Perspectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

formance practice, cross-connections, affinities, or opposites of the different traditional and modern versions and their musical meaning can be worked out.

Table 3.3: ***Molihua****, overview of sources, transcriptions, and editions*

Europe	China
	song text of the melody *Shuang die cui* (Liu Xiaozu, *Ci Luan*, woodcut print 1566); melody not presented
	Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) The titles *Xianhua* and *Molihua* are widespread, also occasionally referred to as *Zhang xi Ying-Ying* (Zhang Sheng plays with Ying-Ying). The text refers to the classic novel *The West Chamber* (*Xi Xiang Ji*; Wang Shifu, around 1300) and the love story between Zhang Sheng and Cui Ying-Ying described therein.
	song text in the libretto collection *Zhui bai qiu* (1771, published in the reign of the emperor Qianlong, 1736–95), Vol. 6, chapter *Huagu*, edited by Wang Xieru and Qian Decang
Karl Kambra, *Two Chinese Songs*, London 1795 (*Moo-Lee-Chwa*) Eyles Irwin, "Chinese Musick," London 1797 (*Tsin Fa*)	
John Barrow, *Travels in China*, London 1804 (*Moo-Lee-Hwa*) Johann Christian Hüttner, *Johann Barrow's Reise nach China*, Vol. 1, Weimar 1804 (*Mu-Li-Chwa*)	
	Gongchepu (Chinese character score) in the collection *Xiao hui ji*, 1821 (1838), edited by Xiao Liu
August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. 1 (1862, [2]1882, [3]1887, *Tsin-fa* = Irwin 1797)	
Jules A. van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, Shanghai 1884 (*Xianhua* [*The fresh beautiful flower*])	
Edoardo Fassini-Camossi, music box, 1920	
Giacomo Puccini, *Turandot*, 1920–24	
	1942 recording of the Jiangsu folk sung by He Fang in the region Liuhe (Jiangsu province)
	1957 altered text, setting for female choir
	1959 newly altered text, documented in the program of the Seventh World Festival of the Youth and Students in Vienna
	Modern transcriptions of the Jiangsu folk song: 1980, 1982, 1993, 1998, 2002; versions of the song in Heilongjiang, Liaoning, Gansu, Shandong, Beijing, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, Gansu, Ningxia, Sichuan, Hebei, Fujian, Guangxi
	Tan Dun, *Symphony 1997* (1997)
	Fish Leong, *Molihua* (Album *Wings of Love*, 2004)

The melody is first documented in Chinese in 1821 in a *gongche* solmization notation[138] (Ex. 3.8g), although the text's origins, at least, possibly go back to the year 1566 (the substance mentioned in the text even refers back to the novel *The West Chamber*, which was written during the Yuan Dynasty around 1300).[139] Today, versions of this tune are to be found in at least thirteen Chinese provinces and in Tibet, some of which differ greatly from one another and often reveal similarities only in the texts and titles.[140] Within the category of *xiaodiao* (little melodies), the song belongs to the *shidiao* (free-[time] melodies), some of which are also performed by (semi-) professional musicians. These melodies are predominantly performed in urban centers and public spaces, often with instrumental accompaniment. The most famous version comes from the southern central Chinese province of Jiangsu and is documented in various modern transcriptions and recordings[141] (Ex. 3.8h). This version can be clearly traced to the earliest written source of 1821. Of course, the transcription of the melody in the five-line system (and likewise in the Chinese cipher notation *jianzipu*) does not capture the crucial blurring in intonation, the fine vibrato, and inflections, as well as the heterophonic independence of the voice and instruments. These aspects of the music are associated with *sizhuyue* (silk and bamboo music), a main ensemble type of *Jiangsu* that is also used for the accompaniment of folk songs.[142]

Now, this intra-Chinese context is overlaid with an intercultural one. As part of the (ultimately unsuccessful) mission of the English diplomat Lord George Macartney to China in 1793 and 1794[143] a melody entitled *Molihua* (spelled as *Moo-Lee-Hwa* and *Mu-Li-Chwa*) was recorded by the German teacher and writer Johann Christian Hüttner.[144] Later, Hüttner acted as an important source of information for Goethe in London, where he was in contact with, among others, the renowned music historian Charles Burney.[145] Although Hüttner does not mention

138 This source is reproduced in Huang, "Zhongguo minge 'Molihua' de xizhuang yu donggui," 9. Qiao, *Zhongguo jingdian zhinan*, Vol. 1, 102 dates this source to 1838.

139 See Jiang, *Hanzu minge gailun*, 235–238 and Feng, *Zhongguo tongzong minge*, 18–30.

140 In an over 400-page monographic study, Chang Chi-Kuang meticulously researches the genealogy of the melody and systematically compares a variety of text and melody variants (Chang, *Minge "Molihua" yanjiu*). The standard work *Zhongguo minjian gequ jicheng* (Anthology of Chinese Folk Songs) lists variants of the tune in the provinces of Fujian, Gansu, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Hubei, Liaoning, Shaanxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Sichuan, in the autonomous regions of Guangxi and Ningxia, and in Beijing. See also Feng, *Zhongguo tongzong minge*.

