

National Identity Formation and Musical Modernism
in Post-World War II Korea

by

Jung-Min Mina Lee

Department of Music
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved: _____

Philip Rupprecht, Supervisor

Leo Ching

Stephen Jaffe

Jacqueline Waeber

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Music in the Graduate School
of Duke University

2017

ABSTRACT

National Identity Formation and Musical Modernism
in Post-World War II Korea

by

Jung-Min Mina Lee

Department of Music
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved: _____

Philip Rupprecht, Supervisor

Leo Ching

Stephen Jaffe

Jacqueline Waeber

An abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Music in the Graduate School of
Duke University

2017

Copyright by
Jung-Min Mina Lee
2017

Abstract

During the post-World War II decades (*circa* 1945 to *circa* 1980), the expression of a collective national identity was a primary concern in South Korea. The central question of my dissertation is how the awareness of a national identity, which preoccupied the public discourse in Korea during its post-WWII cultural rebuilding, was manifested in the musical works and careers of Korean composers who engaged with modern art music of the West. In exploring this question, my dissertation presents a cultural history of the translation of twentieth-century European musical modernism into the Korean musical scene; the postcolonial national identity formation remains a central theme. I investigate five Korean composers whose lives and works embody the country's process of modernization and westernization: Isang Yun (1917–1995), Nam June Paik (1932–2006), Sukhi Kang (b. 1934), Byung-dong Paik (b. 1936), and Unsuk Chin (b. 1961). These composers were the proponents of Western musical modernism; their musical styles varied from the theoretical rigor of the 1950s and the 1960s to the radicalism of the Fluxus movement to the incorporation of technology. Each composer has understood and utilized contemporary European musical practices in a highly individualized manner but with a common consciousness of national identity.

My research employs close readings of scores by these composers and archival research conducted in Germany, Korea, and the U.S; musical and historical analyses are framed by cultural theories of postcolonialism, globalization, and nationalism. Unveiling the convoluted and multifaceted evolution of national identities, I reveal that there is a general progression from an overt emphasis on national identity toward more individual

and universalist approaches to music across the three generations of Korean composers. This study contributes to the growing musicological efforts to place works by East Asian composers in the larger history of Western art music. The composers investigated here have not been treated in depth in Anglophone musicology, and I see my research as one of the first initiatives in including Korean composers in the discussion of modern Western art music. More than just introducing their music, my study also encourages nuanced readings of the works by these composers, beyond the familiar framework of the East-West binary.

Dedication

To my family

Contents

Abstract	iv
List of Examples	x
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Introduction: National Identity and Modern Western Music in Postcolonial Korea	1
Reading Through a Postcolonial Lens	6
Continuing a Postcolonial Dialogue in Western Art Music	12
Telling the Story	15
1. Dislocation and Postcolonial Consciousness	23
Emphasis on “Koreanness” in Isang Yun’s Music	23
Colonial History of Korea: Emergence of Nationalism	26
Isang Yun in Korea, until 1955	32
String Quartet No. 1 (1955) and to Europe	39
Europe in the Late 1950s: The Others at Darmstadt	48
The “Need to Catch Up”	52
<i>Musik für sieben Instrumente</i> (1959)	55
<i>Familiar and Unfamiliar Uses of Primary Interval and Intervallic Cycle</i>	58
Exoticism and Orientalism	64
Later Works	77
<i>Pitch Centers, Chromaticism, and Melodic Continuity: Gasa</i> (1963)	78
<i>Taoism, Haupttöne, Development Through Gesture: Distanzen</i> (1988)	84
<i>Tonal Continuity as Developing Mechanism: Epilogue</i> (1994)	100
The “Others” in Asian and Western Music	104
2. Migration, Dislocation, and Postmodernist Art	106
Nam June Paik, in Korea and Japan before 1956	108

The Darmstadt Summer Course in 1957 and 1958.....	114
<i>Hommage à John Cage</i>	122
Action Music and Fluxus — Larking, Stockhausen, Postmusic	132
Paik as a Postmodernist	141
Experience of Separation and Expression of National Identity	145
3. Looking Inward: Mid-1960s to Late 1970s	151
Songs to Uplift the Nation	153
In Search of Selfhood: The Notion of <i>chuch'esŏng</i>	162
Changing Relationships with the West.....	165
The Vietnam War	169
Revised Rhetoric of “Catching up”	173
Nationalism in Music.....	175
Sukhi Kang: Nationalism and Beyond	177
<i>The Composer in Korea</i>	178
<i>Writing “Korean” Music in Germany — Nong (1970)</i>	184
Hybrid Music: Homi Bhabha’s Concepts of Mimicry and Third Space	197
Rebuilding the Cultural Scene in 1970s Korea.....	203
4. Reconciling Old Music and New Music: Expansion of Modern Music in 1970s Korea	208
<i>Monthly Music</i> : The Channel to Music Outside Korea	209
Bartók as Model of Nationalist Modern Music	221
American Music — The Cold War Efforts.....	230
Reactions to New Music	244
<i>Hostility Toward New Music</i>	246
<i>Bridging the Gap Between Modern Western Music and Traditional Korean Music</i>	250
Reconciling The Old and The New: Music of Byung-dong Paik.....	254
5. From Nationalism to Universalism: Unsuk Chin and the Rejection of Culture- Specific Music	271
The 1980s in Korea: The Argument for Third-World Music	272

<i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel: Designing Disorder</i>	276
More Influences of Ligeti	294
Piano Etude No. 5, <i>Toccata</i>	296
Non-Culture Specificity and Fantastical World	305
Recontextualizing the Familiar.....	309
From Nationalism to Universalism.....	314
Conclusion: Reading Historically Modern Art Music by Korean Composers	319
Works Cited	328
Biography.....	346

List of Examples

Example 1.1: “Swing,” written between 1941 and 1945; reprinted in Shin-Hyang Yun, Yun I-sang, 98.....	36
Example 1.2: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 1, emphasis on the perfect fifth interval	41
Example 1.3: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 2, opening measures.....	42
Example 1.4: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 1, mm. 1-6	43
Example 1.5: <i>Musik für sieben Instrumente</i> , Mvt. 1, mm. 1-4: entry points of canonic voices and hexchord variations.....	57
Example 1.6: Tone row in <i>Musik für sieben Instrumente</i> , Mvt. 5	59
Example 1.7: Various presentations of the tetrachord [C-C#-F-F#] and the perfect fifth dyad in <i>Musik</i> , Mvt. 1	61
Example 1.8: <i>Gasa</i> , final measures (mm. 146-148); the final chord suggests no single dominant tonality	80
Example 1.9: The twelve-tone row stated across the first two phrases of the violin part, <i>Gasa</i> , mm. 1–4.....	81
Example 1.10: Melodic continuity through pitch centers in the violin part of <i>Gasa</i> , mm. 1-27	83
Example 1.11: Opening of <i>Distanzen</i> , first musical idea, mm. 1-12	87
Example 1.12 Beginning of the second musical idea, <i>Distanzen</i> , mm. 13-32 (score in concert pitch)	91
Example 1.13: The process of statement-development-reinstatement of the central pitch C in the middle section of <i>Distanzen</i>	93
Example 1.14: End of the “development” and beginning of “recapitulation” (m. 135) in <i>Distanzen</i>	95
Example 1.15: Pitch center on C# and its expansion, <i>Epilogue</i> , mm. 1-15.....	102
Example 3.1: “New Morning” (<i>Sae a’chim</i>); stenographical copy of the original.....	158

Example 3.2: “New Nation is Calling” (<i>Sae nara nŭn burŭnda</i>); stenographical copy of the original	160
Example 3.3: <i>Nong</i> , mm. 2-4; both the piano and flute replicate the sound that would be created on <i>kayagŭm</i>	190
Example 3.4: <i>Nong</i> , m. 1; the opening piano part expresses the sound of a drum (<i>changgo</i>)	192
Example 3.5: (a) <i>Kutkŏri changtan</i> and (b) its variation in <i>Nong</i> , m. 177.....	194
Example 3.6: <i>Nong</i> , mm. 142-145: the piano part depicts the “W” shape jump of a shamanic dance	195
Example 4.1: Score of <i>Un for Piano</i> (mm. 1-27), as published in <i>Monthly Music</i> (July 1975), 200-204.....	262
Example 4.2: Last 1’28” of <i>Sinaui für ARK</i>	267
Example 4.3: Beginning of <i>Sinaui für ARK</i>	269
Example 5.1: Opening of <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> , mm. 1-6.....	284
Example 5.2: Reduction of the soprano melody, Mvt. 1, <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i>	285
Example 5.3: The soprano melody at the end of the second movement of <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> (mm. 55-120): confirmation of D-centrality	288
Example 5.4: Opening measures (mm. 55-60) of <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> : conflicts with D minor	289
Example 5.5: Ending of <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> , Mvt. 7, mm. 385-395.....	293
Example 5.6: <i>Toccata</i> , mm. 49-52; mid-point of the piece marked by the accented chord (m. 49).....	300
Example 5.7: <i>Toccata</i> , mm. 65-70.....	303
Example 5.8: <i>Toccata</i> , mm. 81-96.....	304

