

芸術歌曲による日本、朝鮮、中国における近代音楽の帰属意識の形成

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The Formation of Modern Musical Identity in Japan, Korea and China through the Art Song

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This paper argues that the art song genre contributed significantly to the development of musical modernity in East Asia. Set to a poetic text in the vernacular language, and sung solo by a conservatory trained singer, the art song contributed to the formation of a modern musical identity, fulfilling the desire to express Japanese-ness, Korean-ness or Chinese-ness in a genre of western music. East Asia in the early twentieth century experienced colonization by European powers, and the resulting contact introduced many aspects of western music to the region. This was further stimulated by an influx of refugee musicians and of touring world class performers. Intra-regional transculturation of musical practices also occurred.

The paper traces the development of the art song and its representative composers in Japan, Korea and China, then discusses commonalities in compositional approaches, and choice of texts. Differences between the songs are shown to be due to political factors of each country, whereby many composers suffered dramatic reversal of status after 1945 or soon after, depending on the context.

Keywords: East Asia, musical modernity, art song

I Introduction

What does the art song tell us about musical modernity in East Asia? Set to a poetic text, with piano accompaniment, and sung by a conservatory trained singer, the art song flourished in many countries around the world in the first half of the twentieth century. Composers combined an international musical idiom with local vernacular poetry to express national culture. What came to be called art song started to be composed in Japan, Korea and China around 1920, and somewhat later in Taiwan.

By studying their compositional approaches, it can be surmised what art song signified for composers. It should be asked to what extent each composer attempted to include elements of indigenous traditional music. One should also consider the singers of the songs, and investigate what kind of singing style was required.

As a European phenomenon, the art song's most significant flourishing was the nineteenth century German Lied. It developed in the context of home music-making and the popularization of the piano as a feminine accomplishment. The German art song (Lied) stimulated similar movements in France, Britain, Russia, Eastern Europe and elsewhere, in the era of musical nationalism. The genre was actively taken up in New World settler countries such as America, Brazil and Australia. Less well known is the take-up of the art song genre in East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century, when composers used the international musical idiom of nineteenth century classical music with local vernacular poetry to create a national cultural expression, rather than simply an imitation of

the German art song.

East Asia in this era was a highly integrated region that experienced the reception of western music in very similar ways. Hubs of cultural contact such as Shanghai, Harbin, Dairen, Yokohama and Kobe generated networks that provided opportunities for intra-regional transculturation of music.

Under the impact of imperialism and colonialism, the experience of colonial modernity in East Asia created dilemmas of identity. The excitement of the new and the modern went hand in hand with the fear of losing one's cultural identity. In East Asian countries, western music was irresistible, but there were anxieties about authenticity on the one hand (are we up to standard?), and anxieties about validity on the other (can western music express our cultural experiences and sensitivities?). This research argues that the composition of songs in western musical idiom to vernacular poetic texts helped to overcome this dilemma, and was highly significant in the formation of a modern culture in the era of colonial modernity. Song texts could express local identity and sensibility, while the musical setting may not have been significantly different from a European model.

This paper sees the art song as a global trend that also served local national needs in the first half of the twentieth century. Taking a comparative perspective, it aims to uncover the local national imperative for the creation of art songs. This approach relativizes triumphalist national narratives of the development of western music in a single national setting. The paper contributes to understanding the significance of composition and performance of art song in each regional context; and the ongoing importance of this genre as local music vis-à-vis the western classic song repertoire.

II The Integrated Nature of East Asia, Contact Zones and Flows of People

Contact with western music in East Asia was initiated by external influences, stimulating the reception, adoption and appropriation of western music. Japan, Taiwan, Korea and China had very similar paths to musical modernity following colonial encounters with western music from the nineteenth century. This occurred through the channels of military bands, Christian missions and mission schools, and refugee musicians from Russia and Germany in treaty ports and other hubs of European settlement in China and Japan.

However, there were also intra-regional influences, resulting in a transculturation of music between zones of contact and centres of intensive musical activity in the region. The framework in which I have sought to understand musical activity in East Asia before 1945 is that of “artistic contact zones in (semi)colonial East Asia”, a framework developed by Karen Thornber (2009).

“After Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and became a semi-colonial, colonial, and world power, hundreds of thousands of educated Chinese, Koreans, and Taiwanese streamed to Japan's cities.” Thornber (2009: 749)

Students went to Japan mostly to study practical disciplines, but incidentally were stimulated by the modern culture, and made contacts with Japanese and other East Asian counterparts. Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) for example studied medicine at the Sendai Medical Academy, but was stimulated to become a modern writer. The experience of studying in Japan radicalized many of the Chinese students in Japan, who subsequently became part of the

revolutionary movement.

Although the main fascination was with western culture, Thornber insists (750): “early twentieth-century East Asians actively consumed and transculturated not only Western but also one another’s creative output, including literature and other arts, sports, and a variety of media phenomena”. Similar to Thornber’s study of literature, the non-verbal art of music also easily crossed national boundaries in East Asia in the era of recording and communication technologies that made music a mechanically mediated art. Musical exchange was borne on the momentum of new media of recording, cinema, radio, music publishing and journalism (see Jones 2001).

Western music had a significant presence in the foreign communities of cities such as Yokohama and Kobe, Shanghai, Harbin and Dairen. These settlements included militia with bands, Christian missionaries who set up schools and taught hymns and keyboard instruments, traders and their families who enjoyed family and community music making, refugee musicians who taught and performed professionally. Such communities set up theatres and public halls that attracted visits of touring performers, ballet, opera, theatre, musicians.

From 1917, refugee musicians formed a trail from Russia and later from Germany to China and Japan, from whence most moved on to New World settler countries. All these centres were contact zones for professional musicians, and were at the same time sites of bourgeois culture for those who wanted to consume western music as part of their transplanted culture.