141 Identical transcriptions of the Jiangsu folk song can be found in, among others, *Zhongguo minjian gequ jicheng* (Anthology of Chinese Folk Songs), Vol. *Jiangsu*, part 2, 726–727, Jiang, *Hanzu minge gailun*, 236, Qiao, *Zhongguo jingdian minge jianshang zhinan*, Vol. 1, 101, as well as in Schaffrath, *Einhundert chinesische Volkslieder*, 112–113.

142 A well-grounded introduction to *sizhuyue* is Witzleben, *"Silk and Bamboo" Music in Shanghai*. The interpretation of *Molihua* by Lu Qingshuang can be heard at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Yn3nxeGn6c. On the playlist http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLA43962352597C895 there are twelve more recordings of the song, including, in addition to several interpretations of the tune from Jiangsu, the versions from Hebei, Shaanxi, and from the Manchurian northeast of China, but mostly in much less "authentic" arrangements.

143 See among others Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 78–82.

144 According to Barrow, the song was transcribed from the song of a musician accompanied on some kind of guitar (possibly a *sanxian* or a *pipa*; Barrow, *John Barrow's Travels in China*, 315). Unfortunately, neither Barrow nor Hüttner provide information on where they heard this tune while traveling between Beijing and Canton (Guangzhou).

145 See Proescholdt, "Johann Christian Hüttner." Hüttner was one of only a few Germans to participate in Macartney's diplomatic mission. He was the teacher of the son of Macartney's deputy George Leonhard Staunton. Hüttner subsequently became a journalist and translator in London, where he also advised Charles Burney on a dictionary entry on Chinese music (see Burney, "Chinese Music").

the melody in the very revealing paragraph on Chinese music of his travelogue *Nachricht von der Britischen Gesandtschaftsreise nach China 1792–94*, which appeared in 1797,[146] his transcription had already been published in London in 1795 together with the Chinese rowing song *Higho high-hau* by the Saxon composer Karl Kambra, both in its supposedly "original" form (Ex. 3.8a) and in an arrangement for piano, where the melody is complemented by major-minor tonal harmonies. The edition advances the following remarkable explanation:

> The following Chinese Songs were brought to England by a Gentleman of the late Embassy to China, who took them down upon the Spot. Their Originality, therefore, may be depended on, and Mr. KAMBRA, in offering them to the Public, with the addition of a Bass, flatters himself to have rendered them more agreeable to the English Ear.[147]

In 1804, John Barrow, secretary to Lord Macartney during the legate mission to China, published his *Travels in China* in London, which Hüttner translated and published in German the same year. Barrow reproduces a transcription of *Molihua* (Ex. 3.8b) that differs markedly in some details from Kambra's version. Barrow justifies his version – in reference to Kambra's piano writing – with the astonishing reasoning that with the addition of an accompaniment, the music "ceases to be a specimen of the plain melody of China."[148] A version slightly different from Barrow's, in turn, is reproduced in the first volume of August Wilhelm Ambros's *Geschichte der Musik* in 1862 (Ex. 3.8c), again with a tonal harmonization (in D minor); without making reference to his source, Ambros reproduces a version of the melody handed down by Eyles Irwin in 1797.[149] An-

146 Hüttner, *Nachricht von der Britischen Gesandtschaftsreise nach China 1792–94*, 179–183.

147 Karl Kambra, *Two Original Chinese Songs, Moo-Lee-Chwa & Higho Highau, for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord*, London 1795, reprinted in Harrison, *Time, Place, and Music*, 213–219: 213. The same volume published the Chinese rowing song *Higho highau* and was reprinted in 1796 in the January issue of the Weimar *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* with a commentary by Hüttner: Johann Christian Hüttner, "Ein Ruderliedchen aus China mit Melodie." *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 11, no. 1 (1796), 36–37. Hüttner's commentary in the *Journal* is reprinted in Harrison, *Time, Place and Music*, 188–189.

148 Barrow, *John Barrow's Travels in China*, 315. In his translation of Barrow's text, Hüttner contradicts Barrow in a footnote with this assessment: "But if he [Kambra] immediately made a bass, then nothing was added to the melody itself. The bass could not change the melody; it remains as plain and Chinese as before. [translator's comment]" ("Aber ob er [Kambra] gleich einen Baß dazu machte, so wurde doch zur Melodie selbst nichts hinzugefügt. Der Baß konnte die Melodie nicht ändern; sie bliebt so einfach und Chinesisch wie vorher. Uebers.") (Barrow, *Johann Barrow's Reise durch China*, 380.)

149 Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. 1, 34–36. Ambros's source was Irwin, "Chinese Musick," 343 (1797, here the tune is reproduced under the title *Tsin Fa*, along with another tune *Cheu Teu*; two further melodies were published by Irwin in Volume 2 of *The Oriental Collections*, London 1798, 148). Eyles Irwin was an Irish poet and colonial official working for the East India Company and spent the years between 1792 and 1794 in China. He was also involved in the Macartney mission, so it can be assumed that he had Hüttner's transcription of the song to work from. It cannot be ruled out that the differences in details between the versions of Barrow/Hüttner and Irwin/Ambros are due to copying errors (the title *Tsin Fa* – in other sources spelled *Sinfa* – indicates the Cantonese pronunciation of the alternative title *Xianhua*, which is also named by Barrow and Hüttner). In describing this melody, Ambros does not hesitate to voice his aversion to Chinese music as a whole. The melody "only too soon enters into the peculiar and grotesque, which is a family trait of all Chinese melodies" (Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. 1, 34, "sie geräth nur allzubald in das Absonderliche und Fratzenhafte hinein, welches den Familienzug aller chinesischen Melodien bildet"). In a footnote, Ambros also refers to Barrow's version, which he considers "a little less barbaric" (ibid., 35, "etwas weniger barbarisch"). Other melodies introduced by Ambros served Ferruccio Busoni as an important source for his opera *Turandot* (1905/17), see Lo, *Turandot auf der Opernbühne*, 257–266.