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Tempo marking and musical gestures in <i>Distanzen</i>	88
Table 1.2: Formal division of <i>Distanzen</i>	90
Table 4.1: Contents about foreign composers in <i>Monthly Music</i> , 1970–1978	211
Table 4.2: Topical articles in <i>Monthly Music</i> , 1970–1980	219
Table 4.3: Articles regarding American music and composers in <i>Monthly Music</i> , 1970–1978.....	231
Table 5.1: Tempo markings, Mvt. 1, <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i>	286
Table 5.2: Rhythmic ideas explored in <i>Toccata</i>	298
Table 5.3: Formal division of <i>Toccata</i> (the fundamental and the three lowest partials marked in bold)	302

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Cover page of String Quartet No. 1 (1955), published by The Society for Native Cultural Research in Korea (withdrawn by composer).....	46
Figure 1.2: Seating diagram for performers as suggested in the score of <i>Distanzen</i>	85
Figure 2.1: The second half of Nam June Paik’s article, titled “Uyŏnhan ūmak” [Music of chance], <i>Chayu shinmun</i> , 7 January 1959, 4; copy of the article reproduced courtesy of the archive at the International Music Institute Darmstadt.....	124
Figure 4.1: The front page of the program of Bartók study session on 26 September 1953; program provided by the Un-yung La Archive in Seoul, Korea.....	227
Figure 5.1: Unsuk Chin’s sketch of word configuration for <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> , reprinted in Drees, ed., <i>Im Spiegel der Zeit</i> , 111	278
Figure 5.2: The “xenex” motif and its variants in <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> , Mvt. 2; other words begin to be associated with the motive after m. 71	279
Figure 5.3: Chin’s sketch of rhythmic patterns for <i>Akrostichon-Wortspiel</i> , reprinted in Drees, ed., <i>Im Spiegel der Zeit</i> , 111	281
Figure 5.4: The harmonic series of the pitch C.....	301

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been possible without the generous support and help of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Philip Rupprecht, for his guidance, advice, and support along every step of this work. His unfailing trust in this project has allowed me to develop it far beyond its initial scope. His honest criticism and encouragement throughout my studies at Duke has been invaluable in my professional development, for which I am deeply grateful.

I would like to thank my committee members, Stephen Jaffe, whose acute reading of my work and unique perspective as a composer has helped me clarify my arguments; Jacqueline Waeber, who has enriched my graduate studies through her scholarly inspiration and her presence as a mentor and friend; and Leo Ching, whose expertise in East Asian history and cultural theories greatly benefited this work in its initial stage.

I would like to thank R. Larry Todd for his warm support, wisdom, and interest in my work; I also thank him for encouraging me to continue playing the piano. I also extend my gratitude to Nicholas Stoia and Nina Penner for their thoughtful advice at various points during this process.

My appreciation goes to Laura Williams, who has provided an incalculable help in acquiring many sources used in this dissertation. Her kindness is beyond comparison, and I am grateful for her support and friendship. I also extend my gratitude to Gretchen Hoag, Cecelia Goldman, Bethany Perry, and Cathy Puckett for their abundant help throughout my time at Duke.

My gratitude also goes to my teachers from the past, Joanne Locke and Russell F. Locke (in memoriam 2013), who instilled in me a love for music. Their lessons in piano and music theory provided a solid foundation for my study in musicology. I thank Jeffrey Langford at the Manhattan School of Music and Nils Vigeland for their encouragement and their interest in my research throughout my doctoral studies.

I would like to thank my good friend Rebecca Mendelson; her support has seen me through difficult times. I owe much to Katharina Uhde, who continues to inspire me with her invincible, infectious work ethic and love for music. I am grateful to Serena Wang, whose mature and positive perspective has helped me stay oriented during this long process. I especially thank Kirsten Santos Rutchman for reading my work with a keen eye and so willingly providing me with the critical help I needed during the last phase of completing this dissertation. My thanks also go to Akbota Anuarbek, Ixalondra Chee Chong, and Ashiyana Nariani; I could not have gone through the last two years without their cheers and support.

Finally, my deepest thanks are due to my family, without whose unconditional support my study at Duke and this dissertation could not have come to completion. I thank my sisters Jihyun (and her husband, John, and my nieces, Rachel and Roselyn) and Yoon for helping me stay grounded. Having two supportive sisters is already a blessing, but I feel especially fortunate to be able to share my love of music and dance with them. I thank my mom and dad, Sun-Sook and Keol Lee, who have always believed in me. This dissertation is dedicated to them.

Introduction: National Identity and Modern Western Music in Postcolonial Korea

. . . understanding is achieved in many different ways, and being born a member of a certain group is neither sufficient nor necessary. Knowledge is frequently enhanced by an awareness of difference.

- Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity*¹

One summer during a research trip to Seoul, South Korea, I rode a taxi and started conversing with the driver.² When he learned that I studied music, he brought up a recent concert by the Korean soprano Sumi Jo. After praising at length Jo's beautiful voice and successful international career, the cab driver added, "But you know, I don't understand that thing, classical music." When I asked him what he meant, he continued, "I know classical music is everywhere today, but it just doesn't touch my heart. We all grew up listening to it, but it's not our music, you know? They, the Westerners, it's in their DNA, but for us, even if we continue to listen to it and learn it, it's still not ours. That's maybe why... It's just not in line with our natural sentiments." The driver's comments struck me: they echoed the voices of many Korean composers and critics, voices I was encountering in magazines and news articles from decades ago.

This dissertation is about the question of national identity as manifested in Western art music, especially music of the twentieth century written by Korean

¹ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 82.

² Hereafter, the name Korea will be used as a shorthand for the state known as South Korea.

composers. It is also a cultural history of the translation of twentieth-century European musical modernism into Korea's musical scene. The formation of a postcolonial national identity is a central theme. This study chronicles and analyzes the ways in which the Korean musical community has grappled with the challenge of negotiating national identity in a post-colonial, globalizing country through music from the mid-1950s to the present time. As case studies, this project explores three generations of Korean composers whose lives and works have embodied the country's modernization process: Isang Yun (1917–1995), Nam June Paik (1932–2006), Sukhi Kang (b. 1934), Paik Byung-dong (b. 1936), and Unsuk Chin (b. 1961).³

Admittedly, this dissertation deals with a rather large time frame. This is because the concern for expressing national identity through music endured throughout these postcolonial decades; such persistence is itself a testimony to the lasting effect of the colonial disruption of cultural/social systems. Cross-examination of three generations of composers provides a sweeping view of the evolution of the question of national identity in the face of a growing impetus toward Westernization and modernization in Korea since the 1940s.

In South Korea, even today, “music” often indicates Western art music, while Korean traditional music is granted another name, *gukak* (national music; *guk* means “nation,” *ak* means “music”). This pattern of designation is reflected in musical education in Korea: a greater part of music classes in South Korean public schools is focused on

³ Paek Pyöng-dong is the Romanized form of the composer's name in most catalogues; however, the composer himself uses the Romanization Byung-dong Paik. This dissertation will use the latter spelling.

Western art music. Similarly, classical music concerts draw noticeably larger audiences than concerts of Korean traditional music. An irony is apparent: the sound of traditional Korean music is somehow more “exotic” in the soundscape of Korea than that of Western art music. As this study shows, the paradoxical situation has remained one of the most vexing problems in the Korean music community throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.

The central question raised by Korean composers, musicians, and critics during the decades following World War II was, “What is ‘Korean’ music?” This broad question transpires from Korea’s history of significant foreign interventions in the twentieth century. Korea was under Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945, and after 1945, the United States Army Military Government took over Korea’s official governance for three years. The Korean War between 1950 and 1953 and the ensuing division of the country into North and South prolonged American involvement in Korea’s political, social, and cultural spheres.

One of the prominent repercussions of this colonial history was a radical interruption of the historical continuity of Korean culture. Under its cultural genocide plan, Japan attempted to eradicate the indigenous Korean culture and plant Japanese cultural practices, which were themselves heavily influenced by those of Europe, especially Germany.⁴ Consequently, Western culture penetrated into Korea’s daily life, and in music, Austro-German musical traditions gained prominence. After World War II,

⁴ On Japan’s cultural genocide plan in Korea, see the following: Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009); Yong Yung Lee, Yung Chool Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen, eds., *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

Korean society faced the dual challenge of maintaining a continuity of the cultural practices established during the first half of the century on the one hand, and that of restoring the indigenous culture, much of it forgotten, on the other. Korean composers of post-World War II years confronted a similar problem, namely negotiating the expression of national identity and catching up with Western musical modernism.

In exploring the discourse surrounding such problems, this dissertation deals with Korean composers who moved to Germany between the late 1950s and the 1980s to immerse themselves in what they believed to be the center of musical modernism. In the first half of the twentieth century, Korean composers often went to Japan for serious music education. Among the important influences on Japanese composers was their knowledge of Schoenberg's serialism, which in the 1950s became a catalyst for Korean musicians such as Isang Yun and Nam June Paik to move to Germany. In the postwar decades, Korea was still on the cultural periphery and was perceived as such by Korean composers. This outlook prompted those Korean composers who were keen on keeping up with current musical trends in the West to move to Germany. Following these composers' musical trajectory, this dissertation shows that the seemingly unlikely musical exchange between Germany and Korea was strengthened by Korean composers' desire to partake in modernist music.

