là-bas / Dans l'Orient lointain se désole, / Solitaire et taciturne, / Sur la pente de son rocher brûlant." German original: "Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam / Im Norden auf kahler Höh. / Ihn schläfert; mit weißer Decke / Umhüllen ihn Eis und Schnee. / Er träumt von einer Palme, / Die, fern im Morgenland, / Einsam und schweigend trauert / Auf brennender Felsenwand." (Heinrich Heine, "Lyrisches Intermezzo" [1822/23], no. 33. In: *Sämtliche Gedichte*, Stuttgart, 1997, 94, quoted in Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 244.) Pasler notes that Delage had already set a poem by Heine in French translation three years earlier (*Intermezzo* no. 1 of the *Trois mélodies* op. 2, composed in January 1910, a setting of Heine's famous "Auf Flügeln des Gesanges"). This poem already invokes dreamy images of India in the lines "Fort nach den Fluren des Ganges, / Dort weiß ich den schönsten Ort;" and "Dort wollen wir niedersinken / Unter dem Palmenbaum, / Und Liebe und Ruhe trinken, / Und träumen seligen Traum." See Pasler, "Reinterpreting Indian Music," 136.

209 Large plucked long-necked lute in North Indian music, belonging to the same family of instruments as the *sitar* and usually tuned a fourth or fifth lower.

Alap by Imdad Khan (1848–1920), probably recorded in 1905, the slow, unmeasured introduction (*alap*) to an improvisation on the *rāga jaunpuri* (upward: C D F G A♭ B♭ C; downward: C B♭ A♭ G F E♭ D C).²¹⁰ Delage closely reconstructs *surbahār* playing techniques in the cello part including slides between adjacent pitches with the same finger. The ensemble slowly establishes a drone on the fifth B-F# in different registers, recalling another key principle of Indian music practice. The sparse harmonic structure is based on modal and plagal progressions and tends to avoid conventional triadic harmony. The timbres, however, repeatedly evoke topics of musical orientalism, namely in the harp's arpeggiation and the two flutes' soloistic figures that accompany the line "Il rêve d'un palmier qui là-bas dans l'Orient lointain se désolé" [It dreams of a palm-tree which grieves far away in the distant East]. Conventional orientalist "coloring" is thus "quoted" in the context of a much more refined approach to Indian music, clearly marking the difference between these two forms of composition based on non-Western material.

The most remarkable feature of this song is surely the partly unaccompanied concluding vocalise, which systematically changes between open and closed mouth articulation, a feature of Indian vocal music that Delage had described in his "Lettre de l'Inde."²¹¹ In contrast to the famous vocalise from Léo Delibes's opera *Lakmé* (1883), one of the most representative works of late nineteenth-century exoticism, the refined rhythmic structure in Delage's song again suggests close modeling on a recorded performance.²¹² In the final part of this vocalise, the ensemble joins in a highly complex heterophony. A 1914 review of the edited score highlights the end of "Lahore" as a particular successful part of the work after quoting a sentence from Delage's "Lettre de l'Inde" that clearly evokes orientalist stereotypes:

"Strange impression of horizons where vehement or very soft tears pass by, tender sites and awakenings in beautiful light." I do not know any other such exquisite newness for our European ears than the vocalise that terminates the melody synthesized in Lahore; a vocalise sung with a closed mouth on strange nasal sonorities, hot breath, cries and caresses!²¹³

The complexity of the musical structure is even increased in Delage's *Ragamalika* from May 1914, composed a few months after the successful premiere of the *Quatre poèmes hindous*. The piece is a detailed transcription of a recording of the *devadasi* singer Coimbatore Thayi (1872–1917), who was based in Madras²¹⁴ and whom Delage had met during his trip in India while visiting the temples at Mahabalipuram.²¹⁵ Coimbatore Thayi made about 300 recordings after the

210 Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," 103–104, 117. The recording can be found on the 78 rpm disc Gramo G.C. 17364. Without knowledge of this source Meyer (*Ensemblelieder*, 254), has tried to identify the *rāga* as *darbari-kanada* ("midnight *rāga*"; upward: C D E♭ F G A♭ B♭ C / downward: C A♭ B♭ G F G E♭ D C). Pasler ("Reinterpreting Indian Music," 138) specifies that the switch from *jaunpuri* to *darbari* in the final part of the cello solo marks an intentional departure from the recorded model.

211 Delage, "Lettre de l'Inde," 74.

212 See Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," 105, Meyer, *Ensemblelieder*, 260–262.

213 "'Curieuse impression d'horizons où passent des sanglots véhéments ou très doux, des sites tendres et des réveils dans la belle lumière.' Je ne connais rien de plus exquisément nouveau pour nos oreilles européennes que la vocalise qui termine la mélodie qui synthétise Lahore; vocalise à bouche fermée sur d'étranges sonorités nasales, souffle chaud, cris et caresses!" Gabriel Grovlez, "La musique dans les partitions," *Musica* 1/7/1914, 141; quotation from Delage, "Lettre de l'Inde," 73.

214 See Badrinathan, "Interplay of the *devadasi* and the Composer" and Sampath, "Coimbatore Thayi."

215 Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," 106, 117. Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram), located south of Chennai (Madras), is a town with important archeological sites from the Pallavian Period (seventh to ninth century).

British Gramophone Company had started to record Indian music in 1904.²¹⁶ The recorded piece *Rāgamālīka*, *Ramalinga swamis arulpa* was probably recorded in 1909.²¹⁷ *Devadasi* dancers and singers were temple courtesans who were sold to temples at a young age and learned classical Indian styles of music and dance. *Arulpa* is a genre of devotional song with the highly melismatic and sliding line of the voice accompanied by *tabla* drums and a *tanpura* drone; *rāgamālīka* means “garland of *rāgas*,” signifying a continuous change between different *rāgas* during the same piece.²¹⁸ The text of this specific *arulpa* is attributed to Ramalinga Swamigal (Swamy, 1823–1874), a Tamil Shivaite saint and poet. In Carnatic vocal tradition, a “vocalist usually sings a Sanskrit, Tamil, or Telugu poem toward the end of a concert by improvising in a *rāgamālīkā* ‘garland of ragas.’ This is nonmetered improvisation similar to *ālāpāna*, in which the performer uses the text freely to bring out the essence of the *raga* and the meaning of the text.”²¹⁹ The common pitch center of the emerging *rāgas* in this piece, B \flat , in Delage’s adaption is optionally damped in the piano by placing a small piece of cardboard under the hammer of the piano’s B \flat 2-string, imitating the buzzing sound of the *tanpura*. Delage here also makes an attempt to transliterate the Tamil lyrics of the piece, which praise the god *Nadaradjā* (*Shiva*),²²⁰ indicating special pronunciation rules in a short note at the beginning. The final section recapitulates the beginning, creating a variation similar to the end of “Lahore” by continuously alternating between open- and closed-mouth sections (Ex. 2.3).

Delage’s literal approach definitely shows deep respect for the musical tradition he was approaching – and the orientalist ideal of “purity” may have influenced his method, even though it was doubtless naïve considering the complex history of Indian music traditions and their continuous mutual influences and flux: “With its emphasis on self-criticism, sound for its own sake, and respect for traditions on their own terms, the modernist aesthetic prepared Delage to hear Indian music in its own terms.”²²¹

Ten years later, in the *Sept Hai-kaïs* of 1923/24, Delage’s approach appears to have changed, now being less oriented toward ethnographic precision than the India-inspired works. Still, these seven short songs also markedly differ from the musical *Japonisme* in many French and other European works from the turn of the century. In contrast to Delage’s trip to India, his stay in Japan appears to be largely undocumented. It is obvious, however, that Delage acquired a substantial knowledge of the Japanese language.²²² He probably assisted Stravinsky in selecting the poems for the latter’s *Trois poésies de la lyrique japonaise* in 1912/13 and provided French translations.²²³ Five of the seven poems of *Sept Hai-kaïs* are taken from Kikou Yamata’s anthology of translations of Japanese poetry from different periods (*Sur les lèvres japonaises*, Paris: Le Divan 1924);

216 Sampath, “Coimbatore Thai.”

217 Pasler, “Race, Orientalism, and Distinction,” 106, 117. The recording is published on Gramo G.C. 8-13793.

218 Kassebaum, “Karnatak Raga,” 99.

219 Ibid.

220 Gordon, “Discovering Maurice Delage,” 302.

221 Pasler, “Race, Orientalism, and Distinction,” 107.

222 Rodriguez, *Maurice Delage ou La solitude de l’artisan*, 38.

223 Funayama, “Three Japanese Lyrics and Japonisme,” 279. It is known, however, that Stravinsky used the Russian translation of the poems during the compositional process. Stravinsky’s enthusiasm for Japanese wood prints and their “two-dimensional” character seems to have developed independently of Delage (see *ibid.* and Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, vol. 1, 822–848).