Thanks to the work of Shanghai-based entrepreneur Avray Strok (b. 1877 in Riga; d. 1956 in Tokyo) in collaboration with Japanese concert organizers, the region also experienced the live performances of the best musicians of the time from 1920 to 1937, including many singers (Tokita 2015; Iguchi 2016). The pages of the *North China Herald*, the *Keijō Nippō* (Seoul Daily), the *Mainichi* and *Asahi* newspapers confirm that the touring artists always were on a regional circuit ⁽¹⁾.

Some artists settled for an extended period: Italian tenor Adolfo Sarcoli (1872-1936) lived in Japan from 1911 and taught bel canto to Miura Tamaki (1884-1946), Hara Nobuko (1903-1979), Sekiya Toshiko (1904-1941) and Kiwa Teiko (1902-1983) and also taught mandolin (Naoue 2011). German soprano Margarete Netke-Löwe (1884-1971) performed and taught in Japan from 1924. Norwegian soprano Hanka Schjelderup Petzold (1862–1937) lived in Japan from 1909, and taught piano and singing at the Tokyo Music School to Yanagi Kaneko and many others (Schauwecker 2007; Kobayashi 2011).

Also important for the creation of a local song style were the contributions of composers resident in East Asia: Joseph Laska (1886-1964) lived in Kobe from 1923 to 1935 (Negishi 2014); and Aaron Avshalomov (1894-1965) lived in Shanghai from 1918 to 1947 (Winzenburg 2012). All had a great influence on local composers. Klaus Pringsheim (1883-1972; chair of composition at the Tokyo Music School 1931-37; director of Musashino Academy of Music 1951-1972) recommended that Japanese composers incorporate Japanese elements into their composition, but met with hostility in a debate about what it meant to compose in a Japanese way (*nihonteki naru sakkyoku* 日本的なる作曲) (Galliano 2002: 42). The problem of what is *nihonteki* is echoed in Korean discourse, with one writer (Nam 2011) using the equivalent term (*hangukcheog* 韓國的 “Korean-ish”). These terms are a shorthand for the dilemma of finding a local musical identity using a global music idiom. Liu’s massive study *A Critical History of New Music in China* is written on the premise that “European methods of composition were used to convey Chinese national style” (Liu 2010: 243).

A remarkable case that combined inflow and intraregional flow was Alexander Tcherepnin (1899-1977), Russian-born composer and pianist who after the 1917 Russian Revolution relocated to Paris, and then to the United States.

From there, he made several trips to China and Japan between 1934 and 1937, where he promoted a number of young composers. In Japan they included Ifukube Akira 伊福部昭 and Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye 江文也, and in China He Luting 贺绿汀 and Chen Tianhe 陳田鶴. Tcherepnin used the receipts from his concerts to found a music publishing house in Tokyo, *Collection Tcherepnine*, so that young Chinese and Japanese composers could have their compositions published and performed internationally. He published collections of songs by Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye, Liu Xue-an, He Luting, as well as instrumental music (Galliano 2002: 82-3; Katayama 2008; Liu 2010: 234).

III Japan as Transmitter: Music Education and School Songs

From 1895-1945, Japan was not only a receiver of western music culture; it was also a transmitter. Japanese conservatories were a major source of musical training in the region⁽²⁾. The Tokyo Music School (Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō) established in 1887, originated from the Music Investigation Committee set up in 1879, whose aim was to train music teachers and develop music curriculum (Galliano 2002: 29-30). Soon many private music schools appeared: Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō (1907; now Tokyo Music University), Osaka Ongaku Gakkō (1915), Kunitachi Music School (1926), Musashino Music School (1929), the Imperial Music Academy (1931; Teikoku Ongaku Gakkō), and the music departments of private universities and mission schools. Many of the teachers in these institutions were European, and Japanese who had studied in Europe or the United States. Courses in aesthetics at Tokyo Imperial University and elsewhere trained musicologists (Tanabe Hisao studied at Tokyo Imperial University; Kanetsune Kiyosuke at Kyoto University; Machida Kashō at Tokyo School of Fine Arts).

As Japan in turn became a colonizer in Taiwan from 1895 and Korea from 1910, and eventually Manchuria (where it enjoyed direct contact with the transplanted musical culture of Russian refugees), it provided the model for school music education. Japan's most important influence on music in the region was classroom songs (shōka 唱歌). The policy of music education was formed after observing the central place of music in modern American and European education. Early Japanese educators actively created a body of modern songs for educational and nation-building purposes. The centrality of singing in Japanese music education was transferred to Taiwan and Korea. Chinese who studied in Japan in the late Ching period brought this genre back to China.

The school songs created for public schools adopted western (especially pentatonic) melodies and created new Japanese texts to fit those melodies⁽³⁾. A famous example is *Hotaru no hikari* (By the light of fireflies) to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne*⁽⁴⁾. Such melodies came via America, not directly from Scotland or Europe. Christian hymns provided powerful models for creating new local melodies (see *Genten ni yoru Kindai Shōka Shūsei*, 2000).

With the diffusion of school songs children became familiar with new scales, new rhythms, the use of harmonic accompaniment and chorus singing. Because melodies were a given, little or no attention was given to matching vernacular language to western melody in the early stage. Japanese texts embodied ideologies suited to the formation of citizens for the new Meiji state, emphasizing values of appreciation of nature and the seasons, of diligence, of loyalty to the Emperor. Chinese texts emphasized a revolutionary and nationalist spirit.

The adoption of western music led to a new culture of group singing beyond the classroom. The national anthem was a supreme example (see Gottschewski and Lee 2013a and 2013b), but songs for all sections of society were created: for schools ("the school song" or kōka 校歌), factories, clubs, sports teams, dormitories, the army. Songs functioned to build group-consciousness in organizations. According to Watanabe Hiroshi, songs were not created

because of admiration for western music, but as a tool for nation-building (Watanabe 2010). Group singing acquired importance in modern music culture. The new songs provided a vehicle for ideology and education, and were put to political uses of various kinds.