The first generation of such composers, Isang Yun and Nam June Paik, went to Germany in the late 1950s specifically prompted by their interests in Schoenberg's serialism. Their belated interest in the technique is a telling sign of Korea's cultural marginality at the time. It is also indicative of the underlying partialness of the

imagination of the “Other”: because of limited information about distant people and culture during the postwar years, Korean composers’ image of the West did not always reflect the reality. Once Yun had established his career in Germany, a younger generation of composers, including Sukhi Kang (b. 1934) and Byung-dong Paik (b. 1936), followed Yun’s footsteps and also went to Germany in 1970. Unsuk Chin (b. 1961), the youngest of the composers studied here, studied with Kang in Seoul and then also moved to Germany in the mid-1980s. Through the post-war decades, as information exchanges grew more effortless, we see that imagining of the “Other” become less delayed compared to the cases of Yun and Paik.

What ties these composers together is the fact that they were doubly distanced from their home culture, through the shared historical experience of colonial cultural disruption and through their voluntary moves to a foreign country. The implication of such distancing for these composers’ conception of their national identity was twofold. First was the sense of obligation and the social pressure to assert national identity through their music. Second, when they went to Europe, there was an expectation by the European musical world that Asian composers would express an “Asian” sound in their music. In other words, the exhibition of national identity was motivated by both internal needs and external expectations: both a postcolonial longing for cultural rootedness as much as a performance of a cultural/ethnic stereotype encouraged a noticeable expression of cultural identity in music. As this dissertation will reveal, although there is a general progression from an emphasis on cultural display toward a non-emphasis, the extent to

which such factors reinforced display of their cultural identities varied for each composer depending on his or her aesthetic proclivities.

It is also important to note what contemporary music as a genre signified for the composers studied here. For these composers, who embraced European modern music before their contemporaries did, such music was not a medium of expression of national identity. As will become clear repeatedly throughout the following chapters, the notational system and theory of Western music represented, for some Korean composers, a vessel for indigenous sound; this very notion provided another reason, in addition to the resistance to new sounds commonly observed in European music world, for contemporary music to be criticized as unintelligible, ineffective, or plainly unmusical. Such perceptions, which prevailed in the Korean musical community at least until the late 1970s, led Korean composers who engaged with contemporary music to justify their aesthetic choices. As with the expression of cultural identity, composing in a modernist musical language became less ideological over the course of decades; for the older generation of Yun and Paik, engaging with a modern musical language signified departing from their home country's cultural belatedness. By highlighting their desire to catch up with Western cultural standards, the following chapters claim that participating in musical modernism was another manifestation of postcolonial consciousness.

Reading Through a Postcolonial Lens

Music which embraces both Western and Asian musical traditions has been viewed as an exercise in artistic hybridity, being described under the rubrics such as "East-meets-West"

and “merging of East and West.” These perspectives, however, mask the underlying legacy of cultural imperialism which manifested itself as a colonial mentality in Korean composers. Thinking of their music from the perspective of postcolonial history offers a new way to understand musical hybridity.

Throughout this dissertation, I draw upon various concepts from cultural theories regarding national identity, postcolonial legacy, and cultural diversity, laid out by scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Bill Ashcroft, Homi Bhabha, Peter Hallward, Anthony Smith, and Robert J.C. Young.⁵ While specific terminologies and concepts from various cultural theories will be explained in each chapter, it is worthwhile to examine two overarching concepts, namely multiculturalism and interculturalism, by way of introduction: these concepts are helpful in building an account of the general progression of national identity consciousness as expressed in the music of Korean composers.

Multiculturalism and interculturalism, ideas originating from political philosophy, form the basis of policies accommodating diversity across different cultures in societies made up of various ethnic or cultural groups. Interculturalism, which emphasizes integration, interactions, and exchanges between cultural major and minor groups, has emerged in a critical reaction to multiculturalism, which suggests a more limited view on

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 2002); Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Peter Hallward, *Absolutely Postcolonial: Writing Between the Singular and the Specific* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010); and Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

cultural coexistence.⁶ Proposing interculturalism as a more ideal philosophical framework, Grant H. Cornwell and Eve W. Stoddard delineate multiculturalism, or cultural diversity, as “an uncritical recognition or celebration of difference, as if all cultural practices were morally neutral or legitimate.”⁷ Further, the philosopher Martha Nussbaum explains that advocates of interculturalism “[reject] the claim of identity politics that only members of a particular group have the ability to understand the perspective of that group.”⁸ As such, interculturalists argue for “the recognition of common human needs across cultures and of dissonance and critical dialogue within cultures” in cross-cultural dialogues.⁹

Although these concepts from political philosophy might not exactly map onto discussions in music because of the different nature of the two disciplines, multiculturalism and interculturalism still serve as useful notions in addressing cultural plurality in music. Specifically, the general historical progression of musical works and their receptions has been from a multiculturalist approach to an interculturalist one. In the sphere of music, cultural crossings have happened through quotations, allusions, and

⁶ In evaluating the perils of an uncritical acceptance of multiculturalism, Ali Rattansi claims, “Multiculturalism suffers from flaws that cannot be remedied without moving on to a more sophisticated phase—‘interculturalism’—in the governance of the new multiethnicity, or ‘superdiversity’ as Vertovec has called it, that now characterizes Western societies.” Later, he explains, “The ‘multi’ in multiculturalism immediately gives too much leeway to the space that has always existed in ‘multiculturalism’ to enable a slippage into thinking of ethnic and national cultures as having rigid boundaries. Use of the notion of interculturalism acts, instead, to undercut this essentialist tendency—it cannot by itself completely prevent it—by building a conception of connectedness, interaction, and interweaving between the beliefs, practices, and lifestyles of different (not separate) ethnic groups as part of national cultures that are in constant flux.” *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5 and 153.

⁷ Grant H. Cornwell and Eve W. Stoddard, “Things Fall Together: A Critique of Multicultural Curricular Reform,” *Liberal Education* (Fall 1994): 40-51. Quoted in Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity*, 82.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

appropriations, all of which are encapsulated in the concept of exoticism. These practices, scholars have argued, are grounded in imperialistic approach of “othering.”¹⁰ In delineating the “Other” from thoroughly Eurocentric perspectives, exoticism has been regarded increasingly as a mere “celebration of difference” or distant and often misinformed representations of the Other. Musicological approaches of the concept have been, as Ralph Locke has shown, similar distancing, fantasizing, and romanticizing of the unknown.¹¹

Even though exoticism may seem to be fading in the postwar twentieth century and twenty-first century with increased globalization and information exchange, we instead observe emphatic recognition of cultural differences coming from both Western and Asian musical worlds in the mid- to late twentieth century.¹² On the part of Korean composers, engaging with Western musical elements in a manner that spotlighted their foreignness vis-à-vis traditional music engendered continuous debates about how to create music that is demonstrably “Korean.” On the part of the Western music world, the practice of establishing a binary between the East and the West continued into the 1980s,

¹⁰ Victor Segalen defines exoticism as a legacy of imperialism, an apparatus which possesses both aesthetic and ontological value, but is also used to highlight cultural “otherness.” *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). The term *Orientalism*, as used in Edward W. Said’s eponymous book, describes similar imperialistic impositions, but specifically in East Asian countries. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

¹¹ Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹² Locke observes that explicit representation of other cultures, a practice he labels “Overt Exoticism,” began to decline around the start of the twentieth century because of the unease about empire and the increased access to remote areas. Overt Exoticism was then replaced by “Submerged Exoticism,” which employs sounds—scales, harmonies, and timbre—that had been associated with remote cultures. “Transcultural Composing,” in which a composer blends musical elements of other cultures within a form which the audience or the composer can recognize as “our own.” He leaves unanswered the question whether such practice is musical exoticism or merely absorbing and incorporating the musical sounds of other cultures. See the following: Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 214-233.

and such an approach always carries the danger of foregrounding cultural features above all other musical qualities. By the late-1980s, however, we see that the habit of establishing cultural binaries, while still prevalent, was increasingly questioned and thwarted by younger composers such as Unsuk Chin. For Chin, Korea's recent globalization was a more immediate memory than its history of colonization, and the expression of national identity was no longer the central concern in her music. With the rejection of the conventional distinction between Western and Asian music, and with the focus on features that are commonly shared by both musical traditions, composers such as Chin and Kang demonstrated views on cultural plurality in music that aligned with the ideals of interculturalism.

This interculturalist view recognizes commonalities across cultures as well as the untenability of "pure" culture.¹³ A similar perspective is seen in the notion of hybridity as suggested by Homi Bhabha.¹⁴ Instead of conceiving of the "Other" as a disruption of tradition, Bhabha's notion of hybridity focuses on the construction of new forms of culture and identity within the colonial conditions of inequality. Further, in his proposition of a "Third Space," he recognizes the intersection of the two cultures as an arena where their differences can be articulated in a generative manner. Bhabha writes,

It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance. For a willingness to descend into that alien territory... may open the way to conceptualizing an *international*

¹³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 336.