Example 2.3: Maurice Delage, *Ragamalika* (version for voice and piano, 1914), final section

ta al Neü-veür - keü M ma - ra - da - djâ La -

Bouche fermée Bouche ouverte

3 6

M. G.

8^a bassa :

âi-la-âi-lâ Am - bô Maâ Yénn San-kâ - râ Má -

Fermez la bouche pendant la noire Bouche fermée Bouche ouverte

3 6

quasi Arpa Sin' al fine

8^a bassa ;

Fermez la bouche pendant le sextolet

6

- vou Am - ba.

M. D.

8^a bassa :

sempre legato

pp 8^a bassa : ppp 8^a b^a :

Autueil, Mai 1914

Example 2.4: Maurice Delage, *Sept Haï-kaïs* (1923/24), no. 5: “La lune d’automne...,” piano version

V_ La lune d’automne...

CHANT

PIANO

Agité ♩ = 176

mp

m.d.

p

simile

cresc.

poco

allargando

f

molto

poco rit.

Moins vite ♩ = 138

Moins vite ♩ = 120

Moins vite ♩ = 120

à Suzanne Roland-Manuel.

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no. 6 was translated by Paul-Louis Couchoud, who in 1905 had published *Au fil de l'eau*, a collection of French *haikai*, and no. 3 was written by the French poet Georges Sabiron (1882–1918).²²⁴

224 Chipot, “Musique & haiku.” The *haikai*, a form of *tanka* poetry (following a verse scheme of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables) emerged in Japan during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Yet among the seven poems selected by Delage, only two are examples of traditional *haiku* form – a reduced variant of the *haikai* model organized in 5-7-5 syllables (no. 6 by Onitsura Uejima, 1661–1738, and no. 7 by Bashō Matsuo, 1644–1694), while two poems have to be attributed to the medieval Heian-period *waka* genre (no. 1 by Ki no Tsurayuki, 872–945, and no. 2 by Sosei, c. 844–910). The three remaining poems were written by contemporary poets in *haiku* or *haikai* form (no. 3, in French, by Georges Sabiron, 1882–1918, no. 4 by Hiroko Katayama, 1878–1957, and no. 5 by Akiko Yosano, 1878–1942).

Both the piano and the ensemble version of the *Sept Haï-kaïs* were published by Jaubert in 1924. The cycle was premiered on 16 February 1925 in a SIM concert (soprano: Jane Bathorie, conductor: Darius Milhaud) and performed again at the ISCM festival in April 1929 in Geneva by Madeleine Grey and Ernest Ansermet. Around the same period, in 1925, Delage and Ravel organized a private concert with their Japanese friend Jirohachi Satsuma (1901–1976) of the Japanese *shamisen* player Kineya Sakichi IV (1884–1945) in the apartment of the pianist Henri Gil-Marchex, who had toured Japan for the first time the same year.²²⁵ Delage dedicated another (yet unpublished) short song, based on a *haiku* by Bashō Matsuo, to Satsuma on 20 December 1924 after completing the *Sept Haï-kaïs*.²²⁶

The *Sept Haï-kaïs*, created more than ten years after Stravinsky's *Three Japanese Lyrics*, are hardly related to Stravinsky's musical style. Neither is there any clear indication of an adaption of Japanese scales or modes – although the harmonic structure, based on stacked fourths and fifths, may well be derived from a polymodal arrangement of pentatonic or heptatonic pitch collections. Repeatedly, Delage employs drone-like structures in these songs. The first song (“Préface de Kokinshiu”) after a free prelude establishes a drone on E♭ and B♭ with major and minor thirds (G/G♭) repeatedly colliding in a setting that rather closely resembles that of *Raga-malika*. A calmer variant of the same harmonic principle is taken up in the second half of no. 6 (“Alors...”), prolonged into the final song (no. 7: “L’été...”), establishing a harmonic frame for the cycle. The third song (“Le coq...”) introduces a similar structure raised by a semitone to E♭–B♭ and the conflicting thirds G♯ and G♯, providing the frame for a musical pictorialism that evokes the coq’s cackling by short appoggiaturas in the style of Ravel’s *Histoires naturelles* (1906).²²⁷ The second (“Les herbes de l’oubli...”) and the fourth song (“La petite tortue...”) as well as the first half of no. 6, in contrast, situate the drone-like structures on major seconds (D♯–E♯ in no. 2, F♯–G♯ in no. 4, C–D/C♭–D♭ in no. 6). While no. 2 is characterized by melodic lines moving in parallel fourths, no. 4 adopts the appoggiaturas from no. 3, possibly now pointing to the clunky movements of the tortoise.

A reference to Japanese modes is perhaps intended in no. 5 (“La lune d’automne...”), which starts with an ostinato figure comprising the pitch-classes C♯–D–F♯–G–B (Ex. 2.4), reminiscent of the *miyakobushi*-mode, popular in adaptations of Japanese melodies and modes around 1900.²²⁸ However, a modal ambivalence is established when the voice takes B as its pitch center and adds E to the pitch collection (F♯–B–C♯–E–F♯) while the ensemble/piano now again (as in the preceding movements) continuously switches between G♯ and G♯. The ambivalence remains unresolved until the end: a tendency toward E minor in the final two bars of the instrumental part, supported by the B–E–B contour in the voice, is undermined by the bass that superimposes the progression A–D below the E minor harmony, resulting in a polymodal arrangement of a complete pentatonic scale (D–E–G–A–B).

225 Funayama, “Three Japanese Lyrics and Japonisme,” 278–279. Kineya Sakichi IV was a reformer of Japanese traditional music and developed larger types of *shamisen* such as the *sero shamisen* (cello *shamisen*) and the *teion shamisen* (“lower range *shamisen*”) (Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 250). Henri Gil-Marchex (1894–1970) toured Japan four times, in 1925, 1931, 1932, and 1937. The Japanese composer Yoritsune Matsudaira (1907–2001) was impressed by Gil-Marchex’s performances and took piano lessons with him while the pianist was in Japan (Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 83–84). In 1936 Gil-Marchex composed *Quatre [Deux] images du vieux Japon* for piano.

226 Funayama, “Three Japanese Lyrics and Japonisme,” 279–281.

227 Rodriguez, *Maurice Delage ou La solitude de l’artisan*, 83.

228 Pacun, “Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar *Yōgaku*,” 11–22 (see below).

Example 2.5: Maurice Delage, *Sept Haï-kaïs* (1923/24), no. 5: “La lune d’automne...,” orchestral version, final part

Alto
a: Ré \sharp , Ré \sharp - Do \sharp , Ré \sharp pour l'oreille.
b: ce Sol: Fa \sharp pour l'oreille.

à Suzanne Roland-Manuel.

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The rich sonorities of the ensemble version considerably expand these restrained harmonic structures into veritable flashes of color. This may be exemplified by the fifth song again (Ex. 2.5). The quick tempo here lets the highly perforated orchestration, comprising flutter-tonguing in the flute and glissandi in the strings, turn into a dissonant and bewildering sonorous field. The composer's great attention to detail, evident from the score, thus gives way to a “sound composition” reaching far beyond established orientalist musical concepts. Although the current state of research does not allow a reliable conclusion as to the actual impact of Japanese traditional music for Delage's compositional conception, it is apt to say that in comparison to the earlier literal approach in “Lahore” or *Ragamalika*, the *Sept Haï-kaïs* establish a far more abstract and concealed way of communicating with the non-Western tradition – most importantly through a radicalized aphoristic form and a highly refined (poly)modal harmony.

Henry Cowell: Toward Cultural Hybridity

If the *Société Musicale Indépendante* stood for a new internationalism and new approaches toward the music of non-Western cultures, those preconditions reappeared in a more rigorous and resolute manner in the context of Henry Cowell's New Music Society of California, established in Los Angeles in 1925, continued in San Francisco from 1927 to 1936, and later in New York. According to Cowell's first flyer, the society was dedicated to the performance of the “most discussed composers of so-called ultramodern tendencies, such as Strawinsky [sic], Schoenberg, Ruggles, Rudhyar, etc.”²²⁹ and it had a decidedly international perspective (works

229 Quoted in Mead, “Henry Cowell's New Music Society,” 450.

by 36 European, six Latin-American, and 30 American composers were performed in the society's concerts between 1925 and 1936²³⁰). At least one of the society's events (a concert on 1 April 1935) also included performances of traditional Japanese music.²³¹

By 1925, at the age of 28, Cowell had already become an international celebrity. He had been on tour to Europe several times since 1923 as a "scandalous" pianist performing clusters and playing on the piano strings, and had made his debut at Carnegie Hall on 4 February 1924. In Europe he met a number of leading modernist composers and musicians. His Berlin recital in 1923 had been funded by Hermann Scherchen's *Neue Musikgesellschaft*.²³² Similarly to Ravel's and Delage's societies, Cowell's New Music Society of California was conceived in opposition to the nationalist aesthetics of composers assembled in the League of Composers, founded in 1923.²³³ An anti-nationalist stance was a precondition especially for many composers who had emigrated to the US during the First World War, such as Edgard Varèse or Dane Rudhyar,²³⁴ a close friend and ally of Cowell. Rudhyar wrote in 1922:

Nationalism breeds hatred of the foreigner. Wherever such hatred exists [and] the fundamental interhuman quality is killed, music ceases to express the essential life of Man, his ideal, his fervor, his aspirations – colored as they may be by racial idiosyncrasies – it expresses only the superficial complex of fashions, of peculiar brain-activities, which constitutes the outer make-up of a nation, not truly a Race in the spiritually human sense of the word. [...]