Then came the solo song set to poetic texts and accompanied by piano. My previous research on the piano as a symbol of modernity in East Asia consistently revealed that early Asian composers typically first learned piano, and composed for piano and piano-accompanied songs (Tokita 2013). For East Asia, the urge to acquire western music was ubiquitous as a spontaneous desire for western music. But how not to be just a copy of the west? How to retain a cultural identity, and to develop a new modern identity as a nation? The creation of western style songs set to texts in the vernacular language helped to overcome this dilemma. Songs written by Yamada Kōsaku in the 1920s, such as *Kono michi*, *Akatombo* and *Karatachi no hana*, are now felt to be quintessentially Japanese, an embodiment of “Nihon no kokoro” or Japaneseness. In Korea, Hong Nanpa’s *Kohyang oi bom* (Spring in the Hometown), and in China, Huang Zi’s *Sixiang* (Longing for Home) have the same effect.

The art song is performed solo in a recital, usually accompanied by piano; it has an intimate personal quality. Piano accompaniments developed from simple chordal support, to taking an equal role in expressing the text, including purely instrumental passages. The composer is careful to achieve an artistic match of music and poetic text. Composer and poet are equally acknowledged, following the modern “cult of the composer”, and the development of modern poetry.

The “bel canto” western classical style required for art song was developed in the nineteenth century for large halls and theatres requiring volume and resonance from the singer. It required training directly from foreign teachers. This voice gradually displaced the traditional vocal timbres. It is a key to the shift in musical identity from Japanese (or Korean or Chinese) to Western. The bel canto voice puts an overlay of western aesthetic over the local text; it all sounds like a western song, it filters the impact of the text.

The term “art song” did not appear immediately. They were called “solo songs” or “lyric songs”, in distinction from group songs, in recognition of the poetic text and emotional content. School songs can be seen as an important precursor of the art song. The degree of musical transculturation of art song in the region remains to be confirmed, but the synchronicity of its emergence around 1920 is striking.

Music journals provided forums for public discussion about vocal and other music, and published concert reviews and information about music in Europe. Journals that published vocal compositions provided an outlet for composers. Anthologies of songs were published in Japan, Korea and China, and competitions encouraged the composition and performance of new songs.

IV Development of Art Song in Japan

Taki Rentarō (1879-1903) composed many original song tunes, some of which are still widely sung. Songs composed by Komatsu Kōsuke (1884-1966), Motoori Nagayo (1885-1945), Yanada Tei (Tadashi) (1885-1959), Nakayama Shinpei (1887-1952) were more sophisticated. The establishment of the journal for children, *Akai tori*, in 1918 was an important milestone in the composition of songs: it was contributed to by many composers and poets, including Yamada Kōsaku and Nobutoki Kiyoshi. Collaboration between poets and composers led to the children’s song movement (*dōyō undō* 童謡運動). The border between these children’s songs and the art song is ill-defined.

Another related new song genre from the late 1920s was the new folksong (*shin minyō* 新民謡), contributed to by many of the same composers and poets.

In his analysis of Yamada Kōsaku's 1919 song cycle, *Yūin* 幽韻, Takusari (2006: 131) asks whether the Japanese were able to achieve a successful fusion of western compositional methods and Japanese sensibility. He suggests that many lost both the solid structure of western music, and at the same time weakened Japanese spirituality. Two early composers who successfully confronted the Japanese aesthetic and western music are Yamada Kōsaku and Nobutoki Kiyoshi (1887-1965). They both opened up a new field of art song, pitting their own musical language against the western music musical system.

Yamada Kōsaku (1886-1965)

Born in Tokyo in 1886, Yamada lived in Yokosuka where he heard military bands, and later in the Tsukiji foreign quarter where he was exposed to Christian hymns and the sound of piano and organ. His family was Protestant, and there was a pedal organ in the home. He later lived with his sister who was married to English missionary Edward Gauntlett (1868-1956), an amateur musician and organist who encouraged his musical ambitions (Hosokawa and Katayama 2008: 710).

In 1904 Yamada entered the Tokyo Music School, where he studied singing, cello, and theory under August Junker and Heinrich Werkmeister. He started to compose prolifically. From 1910 to 1913 he studied at the Musik Hochschule in Berlin. Berlin was a hub of avant garde arts at the time, and together with other aspiring young Japanese artists such as dancer Itō Michio 伊藤道郎 (1892-1961) and playwright Osanai Kaoru, Yamada was exposed to the Russian Ballet and modern dance. During his time in Berlin, he became the first Japanese to compose large-scale works: orchestral pieces, a symphony, symphonic poems, a full-scale opera. In 1912 his graduation works included a choral setting of Moerike poems with orchestra, *Die Herbstfeier*.

On his return to Japan in 1914, he focussed on the lyric song genre (Hatanaka 2013: 66-67). He also worked on building up the western music culture of Japan through the orchestra movement and the song movement. He spent 1917 to 1919 in the United States, and conducted two concerts of his works at Carnegie Hall (16 October 1918 and 24 January 1919). In New York, he again met Itō Michio who asked him to compose incidental music for his dance performance of *At the Hawk's Well* by W.B. Yeats. This resulted in a group of five somewhat lugubrious songs for tenor set to Yeats' poems. More through-composed than strophic, the whole is held together by C# minor and E major tonalities (Katayama 2004) ⁽⁵⁾.

Kōsaku is said to have composed about 500 songs, but *The Collected Compositions of Yamada Kōsaku* (Gotō 1989-1997) is unfortunately incomplete. It seems that the unpublished volumes included songs with a wartime focus ⁽⁶⁾. The collection reveals that Yamada Kōsaku set to music not only Japanese, but also German and English poems. The bulk of his song oeuvre was set to poems by his contemporary Japanese poets, particularly Miki Rofū (1912-1920) and Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942). He wrote many different types of song: art songs, children's songs, songs for organizations ⁽⁷⁾ and schools, eulogies, Buddhist hymns, and nationalist paeons.