¹⁴ See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 159-174.

culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*.¹⁵

In this definition, hybridity is positioned as an antidote to essentialism. The search for “Koreanness” which preoccupied the Korean musical community throughout postcolonial decades, then, as well as the West’s expectation that Asian composers display their cultural identity in music, can be understood as an essentialist approach. At the other end of the spectrum is a stance of universalism, whose ideal is reflected in Bhabha’s claim that “all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity.”¹⁶ This view, which urges that readings of cross-cultural music go beyond merely acknowledging different constituent cultural elements, is echoed in the various remarks made by Kang and Chin, as will be discussed more in detail in chapters 3 and 5, respectively.

It is within this larger critical framework that I discuss specific historical events, interpersonal exchanges, and ideological debates in each of the following chapters. It is also worthwhile to note that music in South Korea remained relatively apolitical, apart from the debates over national identity and the exceptional case of Isang Yun, whose friendly relationship with the North Korean leader Kim Jong-il led to the prohibition of performances of his music until the 1980s in South Korea.¹⁷ Although various government policies to promote traditional culture certainly affected the general atmosphere of the musical community throughout the 1970s and 1980s, those regulations seldom concerned specific musical features. Art music in Korea, whether indigenous

¹⁵ Ibid., 38. Emphasis in original.

¹⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), 4.

¹⁷ This biographical information about Isang Yun is discussed in detail in chapter 1 below.

music or Western music, had not gained the common ground of understanding among Korean people to serve as an effective tool for political statements. Moreover, the image of high culture associated with art music rendered it a less likely subject for state-level censorship. Because of this relative detachment of art music from the state in Korea, interpersonal exchanges became the main channels of transmission of European contemporary music.

In accounting for specific historical events, lives of composers, and discourses of national identity as manifested in the Korean musical community, I draw upon my archival research conducted at the National Archives in College Park, MD; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; the Darmstadt Archiv in Germany; the National Library of Korea; the Unyong La Archive; the Isang Yun House; and the Arko Arts Archive in Seoul, Korea. Personal interviews with the composer and teacher Sukhi Kang also offered me general insights into the Korean musical scene since the 1960s as well as specific guidance on how to approach his music.¹⁸ Close analyses of select works by each composer are also important components in each chapter.

Continuing a Postcolonial Dialogue in Western Art Music

By examining the selected Korean composers within conceptual frameworks of postcolonialism and multi/interculturalism, this dissertation joins the dialogue of postcolonial analyses in musicology. Musicology rather belatedly entered the stream of postcolonial study, which emerged as an important academic stream following Edward

¹⁸ These interviews were conducted on 7 March 2015 and 24 March 2015.

Said's *Orientalism* in 1978.¹⁹ Said's core questions in this work included, "How does one represent other cultures? What is another culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self-congratulation (when one discusses one's own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the 'other')?"²⁰ Answering these questions, Said defined *Orientalism* as Western representations of the East (in particular the Middle East, in Said's analyses) from an imperialist stance.

Responding to Said's call for non-essentialist reading of non-European cultures involves questioning and subverting the long-standing practice in Western music of romanticizing, and consequently misrepresenting, the "Other." It also means reading non-Western cultures through the critical prism of colonial and postcolonial relations of power between the West and the East.²¹ Such a reading, then, requires that the lives and works of non-European composers be considered from within the histories of their own respective countries—or their state of cultural in-betweenness—rather than from the perspective of European history.

Studies on art music by East Asian composers with this approach began to emerge with the start of the new millennium in the works of scholars such as Frederick Lau and

¹⁹ Said, *Orientalism*.

²⁰ Ibid., 325.

²¹ The collection of essays, *Western Music and Its Others*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), marked a notable response to Said's analyses in the topic of musical representation and appropriation and made a contribution in the field of musicology by examining musical borrowings and appropriation to consider the relations between culture, power, ethnicity, and class.

Yayoi Uno Everett.²² This dissertation joins this conversation and expands its scope by discussing Korean composers, who have rarely been studied in Anglophone musicology thus far. An exception is a study from 2006 by Keith Howard on Korean music and its composers: his research is centered around Korean traditional music and the effort of the Korean government to protect its cultural heritage.²³ My study, in contrast, is focused on the acceptance, transmission, and reception of modern European art music and reveals various interpersonal exchanges that enabled these processes.

In addition, there have been studies on individual Korean composers, in particular on Isang Yun and, more recently, on Unsuk Chin, yet these studies have focused on the autobiographical sketches of the composers or analyses of their work with less attention to larger historical and social contexts.²⁴ This dissertation investigates the lives and works of these composers, as well as those of other previously undiscussed composers, in the

²² Frederick Lau and Yayoi Uno Everett, eds., *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004); Frederick Lau, *Music in China: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

²³ Keith Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Also, during the last phase of writing this dissertation, more studies on Korean music were published in English: Hee Sook Oh, ed., *Contemporary Music in East Asia* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2014); Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, "Exilic Suffering: Music, Nation, and Protestantism in Cold War South Korea," *Music and Politics* 8 no.1, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.9460447.0008.105> (accessed 13 February 2016). The collection of essays edited by Oh deals with various issues of globalization and analyses of works by composers from Korea, China, and Japan.

²⁴ On Yun, see Luise Rinser and Isang Yun, *Yun Isang sangch'ŏ ibŭn yong: Yun Isang, Luije Rinjŏ ūi taehwa* [Isang Yun, the wounded dragon: Conversations between Isang Yun and Louise Rinser], trans. Yun Isang Pyonghwa Chaedan [Isang Yun Peace Foundation] (Seoul: Random House Joongang, 2005); Han'guk Ŭmakhak Hakhoe [Korean Musicological Society] and Yun I-sang P'yŏnghwa Chaedan [Isang Yun Peace Foundation], eds., *Yun I-sang ūi ch'angjak segye wa Tong Asia munhwa* [Isang Yun's musical world and the East-Asian culture], (Seoul: Yesol, 2006); Hanns-Werner Heister and Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer, eds., *Die Komponist Isang Yun* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1987). On Chin, see Stefan Drees, ed., *Im Spiegel der Zeit: die Komponistin Unsuk Chin* (Mainz: Schott, 2011).

larger context of the modern history of Korea and the history of musical exchanges between Korea and Western musical worlds in the later twentieth century.

Telling the Story

This dissertation follows a chronological order to portray the gradual evolution of a national identity as manifested in the works of the aforementioned composers. Each of the five chapters explores a composer, chronicling the historical backdrop of his or her musical career. Alongside such a narrative, each chapter also investigates theoretical concepts pertaining to the aesthetic choices of the composers.

Chapter 1 begins with a historical account of the musical scene in 1950s Korea, including the aftermath of Japanese colonial rule, which lasted from 1910 to 1945, and the influence of the U.S. Military government that entered Korea immediately after the conclusion of World War II. Both forces played significant parts in Korea's westernization, and the development of Western music in Korea in the early to mid-twentieth century is closely related to the presence of these foreign agencies in Korea. Although Japan's goal was not always to promote the Korean cultural scene, unlike the intentions of the U.S., the proximity of Korea and Japan led many Korean composers to study music in Japan, which embraced Western cultural traditions much sooner than any other East Asian countries.

With such a backdrop, the life and music of Isang Yun, one of the earliest Korean composers to engage with Western modern music, are explored. Yun's formal education in music took place in Japan, and through his Japanese teachers, he was indirectly

influenced by contemporary French and German composers. Deeply interested in Schoenberg's twelve-tone music, Yun moved to Germany in the late 1950s. During his first years in Europe, he pursued formalist music that was dominant at the Darmstadt Summer Music Courses. An examination of the works he composed in Europe reveals a trajectory that moves toward a more overt expression of his national identity through music. Through this narrative, this chapter highlights some of the key aspects of a postcolonial society, including the chasm between the European musical scene in Yun's imagination and that in reality. As this chapter shows, imagining the Other with incomplete information and from a distance resulted in a misconstrued image.

This chapter also shows that behind Yun's aesthetic choices were his conscious awareness of his cultural position in relation to the European musical world on the one hand, and the desire to catch up with European musical modernism on the other. Examining Yun's musical trajectory through the prism of postcolonial criticism reveals lasting impacts of the colonial ideals of Eurocentricism that is often hidden behind the seemingly neutral notion of "West-meets-East."

The second chapter, which studies the case of Nam June Paik, provides a rather contrasting picture to Yun's case. Even though Paik is better known as a video artist, I focus on his early musical career, including his radical choices in music as shown in Darmstadt in the late 1950s, his artistic kinship with circles of avant-garde musicians and artists in West Germany and New York City, and his eventual transition from working as a musicologist/composer to working as a video and action artist. Unlike Yun, Paik did not make the expression of his national or cultural identity a distinctive feature of his music.

In fact, from the few cases where Paik did mention Korea, it is apparent that he felt remorse toward the fact that he was born into a country with limited cultural resources—which certainly was true during his time.