We insist on this point because it is an essential one today. America should be considered as the new soil (culturally speaking) which will be the home of the next civilization when Europe has fallen in the state of slumber and medievalism which she is fast approaching. It is nationalism which killed Europe. The various European states could not and cannot realize their fundamental identity, unite and constitute the United States of Europe which alone could have given birth to a true European culture. Now the American civilization which is being born is inherently an heir to the European civilization. Will it inherit its nationalistic attitude, or will it repudiate it at the outset, and begin to think in terms of interhuman unity? [...] If these [European] seeds are permeated by the virus of nationalistic separativeness, the future will repeat the past, and various schools will war within the borders of America instead of cooperating together in a true synthetic culture. Such a glorious synthetic culture can only manifest if America responds to the spiritual note of artistic internationalism, which is not indifference to race but humanism as a fundamental, and racial differences as overtones.²³⁵

230 Ibid., 454.

231 Ibid., 454, 461.

232 Ibid., 449.

233 An explicitly international perspective had also been envisioned by Edgard Varèse and Carlos Salzedo when they had founded the International Composer's Guild (ICG) in 1921. Among other activities, the ICG was organizing the US premiere of *Pierrot lunaire* on 4 February 1923. The League of Composers segregated from the ICG in 1923. In 1928 Varèse and Cowell united to form the Pan American Association of Composers (PAAC), supporting composers from both North and Latin America (ibid., 453; see also Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 177–200 and Nonnenmann, "Institutionen/Organisationen," 285).

234 Varèse arrived in the US on 29 December 1915, Rudhyar (then still under the name Daniel Chennevière) on 13 November 1916.

235 Rudhyar, "Edgard Varèse and the New Music of America."

Cowell's international activities between 1923 and 1936 show great efforts and also a certain restlessness, increasingly leading to frustrations in the wake of the Great Depression and the ensuing financial limitations. The Pan American Association of Composers (PAAC), founded by Varèse and Cowell in 1928, for example, involved, among others, a close contact to the Havana Society for Contemporary Music in 1930 and the collaboration with the Commission for International Exchange Concerts, founded in Vienna also in 1930.²³⁶

Both Rudhyar and Cowell were deeply influenced by non-Western musical traditions early on. Rudhyar had immigrated to the United States from France in 1916, and by 1918 had established ties to theosophical communities through Scriabin's student Djane Lavoie-Herz (1889–1982), whom Rudhyar met in New York in 1918.²³⁷ Rudhyar and Cowell first met in 1920 in the Californian theosophical community Halcyon,²³⁸ led by John Varian (1863–1931), an Irish-American poet and amateur musician. Cowell had already joined the community as a teenager in 1912 and many of his early pianist practices, such as cluster and string piano techniques, as well as music-theoretical ideas, namely microtonal and polyrhythmic concepts,²³⁹ can be attributed to theosophical influences, as Gregor Herzfeld has demonstrated.²⁴⁰ The clusters, for example, were to represent the oneness of humans and nature,²⁴¹ and the string piano techniques (sound created by playing directly on the piano strings) evolved in the context of the idea of a giant harp conceived as the universe's body of resonance (a reference to the antique concept of the "Aeolian harp" as first described by Athanasius Kircher), an idea adopted by Varian in his "cosmic play" *The Harp of Life* (1916), for which Cowell wrote the music.²⁴² A transcultural dimension was implicit in theosophical thought. Influenced by Indian myths of origin preserved in the Vedas, Helena Blavatsky conceived of music as "cosmic energy" and as a principle characterized by continuous movement and dynamic motion²⁴³ – features that abound in Cowell's early work. In a more explicit move toward cultural and racial hybridity, John Varian considered the theosophical community the "germic embryonic seed of future majesties of growth," of a "new civilization now starting round the Pacific" prominently including "oriental races."²⁴⁴

236 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 182–183, 198–199. Already by 1929 Cowell, returning from a tour to the Soviet Union, had suggested to Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and Carl Stumpf in Berlin the "creation of an international network to exchange and disseminate information through centers in Moscow, Leningrad, Berlin, Paris, New York, and Stanford." (ibid., 187.) After the same idea was presented to a circle of New York scholars and composers, the New York Musicological Society was founded, reorganized as the American Musicological Society (AMS) in Philadelphia in 1934. Both international and intercultural focuses were abandoned during this process, so Cowell did not remain involved (ibid.; see also Rao, "American Compositional Theory in the 1930s," 596–608).

237 Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, 30–32.

238 Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 128–129.

239 In Halcyon, Cowell was probably drawn to "Hindu rhythms" by the community's music director Edgard Cheetaham as early as 1916 (Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 188). The most substantial influence on the rhythmic system explored in Cowell's treatise *New Musical Resources* (1916–19), however, resulted from the correspondence with John Varian's son Russell (Herzfeld, *Zeit als Prozess und Epiphanie*, 136–137).

240 Herzfeld, *Zeit als Prozess und Epiphanie*, 122–151.

241 Ibid., 126.

242 Ibid., 132–133.

243 See Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 101–106, Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 68–76, and Baatz, "Resonanz des 'weißen Unbewegten,'" 36.

244 "There is a new race birthing here in the West [...]. In the ages coming, it will be a large factor in a new civilization now starting round the Pacific – of a quite different nature from that of the Atlantic. Oriental races will be in it

In his childhood days in San Francisco where he spent the first nine years of his life, Cowell came into close contact with music traditions of China (Cantonese Opera), Japan (*koto* music), and India ("Indian virtuosi" who allowed Cowell to listen from a corner in their room),²⁴⁵ – an experience that, according to the composer, explains his open-mindedness toward musics of the world: "No one [in these early years] [...] ever told him that Western music was supposed to be superior."²⁴⁶ In his short piano encore *Amiable Conversation* from 1917, Cowell modeled the (largely pentatonic) melodies in the left hand (black keys) and right hand (white keys) on the speech melodies in a conversation between two Cantonese in a Chinese laundry.²⁴⁷

During the 1920s, Cowell repeatedly established contacts with Asian musicians and studied the foundations of Asian music practices. He organized two "Symposia on Exotic Music" in 1924 and 1926 in the Manhattan church St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, featuring performances of traditional music from Japan (*shamisen*, *shakuhachi*), India (*sitar*, *esraj*), and China in 1924,²⁴⁸ and performers from Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, and Arab music traditions in 1926. The first symposium also included a talk on "the peculiarities of Oriental Music illustrated by Instrumentalists."²⁴⁹ This might have been "the first public presentation of extra-European music in the United States" for a "white audience."²⁵⁰ Anti-immigrant and racist discourse generally confined musical activities of Asian musicians to their local urban communities such as Chinatown and lend Cowell's efforts a pioneering character.

In 1927, Cowell's possible conversations with Béla Bartók and his trip to a Moravian mountain village in 1926 were referred to in two articles.²⁵¹ In the same year, he began a study of the North Indian *rāga* and *tāla* systems with Sarat Lahiri (a performer in the Symposium on Exotic Music in 1924) and Arab music; he obviously also studied African drumming in 1928.²⁵² After he was appointed music teacher at the New York School for Social Research, he lectured on "Newly Discovered Oriental Principles" in spring 1930, organized twelve weekly lecture recitals on "Music Systems of the World" in spring 1932,²⁵³ and from 1933 on regularly taught "World Music" classes at the New School and from 1934 on at the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford University, henceforth using the title "Music of the Peoples of the World."²⁵⁴ In the autumn

[...]. We are germic embryonic seed of future majesties of growth." (John Varian, foreword to *Tirawa* [San Diego: Troubadour, 1930], quoted in Johnson, "Henry Cowell, John Varian, and Halcyon," 16.)

245 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 21–26 and Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 120–122.

246 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 25.

247 Ibid., 86. A similar setting is taken up in Ruth Crawford-Seeger's short song *Chinaman Laundryman* (1931) under the direct influence of Cowell's approach to sliding tones in Chinese speech and Chinese opera (Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 124–125, 244). In this song, Crawford-Seeger introduces two roles, "a boss who verbally assaults his employee, and the laundryman himself who delivers a recitation describing the harsh working conditions he endures and spurring his fellow men to work for a better world" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinaman_Laundryman).

248 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 129, 527n20 identifies the performers at the 28/12/1924 concert as Yoshi, *shamisen*; Yoshica, *shakuhachi*; Arjun Govind, *sitar*; Sarat Lahiri, *esraj*; Wang Kang Hou, *wu con* (at *ibid.*, 188, 533n11 the second concert on 20/2/1926 is mentioned).

249 Ibid., 129.

250 Ibid.

251 Cowell, "Moravian Music" and Cowell, "How Young Hungary Expresses Individuality."

252 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 188.

253 This series included live performances of Arab, Balkan, Chinese, Indian, Irish, Japanese, Javanese, Mexican, Russian, Scottish, Native American, and Hebrew music (*ibid.*, 195).