*Example 3.8: Nine Versions of **Molihua**, a. Kambra 1795 (based on Hüttner's transcription 1793/94), b. Barrow 1804 (Hüttner's transcription 1793/94), c. Ambros 1862 (source: Irwin 1797; *: A4 instead of B4 in third edition 1887, also in Irwin 1797), d. van Aalst 1884; e. Fassini-Camossi's music box (1920; recorded in the 1970s); f. Puccini, **Turandot** (1920–24), Act I, rehearsal number 19 (boys choir); g. gongchepu transcription (Chinese solmisation notation) from 1821 (after Qian, Zhongguo jingdian minge jianshang zhinan, vol. 1, 103), h. modern transcription of the folk song from Jiangsu province (after ibid., 101), i. Tan Dun, **Symphony 1997**, I. **Heaven**, mm. 129–143 (children's choir)*

other version was published by Jules A. van Aalst in 1884, a Belgian official who was acting in the service of the Chinese imperial customs authority, in his book *Chinese Music* (Ex. 3.8d). This version has the title *Xianhua* (Fresh Flower), which appears in very early Chinese sources as an alternative title for *Molihua*, as well as a Chinese *gongche* score reproduced by the author. Although this demonstrates that van Aalst had a Chinese source at his disposal, his version quite clearly differs from both the aforementioned 1821 *gongche* score and Barrow's and Ambros's versions.[150]

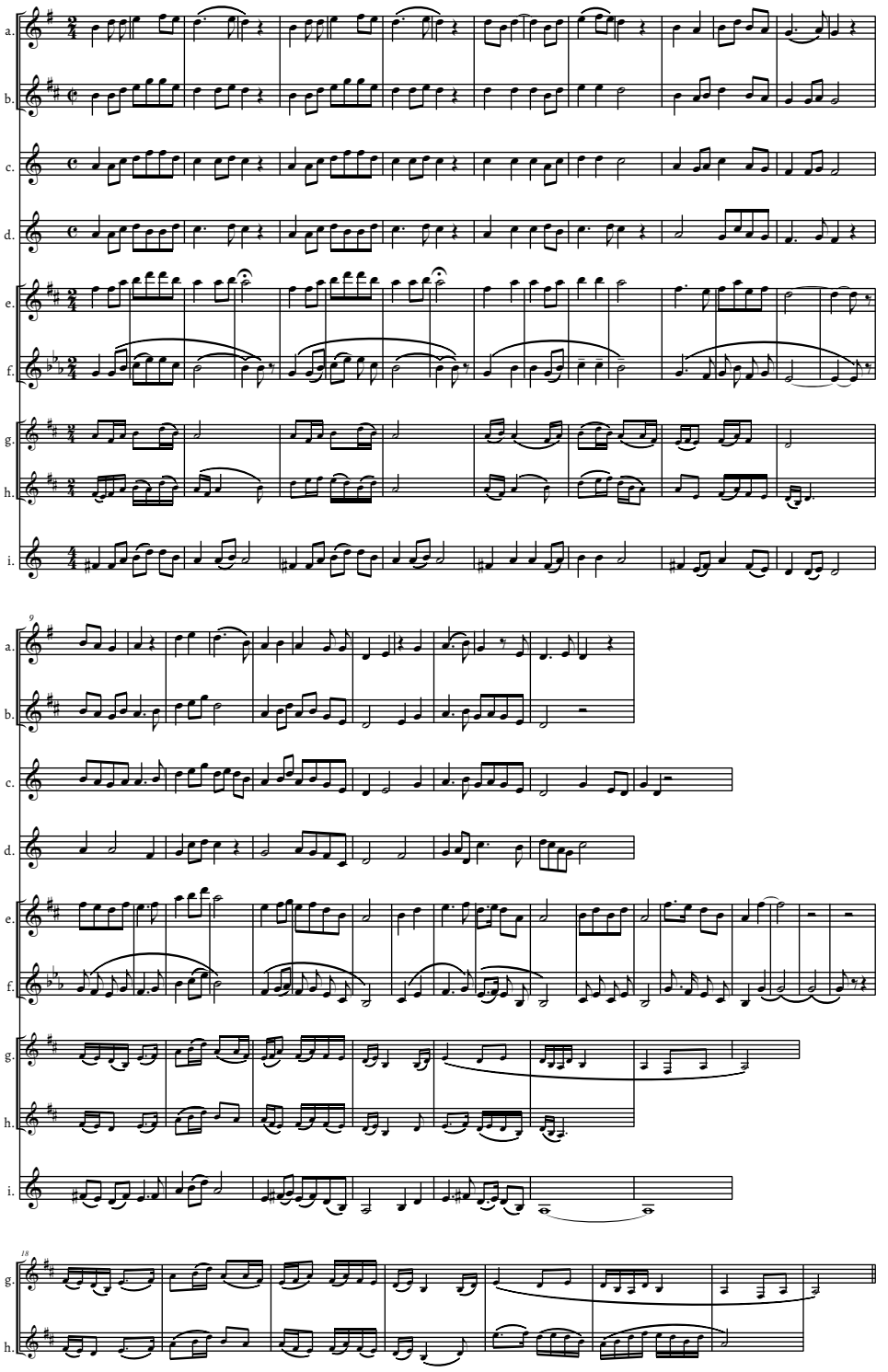
In August 1920, during a visit to Bagni di Lucca, Giacomo Puccini heard four Chinese tunes on a music box of his friend Baron Edoardo Fassini-Camossi (1871–1941), "a veteran of the 1900 campaign to suppress the Boxer Rebellion and of a military mission through China to Siberia at the end of the First World War in 1918–20 to reclaim Italian prisoners."[151] The first of the four tunes was *Molihua*, in a polyphonic version whose main melody resembles that reproduced by Barrow and Ambros (Ex. 3.8e).[152] Puccini made use of this version of the melody (along with two