Through readings of his works, writings, and records of interactions with other artists, I propose that Paik's relative emotional distance from his home country may be a manifestation of cultural alienation, a term used in postcolonial studies to explain the abandonment of one's own native roots in order to integrate into the colonizing culture.²⁵ Further, I suggest that his rejection of the rationalism and formalism associated with the Darmstadt musical culture of the mid-to late 1950s as *passé* and his willing acceptance of American experimentalism, led by figures like Stefan Wolpe, John Cage, and David Tudor, could also be understood as a manifestation of postcolonial desire: as Robert J. C. Young describes, a previously colonized entity is led to believe that new cultural traditions which challenge the old, established ones, are deemed more desirable by default.²⁶ Thus, this chapter argues that, although lacking in expressions of a national identity, Paik's aesthetic choices were as profoundly influenced by the colonial history of Korea as Yun's were.

The following two chapters study the next generation of composers. Chapter 3 begins by providing a historical account of the rise of the concept of *chuch'esŏng*, or selfhood, in mid-1960s Korea, highlighting the domestic cultural policies of the time. The concept initially emerged as a self-reproach for the lack of strong national identity and

²⁵ Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 9-10.

²⁶ Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

pride. By the 1970s, Korea's unprecedented economic development and exchanges with foreign countries encouraged a heightened air of confidence surrounding the discourse of selfhood. Throughout this shift an emphasis on indigenous culture grew across the society, and music by Korean composers reflected this attention to Korean tradition. Although expressing "Koreanness" in music was a concern that existed in the previous decade, during the 1970s drawing on indigenous culture became another way to stay on par with European countries, which were deemed to have strong cultural traditions. Tracing these discourses, this chapter argues that looking inward was a revised rhetoric of "catching up," an extension of the postcolonial problem of viewing oneself through the eyes of others.

As a case study, I focus on Sukhi Kang, who studied with Yun in Hanover and participated in the Darmstadt Summer Music Festival in the early 1970s. After returning to Korea in the mid-1970s, Kang became a pioneer in introducing European contemporary music to the Korean musical community. Many of his works from the 1960s and 1970s use idioms from Korean traditional music, although his musical language is founded on those of European modernism. Examining these works reveals a subtle shift in Kang's motivations for employing traditional music. Initially, his music reflected his sense of an obligation to express his Korean heritage, or his empathy with domestic efforts to be culturally self-reliant. Increasingly, he sought to transcend the concern for expressing national identity in music, refusing to be identified as a "Korean" or "Asian" composer. Yet on some occasions where European musical communities

asked him to compose music that reflected his Asian cultural heritage, he went against his principles.

In accounting for the desire of the Korean musical community to catch up with the European musical scene, I draw on Homi Bhabha's theories of mimicry and ambivalence. The adoption of Western musical tradition by Korean composers is analogous to the postcolonial phenomenon of mimicry. The indirect transfer of knowledge of Western music before the 1970s had caused the mimicry to be an incomplete one. The partial understanding of the culture of the other caused the sense of ambivalence—the paradoxical state where the colonized subject's mimicry cannot be identical to the colonizer's culture. Increased direct exchanges with the West throughout the 1970s made this paradox evident to Korean musicians. This realization reinforced the argument for establishing a musical style that could be identified as Korean.

Chapter 4 chronicles the details of foreign musical influences, in particular those of the U.S., during the 1960s and 1970s. The documents used in this chapter are drawn from the Korean music periodical *Wŏlgan ūmak* [*Monthly Music*], radio programming, and previews and reviews of concerts printed in newspapers. These records reveal that the Korean music community was exposed to an unprecedented amount of information on American art music during this period. Many American musicians visited Korea, presenting programs that consisted mostly of familiar music by European composers with the addition of some new music by American composers, such as Copland, Barber, and Gershwin. While these concerts by visiting musicians presented more accessible and familiar repertoire, Korean musicians who studied in the U.S. also played important roles

in introducing a wider repertoire and more recent works by American composers to the Korean music community.

Both channels of exchange—the visits of American musicians to Korea and Korean musicians' study in America—were the results of America's Cold War efforts. The concerts in Korea were prepared by the United States Information Services (USIS) with the goal of promoting the image of the U.S. as a culturally sophisticated nation; many Korean students in the U.S. were sponsored by the U.S. government as part of the educational exchange program, which was also operated by the USIS. I show that through these projects, American music indeed began to gain more recognition and respect among Korean musicians through the 1970s, dismantling the dominance of Austro-German music in the Korean musical scene.

This chapter also discusses the various reactions within the Korean music community caused by an influx of the previously unknown music—mostly non-tonal and avant-garde—by recent composers such as Cage, Kagel, and Stockhausen. Many of those who were hostile toward new music tended to be older composers, who usually wrote vocal music using Korean poetry. I argue that for those composers, Western tonal music had become “traditional music,” and the lack of melody and familiar harmony in contemporary music was deemed a threatening disruption to this “tradition.” While such reactions rekindled the discussion of an expression of national identity through music, exposure to various styles of new music resulted in more sophisticated responses to such discourse.

The music of Byung-dong Paik, who also studied with Isang Yun in Hanover in 1970, is discussed as a case study in this chapter. While writing in a modernist language, Paik also had a strong penchant for Korean traditional culture. He embraced the concept of a tone as a complete musical idea, drawing from traditional Korean or Asian music; this principle manifests in his music in long, continuous lines and a generally scalar character. Kang's and Paik's music suggests contrasting approaches to the expression of national identity through music: while Kang consciously moved away from typecasting his music as Korean or Asian, Paik regarded his music as inseparable from his cultural heritage.

My last chapter begins with a snapshot of political incidents in Korea in the early 1980s: the massive civil uprising which opened the decade brought about strong anti-American sentiments across the country. So-called "third-generation" composers, such as Tai Bong Chung and Geonyong Lee, consequently called for music that no longer looked to the West but demonstrated noticeably Asian or Korean characteristics.²⁷ Thus, expressing national identity through music is a persistent topic of debate throughout post-World War II decades in Korea.

This chapter investigates the music by Unsuk Chin, which suggests an entirely different response to the question of integrating traditional Korean music and Western art music. The youngest of the composers studied here, she has outspokenly rejected the idea of conveying national or cultural identity through music. She sees associating music with

²⁷ These composers had relatively limited interactions with Western musical communities and are thus not discussed in depth in the current study.

a single cultural or national identity as restricting and even dangerous, embracing the ideals of multiculturalism. Instead, she takes materials from many different cultures or those with no specific national associations; she also demonstrates a strong proclivity for surreal subject matters. The cosmopolitanism of her music signifies a disruption of the long-standing debate surrounding the expression of Korean national identity through modern Western art music.

1. Dislocation and Postcolonial Consciousness

This chapter focuses on one of the first Korean composers to engage with Western musical modernism: Isang Yun. Born in South Korea in 1917, while the country was under Japanese rule, Yun studied cello and composition in both Japan and Korea. During the 1950s, he established a reputation as a composer of contemporary Western art music at home, writing *Lieder*-like art songs and some chamber music. At the age of 39, he moved to Europe and became one of the first Korean composers to build an international career. In 1968, conflicts between his political orientation and South Korea's post-Korean War military regime led to the kidnapping of the composer by the South Korean government, which accused him of treason in 1968. After the active petitioning of 118 European composers, including Boulez, Stravinsky, and Messiaen, the Korean government released Yun from his death sentence in 1969. But he was to live in exile in West Germany until his death in 1996, having never been allowed to return to his homeland. Isang Yun lived through perhaps the most volatile and muddled part of the history of his native country. The onerous life he led was a reflection of that history, and his works are inseparable from the experience of living it. Examining his musical career can provide insight into the effects of cultural disruptions on the formation of cultural identity in a composer.

Emphasis on “Koreanness” in Isang Yun’s Music

The ideological conflict with the South Korean government caused Isang Yun's works to be prohibited from being performed in South Korea until 1982, although the official

removal of the ban (*haegŭm*) did not happen until 1994.¹ While Yun's music was performed intermittently in South Korea between 1982 and 1994, studies on Yun and his music were done by German scholars such as Hanns-Werner Heister, Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer, Stephan Ilja, and Peter Andraschke until the 1990s. After the ban was lifted, South Korean musicologists such as Shin-Hyang Yun and Jeongmee Kim conducted research on Yun.² Shin-Hyang Yun's work provides a rich background of Korean traditional music and offers insights into philosophical and cultural implications behind Yun's works that were written in Europe. Her detailed analyses of Yun's works such as *Réak* (1966), *Images* (1968), *Gagok* (1972), and *Muak* (1978), highlight their connections to Korean tradition music and how the traits of Korean traditional music were translated using the language of Western music. She then asks if Yun's music is a true synthesis of

¹ Yun had written alma maters for several high schools and colleges in Korea before moving to Europe, and these songs continued to be sung even before the ban on his music was lifted. The first occasion of Yun's works being performed in a public venue was on September 25, 1982: the 7th *Daehanminkuk umakje* [Korean Music Festival; 대한민국음악제] dedicated its finale evening to Yun's music. This choice was interpreted as the South Korean government's willingness to lift a ban on Yun's music at the time, but the ban was removed much later, in 1994. "Kidae mot michin yŏnju nŭngryŏk, je 7 hoe Taehan Min'guk Ŭmakche" [Performances short of expectations, the 7th Korean music festival], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 28 September 1982, 10; "Yun Isang ūmak, 30 nyŏn manŭi 'haegŭm'" [Removal of a ban of music of Isang Yun in 30 years], *Hankyoreh*, 21 July 1994, 11. Despite the removal of the ban on Yun's music, debates surrounding Yun's political orientation still exist in South Korea, often initiated by far-right journalism. For example, an article from October 2011 in one of the major newspapers in Korea, *Chosun Ilbo*, reports that Yun and his wife Su-ja Yi traveled to North Korea numerous times and that they allegedly expressed unfailing loyalty to the late Kim Il Sung. Junho Ahn, "Su-ja Yi, Isang Yun's Wife: Living in a House Given by Jung-Il Kim, Traveling between Germany and Korea," *Chosun Ilbo*, 29 October 2011, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/10/29/2011102900047.html (accessed 6 December 2015).