254 Ibid., 208–209.

and winter of 1931, and from the summer to the winter of 1932, Cowell was living in Berlin on a Guggenheim Foundation grant.²⁵⁵ In Berlin, he was studying audio recordings in Erich Moritz von Hornbostel's *Phonogramm-Archiv* systematically as well as receiving intense instructions in the performance and theory of Javanese music by Raden Mas Jodjana, in Balinese music by the dancer-musician A. F. Roemahlaiselan, and in Indian music by Pichu Sambamoorthy (1903–73) from the University of Madras.²⁵⁶ During his Berlin years he met Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern, who at one point was supposed to conduct a concert with American composers in Vienna.²⁵⁷

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Cowell's approach toward non-Western music is his anti-essentialist position, based on the close observation of the musical traditions he studied. Criticizing the focus of comparative musicology on acoustics and tone psychology, Cowell deplored that such an approach would exclude cultural exchange and hybridity: "There is very little music in the world of which one may say with certainty that it is completely indigenous to the region in which it may be found. And when, through integration, does a hybrid form cease to be hybrid? It is hard to say. Opinions differ."²⁵⁸ This eventually led to Cowell's provocative idea that "the single tone with a given pitch is not the basis of musical sound" but that such a basis rather is to be found in the *sliding tone*, represented by a curve.²⁵⁹ In reaction to systematic scale theories in American music theory during the early 1930s,²⁶⁰ this idea was eventually worked out in the 1937 treatise *The Nature of Melody*, in which sliding tones occupy a prominent position because

[Sliding tones] are differentiated so as to express the finest shades of meaning in the cultivated Oriental systems of music. In our vocal music, they are a sort of skeleton in the closet. It is physically impossible for the human voice to proceed from one pitch to another, legato, without sliding. [...] The reason that slides have been banned is doubtless because they were so badly used, and that was because so little was known of their functions. In all vocal music, and on all stringed and other instruments capable of sliding, they are used often according to certain conventions [...].²⁶¹

The idea that it is not fixed tones but rather continuous movements between tones or pitches that act as the basis of music clearly emerged from the close study of Indian, Chinese, and Japanese music traditions, as well as theosophical ideas of a continuous, dynamic, energetic flow of sound as manifest in Cowell's string piano compositions.

As Nancy Yunhwa Rao has demonstrated, expanded sliding structures form the basis of the unpublished score of *Atlantis* (1926) for three vocalists and orchestra. The premiere of the piece, written for a dance performance of the choreographer Doris Humphrey, was canceled, possibly due to the experimental setting of the score.²⁶² The first movement shows a systematic layering

255 Cowell's stays in Berlin (including frequent trips to other places in Europe) covered the periods 1/10/1931–23/12/1931 and 31/7/1932–22/12/1932. The Guggenheim grant was granted for one year but Cowell was allowed to split his stay in Berlin into two halves to be able to teach at the New School in spring semester 1932 (ibid., 189).

256 Ibid., 190.

257 Ibid., 192–193.

258 Cowell, "Hybrid Music" (unpublished Ms.), quoted in Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 197–198.

259 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 198.

260 See Rao, "American Compositional Theory in the 1930s" and Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 129–130.

261 Cowell, *The Nature of Melody*, 76, quoted in Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 130.

262 Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 125.

of glissandi with and without a change of direction (Ex. 2.6). The immediate inspiration for this approach may have been a vocal ensemble using extended vocal techniques that Cowell heard in a concert in Prague in April 1926, probably led by Emil František Burian.²⁶³ *Atlantis* thus demonstrates impressively how principles derived from non-Western practices and the latest techniques of contemporary music may merge into specific and innovative musical structures. Perhaps even more remarkable is Cowell's adoption of the slide principle in his early orchestral score *Some Music*, published as early as 1922. The orchestral structure exemplifies the principle of continuous movement, realized by alternating scalar movements within semi- and whole-tone-clusters of different ranges. The score seems to anticipate certain sound compositions by Iannis Xenakis and Krzysztof Penderecki of the 1950s and 60s, and clearly represents the idea of indistinct, steadily inflected pitches and the theosophical "oneness of sound."

Sliding pitches are used more consistently in works from Cowell's later periods, as in Symphonies 11 to 15 (1953–60). In the works of the 1930s, sliding tone techniques are not dominant; the restricted use of sliding lines for the purpose of word-painting in the song *Rest* (1933) and the secondary role of continuous slides in the third movement of the *Mosaic Quartet* of 1935, where three higher strings provide a background of continuously sliding pitches for the cello's cantilena, do not define sliding tones as core structural elements.²⁶⁴

Cowell's *United Quartet* (String Quartet no. 4) of 1936 marks the composer's first explicit attempt at musical polystylism, flexibly adapting a variety of "the world's music systems," a feature which would become characteristic of Cowell's later style, although usually only one particular tradition per piece is evoked.²⁶⁵ Cowell declared the *United Quartet* "an attempt toward a more universal musical style"²⁶⁶ and a preface to the score explicitly addresses a multicultural listenership across all social classes ("Americans, Europeans, Orientals, or higher primitives; anybody from a coal miner to a bank president").²⁶⁷

263 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 139. It is most likely that Cowell heard Emil František Burian's (1904–1959) Voiceband, which, however, was only officially formed in 1927. Cowell described Burian's practices in 1930 in his article "Vocal Innovators of Europe."

264 See Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage," 126, 136.

265 Among others, the following works by Cowell refer to specific musical traditions: Indonesia: *Ostinato Pianissimo* for percussion ensemble (1934); Ireland: *Celtic Set* for Concert Band (1938); Iran: *Persian Set* for chamber orchestra (1956–57); India: *Pulse* for percussion ensemble (1939), Symphony no. 13 "Madras" (1956–58); Japan: *Ongaku* for orchestra (1957, → II.5.). Besides the *United Quartet*, the explicitly "multi-ethnic" pieces include *Four Assorted Movements* for flute, oboe, clarinet, bass clarinet, bassoon, horn, and piano (ad lib.) (1938) [first movement: *Hoedown*; second movement: *Taxim*; third movement: *Tala*; fourth movement: *Chorale*] and *American Melting Pot* for chamber orchestra (1940).

266 "[...] the United Quartet is an attempt toward a more universal musical style. [...] Primitive music is represented, not by imitating it, nor by taking a specific melody or rhythm from some tribe, but by using a three-tone scale, and exhausting all the different ways the three tones can appear, which is a procedure of some primitive music." (Henry Cowell, note to *String Quartet no. 4, United Quartet*, New York: C. F. Peters, 1966, quoted in Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism*, 109.)

267 "The Quartet should not only be easy to understand, without following any known pathway, but it should be understood equally well by Americans, Europeans, Orientals, or higher primitives; by anybody from a coal miner to a bank president. The main purpose of it, of course, is not in its technique, but in the message, which, of course, is not suitable for expression in words. It may be said that it concerns human and social relationships. The technique is for the purpose of conveying the message to the widely differentiated groups who need to be united in these relationships." (Cowell, "Introduction," quoted in Nicholls, "Henry Cowell's *United Quartet*," 199.)

Example 2.6: Henry Cowell, *Atlantis*, first movement, mm. 1–14

Largo (♩ = 40)
Wail

sopr. *p f pp*

c-alt. *p f pp*

bass *p f pp*

vln. *p*

vln. *p*

vla. *p*

vc. *p*

7 Più mosso

sopr.

c-alt.

b.

vln.

vln.

vla.

vc.

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Timothy Taylor has interpreted this as evidence of Cowell's relativist approach to musical cultures, in tune with Boas's cultural theory (→ II.1).²⁶⁸ However, Cowell here makes a clear distinction between "primitive music" ("represented [...] by using a three-tone scale, and exhausting all the different ways the three tones can appear, which is a procedure of some primitive music"), "Oriental music" ("represented by modes which are constructed as Oriental modes are constructed, without being actual modes used in particular cultures"), and "the modern" ("The modern is represented by the use of unresolved discords, by free intervals in two-part counterpoint, and by the fact that the whole result is something new, – and all that is new is modern!").²⁶⁹ It becomes clear from this distinction that both Cowell's cultural relativism as well as his aesthetic universalism are based on those essentialist concepts he had felt at odds with during his days in the Berlin *Phonogramm-Archiv*. The fourth movement presenting its three simple layers as "principal melody, countermelody plus drone, and percussive accompaniment"²⁷⁰ makes the unspecific ethnic background problematic and tends toward a stereotypical "neo-primitivism." In 1933 Cowell had conceived of this style theoretically in order to set his approach clearly apart from French and American neoclassicism. Characteristically, Cowell here navigates between sweeping generalizations and anti-essentialist arguments:

Now the time has come for a strong new counter-movement, full-blooded and vital. The tendency already exists, and shows signs of steady growth. It reacts against the over-complexity of the earlier modern music but not against experiment; against the sentimentality and pomp of later romantic music but not against feeling; against the supercilious formalism of a return to the particular style of some past century but not against the use of primary musical elements. [...] It is not an attempt to imitate primitive music, but rather to draw on those materials common to the music of all the peoples of the world, to build a new music particularly related to our own century. [...] Many of the customary generalizations can no longer be made in the face of this wider knowledge. There is, of course, no aboriginal music to be found anywhere which corresponds to the common conception of an uncontrolled expression of wild, unbridled, savage feeling. Nor can primitive music be lumped into one group. The music of various tribes is as different as the music of the various cultivated nations. [...]