150 Aalst, *Chinese Music*, 19. The relatively large deviations in the version reproduced by van Aalst may indicate that the author either made mistakes in transferring the original *gongche* characters into his book, or when transcribing these characters into Western notation. The *gongche* notation reproduced by van Aalst deviates fundamentally from the *gongche* source of 1821. Van Aalst's transcription oddly contains the fourth scale degree, which occurs in none of the other versions. Van Aalst may have mistaken the *gongche* sign 𠂉 (*shang*, the octave of the first scale step) for 凡 (*fan*, fourth scale step). Compare, for example, van Aalst's *gongche* depiction with a *gongche* source of *Molihua* in the Japanese collection *Gekkin Gakufu*, Tokyo 1877 (https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Molihua1877.jpg).

151 Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," 71.

152 The melodies of Fassini-Camossi's music box are discussed in Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot. The End of the Great Tradition*, 94–96, Lo, *Turandot auf der Opernbühne*, 326–327, and, most recently and most comprehensively, in Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes." Sheppard has discovered that "Puccini had also turned to a music box for exotic inspiration some 18 years earlier, during the composition of *Madama Butterfly*" (ibid., 43). He points to the fact that music boxes with Asian melodies from around 1900 were produced in Switzerland and France rather than in Asia; therefore, they testify to orientalist conceptions of Asian music and cannot be considered "authentic" sources. "The box appears to have been manufactured in Switzerland and exported to China in the late nineteenth century. Baron Fassini returned with the box to Italy either after the Boxer War or in 1920 and brought the instrument to Bagni di Lucca, where Puccini encountered it in August 1920." (ibid., 76)

Puccini's encounter with the Fassini-Camossi music box had been documented early on in a newspaper article by Luigi Gualtiero Paolini in the *Giornale d'Italia* on 19 August 1920 (see ibid., 70). A further indication of Puccini's source was given by Giuseppe Adami, one of the two librettists of *Turandot* and Puccini's biographer (Adami, *Puccini*, 176). The Fassini-Camossi music box was discovered and recorded in 1965 by "Michael Rose and Hans Hammelmann in Rome at the home of Fassini's widow just in time for a BBC Third Programme radio broadcast about *Turandot* in the series 'Birth of an Opera'" (Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," 72). William Weaver, who had joined Rose and Hammelmann, broadcast the music box tunes in a "Metropolitan Opera Intermission Broadcast" on 28 December 1974. I thank Jürgen Maehder for referring me to this broadcast and providing me with a copy of the program. The version of *Molihua* on the music box employs a simple counter-



further melodies of Fassini-Camossi's music box) almost literally as a central motif in his opera *Turandot*, but re-designed the harmonic accompaniment and, of course, the tonal dimension in quite a different manner. At times he treats the melody as a symbol of child-like innocence (as in Act I, rehearsal number 19, boys choir, Ex. 3.8f, Act II, rehearsal number 42, Act III, five measures after rehearsal number 40), at times he introduces an imperially solemn, somewhat threatening, version of the melody (as in Act I, rehearsal number 48, Ex. 3.9; Act II, 16 measures before rehearsal number 63; Act III, two measures before rehearsal number 17). Puccini repeatedly alludes to the music box's specific timbre in his orchestration and the shaping of Turandot's "mechanical" character in the opera might equally have been enhanced by the rhythmically stiff version of the melody on the music box, thus perpetuating Orientalist stereotypes of the "mechanical" character of Asian people and their music.[153]

Both characteristics of Puccini's *Molihua* are explored by Tan Dun in his *Symphony 1997: Heaven – Earth – Mankind* (1997), composed for the return of Hong Kong to China on 1 July 1997: in the first movement, *Heaven*, the "imperial" version (mm. 115–122, Ex. 3.9) is heard first, and then the childlike innocent version (mixed children's choir, canonically complemented by solo violoncello, mm. 129–143, Ex. 3.8i). The references to and deviations from Puccini's version are informative: Tan Dun harmonizes the "imperial" version with slightly different chords, G–C–D–$C_{/G}$–D–$C_{/G}$–D–C (I. *Heaven*, mm. 115–122), while Puccini (at the first appearance of the "imperial" version in Act I, rehearsal number 48, later always analogously) repeats the two-measure harmonic model D-C–D-a^7. The resulting harmonic color is similar owing to the ubiquitous *sixte ajoutée*, seventh, and ninth chords as well as the mixolydian minor seventh (Ex. 3.9), referring to late European exoticism, not least represented by the harmonies of Gustav Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*, where the added sixth is derived from pentatonic collections and plays a central role throughout the work.