² Peter Andraschke, "Avantgarde und Tradition: Isang Yun, ein Vermittler zwischen Asien und Europa," in *Multikulturelle und internationale Konzepte in der Neuen Musik*, ed. Hartmut Krones (Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 515-530; Dieter Eikemeier, "Ist Yun Isangs Musik koreanisch?," in *Der Komponist Isang Yun*, eds. Hanns-Werner Heister and Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer (München: edition text+kritik, 1987), 29-39; Jeongmee Kim, "The Diasporic Composer: The Fusion of Korean and German Musical Cultures in the Works of Isang Yun" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999); Kim, "Musical Syncretism in Isang Yun's *Gasa*," in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, eds. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 168-192; Shin-Hyang Yun, *Yun I-sang: kyŏnggyesŏn sang ŭi ūmak* [Isang Yun: Music at the boundary] (Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si: Han'gilsa, 2005).

the two cultures or an attempt at “assimilation” of Korean music into Western music, leaving the conclusion open-ended.³ Another Korean scholar, Jeongmee Kim, suggests that Yun’s music should be understood in the context of post-colonialism and globalization, staying in conversation with important trends in other academic fields. While her proposition is well founded, her analysis is similarly centered on discovering which features are Korean in Yun’s music.

Analyses by German critics and musicologists have a similar focus on Yun’s Korean heritage. In an article titled “Avant-garde and Tradition,” Peter Andraschke describes Yun as distinguishable from other composers at Darmstadt who used the twelve-tone technique as a compositional goal or those whose interests in Asia were mainly semantic or conceptual. Andraschke identified the main characteristic of Yun’s music as the expression of traditional sounds of Asian music using compositional techniques of European music; he concluded that such music is only partially possible for a European-trained musicologist, who may not be familiar with Korean traditional music and thus unable to fully grasp extra-musical significances in Yun’s music. Another German scholar of Korean studies, Dieter Eikemeier, also underlines Yun’s Korean cultural background: he asks whether Yun’s music is Korean or European and what is specifically Korean about it, trying to find the connection between the music and Korean culture.⁴

³ Yun, *Yun I-sang*, 231-251.

⁴ Eikemeier, “Ist Yun Isangs Musik koreanisch?,” 29-39.

These studies share a common approach in which they highlight the presence of two musical traditions in Yun's works and concentrate on identifying Asian musical features in those works. Taking those studies as a starting point, this chapter attempts to interpret the composer's aesthetic choices as offspring of Yun's awareness of his own national and ethnic identity. This investigation will pay attention to historical circumstances of the composer's time, specifically the varying degrees of westernization of Korean society and Yun's relationship with Western music.

Colonial History of Korea: Emergence of Nationalism

Before discussing Yun's musical career, it is important to understand the historical situation in Korea at the time. Throughout the twentieth century, Korea was deeply troubled from a chain of ill-fated incidents, from extended colonial rule by Japan (1910–1949) to the Korean War (1950–1953), to the ensuing division of the country into North and South with lasting antagonism against each other. The conclusion of the war also brought about the near-permanent presence of the U.S. military and an overwhelming influx of Western influences into a country that had previously had limited contact with the West.⁵ The period from the 1950s through the early 1980s was filled with wretched struggles, involving numerous coups d'état and violent protests, in the process of establishing a democratic government. A complex web of ideologies lasted throughout the twentieth century, muddling the shaping of a modern national identity and spawning various,

⁵ On American presence in Korea after World War II, see Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

conflicting notions of a collective national identity. Like many common people, artists took sides, or they were forced to do so; artistic works were often accepted or rejected based on ideologies associated with them.⁶

For most of the twentieth century, one of the key markers for a sense of political solidarity among Koreans was the willingness, or the unwillingness, to accept foreignness, either Japanese, European, or American. Any ambivalence toward foreign influences among the Korean people had to do with the way by which these external forces reached the country. Japan opened to the West throughout the Meiji period (1853–1912) and transformed from a feudal society to modern, market-economy based one with western ways of life.⁷ Its efforts of westernization were requited as the twentieth century began: equipped with western armor, Japan defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) to gain power over Korea and eventually became the only non-Western imperialist country in Asia. By contrast, in the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1897), the last dynastic monarchy before Korea became a nation state, prominent political voices opposed opening to West influences, maintaining the position that Korean culture must not be tainted by the “barbarism” of the West.⁸ Only in the late nineteenth century, when

⁶ See chapter 14, “The Politicization of Music,” in Choong-sik Ahn, *The Story of Western Music in Korea: A Social History, 1885–1950* (Morgan Hill, CA: eBookstand Books, 2005), 151–162.

⁷ In Japan, the writings from around the 1860s by the Japanese Enlightenment writer, author and journalist Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), who was deeply influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, were instrumental in convincing the Japanese people to open up to the west. See Albert M. Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

⁸ This view is prominently voiced by the Korean historian Tŏk-chu Yi, among others: Tŏk-chu Yi, *Chosŏn ūn wae Ilbon ūi singminji ka toeŏnnŭn’ga* [Why did Chosŏn become Japan’s colony] (Seoul: Edit’ŏ, 2002). Also see, Yong-gu Kim, *Segyegwan ch’ungdol kwa Hanmal oegyosa, 1866–1882* [Conflicts of worldview and the history of foreign relations at the end of Chosŏn Korea], (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 2001).

Korea was forced into signing a series of unequal treaties with imperial powers, did some Korean officials and intellectuals come to an agreement that a comprehensive reform of its foreign policy was necessary. By the turn of the century, however, the country's sovereignty had weakened beyond restitution, and Korea was annexed by the Japanese empire with the signing of the Protectorate Treaty, or the *Eulsa* Treaty, in 1905.

Throughout the period of Japanese colonial rule there was radical "Japanization" of the Koreans. Under Japan's cultural genocide plan, Korean traditional culture was suppressed: teaching of the Korean language was forbidden at schools, and even personal and family names had to be changed to Japanese names.⁹ But Japan was also experiencing fundamental changes during the Meiji Restoration, adopting primarily the German, or the Prussian, model for its army, cabinet, and school system, as well as in other cultural spheres.¹⁰ These changes in Japan consequently entered Korea. Music in the early twentieth century in Korea was therefore a miscellany of indigenous Korean elements, Japanese traditions, and Western models that were introduced through the Japanese channel, as well as American Christian missionaries, whose presence was notable in Korea at the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹

⁹ On anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea, see: Sung-wha Cheong, *The Politics of Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Korea: Japanese-South Korean Relations under American Occupation, 1945–1952* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991); Hildi Kang, *Under the Black Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). On Japanese colonization of Korea, see Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹⁰ The radical societal changes caused confusion even within Japanese society. On Japanese Westernization and Japan's ensuing identity issues, see: Leo Ching, "Japan in Asia," in *A Companion to Japanese History*, ed. William M. Tsutsui (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 2007), 407-423; Yoshimi Takeuchi, *What is Modernity?: Writings of Takeuchi Yoshimi*, ed. and trans., Richard F. Calichman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

¹¹ On American missionaries in Korea and their influence in the country at the end of the twentieth century, see chapter 6 of George M. McCune, *Korean-American Relations: Documents Pertaining to the Far*

Scholars of post-colonial nationalism have defined the modernization process of a society as involving three stages: tradition, transition, and modernity.¹² Among such scholars, Anthony D. Smith, who has proposed that modern nations must be understood with their pre-existing ethnic component as the premise, suggests that nationalism emerges naturally as a collective ideology during the time of transition in order to compensate for the weakened sense of identity. He writes,

To survive painful dislocation, societies must institutionalise new modes of fulfilling the principles and performing the functions with which earlier structures can no longer cope. To merit the title, a new 'society' must reconstitute itself in the image of the old . . . Mechanisms of reintegration and stabilisation can ease and facilitate the transition; among them are collective ideologies like nationalism which spring up naturally in periods of social crisis, and appear meaningful and effective for the participants of the situation.¹³

This statement held true in Korea after the colonial period: as will be shown throughout this dissertation, a collective national identity remained one of the central concerns across Korean society in the postcolonial decades. Yet, despite the heightened sense of ethnic identity after an extended period of dislocation, the notion of national identity diverged

Eastern Diplomacy of the United States (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951); Yur-Bok Lee and Wayne Patterson, eds., *Korean-American Relations, 1866–1997* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999); Elliot Griffis Wiliam, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea: The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912). Also see, Dae-Young Ryou, *Kaehwagi Chosŏn kwa Miguk sŏn'gyosa: chegukchuŭi ch'imnyak, kaehwa chagang, kŭrigo Miguk sŏn'gyosa* [Early Modern Korea and American Missionaries: Imperial Expansion, Self-Strengthening Reform, and American Missionaries] (Seoul: Korean Institute of Christian History, 2004).