However there are some general characteristics which nearly all primitive music shares. Most of it is sung to the accompaniment of percussion; melody and rhythm are thus the main elements. Where several different voices sing together they are either in unison or heterophonic, making a free polyphony in which each part is quite independent except that it must come out with the others at the end. Further, nearly all primitive music has rapid rhythmical changes, syncopations, polyrhythms and cross-rhythms. In the melody there may be a wide range of different sorts of pitch curves as well as straight lines of sound. The tones either wobble back and forth or slide up or down – not carelessly, but as a vital part of the musical scheme.²⁷¹

Cowell detailed his perspectives on the relationship between traditional and contemporary music in many further essays and statements that have been scrutinized in the dissertation by Ethan Lechner from 2008. Lechner confirms that Cowell's approach to non-Western mu-

268 Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism*, 106–108.

269 All quotations from Cowell, note to *String Quartet no. 4* (see footnote 266).

270 Nicholls, "Transethnicism and the American Experimental Tradition," 573.

271 Cowell, "Towards Neo-Primitivism," 150–151.

sics was still shaped by an evolutionary concept distinguishing between “primitive cultures” and “civilizations,” and between different stages of “development” achieved in different cultures.²⁷² Notably, this concept did not conceive of Western culture or music as the fulfillment of an evolutionary process because Western music, according to Cowell, particularly lacked rhythmic and melodic refinement. Still, it was substantiated by a positivistic compositional and scholarly concept of music consisting of discrete, analyzable “elements” that might be turned into “resources” for composers. The composer as a quasi-scientific experimenter was free to use and combine these resources into a new universalist model of a “music of many cultures.” Such naïve openness and the straightforward goal of its audience-friendly compositional realization would become increasingly explicit in Cowell’s output from the 1930s on, eventually making him the ideal composer for the American cultural politics of transcultural universalism during the Cold War period (→ II.5).

Shūkichi Mitsukuri and Fumio Hayasaka: Between Modernity and Nationalism

Switching the geographical and sociocultural context to 1920s and 1930s Japan, the differences are obvious. By the early 1930s, Western-oriented musical institutions and musical life in Japan had reached considerable standards, an outcome of roughly sixty years of radical and all-encompassing modernization and Westernization programs since the Meiji restoration in 1868 (→ III.1). Westernization was not only prevalent in *yōgaku*, Western-oriented chamber and orchestral music written by Japanese composers, but also in *hōgaku*, traditional Japanese music. While these two segments of Japanese music were largely isolated from each other until the late 1920s, attempts at convergence arose in the early 1930s, not least in a response to Michio Miyagi’s *Etenraku Variations* with an orchestral arrangement by Hidemaro and Naomaro Konoe, an adaptation of the most famous piece from *gagaku* court music, performed during the enthronement ceremonies of the new Showa emperor in 1928.²⁷³

This rapprochement should also be viewed in the context of an increasingly obvious nationalist tide in Japanese politics, escalating in the occupation of the Manchuria peninsula in 1931. Although composers’ groups of the early 1930s, such as the *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* (Federation of Innovative Composers), founded in Tokyo in 1930, and the *Shin ongaku renmei* (New Music Federation), founded in Sapporo in 1934, did not pursue explicit political agendas, their common objective was to qualitatively change the integration of Japanese musical traditions into contemporary music. As Stefan Menzel has demonstrated, the compositional scene had been monopolized far into the 1920s by Kōsaku Yamada (1885–1963), who, at the age of 29, had returned to Japan in 1914 after four years of study in Berlin (→ III.1).²⁷⁴ Oriented toward Richard Strauss’s style, Yamada wrote the first Japanese opera (*Ochitaru tennyo*, 1913, premiered in 1929), the first Japanese symphony (Symphony in F major “Peace and War,” 1912, premiered in 1914), and the first Japanese symphonic poem (*Kurai to*, 1913; premiered in 1918). Relying on generous funding from the Mitsubishi corporation, Yamada was central in the founding and development of musical institutions, namely the Philharmonic Society Tokyo (founded in 1910), the Japanese Symphony Orchestra (1923), and particularly the New Symphony Orchestra (*Shin kōkyō gakudan*) together with the influential conductor Hidemaro Konoe in 1926. The New Symphony Orchestra was crucial in performing new orchestral works by Japanese composers over

272 Lechner, “Composers as Ethnographers,” 110–176.

273 Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 117–119.

274 Ibid., 104–108.

the decades that followed.²⁷⁵ At the same time, Yamada composed a large number of songs (his total output amounts to over 1,100), the favorite genre of Japanese composers up to the 1940s.²⁷⁶ By the early 1920s, certain topoi of a “Japanese harmony” had developed, particularly in folk song settings by Yamada and other composers such as Kiyomi Fujii (1899–1944), including the prominent use of the half-diminished seventh chord in connection to the *miyakobushi* scale and harmonies based on stacked fourths and fifths, emerging from pentatonic scales, as well as a frequent evocation of French music by Debussy, Ravel, and their contemporaries.²⁷⁷

The *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei*, founded by sixteen young music artists aged between 23 and 34 (eleven composers, four musicians, and one critic²⁷⁸) from differing backgrounds, aimed to reach beyond such conventional limitations, adopting the term *shinkō* (lit. “rising,” “innovative”) which in the late 1920s had replaced *bunmei* (“civilization”) as a guiding principle in Japanese cultural discourse.²⁷⁹ One of the foremost concerns of the group was to establish an “anti-thesis” to the dominant German-style composition of the time, mainly represented by Yamada. In addition, it seems that the association was conceived in opposition to the *Dainihon sakkyokuka kyōkai* (Great Japanese Association of Composers), founded in 1925, in which composers of popular and children’s songs assembled (as elsewhere in the world, popular music reached an initial peak in Japan during the 1920s due to the advent of the recording industry).²⁸⁰ In its beginnings, *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* was associated with the concept of “avant-garde” that was concurrently imported into culture-related discourse, translated as *zen’ei* or transliterated as *avantgyardo*.²⁸¹ Although all composers of the group were oriented toward recent musical developments in Europe, it was only Noboru Ito (1903–1993) who actually employed such features as quartertones and polytonality by the early 1930s; in 1933 he wrote an article entitled “Tomorrow’s Music” on recent European trends, including dodecaphony.²⁸²

Musical innovation was such an important objective of *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* that it was even codified in four guidelines of the association that urged the members to (1) use scales and modes from (Japanese) traditional music, (2) develop tonal systems oriented toward the quartal

275 Ibid., 105.

276 See Gottschewski, “Poesie und Musik,” 380.

277 Pacun, “Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar Yōgaku,” 24–25.

278 Lehtonen, “March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,” 38–39. The founding members were Kuni-hiko Hashimoto (1904–1949), Yuzuru Ike (1902–1990), Gorō Ishii (1909–1990), Noboru Ito (1903–1993), Yasuji Kiyose (1900–1981), Heigorō Komatsu (1897–1953), Kiyoshi Komatsu (1899–1975), Yoritsune Matsudaira (1907–2001), Shūkichi Mitsukuri (1895–1971), Meirō Sugawara (1897–1988), and Naotada Yamamoto (1904–1965); the critic Kamesuke Shioiri (1900–1938); the pianists Hakujiro Kondō (1900–1932) and Kōkichi Oida (1902–1964); the cellist and conductor Hideo Saitō (1902–1974); and the cellist Fumio Suzuki (1900–1945). “The division into composers and performers was, however, originally not that strict; although listed as musicians here, Oida, Saitō, and Suzuki composed some works at the early stages of their careers. And vice versa: practically all composers were also musicians or conductors.” (Ibid., 39.)

279 Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 66–73, 79–82.

280 Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 115–116.

281 Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 88.