Between 1919 and 1922 Yamada made ambitious attempts to strike out in new directions, and opened up a new field of song-writing. He tried hard to express the ideas in the poems, and to match music and words by reflecting the pitch accent of the Japanese text. The songs from this period are his most musically striking.

Yūin 幽韻 (1919) is a setting of five *waka* by women poets in the *Hyakunin isshu* collection. It is his most radically avant garde and difficult vocal work. The songs combine elements of Japanese tonality (the *miyako-bushi* scale) and

modern western tonality and techniques, to create an authentically new music. Composed in New York, the songs were dedicated to his patron Mrs Chadbourne, a Japanophile with strong orientalist tastes. The original score printed the Japanese text in roman letters. This is the only instance in which Yamada used classical Japanese texts in preference to contemporary ones (Gotō 2014: 276-277). Takusari (2006) investigates the underlying aesthetic and spiritual climate of *Yūin*, emphasizing the Japanese character of the songs.

The song cycle *AIYAN no uta* (1922) sets poems by Kitahara Hakushū that include isolated words written in roman letters from the dialect of Yanagawa, the poet's home town in Kyushu. These words create an exotic effect; the music has ambiguous tonalities and is very fresh and engaging.

Kiyose Yasuji and Hashimoto Kunihiro

Takusari argues that both Yamada and Nobutoki Kiyoshi set a standard with their struggle to achieve a new aesthetic, and found a valuable resource deep in Japanese culture, whereas in compositions of many subsequent composers, the Japanese aesthetic is diluted. While a lot of vocal and other music called on musical clichés to achieve the effect of “Japanese-ness”, some composers resolutely rejected such approaches. Two younger composers who went further than Yamada in producing an authentic Japanese voice are Hashimoto Kunihiro (1904-1949) and Kiyose Yasuji (1900-1981). This later generation of composers moved away from Yamada's academic German model to the more modernist French style represented by Debussy and Ravel.

Kiyose Yasuji studied initially with Yamada, but was temperamentally quite different from him. He composed songs to short poems, such as *Takuboku Kakyoku-shū* (1927), settings of a group of tanka by Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1912) (Hosokawa and Katayama 2008: 237). Hashimoto Kunihiro studied violin at the Tokyo Music School, but was largely self-taught as a composer, and was attracted to French music. He composed about 500 songs. In contrast to the strophic style of most Japanese art songs, Hashimoto's most radical songs show a preference for through-composed poems with a strong narrative element. His settings of the cycle of poems by Fukao Sumako (1888?-1974), *Fuefuki onna*, are astounding examples of a playful and adventurous musical idiom including declamation. *Hanmyō* (Tiger Beetle), *Kabi* (Mould) and *Mai* (Dance), composed in 1928 and 1929, made a strong impact on audiences when they were premiered by soprano Ogino Ayako (1898-1944). He spent time in Europe and America from 1934 to 1937. While in Vienna, study with Alois Hába, Ernst Křenek and others helped him to grasp the essentials of contemporary German music.

Development of Art Song in Taiwan

During the Japanese rule of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, Japanese style music education was firmly established and advanced musical training was available in teachers' colleges. Professional level training in performance and composition however had to be undertaken in Japan, and large numbers of Taiwanese studied music there, including Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye (江文也; 1910-1983), Kuo Chihyuen (郭芝苑; 1921-2013), Chen Shihchih (陳泗治; 1911-1992), and Lu Quansheng (呂泉生; 1916-2008). Lu and Kuo are famous for their Taiwanese art songs and choral pieces (see Chi 1996).

The songs of Taiwan-born and Japan-trained Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye drew on Taiwanese themes and music, and after he had moved to China in 1938, Chinese classical texts and music. He also composed some songs with Japanese texts.

Lu Quansheng (Lu Tsuansing) studied piano and singing at the Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō from 1936 to 1939. He was a

singer for Toho and Shochiku productions, and also sang on NHK radio until his return to Taiwan in 1943. The original text of his song *Autumn Chrysanthemum* (秋菊) was a poem by Satō Haruo, later translated into Taiwanese.

Kuo Chihyuen entered Kinjō Middle School in Kanda, Tokyo in 1935, learned harmonica from the music teacher, and was awarded first prize in the Tokyo Harmonica Competition for Middle School Students. In 1941, he was admitted to Tokyo Music School, where he had hoped to major in violin, but due to a deformity of his left hand, he instead studied composition and theory, graduating in 1943. He returned to Taiwan in 1946 and achieved some success with his compositions. He returned to Tokyo in 1966 and studied at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, graduating in composition in 1969.

V Development of Art Song in Korea

Art song became a vehicle of Korean national sentiment; the songs composed during the Japanese colonial period remained important in post-Liberation South Korean culture. Their music is generally simple, and texts invite nostalgic identification. The texts are mostly by prominent contemporary Korean poets.

Initially, missionary influence on music education was strong, and continued to be so throughout the colonial period to 1950. Under Japanese colonization (1910-1945), the reception of western music came to be mediated largely by Japan, particularly through the colonial education system in which school songs became a dominant influence. Most professional musicians were trained in Japan, but some studied in the United States, Germany and elsewhere.

The anti-Japanese movement of March 1st 1919 was a catalyst for the development of modern literature and poetry, and for the composition of Korean art song, the first of which is said to be *Bongseonhwa* (*Garden balsam*) composed in 1920 by Hong Nanpa. Other song genres that emerged in the 1920s include children's songs (童謡 dongyo), new folk songs (sin minyo) and popular songs (流行歌 yuhaengga). All had Japanese influence. Howard writes:

“During the first half of the twentieth century, Korean composers favoured conservative pastiche, creating music with textbook diatonic harmony. Their main source of knowledge was Japan, whereas Europe remained a world away” (Howard 2007: 104).