¹² Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 39.

¹³ Ibid., 148-157; Anthony D. Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 49-50, quoted in Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 39.

among people. Musical composition was a form of individual response to such social and political atmosphere of the time, as we will see below.

Some composers turned to Marxism and stood against the U.S. that was the *de facto* new command in the southern part of the country since the conclusion of World War II. One such composer is Sun-Nam Kim (1917–1983?), a contemporary of Isang Yun.¹⁴ Although he studied piano and composition in Japan, Sun-Nam Kim’s political orientation turned anti-Japanese and pro-Marxist toward the end of World War II. In 1945, he founded a composers’ union, the Korean Proletarian Music Union, which later became the Nationalist People’s Battle Force. He declined the opportunity to study in the U.S. with Aaron Copland—an opportunity supported by Serge Koussevitzky, the music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra—but instead went to North Korea and contributed in establishing its musical scene.¹⁵ Left-wing musicians often went to study in Russia then, and Kim also studied in Moscow with Aram Khachaturian. These composers returned to North Korea in the 1950s at the outbreak of the Korean War and wrote revolutionary and propaganda songs that replaced Korean folk music there.

Another group of composers remained conservative and traditionalist. According to Keith Howard, a British ethnomusicologist who specializes in Korean traditional music, one of the prominent musical genres written by conservative composers during

¹⁴ For more on Sun-Nam Kim, see ch. 4, n. 111.

¹⁵ Ilja Stephen, “Isang Yun-im Spannungsfeld der Kulturen und politischen Systeme,” in *Komponisten im Exil: 16 Künstlerschicksale des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ferdinand Zehentreiter (Berlin: Henschel, 2008), 246. So far, two biographies of Sun-Nam Kim, one written by Kim’s daughter and the other by the South Korean musicologist Dong-Eun No, who gathered information from North Korean musicians, have been published in Korean. Se-won Kim, *Na ūi aboji Kim Sun-Nam* [My father Sun-Nam Kim] (Seoul, Nanam chulpan: 2001); Dong-Eun No, *Kim Sun-Nam, gū sam kwa yesul* [Sun-Nam Kim, his life and arts] (Seoul, Nangman Ŭmaksa: 1986).

this period was the so-called “creative traditional music” (*ch’angjak kugak*).¹⁶ One such composer was Kisu Kim (1917–1986), another contemporary of Yun’s. Kim studied Korean traditional music until 1936 in *Yiwangjik a-akpu*, an organization for the historical study, performance, and training of traditional Korean music.¹⁷ While the presence of composers like Kim suggests that Korean traditional culture was not entirely banned by the Japanese, it is to be noted that the term *a-ak*, which refers to traditional court music, is closely related to the Japanese counterpart *gagaku*.¹⁸ As Howard points out, Kisu Kim stayed conservative musically and politically through every changing authority: he had written music to commemorate Japanese colonial power in 1939; in the 1960s, during the Park Chung-Hee regime which allegedly was supported by Japan and the U.S. but protested by the common people in Korea, Kim wrote music to celebrate the new era. Musically, he continued to engage with traditional music, but his creative traditional music was written using the Western notational system.¹⁹ He also started writing the art song (*gagok*) genre, which resembles, at least in its conception, the German *Lied*. This art song genre also had its root in Christian hymns, which were introduced by American missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century. The hymns were “Koreanized,” and with the name *Chang-ga*, they were used as spiritual student

¹⁶ Keith Howard, *Creating Korean Music*, 2: 89-126. This part of the history of western music in Korea, following Howard’s study, is also outlined in Ilja Stephan’s article: Stephen, “Isang Yun,” 245.

¹⁷ Jisun Lee and Hanako Yamamoto, “A Study of Yiwangjik’s Organization based on Jikwonrok,” under “Jisun Lee’s Traditional Japanese Culture,” <http://www.leejisun.com/article-jikwonrok.htm> (accessed 15 February 2017).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Stephen, “Isang Yun,” 245-6.

songs during the period of active independence movement against Japan in the 1930s.²⁰

The art song genre was explored extensively not only by the later generation of composers, but also by Kim's contemporaries, including Isang Yun.

Isang Yun in Korea, until 1955

Yun chose a different path from either of the composers just mentioned. He was born into the house of a poet in Sanchung, a small town in the Southern Province of Kyōngsang in South Korea, and spent most of his youth in Tongyeong, a coastal city which has produced many important literary figures and artists. As a child of a scholar (*yangban*), he was educated according to the traditional Confucian teachings at home but later attended a public school, where he was introduced to a portable organ.²¹ In his hometown, fisherman frequently sang folk songs while at work, and Shaman rituals or performances of traditional music were given in open spaces around the town. In stark contrast, European silent films with Western popular music or Strauss's waltzes played over moving images were new in town at the time, and Yun frequented the movie theaters. He also went to a protestant church led by American missionaries, and there he sang protestant hymns and learned to play the organ, violin, and guitar. At the age of

²⁰ Ohsung Kwon, *Essays on Korean Traditional Music Culture* (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2008), 29-30. Although it is questionable if this connection was the direct cause, the Japanese developed an enmity toward Americans and expelled all the missionaries from Korea in the 1930s, during the time of heightened censorship. Also see Yoon-Sun Lee, *One Hundred Years of Western Music in Korea* (Seoul: Eumag Choonchu Publisher, 1985); Bang-song Song, *Korean Music: Historical and Other Aspects* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000); Woo-Suk Suh, *Studies on Reception and Development of Western Music* (Seoul: Moon-Wha, 1988).

²¹ The biographical information in this section comes from Su-ja Yi, *Nae nampyōn Yun I-sang* [My Husband Isang Yun], vol. 1 (Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yōngsa, 1998), 87-104; Rinser and Yun, *Yun Isang sangch'ō ibūn yong*, 17-46.

thirteen, he attempted composing a simple song with harmony. Around that time, he was infatuated with works such as Ravel's String Quartet, Gounod's *Faust*, and Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*, recordings of which were no longer difficult to find even in a small town like Tongyeong.²²

Yun's first music teacher in Korea was a violinist who was trained by a German army musician. In 1890, a couple of years after the American missionaries arrived, Prussian military musician Franz Eckert, who had previously served in the Japanese army band for many years, was invited to Korea to establish the court army band. Eckert is credited with contributing to the development of instrumental music in Korea, giving instrumental and music theory lessons to about fifty students, one of them being Isang Yun's teacher.²³ With this teacher, Yun studied harmony and counterpoint and learned about the German modernists including Richard Strauss and Paul Hindemith in the late 1920s.²⁴ From his teacher, Yun learned to express traditional sound with Western harmony—for instance by supporting pentatonic melodies with harmonic progressions suggested by the common practice theory—which was the way most Korean composers who attempted to compose in the style of Western art music composed then.

After years of successful music lessons, at age 16, Yun went to Osaka, Japan, to study cello and music theory from 1933 to 1936. He briefly returned to his hometown and taught at an elementary school from 1936 to 1938, but went back to Japan in 1938, this

²² Sun-Wook Park, *Isang Yun* (Seoul: Jahk-eun Ssi-aht, 2010), 31-56.

²³ Kwon, *Essays*, 8-14; Suk-Nam Kang, "Studies on the Reception of Western Music: Its beginning and F. Eckert" (Master's Thesis, Yonsei University, 1989), 49. Also see Duk-Hee Yoo, *History of Music Education* (Seoul: SeKwang Publishing, 1985).

²⁴ Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 111-112. It is not clear which pieces of these composers Yun learned.

time to Tokyo, to study composition with the Japanese composer Tomojiro Ikenouchi, who had studied at the Paris Conservatoire with Henri Büsser and Lazare Lévy. Yun became familiar with French Impressionist style because of Ikenouchi's influence. When Japan entered the war to join the Axis in 1941, Yun came back to Korea and joined an underground anti-Japanese activist group, for which he was arrested and imprisoned briefly in 1944.²⁵ When the war was over, Yun returned to his hometown and worked as a music teacher at a high school. The political situation in Korea was in disarray after liberation from Japan, and people were divided into many political parties. Yun was attracted by socialist ideals; he attempted to cooperate with the communist party although it was not a committed effort.²⁶

His works were not overtly political at his point, however. Rather, he continued to write in the style that was theoretically based on European music but had distinctive Asian quality in sound. His art song (*gagok*) titled “Swing,” composed and published in Korea between 1941 and 1945 (withdrawn afterwards), displays this compositional style well (Example 1.1). *Gagok* was arguably the most popular genre in which to compose among Korean composers. It was a more approachable compositional form than chamber music or orchestral music; it was also a way to celebrate poems by Korean poets. A poem in traditional form (*sijo*), the text of “Swing,” is written by the poet Sang-ok Kim (1920–2004), Yun's contemporary. It depicts the sight of a person, possibly a young girl, on a

²⁵ Yun gives an account of how, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Korean students staying in Japan organized an underground independence movement and returned to Korea in preparation for the imminent war. Upon returning home many of those students were imprisoned by Japanese officials, who correctly guessed that these students would fight against Japan if a war were to break out. Rinser and Yun, *Yun Isang sangch'ŏ ibŭn yong*, 50-54. Also see Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 114-116.