282 Ibid., 78. In 1934, Noboru Ito and Gorō Ishii founded the *Shin ongaku ha* (New Music Group), evidently because the support for their “avant-gardist” ideas within *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* was limited. Another group founded during that period was *Prometeo*, started in 1937 by Shirō Fukai (1907–1959, like Ito a student of Meiro Sugawara), focusing on the reception of recent European music, mainly French neoclassicism. Fukai criticized nationalist tendencies in Japan and argued that “Japanese composers should immerse themselves completely and unreservedly in the European tradition” (ibid., 79).

harmonies of the mouth organ (*shō*) in *gagaku*, (3) develop heterophonic textures inspired by the traditional chamber music genres *sankyoku* and *jiuta*, and (4) make creative use of instrumental “colors.”²⁸³ Apart from the remarkable fact that a heterogeneous group of composers was willing to agree on such a detailed compositional program,²⁸⁴ the four guidelines can also be read as a criticism of the limited means deployed in the music of established composers like Yamada, Kōsuke Komatsu (1884–1966), and Shinpei Nakayama (1887–1952) – although Yamada soon shared the group’s aims and became a member in 1932.²⁸⁵ It is likely that Shūkichi Mitsukuri (1895–1971), as the oldest founding member, had a considerable influence on formulating these guidelines; his works of the same period, in particular his song cycle *Bashō kikoshū* from 1930/31, can be considered a compositional exemplification of most of these guidelines (see below).²⁸⁶

In 1935 the society renamed itself *Nihon gendai sakkyokuka renmei* (Federation of Contemporary Japanese Composers) and expanded considerably; thanks to the efforts of Mitsukuri and Saburō Moroi (1903–1977), it joined the International Society for Contemporary Music in the same year,²⁸⁷ representing Japan at the ISCM festivals in 1937 in Paris and in 1939 in Warsaw and Krakow. This considerably increased international awareness of composers from Japan.²⁸⁸

While the ISCM membership made Japanese composers part of an international community, the federation’s invitation of international composers to Japan before 1935 was arguably even more important for stylistic developments within Japan: while Alexandre Tansman’s (1897–1986) visit to Japan in March 1933 probably only had a limited effect (as on the young Yoritsune Matsudaira, 1907–2001, who obviously adopted the principle of tritone-related harmonies from Tansman²⁸⁹), the impact of Alexander Tcherepnin’s (1899–1977) frequent visits in the mid-1930s (1934/35) was substantial and long-lasting, like his impact in China during the same period (→ III.1). Akira Ifukube (1914–2006) and Yasuji Kiyose (1900–1981) took composition lessons with Tcherepnin, who motivated them to remain independent from European music and supported their “moderately” modernizing approach toward folkloristic material. In 1935 Tcherepnin an-

283 Herd, “The Cultural Politics of Japan’s Modern Music,” 44.

284 Indeed, recent research has doubted that these guidelines were actually agreed upon by all members (Lehtonen, “March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,” 40).

285 Ibid., 38.

286 In 1934 the federation changed its name to *Kindai Nippon sakkyokuka renmei* (Modern Composers’ Federation of Japan) as the term *shinkō* had come to be associated with communist activities that were increasingly subject to governmental repressions (ibid., 42). In 1935 the federation declared its objective to “work together to promote the progress of tomorrow’s music.” (Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 82.)

287 Lehtonen, “March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,” 42.

288 Ibid. and Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 82. In November 1940, all music societies were forced to unite in the Alliance to Promote the New Order in the Musical World (*Gakudanshintaisei sokushin dōmei*), replaced in 1941 by the Association for Japanese Music Culture (*Nihon ongaku bunka kyōkai*), operating until the end of the war (Lehtonen, “March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,” 43). After the war, the ISCM-branch of Japan was re-founded in 1946 as Japan Society for Contemporary Music (JSCM; *Nihon gendai ongaku kyōkai*) with Mitsukuri assuming the position of its first chair (ibid.). Until its enforced dissolution in 1940 the federation had organized 39 concerts and several radio broadcasts, mostly featuring works by the federation’s members, the number of which by 1939 had reached its peak with 116 composers (ibid., 42), but also at least once introducing new works by German composers (ibid., 40–41). The foundation of the new journal *Ongaku hyōron* (Music Review) in 1934 by Mitsukuri and other members also contributed to an increasing awareness of the group in Japanese musical life (ibid., 41). The founders of this journal apart from Mitsukuri were Heigorō Komatsu, Kiyoshi Komatsu, Saburō Moroi, Masao Ōki (1901–1971), Naotada Yamamoto, and Ginji Yamane (1906–1982) (ibid., 71).

289 Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 83.

nounced a composition prize and works by Ifukube and Matsudaira were selected.²⁹⁰ Tcherepnin published the winning scores in his own publishing series and, back in Europe, introduced works by young Japanese and Chinese composers in his piano recitals.²⁹¹

Both composers' federations adopted optimistic language at their outset. In the context of the foundation of the *Shin ongaku renmei* (New Music Federation) in 1934 in remote Sapporo, Fumio Hayasaka said: "Absolutely the only path that is open to us younger composers is to combine new methods and techniques with the venerable heritage of our traditional culture."²⁹² Aged 20, Hayasaka (1914–55) and his colleague Akira Ifukube had founded the federation two years after meeting in Sapporo, which was rather isolated from Tokyo-centered Japanese musical life during that period. Notwithstanding, the two young composers and the music critic Atsushi Miura (1913–1997), who had already been corresponding with European and American musicians and composers for about two years, started their activities.²⁹³ On 30 September 1934, they staged a one-day festival under the French name *Le festival de musique contemporaine* in Sapporo's Imai Memorial Hall.²⁹⁴ The festival featured Japanese premieres of works by Satie, Ravel, Stravinsky, de Falla, Casella, Erwin Schulhoff, and other European composers, including a version of de Falla's ballet music *El amor brujo* (1915/16) arranged for sextet by Hayasaka and Ifukube. The group clearly also regarded itself as an opposition (*nozai*) to Tokyo's academic establishment.²⁹⁵ This position was expressed not least in the group's dedicated internationalism and the composers' more rigorous and direct approach toward Japanese traditional and folk musics. Ifukube's orchestral piece *Japanese Rhapsody* (*Nihon kyōshi kyoku*) from 1935, awarded the Tcherepnin Prize of the same year, became the foremost model of a neo-folklorist style dubbed *kokumin-shikyoku* (national tone poems) by 1938²⁹⁶ – adopting the national style of European composers around 1900 and painting an idealized picture of a pre-Westernized rural Japan. However, Hayasaka's more refined approach to the court music genre *tōgaku*, based on detailed structural modeling as realized in his 1937 orchestral work *Ancient Dance* (*Kodai no bukyoku*), was probably closer to the approach originally envisaged by Mitsukuri and his colleagues in 1930, when they formulated the guidelines for the *Shinkō sakkyōkuka renmei*.

Mitsukuri and Hayasaka were both participants in the controversial discussion on "Japanese harmony" (*Nihonteki waseiron*) that spanned the entire 1930s and continued into the 1940s.

290 First prize: Ifukube, *Japanese Rhapsody* (*Nihon kyōshi kyoku*) for orchestra (1935); second prize: Matsudaira, *Pastorale* (1935) for orchestra; the jury of the competition in Paris included Jacques Ibert, Albert Roussel, Arthur Honegger, Alexandre Tansman, Tibor Harsányi, Pierre-Octave Ferroud, Henri Gil-Marchex, and Henri Prunières (Homenick, "Biography," III). In Shanghai, where he lived during the period 1934–37 as an advisor of the Chinese-Japanese administration, Tcherepnin had also organized a competition in 1934, in which the piano piece *Buffalo Boy's Flute* by He Luting won the first prize (→ III.1). During a concert tour with the Vienna Philharmonic in 1937, its conductor Felix Weingartner (1863–1942) also awarded a composition prize; the prize winners in 1939 were Mitsukuri (first prize for *Sinfonietta* [*Shōkōkyōkyoku*], 1934), Fumio Hayasaka (*Ancient Dance*, 1937), and Masao Oki (*Yoru no meisō* [Evening Meditation]) (Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 92–93). According to Lehtonen ("March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation," 71), Mitsukuri's *Sinfonietta* was also awarded the prize of the *Ongaku konkūuru* (Music Competition) in 1934; this competition had been established in 1932.

291 Lehtonen, "March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation," 42, 72, 98.

292 Quoted in Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 81 (no original source provided).

293 Ibid., 79–81.

294 Homenick, "Biography."

295 Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 116.

296 Ibid., 144–163 (here Menzel also provides close readings of Ifukube's and Hayasaka's folkloristic symphonic poems).

In 1929 and 1930, Mitsukuri first introduced a system of symmetrically ordered fifths, developed from Japanese scales and grounded in Hugo Riemann's dualism. The system was explicated again in some detail in an article in three languages (Japanese, French, German) in 1934, thereby addressing an international readership.²⁹⁷ In this system, the arrangement of fifths, a model of *gagaku* tuning and chord-building, results in two different six- (or seven-)note scales, one ascending (positive) and one descending (negative), which are largely identical to the Japanese *ryo*- and *ritsu*-scales of the *gagaku* system (positive: A-B-C♯-[D♯]-E-F♯-G♯-[A]; negative: E-D-C♭-[B♭]-A-G-F♭-[E]).²⁹⁸ Mitsukuri highlights the option to switch between the two systems that might be interconnected by either F♯ and F♭ or B♭ and B♭. Assuming a Pythagorean tuning system, Mitsukuri argues that in Japanese music the major second would be considered more consonant than the (major or minor) thirds. In a system based on A, for example, the trichord A-B-E should be considered consonant.²⁹⁹ Also, the tritone should be applied consistently, as it occurs in both basic scales.³⁰⁰ Mitsukuri's song cycle *Bashō kikōshū* (Bashō's Travelogue) after ten *haiku* by Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694) from 1930/31 for voice and piano (arranged for voice and chamber orchestra in 1937) exemplifies the theory's potential. Here, minor and major seconds significantly enrich the harmonic language based on fourths and fifths.³⁰¹ Indeed, seconds here repeatedly seem to have the status of resolution sonorities.³⁰²