Heekyung Lee, in her discussion of Korean art song from the 1920s to 1970s, states that “traditional music was excluded from mainstream Korean culture ... during the modernization and westernization of Korean society”. Until the 1960s, Korean art song employed a western musical style which heavily relies on early nineteenth century Lied idioms, while only a few composers were interested in contemporary western music (2013: 134 ff.).

Underwood (1980)'s analysis of Korean art songs is dismissive, saying they are too simple, predictable, expressing popular sentiments with easily accessible clichéd musical expression. “The essential simplicity, artlessness of the genre, not yet highly developed, has become an in-grown form; the characteristics introduced by Hong Nanpa in 1920 are still being utilized, with little modification or development; sentiment of the texts moves audiences.” Her appendix lists the 200 songs in the anthology she analyzed, which extend well into the postwar period. However, Kim Sunnam is not included in her list, for reasons I will discuss below.

Min Kyeongchan (2009)'s series of ten articles in the journal *Umak Chunchu* (音樂春秋) traces the development of modern Korean song, starting from national songs of the Korean empire days (1897-1910), including national anthem and patriotic songs, under the strong influence of hymns; then after 1910 student songs, school songs, songs

of resistance and independence, and songs of openly anti-Japanese resistance songs. Songs such as Hong Nanpa's *Bongseonhwa*, Kim Dongjin's *Kagopa*, Choi Yeongseob's *Kurium Keumgangsán*, western style songs with Korean texts composed by Koreans, have been canonized as art songs. Many anthologies of school songs, children's songs, new folk songs, and art songs appeared with the development of music publishing from the late 1920s.

The term "art song" (*yesul kagok* 芸術歌曲), meaning western style song, first appeared in 1929 in the preface of the anthology edited by Ahn Kiyong. The term lyric song was popularized after singer Han Kyudong published an anthology in 1955, *Hanguk kagokchip* 韓國歌曲集, with the English title *Korean Lyric Songs*.

After Liberation (1945), some songs could no longer be sung. Many songs had texts substituted after division in 1948 because the authors defected to North Korea. Min calls these the "lost (or forgotten) songs". He writes that Korean music has produced a lot of military, patriotic and anti-Japanese songs that cannot be performed outside Korea. Those still sung have veiled resistance, expressing yearning for independence through imagery and metaphor. Cho Dunam's nationalistic song, *Pioneers* (1933), uses Korean rhythmic patterns and scales. His *Bird song* (*Sae-Taryong*) (1943) is a richer texture, with a more complex piano accompaniment. There must also have been songs composed with Japanese texts that had to be forgotten or substituted with Korean lyrics.

Hong Nanpa 洪蘭坡 (1898-1941)

Hong's songs represent the infancy of Korean art song. His family moved to Seoul (Keijō) when a young child, and lived near Ewha Academy. He attended the Jeongdong Methodist Church, attended a Christian school, and was baptized in 1911, so was exposed to western music in the form of hymns. He studied at the middle school affiliated with YMCA, then at the western music department of the Korean court music study Institute, learning vocal music and violin from Kim Inshik. In 1918, he went to Japan and studied at the preparatory school of the Tokyo Music School. He published three issues of a magazine on music, literature and art in Japan. He returned to Korea briefly to participate in March 1st movement in 1919. After returning to Korea in 1920 he worked for the Maeil Sinmunsa newspaper. He wrote a novel in which he included the score of his violin composition, *Aesu* (Elegy), and asked a friend to write lyrics for it, in a reversal of the usual order of composition. This became the first original Korean art song, *Bongseonhwa* (Garden Balsam 鳳仙花). The text is a metaphorical nationalist text. The song has a lilting 6/8 metre, simple harmonic progression, and the piano doubles the vocal line. It is still widely sung.

In 1926, Hong again went to Japan and studied at the Kunitachi Music School, graduating in 1929. During this time, he played violin in the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra (Howard 2007: 103 ff.). He studied abroad again at the Chicago Sherwood Conservatory from 1931 to 1933 (Bae 2007: 66). He wrote many songs many of which are still well known, including over 100 children's songs. He was active composing, performing and recording throughout his life, and published collections of songs. He has been dubbed "Korea's Schubert" (Ahn 2005:35).

Kim Sunnam (1917-1986) 金順男

Kim Sunnam's songs composed in the 1940s represent a maturing of Korean art song. Three songs from 1944 were followed by at least ten written after Liberation, notably five settings of poems by Kim Soweol (1902-34): *Sanyuhwa* (Flowers of the Mountain), *Chohon* (Summoning spirits), *Bada* (The Sea), *Ku rul kkum kkun bam* (The Night I dreamt of him), *Ijoshotton maum* (Forgetting Heart), and *Chindallaekkot* (Azaleas) (Lee 2012; see McCann 2007 for translations of the poems). Lee Kyungboon (2012) discusses the epoch-making nature of *Sanyuhwa* in the history of Korean art song, written after Liberation, and analyzes this and *Azaleas*.

Kim Sunnam is a modernist composer apparently influenced by Bartok. Born in Seoul in 1917, he went to Japan in 1938 and studied first at the Kunitachi Music School and then at the Imperial Music Academy. He also studied composition privately with Shimofusa Kan'ichi (下総皖一 1898-1962), a professor at the Tokyo Music School, and was strongly influenced by Hara Tarō (原太郎 1904-1988), a prominent member of the Proletarian Music League.