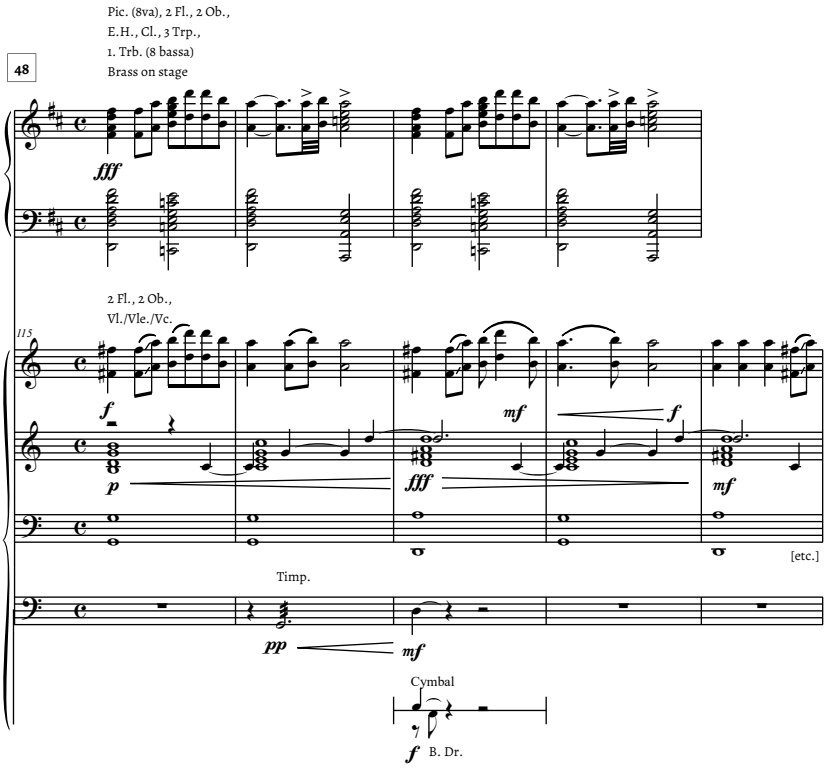
Tan Dun's undeniable familiarity with a wide range of Chinese musical practice has often been instrumentalized as a central factor in his notable success in the Western music world.[154] In fact, Tan comes from a generation that grew up after the Cultural Revolution in a climate that favored an enthusiastic reception of Western modernism, while Chinese symphonic writing from the 1930s to the 1970s was regarded skeptically by the younger generation. The main feature of Chinese symphonic music before 1978 was Western-based "pentatonic

melody; in Example 3.8e, only the melody voice is reproduced (although Weaver's broadcast renders the tune in D major, I have reproduced it in E♭ major here, since "the Metropolitan Opera broadcast lowered the pitch of these three tunes by a semitone" (ibid., 75). It is clear that Puccini made use of this *Molihua* version and not the version reproduced by van Aalst, although he took four other melodies from van Aalst's book that play an important part in *Turandot* (see Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot. The End of the Great Tradition*, 96–98 and Lo, *Turandot auf der Opernbühne*, 330–334). Most Chinese melodies reproduced by Swiss music boxes were probably based on transcriptions by the Swiss businessman Frederic 'Fritz' Bovet (1824–1914) (Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," 83–88). The notation used for pinning *Molihua* on a Bovet music box is reproduced in Chapuis, *History of the Musical Box and of Mechanical Music*, 265.

153 See Wilson, "Modernism and the Machine Woman in Puccini's *Turandot*" and Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," 88–89.

154 In the words of his publishing agent in the 1990s: "Perhaps no more authentic 'world' composer exists today than Tan Dun. For he grew up planting rice in China; lives now amidst the noisy diversity of downtown Manhattan; and constantly travels the world, eagerly absorbing its cultures, as part of a career that has placed him at the center of the international music scene." (http://www.schirmer.com/composers/tan_bio.html, January 2000) Later this text was replaced by another one. Today the official profile of Tan Dun is found at https://www.wisemusicclassical.com/composer/1561/Tan-Dun.

Example 3.9: ***Molihua*** *– "imperial" version: harmonizations by Puccini (****Turandot****, Act I, rehearsal number 48) and Tan Dun (****Symphony 1997****, I.* ***Heaven****, mm. 115–119)*



Romanticism," which confined itself to heavily simplified reminiscences of traditional Chinese music. In many respects this repertoire set out from the legacy of European exoticism and the "national schools" of the nineteenth century (→ III.1). Tan Dun and his colleagues in China's "new wave" (*xinchao*), on the contrary, expressed their new path not least by referring to materials of Chinese music that could not be captured with such simplifications.[155] Tan Dun, like no one else, had to feel the precarious consequences of such an approach, when being accused of acting as a "running dog of capitalism"[156] during the first "Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign" (*Qingchu jingshen wuran*) from 1983 to 1984, and his music was banned from public performance for six months.[157] Against this background, the connection to the formulas of exoticist power representation in the Symphony, which only arose thirteen years later, in the context of Tan Dun's glaring success story is all the more haunting.[158]

155 Tan, for example, was very fascinated by the music of the Yao minority that he had encountered in the southern Chinese Guangxi province, not least because of their unusual melodic formations in which tritone-like intervals play an important role, features that cannot be represented in the context of a pentatonic tone system; see Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 351–352, 361.