Following Lasse Lehtonen's analysis of this cycle, we can see that Mitsukuri did not apply his system mechanically. Indeed, it seems that he took the basic idea of switching between the pitches F♯ and F♭ as well as between B♭ and B♭ as a starting point for a rather free alteration of the basic modes; moreover, the frequent switching between related modes creates a constant harmonic flux. Song no. 2 "Uma ni nete" (I slept on my horse; Ex. 2.7)³⁰³ clearly establishes E as a pitch center throughout (it acts as the root in all measures except for 3 and 6–7 – built on A – and measure 9 – built on D – which here can be interpreted as a cadential major second below the tonic: E-D-E). The pitch content of the first three measures is E-F-A-B-D(-E), a five-note variant of the *miyakobushi* scale, which cannot be derived from Mitsukuri's modal system. The mode E-negative would be E-F-G-A-B♭-C-D, so G and C are missing entirely and B♭ is raised to B♭, resulting in a combination of a *miyakobushi*-trichord (E-F-A) and a *min'yo*-trichord (B-D-E).³⁰⁴ Measures 4 and 5.1 now replace the B♭ by B♭, resulting in a full five-note *miyakobushi*-scale (E-F-A- B♭-D-[E]). In measure 5.2 the B♭ again replaces B♭ and in the next measure the F♯ is raised to F♯, resulting in a simple tetrachord in measures 6–7: A-B-E-F♯ which could be interpreted as a subset of the mode A-positive (the dualist relative of E-negative) in Mitsukuri's

297 Mitsukuri, "Über japanische Harmonie."

298 Ibid., 2.

299 Lehtonen, "March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation," 74.

300 See ibid., 75.

301 This cycle has received considerable attention in the literature; see Miyuki, "Basho kikoshu to Mitsukuri Shūkichi," Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 68–70, Herd, "The Cultural Politics of Japan's Modern Music," 50–51, Pacun, "Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar Yōgaku," 28–31, and Lehtonen, "March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation," 108–119.

302 Corresponding sonorities in Japanese *koto* music had often been reduced to single notes in European arrangements of Japanese music around 1900 (see Revers, *Das Fremde und das Vertraute*, 65, 78, 85).

303 *Uma ni nete* / *Zanmu tsuki tōshi* / *Cha no kemuri*; I slept on my horse / lingering dream – the moon far away / steam from tea (translation after Lehtonen, "March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation," 109).

304 See Komoda and Nogawa, "Theory and Notation in Japan" for the theory of trichords and tetrachords in Japanese music theory, developed by Fumio Koizumi.

system. In measures 8–10 the original pitch content E-F-A-B-D-(E) is restored, focusing on the major second D-E (both as a “leading tone” in the bass and in creating tension between the final melody pitches in the voice (D5) and the piano (E5), as well as at the end of the concluding piano arpeggio). In general, the harmonic structure of this song suggests that Mitsukuri was concerned with deploying alterations to the standard *miyakobushi* scale rather than the consistent application of his own system.³⁰⁵

The situation is considerably more complex in no. 6 “Shizukasa ya” (The stillness; Ex. 2.8),³⁰⁶ a song that Mitsukuri claimed not to be able to understand fully himself.³⁰⁷ A continuous minor second ostinato in the right hand of the piano renders the chirping of cicadas, evoked in the final part of the *haiku*. This ostinato clearly alludes to the E negative scale (or varied *miyakobushi*) used in no. 2 and other songs of the cycle. Despite such an allusion, the left hand in measures 2–3 brings pitches E-F♯-A-B♭-B♭-C-D♭, thus expanding and altering the E negative scale chromatically, as had already occurred in nos. 3 and 5. Then E is replaced by E♭ in measure 4, when the voice enters, and the passage starting in measure 5 clearly establishes F as a recurring pitch center in the bass. Later A♭ replaces A♯ (m. 6) and G♭ (m. 7) appears, temporarily raised to G♯ (m. 9) but returning to G♭ later (m. 10); thus the reference scale for this passage appears to be “F-negative” F-G♭-A♭-B♭-C-D♭-E♭-(F) (with the fifth scale degree C♭ raised to C♯, analogous to no. 2). We can thus understand this song as a scalar extension of the two ostinato pitches E and F: while the first melodic segment in the piano (mm. 2–3) still appears to establish an E tonic, the remaining part of the song establishes the F center.³⁰⁸ The centrality of the pitch F is even more apparent in the adaptation of this song in the second movement of Mitsukuri’s Sonata for Violin and Piano from 1935, where the violin’s melodic line always returns to F (or F-C) toward the end of the phrases.

Mitsukuri had to defend his system and an originary Japanese approach to harmony in general against Klaus Pringsheim (1883–1972), who taught from 1931 to 1937 at the Tokyo Music School and demanded of his students a “submission to the fundamental law of our functional harmony” and to the “strict regulation of imitative-contrapuntal structure.”³⁰⁹ In this debate, Mitsukuri pointed to a critique of Pringsheim’s arguments that had been raised by Shōhei Tanaka (1862–1945), a former student of Hermann von Helmholtz and a leading musicologist in Japan during the 1930s. Tanaka’s 1940 treatise *Nihon wasei no kiso* (Foundations of Japanese Harmony) proposed a group of 70 sonorities that were considered adequate for Japanese harmony, based on two heptatonic scales, stacked thirds, and the principle of just intonation.³¹⁰

305 Lehtonen’s analysis (following the composer’s own account) seems too theoretical in assuming three different modes in five different sections (“March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation,” 108–112). Particularly the interpretation of measures 4–5.1 as A negative seems hardly to make sense, considering that E is clearly established as a tonic in the bass here, as in measures 1–2.

306 *Shizukasa ya / iwa ni shimiuru / semi no koe* / The stillness / seeping into the rocks / cicadas’ screech (translation after *ibid.*, 116).

307 See *ibid.*

308 My analysis here again differs from that of Lehtonen, who interprets measures 2–9 as based on C negative (*ibid.*, 116–118).

309 Quoted in Suchy “Deutschsprachige Musiker in Japan vor 1945,” 84, 131 (“Unterwerfung unter das Grundgesetz unserer funktionellen Harmonie”; “strikte Regulativ der imitatorisch-kontrapunktischen Satzweise”). See also *ibid.*, 84–90 and Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 41–43.

310 Tanaka, *Nihon wasei no kiso*; see Service, “Harmony Outside the Iron Cage.”

Example 2.7: Shūkichi Mitsukuri, *Bashō kikōshū* (1930/31), no. 2: “Uma ni nete” (I slept on my horse)

♩ = 55

mp

u - ma ni

3

ne - te za - ni - mu

mp

5

tsu - - - ki to - - - shi

p

8

mp cha no ke - mu - ri *dim.*

Example 2.8: Shūkichi Mitsukuri, *Bashō kikōshū* (1930/31), no. 6: “Shizukasa ya” (The stillness)

♩ = 60

4 *p* *p* *mp*

shi - zu - ka - sa ya i - wa ni

7 *pp* *p*

shi - mi - i - ru se - mi no ko - e

10 *pp* *ppp*

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Such a systematic construction of Japanese harmony sparked criticism from Hayasaka who refuted a number of the sonorities introduced by Tanaka in an article from 1941 and in his 1942 treatise *Nihonteki ongakuron* (Treatise of Japanese Music). Hayasaka's complaint rested on Tanaka's reliance on stacked thirds, and in turn appended a number of Tanaka's chords by adding second- and fourth-intervals as well as excluding several chords entirely from the system of "Japanese harmony."³¹¹

Hayasaka's 17 short *Piano Pieces* (*Piano shōhin shū*, 1941) demonstrate this "modernist" approach to Japanese harmony while remaining indebted to traditional scalar and melodic structures³¹² – an approach which provided the point of departure for the young Tōru Takemitsu after 1945, who considered Hayasaka his most important mentor. No. 11 from this cycle (Ex. 2.9) clearly demonstrates what can be described as the main feature of Hayasaka's "corrections" of Tanaka's chord progressions: he always prolongs pitches of the first chord into the second "resolution" chord, resulting in major seconds (in few cases also minor seconds) and fourths. In the piano piece the pitch content is slowly expanded from E \flat -F-B \flat in measures 1 to 7 first by adding C \flat and A \flat , clearly establishing E \flat (mostly combined with the simultaneous upper-second F) as a pitch center of a *ritsu*-type scale without a third scale degree (E \flat -F-A \flat -B \flat -C \flat). From measure 17 alterations are introduced, namely E \sharp and B \sharp as well as G \flat and F \flat (mm. 20–21), resulting in dissonant sonorities like E \sharp -A \flat -E \flat (mm. 17–21) that can be understood as "verticalizations" of the *miyakobushi* trichord E \flat -F \flat (E)-A \flat which is concurrently introduced in the bass line. A similar approach is applied to the *miyakobushi* tetrachord on B \flat during the next section (mm. 22–27), resulting in a transposition of the dissonant sonority to C \flat -F-B \flat . The remaining two sections restabilize the simple modal situation of the beginning, the pitch content is restricted to E \flat -F-A \flat -B \flat -C \flat but now dissonant chords are added (mm. 28–31: E \flat -F-C \flat -E \flat ; mm. 34–35 C \flat -E \flat -F-B \flat) that again are verticalizations of the mode's pitch content. The minor second B \flat -C \flat in the penultimate measure, resolving into B \flat in the very last measure, makes this principle of simultaneous modal pitches evident.