He returned to Korea in 1942 and contributed to the emerging art and populist music scenes of late-colonial and liberated Korea. His compositions greatly impressed Ely Heimowitz, an American pianist employed by the U.S. military government in Korea, who offered Kim the chance to study composition in the U.S. Kim declined the offer but maintained friendship with Heimowitz. Due to his self-identification as a socialist, Kim faced mounting persecution in the pro-U.S., pro-capitalist south from 1946. He defected to the north in 1948, after which the performance and publication of his works became illegal in South Korea (this would not be reversed until 1988). Not much is known about his life in North Korea, but he evidently became a target of political persecution there as well. Kim left for Moscow Conservatorium in 1952 and studied with Khachaturian but was recalled by the North Korean government, and was publicly censured for creating “cosmopolitan” and “modernist” music (Armstrong 2013: 81). He was deprived of his position and barred from compositional activity until 1964 (Kim Hyungjung 2009: 24-32).

A canon of Korean art song is constituted by anthologies and recordings but Kim Sunnam's challenging songs are rarely included, and were ignored after he defected to North Korea in 1948 until his re-instatement in 1988. A book by his daughter was published in 1995, the 50th anniversary of liberation. His music is not as simple and accessible as that of his contemporaries, but his songs are being noticed now by singers, even choirs, and his music is being researched. *Chindallaekkot* and *Sanyuhwa* are his most popular songs, and are performed by internationally acclaimed soprano Sumi Jo. However, the same texts set by other composers are probably more popular, such as Kim Sungtae's setting of *Sanyuhwa*. Songs by Yun Isang (1917-1995) are sometimes included in recitals and anthologies in recent years. His collection *Early Songs* (1950/1990) is closer to traditional Korean music than most other composers (Lee 2013: 140). A more balanced anthology has recently been published by the Korean Art Song Society.

VI Development of Art Song in China

As in Japan, the early impact of western music in China came via the influence of military music, and from missionaries. The presence of foreign communities was more significant than in Japan. Shanghai had a professional orchestra from 1919 and a large expatriate community of Russian and later German musicians and others. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, thousands of Chinese studied in Japan, including the study of music. The principle of music education through school song was adopted, using the melodies from Japan with Chinese texts. This led to the use of song for political purposes soon after the Revolution of 1911.

The May 4th movement (1919) was a catalyst for the creation of a modern culture, including music, notably western classical music. In the 1920s, music schools and departments were founded. Especially important was the foundation in 1927 of the Shanghai National Conservatory of Music, headed by Xiao Youmei, who had studied in Japan and Germany; he modelled it on the German music education system, and included the training of Chinese as well as western music.

The first art songs originated in the wake of this movement, composed by people who had studied in Japan, Germany or the United States. Contact with western music was concentrated in the treaty ports, especially Shanghai

with its symphony orchestra, and conservatory. Japan continued to be a destination for Chinese studying music until 1935. However, the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists politicized music culture, with the Communists encouraging patriotic and political songs. From the 1930s, the mass song movement came to focus on anti-Japanese content. Most of the composers of art song also composed nationalist and anti-Japanese songs. After the Communist revolution of 1949, the ideological control of music meant that art songs that had been composed in the 1920s to 1940s fell out of favour, or were targeted as bourgeois, and did not return to the repertoire of singers until well after the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, although they continued to be performed in Taiwan.

Liu states that “in content, [Chinese] art songs were in no sense the heirs of school song. School song was copied from songs sung in Japanese schools, some of which had European melodies.... Most of the songs lacked accompaniment and most were written in cipher notation. The art songs, on the other hand, came from Europe, either directly from Germany or via the United States [via Zhao Yuanren ⁽⁸⁾ and Huang Zi]. Almost all art songs had musical settings specifically composed for well-known poems, and in addition were characterized by modulation and piano accompaniment” (2010: 78). Such a view argues against transculturation of art song between China and other countries in the East Asian region and remains to be tested.

Huang Zi 黄自 (1904-1938).

Huang Zi had no direct Japanese influence. From 1924, he studied psychology and music at Oberlin College, then from 1928 at Yale University’s Music College. His graduation work was a large-scale orchestral composition. He returned from the United States in 1929, aged 25, and was soon thereafter appointed to the faculty of the National Institute of Music in Shanghai (later the Shanghai Conservatory of Music) as Dean and professor of theory, composition and music history. Despite teaching and administration tasks, he composed nearly 100 songs of high quality, including some with English lyrics (Liu 2010 : 115-139). Many of his songs remain popular with Chinese singers today (Liu 2010: 128). However, he has been criticized for consistently composing within the conventions of eighteenth and nineteenth century German vocal music, which probably contributed to his popularity. He did not imbibe any avant garde music during his studies in America (Liu 2010: 137). Huang’s best known songs include *The Rose’s Three Wishes* (Meigui sanyuan 玫瑰三愿), *Longing for Home* (Sixiang 思乡), *Stirring of Love* (Chun Si Qu 春思曲), *Looking for Plums in the Snow* (Ta xue xun mei 踏雪寻梅).

Cheung (2010) presents a fascinating study of Huang Zi’s song *Tianlun ge* (Song of Familial Bliss; text by Chui Shigen), composed in 1935 as the theme song of a politically controversial film, *Song of China*. The song became widely sung in schools and among professional singers. She demonstrates how western musical form is wedded to an accessible text expressing Confucian values for a modern audience, in what she calls “musical translation”. She shows also how the music manages to blend western and Chinese characteristics, including a pentatonic tendency, and effective articulation of the Chinese rhymed couplets.

Huang Zi is credited with training up “four great students” 四大弟子 : He Luting, Liu Xuean, Jiang Dingxian, and Chen Tianhe. He, Liu and Chen had their compositions published in the Tcherepnin Collections (Ishida 2005: 220).

Chen Tianhe 陳田鶴 (1911-1955)

Like many in his generation, Chen Tianhe was attracted to Japan and would like to have studied there if it had been possible. The hope that he might study abroad seems to have been Chen’s motivation for joining the National Party in 1940. All the many Chinese who had studied in Japan surely had an influence on Chen’s positive attitude

toward Japan. Although he never visited Japan, he taught himself Japanese and translated some Japanese works on Western music into Chinese. He bought the multi-volume music encyclopedia by Monma Naoe: *Sekai Ongaku Taizen* 世界音楽大全, and music scores published in Japan.