156 Lu, "Ting Tan Dun xianyue sichongzou Feng – Ya – Song," quoted in Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 99, 123.

157 See Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes*, 99, 123–124 and Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 358.

158 CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin is said to have smiled approvingly as he recognized the melody of *Molihua* during the premiere of Tan's Symphony, see Yu, "Two Practices Confused in One Composition," 58.

Table 3.4: ***Molihua****, different versions of the song text (pinyin transliteration)*

Zhui bai qiu[159] (Libretto collection 1771)	Barrow 1804[160]	*Xiao hui ji gongchepu* 1821[161]	Jiangsu folk song[162]	Tan Dun *Symphony 1997*[163]
	hao yi duo xianhua, [hao yi duo xianhua,] you chao yi ri luo zai wo jia wo ben dai, bu chu men dui zhe xianhua['er] le.	hao yi duo xianhua, hao yi duo xianhua, piao lai piao qu luo zai wo de jia, wo ben dai bu chu men jiu ba na xianhua'er cai.		
hao yi duo molihua, hao yi duo molihua, man yuan de hua kai sai bu guo le ta, ‖: ben dai yao, cai yi duo dai, you kongpa kan hua de ma. :‖	hao yi duo molihua [hao yi duo molihua] man yuan hua kai sai bu guo ta wo ben dai cai yi duo dai you kong kan hua ren ma.	hao yi duo molihua, hao yi duo molihua, hua yuan hua kai zen ji de ta, ‖: wo ben dai cai yi duo dai, you kong na guan hua ren lai ma. :‖	hao yi duo molihua, hao yi duo molihua, man yuan hua cao xiang ye xiang bu guo ta; ‖: wo you xin cai yi duo dai, kan hua de ren'er yao jiang wo ma. :‖	hao yi duo meili de molihua hao yi duo meili de molihua fenfang meili man zhiya you xiang you bai ren ren kua rang wo lai jiang ni zhai jia song gei qingren jia molihua, molihua

159 After Qiao, *Zhongguo jingdian minge jianshang zhinan*, Vol. 1, 102.

160 Here rendered in pinyin transliteration (after ibid., 104; Qiao supplements or replaces individual syllables, which have been omitted here). Barrow's transliteration is probably based on Cantonese pronunciation: "I. Hau ye-to sien wha,/Yeu tchau yeu jie lo tsai go kia/Go pun tai, poo tchoo mun/Twee tcho sien wha ul lo./II. Hau ye to Moo-lee wha/Man yuen wha kai soy poo quee ta/Go pun tai tsai ye ta/Tai you kung kan wha jin ma" (*Travels in China*, 316–317). Barrow translates: "I. How delightful this branch of fresh flowers/One morning one day it was dropped in my house/I the owner will wear it not out of doors/But I will hold the fresh flower and be happy./II. How delightful this branch of the *Moo-lee* flower/In the full plot of flowers blowing freely none excels it/I the owner will wear this gathered branch/Wear it yet fear, the flower seen, men will envy." (ibid., 317.) Hüttner translates as follows "I. Wie angenehm dieser Zweig frischer Blumen/Eines Morgens eines Tages wurde er in mein Haus geworfen,/Ich der Eigenthümer will ihn tragen nicht außer der Thür/Sondern ich will halten die frische Blume und glücklich seyn./II. Wie angenehm dieser Zweig der Muliblume/In dem vollen Beete der Blumen blühend frei keine übertrifft sie/Ich der Eigenthümer will tragen diesen gebrochenen Zweig/Tragen ihn doch fürchten, die Blume gesehen, Menschen werden beneiden." (Barrow, *Johann Barrow's Reise durch China*, 382.)

161 After Qiao, *Zhongguo jingdian minge jianshang zhinan*, Vol. 1, 103.

162 After *Zhongguo minjian gequ jicheng*, Vol. *Jiangsu*, part 2, 726–727, Jiang, *Hanzu minge gailun*, 236, and Qiao, *Zhongguo jingdian minge jianshang zhinan*, Vol. 1, 101. The sources also record a second and a third stanza (with a text different from the first stanza quoted in Barrow 1804 and the *gongche* score 1821).

163 Tan Dun, *Heaven Earth Mankind – Symphony 1997* (score), New York: Schirmer 1997, I. *Heaven*, mm. 129–143. Tan Dun does not use a pinyin transliteration, and spells the song text: "Hau yi do mei li di mo li Hua/Hau yi do mei li di mo li Hua/fen fang mei li Man zi ya/you shiang you bai ren ren kua/Rang wo lai Jiang ni zai shia/Sung gei ching ren jia/mo li hua mo li Hua." Except for one word in the penultimate line (*bieren* instead of Tan's *qingren*), this corresponds to the version reproduced on the Chinese Wikipedia page for *Molihua*: https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jasmine_barrow.svg. Both this "modern" text and the traditional text version of the Jiangsu folk song are quoted, adding that the "modern" version has been spreading for "a few years" (https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/茉莉花(民歌)). The internet encyclopedia *BaiKe.ZiDianTong.Com* identifies the Sino-Malaysian pop singer Fish Leong (Jasmine Leong, Liang Jingru, b. 1978) as the originator of these "modernized" variants of lyrics and melody (Fish Leong popularized the folk song by her pop song *Molihua* on the Album *Wings of Love* [*Yangweidie*, "Swallowtail"] 2004, music: Li Zhengfan, text: Yao Ruolong, based on the folk song) (https://baike.baidu.com/item/茉莉花/3899330). The music of this pop ballad, however, evidently does not go back to the folk song, and even the text version should, as Tan's symphony from seven years earlier demonstrates, have long been prevalent. From the fifth line onwards, the lyrics of Fish Leong are fundamentally different from Tan's version (Fish Leong's text here reads: bu rang shei ba xin zhaixia/jiu deng neige ren ai ya/molihua ya molihua).