The intimate writing style of Hayasaka's *Piano Pieces* marks a first step into the composer's "inner emigration" during the war years. The most impressive document of this period is the cycle *Four Unaccompanied Songs to Poems by Haruo* (*Haruo no shi ni yoru yottsu no mubansō kakyoku*) for solo voice, composed in 1943/44 on poems by Haruo Satō (1892–1964) and alluding to ancient unaccompanied vocal music genres of the court music *gagaku* such as *rōei*. Although no sliding by glissando is indicated, the constantly used fast figures result in slide- or portamento-like vocal articulations. Again, a mode-based writing with continuously altered scale degrees is evident. The first song (Ex. 2.10), evoking the unique singing of the Japanese Bush Warbler (*uguisu*), a bird repeatedly described in classical Japanese poetry of the *Man'yōshū* (compiled c. 759), is based on B with the second, fifth, and sixth scale degrees repeatedly switching between two variants (C/C \sharp , F/F \sharp , G/G \sharp). Hayasaka's and Mitsukuri's techniques of harmonic writing are therefore much closer related than one might expect on first hearing.

Wartime Japanese nationalism, as David Pacun has demonstrated, influenced the discussions on "Japanese harmony" in multiple ways, turning the debates on harmonic details into "ideo-

311 Hayasaka, "Tanaka hakushi no Nihon wasei no kiso ni oite no shiken," Hayasaka, *Nihonteki ongakuron*; see Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 69–72, 87.

312 See Pacun, "Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar *Yōgaku*," 33–36.

Example 2.10: Fumio Hayasaka, **Four Unaccompanied Songs to Poems by Haruo** (Haruo no shi ni yoru yottsu no mubansō kakyoku) (1943/44), No. 1: “Uguisu”

Andante *mp* *mf*

Ki-mi o mi nu

mp

hi no u-gu-i su u-gu-i su

f *mf* *mp*

u-mi chi-ka-ki ya-do no u-gu-i su

mf *dim.* *p* *mf* *pp* *rit.* *a tempo* *mf*

u-gu-i su a-mi no

f

o to ni ma-ji-ri-na-ku yo a-mi no o-to ni ma

cresc. *ff*

ji-ri na ku yo

p *mf* *dim.* *p*

u-gu-i su hi-ne-mo-su ki-ku yo u-gu-i su

pp *mf* *mp* *mf* *p* *port.*

hi-ne-mo-su ki-ku yo u-gu-i su u-gu-i su u-gu-i su

mf *p* *mp* *mf*

u-gu-i su u-gu-i su u-gu-i su u-gu-i su u-gu-

mp *Lento* *p* *pp*

i su u-gu-i su u-gu-i su

logical hair splitting.”³¹³ Within a few years’ time, Mitsukuri’s or Hayasaka’s refined harmonic elaborations were turned into tools of propaganda, culminating at the conference “Overcoming Modernity” in July 1942 (→ I.2, *Reflexive Globalization*). At the same time, Delage turned away from the enthusiasm of his earlier periods and into “inner emigration” during the war, allegedly – similarly to Anton Webern – sympathizing with the German Nazi occupiers.³¹⁴

Delage, Cowell, Mitsukuri, and Hayasaka considerably invigorated the internationalization and globalization of music in their respective countries of France, the United States, and Japan. A personal encounter between these composers is not documented. Delage and Cowell may have met at a private concert that Cowell gave in Paris in 1923 and for which Béla Bartók allegedly had assembled Ravel, de Falla, Honegger, Milhaud, Prunières, and Roussel as an exclusive audience.³¹⁵ Cowell and Mitsukuri may have crossed paths at an ISCM festival in the postwar period or during Cowell’s stays in Japan in 1955 and 1961 (→ II.5). The focus of my argument, of course, has not been the personal interaction or influences between these composers but the question of how their works may exemplify the “non-simultaneity of the simultaneous” in global music history.

Starting by summarizing the commonalities, we can highlight that all four composers were proactive founding members of composers’ societies that were conceived in direct opposition to dominant conservative composers of older generations. These groups thus all reflected critically on a hierarchical, paternalistic social system in the arts with strong nationalist tendencies and showed the necessity for the younger generation to establish itself by setting up their own institutional and artistic infrastructure: musicians, ensembles, concert halls, organization, and funding (in all societies, the founding composers also frequently acted as performers and, of course, as organizers, usually without receiving any payment). Naturally, this process had quite different implications in 1909 Paris, in 1924 California, in 1930 Tokyo, and in 1934 Sapporo.

While internationalism was employed in all these cases as a main counterdiscourse against the aesthetics of the dominating repertoire in concert life and compositional production, tropes of national style were not at all absent from the group’s discourses. In 1930s Japan, a refined approach toward Japanese music was indeed the precondition for an emancipation from six decades of massive European influence on musical production, resulting in a type of modernity-related cultural confusion that had been described as early as 1912 as “complicated and intricate” (*fukuzatsu hansa*) by the writer Sakutarō Hagiwara (1886–1942).³¹⁶ Similar to pre-World-War-I nationalism in France and the Great Depression in the United States during the early 1930s, the increasingly fierce political nationalism in Japan since the late 1930s inevitably puts the Japanese composers’ activities during that period in a politically charged context. Moreover, the Parisian, Californian, and Tokyo societies had lost their vanguard status after a few years and turned into nationwide organizations, necessarily losing the initial rigor of their aesthetic programs. We can therefore say that the institutional context in which these four composers operated, and which was evidently crucial for the development of their aesthetic ideas, was deeply shaped and influenced by local politics and society. The world wars that followed interrupted the optimistic internationalism of the enthusiastic early periods.

As discussed earlier (→ II.1), the model of a “non-simultaneity of the simultaneous” might be expanded in two directions, either highlighting the entanglement of aesthetic ideas in a

313 Pacun, “Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar *Yōgaku*,” 26.

314 Gordon, “Discovering Maurice Delage,” 298–299.

315 Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 122.

316 Menzel, *Hōgaku*, 47–49.

global context, thus suggesting an “entangled history,” or rather their distinction and independence, thus suggesting Eisenstadt’s “multiple modernities.” Tobias Janz has recently discussed the option of multiple musical modernities as a music-historiographical model at length, choosing Japan as a case study.³¹⁷ He outlines the difficulty of reconciling, on the one hand the close interaction between Japanese and Western music since the Meiji era and, on the other, the particular situation and “uniqueness” of Japanese music history, with its *yōgaku-hōgaku* separation and interaction. Adopting a skeptical position toward Japanese peculiarity such as that of philosopher Masao Maruyama (→ III.4), Janz arrives at the careful conclusion that “the imagination of an autochthonous, incommensurable musical culture of Japan gave way to a polyphony of completely different interests in Japanese musical modernity,”³¹⁸ demanding a sensitive historiographical framework that can account for cultural difference without negating the highly entangled manner in which Western and Japanese modernities are cross-related. It seems therefore, that the “entangled history” model is ultimately a more useful approach, especially for a conclusion to the materials presented in this chapter: that Delage and Mitsukuri chose to set traditional Japanese poems (*haikai* resp. *haiku*) in extremely short pieces, with a harmony based on drone and ostinato structures and multiply chromaticized modes, might be considered a particularly evident case of entanglement. Of course, these two works have to be considered in broader contexts, such as the anti-Romanticist turn to aphoristic forms around 1910 shared by composers worldwide.³¹⁹ More specifically, both Delage and Mitsukuri were indebted to Debussy’s and Ravel’s harmonic innovations as well as their experiences of Japanese *hōgaku*, aiming to reach beyond orientalist clichés. Despite such similarities, a quasi-ethnographical approach as documented in Delage’s Indian-inspired works clearly contrasts with Cowell’s attempt in the *United Quartet* to extract commonalities from diverse “primitive musics,” necessarily eradicating distinguishing features of individual traditions. Still, these approaches are “entangled” by their intention, also shared by Mitsukuri and Hayasaka, to reconceive non-Western musics as a counterdiscourse to a European Classical-Romantic tradition that seemed to provide inappropriate tools for responding to the social and aesthetic problems of music-making in a globalizing modernity.

In the works of these four composers, we can therefore find surprising convergences that hint at the tentative beginnings of a transnational musical modernity. But the divergences, which can be attributed primarily to the institutional, social, and political contexts of their work, make it necessary to conclude that it was impossible for this transnational musical modernity to blossom and to develop before 1945. As the following chapter will demonstrate, even after 1945, institutional and political restrictions considerably obstructed balanced forms of transnational music-aesthetic exchange.

317 Janz, “Multiple Musical Modernities?”

318 Ibid., 301.

319 See Obert, *Musikalische Kürze*.