Chen enjoyed singing with organ in his school days. He first heard the piano when he was 16, and decided to devote himself to music. He studied music at a private college, and when it closed he stayed at home and taught himself music theory, Japanese and English. He became involved in student activism, and translated Japanese articles on proletarian music. He was expelled from the Shanghai Arts College for political reasons, and had to change his name to enter another school. He chose the name Tianhe.

Chen's principal professional site was indeed Shanghai, and in this musical contact zone he surely received stimulus and enrichment from the foreign music community both directly and indirectly through people like Huang Zi. From 1930 he studied theory and composition at the Shanghai Conservatory under Huang Zi. He composed his major song in 1934, *Shanzhong* (In the mountain 山中), setting a poem by Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897-1931); it is frequently sung these days. He composed children's songs in 1934-35. His piano piece *Prelude* 序曲 was awarded 2nd prize in the Tchernin Concours. After the Japanese bombed Shenyang in 1931, he like most of his contemporaries started to compose patriotic and anti-Japanese songs. He suffered after 1949 because of his earlier Kuomintang allegiance, and was relegated to orchestrating melodies written in cipher notation by younger composers influenced by Soviet revolutionary music. He left behind a large body of music, including solo and choral songs, a cantata, several piano compositions, and some ensemble music, which has been published over the last decade, most of it for the first time.

The art songs composed in China between 1920 and 1949 were practically forgotten after the Communist revolution. They were associated with the bourgeois culture of the defeated Nationalist Party, and the musical priority was strongly placed on politically correct songs and model opera that conveyed the ideology of the new Communist state. The experience of Chen Tianhe reflects this policy. After the Cultural Revolution, it became possible to revive the art songs from the republican era, and they are popular in the repertoire of classically trained singers today. Chinese musicians who fled from China to Hong Kong after 1949 escaped political oppression in their musical activity. Those who fled to Taiwan may have been caught up with another set of political constraints, but it seems the early art songs continued to be performed and more were composed in a similar vein.

VII Commonalities

Local musical characteristics can be significant markers of cultural identity, even cultural nationalism. Under the influence of the nineteenth century German Lied, and to a lesser extent French songs, each country followed a similar path of development of the small intimate art song, from derivative, imitative styles to more locally inflected expressive techniques. The influence of hymns and school song remained strong for some time. The gradual development of more sophisticated piano accompaniments can be illustrated by comparing Hong Nanpa's *Balsam Flower* with Kim Sunnam's *Azaleas*. Some composers were stimulated to adopt more contemporary avant-garde compositional techniques.

Local inflections for East Asian composers include the use of various kinds of pentatonic scales, rhythms, textures, and of musical characteristics of indigenous peoples. This took the form of Ainu music for Ifukube Akira,

Taiwanese tribal music for Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye, and the music of Chinese minorities by Wang Luongbin. Many tried to address the problem of harmonizing Japanese, Chinese and Korean melodies, leading to attempts to create a Japanese harmony (Galliano 2002:67), and a Chinese harmony, based on fourths and fifths rather than thirds. The setting of local folksongs with harmonized piano accompaniment includes the arrangements of iconic traditional songs such as *Sakura sakura* in Japan and *Arirang* in Korea. Korea still has a national fixation on *Arirang* (Howard 2007; Atkins 2007).

The choice of a text is central to the artistic status of art song. Most art songs are literature-inspired, whether they use classical literary texts or new contemporary poems. Both kinds are centrally important in making songs local. (Some composers occasionally wrote song texts themselves.) There are some examples of foreign texts: Yamada Kōsaku's early choral setting of Mörike's *Die Herbstfeier*, his songs that set English translations of Japanese poems, and the incidental songs for *The Hawk's Well*. Chen Tianhe's *Fischermädchen* is a Chinese translation of a text by Heine. Some Taiwanese and Korean composers set Japanese texts, but these were abandoned or replaced after liberation.

Cultural identity is expressed through texts about iconic natural features, flowers and birds, the sea, and often geographically specific mountains, rivers, landscapes. The smaller scale nature of the garden is also common. The art song is quintessentially suited to the expression of personal emotions of love, regret and anger, and occasionally grief through textual and musical means. Many songs focus on family relationships, including children's songs and lullabies, and many express love and/or nostalgia towards a mother, sister, brother, a friend.

Nostalgia is a particularly noticeable theme. Song titles such as "Thinking of the home town" are ubiquitous. The titles of many Korean art songs include "longing", a trope that expresses the loss typically incurred through modernization. In contrast, exoticism is expressed in many songs about an internal indigenous Other (Japan's Ainu minority, Taiwanese tribal songs, Chinese Mongolian or Uighur songs) that convey a strong regional flavor but at the same time an image of the non-modern Other, reminiscent of Orientalism.

Despite many similarities in the emergence of the genre of art song in East Asia in the 1920s and 1930s, different political situations affected the growth of art song and the role it played. In Korea, the sentiment of resistance to Japanese rule was strong, though often veiled. In China, the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 spurred the creation of political songs in the mould of school songs, and composers of all political persuasion started to write patriotic and anti-Japanese songs from the 1930s. From the 1930s the Communist movement used song as a propaganda tool. In Japan, jingoistic songs appeared after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. Even traditional Japanese musicians composed patriotic and nationalist songs for koto and biwa in the Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods, most of which are no longer performed (Flavin 2010). A similar trend has not yet been detected in China and Korea. From the 1940s, the pressure on Japanese composers to write patriotic songs was strong.