It remains clear that Tan, despite some efforts to suggest Chinese idiomatic sounds – for example, with the sliding melody in the strings or occasional ornaments[164] – clearly references Puccini or the Western appropriation of the melody and not one of the variants of Chinese folk music practice named above. The "innocent" version sung by the children's choir (I. *Heaven*; mm. 129–143, Ex. 3.8i) is imitated by the solo cello in canon, which points toward another intercultural context: as outlined earlier, the arrangement of folk songs based on Western principles and styles has played a pivotal role in Chinese music history since the end of the nineteenth century (→ III.1).

Now, indeed, the version of *Molihua* reproduced by Tan Dun is known and popularized today as a "national" Chinese folk song, and its relationship to the variations of Jiangsu folk music introduced above has not yet been fully explained by music research. A comparison of the song text in the various sources reveals significant differences between the version used by Tan Dun and the remaining variants, which are related to the altered number of pitches and phrase structure (Table 3.4). Regarding the historical origin of this textual alteration, one may glean some hints from the sources: the Jiangsu folk song was transcribed by the (then only 14-year-old) singer He Fang in 1942 in the Liuhe region of Jiangsu province from the song of an old master. Then, in 1957, He Fang set the text for female choir, an arrangement that was recorded and distributed throughout China, and finally, in 1959, it appeared with a new text at the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna, thus playing a politically representative part.[165] It can be assumed that in the course of the 1950s, Puccini's opera had already become known in China, at least among musicians, although the opera was officially banned there and was first performed at the Shanghai Opera House only in 1990.[166] In any case, Puccini's version of the melody may still have had an impact on arrangements such as He Fang's, which were in turn widely used in China, in keeping with Mao Zedong's new slogan issued in the 1950s, *gu wei jin yong, yang wei Zhong yong* (Making the past useful to the present and the foreign useful for China), based on a similar slogan by the official Zhang Zhidong from the late nineteenth century (→ III.1).[167] The focus was therefore less on the preservation of regional or cultural peculiarities, but rather on the utilitarian adoption of Western techniques for mass dissemination and identity formation – for which Puccini's simplistic version was no doubt more effective than the folk song from Jiangsu, with its basis in complex oral traditions and performance practice. Finally, it should be noted that for Chinese researchers and musicians, the difference between the "European" and the (local) Chinese versions is not as blatant as it was presented here. On the contrary, in Puccini's version, some of them see another more "regional" variant of an only imaginarily existing framework material, to which all the other roughly 15 different melodies in China also refer, and in which, due to the regional styles, there are also sometimes intriguing changes to the text and the melodic structure.[168] This rather original argument seems to

164 Elsewhere, efforts are made by Tan to add a special quality distinguishing his rendition from Puccini's, as in the approach to the third bar of the melody (enhanced by dynamics, timpani tremolo, and cymbal accent) or by the "countermelody" in the ascending fifths C4–G4–D5. All this, of course, does not change Tan's basic reliance on Puccini's "representation" of the melody.

165 *Zhongguo minjian gequ jicheng*, 727. See also the quoted internet sources in footnote 163.

166 He, "The Ambiguities of Chineseness," 551.

167 See Geist, *Die Modernisierung der chinesischen Kultur*, 12–20. For the first time in 1898, Zhang formulated the slogan *zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong*: "Traditional (Chinese) learning [Confucian ethics] as substance, New (Western) learning [administration and technology] as application." (→ III.1)

168 Personal conversation with Jiang Mingdun, Shanghai, 28/11/2002.

overlook that in both the Puccini and the Tan Dun China (or Chinese culture in the sense of the "myth paradigm," → I.3) is represented by this melody as an (imaginary) "entity," and the manner of its simplification by the Western musical context is conditional – something categorically different from transformations of a model owing to regional music practice.