Many musicians were victims of political reversal. Koh Bunya/Jiang Wenye was a striking example. He was imprisoned in Peking for nearly a year after Japan withdrew and was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution because of his background of Japanese "collaboration" (Wang 2015; Liu 2010: 231-244). Chen Tianhe suffered after the Communist Revolution of 1949 because of his Kuomintang allegiance. Socialist Kim Sunnam defected to North Korea in 1948, where he fell foul of the regime. Between 1940 and 1945 Yamada composed nationalist music in support of Japan's war effort, for example, his symphonic poem *Kamikaze* (1940). Hashimoto Kunihiro was forced to resign his position in 1948 due to cooperation with the military Japanese regime, whereas Yamada Kōsaku escaped opprobrium almost completely.

VIII Concluding remarks

Dissertations on Korean and Chinese art song submitted to North American universities demonstrate cultural nationalism; it is clearly an important form of musical identity for those writers. Koreans aim to make Korean art songs known and accessible to non-Korean singers by presenting song texts in International Phonetic Alphabet. They seek to demonstrate musical Korean-ness, showing a strong identification with the songs and Korean culture.

Dissertations on Chinese art songs too focus on making them available to English-speaking singers, and include detailed information about pronunciation of the Chinese song texts. Hallis (1995) aims to introduce the Chinese art song repertoire to western singers and listeners, to “share this treasure with them”. Tyan (2003) states that her dissertation is “...a scholarly performer’s guide for non-Chinese singers... to fifteen Chinese art songs by native Chinese composers from mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan”.

These writers wrestle with the identity of the songs; are they purely western, or are they Korean / Chinese? Whereas Chinese writers tend to insist that they are continuous with the Chinese song tradition with western influence, Korean writers are more mixed in their stance: some insist on the continuity, by demonstrating the centrality of Korean elements; others treat them as a new imported form that may or may not incorporate indigenous features. This desire to not only introduce their art songs to listeners, but to make them available for western singers to perform is not apparent among Japanese researchers.

Art song is no longer a major genre for composers, while it remains important for classical singers. Although most prefer to sing German *Lieder*, and to a lesser extent Italian, French, Russian repertoire, than the songs of their own country, many internationally active singers, such as Korean soprano Sumi Jo and Chinese baritone Shenyang, sing their own country’s songs when they return home on tour. Korean singers are actively researching and performing earlier neglected repertoire. In Japan too there are many who are exploring prewar repertoire. Still, generally the most popular songs are not the musically sophisticated but those simpler ones with direct appeal that fall into the nostalgia category. Albums titled *Nostalgia* are common in all regions.

The art songs composed before 1950 served a purpose at least for their composers in developing a modern musical identity. It remains to be seen whether they will again occupy a central place in the repertoire of contemporary singers.

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Notes

- 1 Russian soprano Lydia Lipkowska toured in 1922, violinists Fritz Kreisler, Jascha Heifetz, Julio Ronconi in 1923. Also in 1923, singers Yaoi Fumiko, tenor Tatsumi Seijirō with pianist Mr Seymour (whose program included Yamada Kōsaku songs), and contralto Yanagi Kaneko toured Korea. In 1926, Irish tenor John McCormack (1884-1945) toured East Asia. Dame Clara Butt (1872-1936 and Toti Dal Monte (1893-1975) both toured in 1931, Amelia Galli-Curci (1882-1963) toured China and Japan in 1929 and 1935, and Feodor Chaliapin (1873-1938) toured Japan, Dairen, Harbin and elsewhere in 1936. Japanese tenor, Matsuyama Yoshinori (1891-1974), who was active in Europe and America toured China in 1927 (*Nihon jinmei jiten* 2015).
- 2 Of course, many students from Japan, and also Korea and China, studied in Europe and America, and made significant contributions to the development of western music on their return. However, for students in Korea, Taiwan and China, Japan was a realistic option, being culturally and geographically close, and less expensive than western conservatories.

- 3 The earliest school songs were created by gagaku musicians at the Tokyo Women's Normal College. Jiuta songs were used early on in Kyoto.
- 4 Another example is *Aogeba tōtoshi*, recently discovered to have been based on "Song for the close of school" in the collection *Song Echo* by H.S. Perkins et al. (1871) (see Sakurai, Gottschewski and Yasuda 2015).
- 5 Itō Michio set up a dance school in New York in 1919, performed a lot, and his representative work was Hawk's Well. Interned in 1942, he was repatriated to Japan in 1943, and was hired for Ernie Pyle theatre in Occupation.
- 6 The setting of Yeats' *At the Hawk's Well* (1918) was to have been included in volume 14 but was not published.
- 7 He composed a song for the Chiyoda-ku district in Tokyo in 1952 (Hatanaka 2013).
- 8 Zhao Yuenren was dubbed as "China's Schubert" by Xiao Youmei (Liu 2010:185).

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芸術歌曲による日本、朝鮮、中国における近代音楽の帰属意識の形成

時田 アリソン

芸術歌曲は東アジアの音楽的近代の構築に大きく貢献した。芸術歌曲とは、自分たちの国語による詩的テキストを、クラシック歌手が独唱するもので、日本的、韓国的、中国的な性格をそれぞれに表現しようとしており、近代的なアイデンティティ形成に貢献した。20世紀前半の東アジアは、ヨーロッパ列強の植民地支配を受けた結果、西洋音楽のいろいろな側面と接触してきた。さらに、ロシアなどからは、世界的な演奏家たちも難民として大勢各国を訪れている。このような外部からの刺激のほかに、地域内の音楽活動の交流も活発に行われてきた。

本論は日本、朝鮮半島、中国における芸術歌曲の発展と主な作曲家たちを概観し、作曲語法や歌詞のテーマの共通性と相違点を探るものである。相違点はそれぞれ異なった政治的な事情に由来すると想定される。また、1945年以降、作曲家たちはその境遇に関して、劇的な変化を被った場合もある。

キーワード：東アジア、音楽的近代、芸術家曲