It is not difficult to see in Tan Dun's *Symphony* an example of a postcolonial construction of cultural identity, which, incidentally, can be clearly demonstrated on various other levels of the work, and in concluding, I will briefly discuss two such levels: The set of imperial bells *bianzhong*, which plays a central role in Tan's work, was first unearthed in 1978 in the Suixian region of Hubei province and quickly became a new symbol of Chinese "national culture," as one of the oldest known Chinese instruments. Of its 64 bronze bells, 45 were used for the courtly ceremonial music and 19 added only for tuning reasons. The instrument comes from the estate of Duke Yi from the state of Zeng (722–221 BCE) during the ancient Zhou Dynasty.[169] The bells were used in various genres of court music. In the context of Tan Dun's *Symphony 1997*, the archaic instrument seems like a foreign body that is difficult to integrate, due in particular to the combination of the equally-tempered, mostly even diatonic orchestral structures and the specific "microtonal" tuning of the bells.[170] The 2400-year-old imperial bell set thus serves only as a splash of color, its specifically unequally-tempered tuning is leveled in a largely diatonic music. In his study of the *Symphony*, Yu Siu Wah also elaborates on the significance and, above all, the ambivalent cultural symbolism of the bell set. His positive conclusion, however, is difficult to agree with:

> Tan tackled the problem [of connecting the non-equally tempered bells to the equally tempered Western symphony orchestra] by deliberately using the bells in solo for a long section; when used simultaneously with the orchestra, the bell-chimes are always scored as percussion instruments, and the clash in temperament with the orchestra is thus undermined.[171]

In contrast to Yu's thesis, in the transition to the "imperial" *Molihua* reference in the first movement *Heaven* (mm. 114–115), the discrepancy between the bell's harmony and the abruptly occurring G major *tutti* chord is very obvious.

The program of the *Symphony*, subtitled *Heaven – Earth – Mankind*, also refers to the archaic world of the Zhou Dynasty. A symbiotic, transparent, and fluid relationship between *tiandi* (heaven and earth, which symbolize the entire cosmos) and *ren* (humankind) indeed plays an essential part in the worldview of ancient Daoism as it unfolded during the Zhou Dynasty. This worldview informed, among others, numerous religious practices, such as the worship of the "officials" of heaven (*tianguan*), earth (*diguan*), water (*shuiguan*), and humanity (*renguan*). But the two lines by the philosopher Zhuangzi (c. 369–286 BCE) quoted by Tan Dun at the climax of his *Song of Peace*, a short movement that serves as both introduction and coda to his *Symphony*, considerably distort the original meaning of the text.[172] In the context of the "heroic" D major, to evoke unequivocal associations with the setting of Schiller's *Ode To Joy* in Beethoven's

169 See Liang, *Music of the Billion*, 71–75.

170 The CD recording of Tan's work made use of the originally excavated bronze bell set *Zenghouyi Bianzhong* unearthed in 1978, which has otherwise been kept under lock and key at the Hubei Museum since the mid-1980s; for the premiere on 1 July 1997 and follow-up performances, a replica was used. See Yu, "Two Practices Confused in One Composition," 57, 65.

171 Ibid., 67.

172 See Gooi, "Making an Identity," Chapter 3.5.

Ninth Symphony, the phrases "Heaven, Earth, and I are born together, the 10,000 things [that is, everything in existence] and I am one" confirm associations with an emphatic assertion of the unity of heaven, earth, and humanity.[173] In Zhuangzi's chapter *Qi wu lun* (The Adjustment of Controversies), however, these two lines are followed by two questions and a brilliant paradoxical conclusion that totally challenges the first statement about unity or the very idea of unity:

> Heaven, Earth, and I were produced together, and all things and I are one. Since they are one, can there be speech about them? But since they are spoken of as one, must there not be room for speech? One and Speech are two; two and one are three. Going on from this (in our enumeration), the most skilful reckoner cannot reach (the end of the necessary numbers), and how much less can ordinary people do so! Therefore from non-existence we proceed to existence till we arrive at three; proceeding from existence to existence, to how many should we reach? Let us abjure such procedure, and simply rest here.[174]

It is surely no coincidence that this passage does not find its way into Tan's representationalist music. The question of how to determine whether music represents cultural identity in an "essentialist" manner is answered in several ways by Tan's *Symphony 1997*. It characteristically abbreviates classical symbols of Chinese culture, neglecting their internal plurality, and this is a vivid example of an "affirmative" type of essentialism, which in this case also has strong political overtones.[175] The "misunderstandings" of European exoticism and colonialism seem to be hardened in Tan's work, confirming its *mésalliance* with affirmative nationalist Chinese symphonic works of the twentieth century.

Tan Dun was not afraid to resort to the melody in a musical setting analogous to the Symphony in the music he arranged jointly with the People Liberation Army's composer Wang Hesheng for the 302 medal ceremonies at the Beijing Olympics 2008,[176] and to characterize it as an "iconic piece," "almost a cultural symbol of China" and "a gift from the Chinese people to the world's athletes."[177] The story of the melody took a turn when it was played in a version for solo violin by the American-Chinese violinist Lynn Chang at the ceremony for the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the imprisoned dissident Liu Xiaobo in Oslo on 10 December 2010,[178] and especially shortly afterward, when, following the example of the anti-regime protests in Tunisia, there were also broad anti-government protests in China in February and March 2011 referred to as the "Jasmine Revolution" (*molihua geming*): the term "jasmine" came under internet censorship, and even trade in jasmine flowers was prohibited.[179]

173 See ibid., 161–171.

174 Zhuangzi, *The Writings of Chuang Tzu*.

175 On political-cultural symbolism in the symphony and the reception of works in Hongkong, see Yu, "Two Practices Confused in One Composition."

176 Cui, "Classical Piece Will Ring in Ears of Winners."

177 Ibid.

178 See *The Nobel Peace Prize Award Ceremony 2010*, http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1405, 48:45.

179 Chou, "From Nation's Favourite to Populist Poison" and Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," 91–92.