²⁶ Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 118.

swing, likening her to a butterfly that drifts in and out of view against the scenery of mountain hills.

그 네 (추 천)

김상옥 사

윤이상 곡

Moderato
밋을 충분히 가지고 (느리게 않게)
(♩. ca. 70)



♩ca ♩ca ♩ca ♩



Example 1.1: “Swing,” written between 1941 and 1945; reprinted in Shin-Hyang Yun, Yun I-sang, 98

This song, as with other *gagok*, uses Western harmony and functional notation to express vocal qualities found in Korean music such as pentatonic scales and scalar tonality. For instance, the melody of “Swing” is built from the Bb-C-D-F-G pentatonic scale. Harmonic progression is limited, oscillating between I and V in Bb major. Instead of tonal development, the song is generally centered around Bb with a secondary emphasis on G, which further weakens the song’s tonality. The consistent centering on certain pitches is significant: as will be shown below, the principle of focusing on a pitch rather than on a harmonic area would become a key feature in Yun’s later music. If the concept of harmony, or the vertical simultaneity of pitches, is at the core of musical structure in Western music, at least until the twentieth century, traditional Asian music develops through continuous and fluid melody and change of rhythm and tempo. Even when multiple instruments play, they are in unison instead of creating harmony. This linear quality is expressed with Western functional harmony and notation in this song.

The blend of Western and traditional elements in music is one feature that echoes cultural crossings during the modernization process in Korea. Taiwanese cultural theorist Kuan-Hsing Chen claims that modernity is marked by translation on all levels of a person or a society through the process of modernization. More importantly, modernity refers to the overall effects of modernization, where foreign influences “negotiate and mix with local history and culture” and “tradition is not opposed to modernity but is an integral and living part of it.”²⁷ The latter part of the statement is useful in explaining the process of

²⁷ Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 224.

musical modernization in a non-European country, as the course of aesthetic turns made by Yun (and the later generation of composers) involves constant wavering between rejection of tradition, blind acceptance of foreignness, and restitution of tradition.

Yun never wrote creative traditional music. In fact, he seemed to have attempted to move even further from the style as shown in “Swing” and closer to purely European style in the 1950s. From 1953 until moving to Europe in 1956, Yun taught at various universities in Seoul, worked as a composer, and served as a secretary general of the composers’ union.²⁸ He wrote chamber pieces and lengthy instrumental pieces during this period, which are all withdrawn now. His String Quartet No. 1 and a piano trio earned him the 1955 Seoul Culture Award.²⁹ By this point, he had been introduced to serialism by studying Josef Rufer’s *Die Komposition mit Zwölf Tönen*, which had been translated into Japanese in 1953.³⁰ But the conservative atmosphere at home, as well as limited opportunities to learn the newest compositional trends, made Yun feel that he would need to go to Europe to study more advanced techniques.

²⁸ Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 68-69.

²⁹ “Je 5 hoe sŏul si munhwasang” [The fifth Seoul cultural prize], *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 12 April 1956, 3.

³⁰ Rufer’s book was translated by the Japanese composer Yoshirō Vladimir Irino (1921–1980), who also translated René Leibowitz’s *Schoenberg and His School*. Rufer’s book was translated into Japanese in 1953 and was published in 1957. The Japanese title is as follows: Josef Rufer, *12on ni yoru sakkyoku gihō* [Composition technique by twelve sounds], trans. Yoshirō Irino (Tokyo: Ongaku No Tomosha, 1957). Also, Yoshirō Irino, *Jūnion no ongaku: shēnberuku to sono gihō* [Twelve sounds of music: Schönberg and its technique] (Tokyo: Hayakawashobō, 1953).

*String Quartet No. 1 (1955)*³¹ and to Europe

Yun's String Quartet No. 1 from 1955 was published by the Society for Native Cultural Research (향토문화연구회).³² In 1955 a new cultural policy had been instated and censorship for all areas of arts, including literature, film, music and dance, strengthened in South Korea.³³ The main objective of the new policy was largely to purge all traces of Japanese imperialism from traditional Korean culture. At the same time, it suppressed socialist influence as well as Western influence through censorship. As though to reflect this trend, works written by Yun around this time—mostly *Lieder*-like songs—sounded much like traditional music, largely because of the use of modes and pentatonic scales. The same was true for the String Quartet; at the same time, as will be shown below, it shows influences of modernist composers such as Bartók and Hindemith, both of whom were well known to Korean musicians by the 1950s.³⁴

The sprightly first movement extensively uses the fourth and the fifth intervals. The movement begins by the three upper voices outlining the fifth interval (Example 1.2). The emphasis on the fifth interval (sometimes appearing as its inversion fourth or as diminished fifths) is maintained throughout the movement. Strict rhythmic regularity and textural clarity give the impression of a neoclassical work. Both the second movement

³¹ I thank the Isang Yun House in Tongyeong for providing this score.

³² "Piano samjungjugok mit hyunak sajungjugok Yun Isang gok" [Piano Trio and String Quartet, Isang Yun's works], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 8 July 1955, 4.

³³ Bong-Beom Lee, "Culture Policy and Film Censorship in 1950s," *Korean Cultural Studies* 37 (2009): 410-467.

³⁴ As mentioned earlier, Yun was exposed to Hindemith's music through his teacher (see n. 23 in this chapter). Bartók's works were introduced to Korean musicians as early as the mid-1940s through American musician and military officer, James Cahill, in Korea. This particular interaction, as well as Bartók's reception in Korea, will be discussed more in detail in chapter 4 below.

and the contrastingly lively third movement also emphasize the interval of the fifth (or the fourth) in their harmonic and melodic contents (Example 1.3). In the second movement, the opening cello melody outlines the fourth and the fifth intervals against the drone-like D minor-major seventh chord [D-F-A-C#] played in the upper string parts and held for nearly thirteen bars. The upper three strings momentarily sidestep to a minor seventh chord [B-D-F#-A; mm. 10-11], but the violin maintains the fifth [D-A]. The third movement also begins by outlining the perfect fifths in the outer voices, and the rest of the movement develops through emphasis on triadic melodic lines (Example 1.4). These chords, however, are not always used in the familiar ways; for instance, at the conclusion of the first phrase (m. 5), the harmonic progression does not follow any models of cadences defined by functional harmony, except for a faint suggestion of a V-I cadence in the bass line. Similarly, in all three movements, melodies are often built from pentatonic scales, evoking the mood of folk songs against conventional triads and seventh chords.

QUARTET I

Allegro moderato Yun Ie Sang

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

(Bowing by Ahn Pyeng So)

Example 1.2: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 1, emphasis on the perfect fifth interval

30 II

Andante phantastique

ppp (sempre delicato)

ppp (sempre delicato)

ppp (sempre delicato)

mp espress.

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

3a: String Quartet No. 1, Mvt. 2, mm. 1-8

mp espress.

cresc.

cresc.

3b: Main theme, String Quartet No. 1, mvt. 2, mm. 1-13

Example 1.3: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 2, opening measures

46

Allegro giocosamente III

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing four staves. The first system begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The second system begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic marking. The third system begins with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic marking. The tempo is marked 'Allegro giocosamente' and the movement is the third of a set, indicated by the Roman numeral 'III'. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and rests, with some measures featuring a 3/4 time signature change.

Example 1.4: Isang Yun, String Quartet No. 1 (1955), Mvt. 1, mm. 1-6

The Quartet was performed in Seoul on February 26, 1955 in a concert which presented new works written by several Korean composers of Western music.³⁵ The concert was a groundbreaking event at the time, as no such concert—a composition recital featuring works by Korean composers—had been given previously. The history of composition in Korea was short, and music concerts in Korea mostly presented works by Western composers. After the premiere of Yun’s work, an unfavorable review criticized virtually all participating composers’ works as being pedantic, disagreeable to the ear, and “slavish to theory.”³⁶ Yun’s work was described as being “an expression of undigested theory” and full of “unsettling melodies and harmonies.” The critic concluded by stating that these composers should master works by Haydn and Mozart first. In a response to the review, Yun explained that he had used folk tunes and mostly conventional harmonies to make his music approachable to the public. He further urged, Korean composers should not shy away from writing harmonically complex music, as even more intricate music is being written in Europe.³⁷

Later that year Yun published his chamber works, the String Quartet and a Piano Trio, with his own money, and this time the reception was noticeably favorable. In addition to the aesthetic virtues of the works, the publication was meaningful in that it was the first publication of chamber works written by a Korean composer. In a quite

³⁵ “Yölyön e chöngjung hwanghol” [Impassioned performances mesmerize audiences], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 28 February 1955, 2. All translations unless otherwise indicated are my own.

³⁶ Hwa-sup Oh, “Hakgal doen ch’angjak jöngsin” [Withered creative spirit], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 9 March 1955, 4. For full republication of the exchange of articles, see: Yi, *Nae nampyöŋ*, 1: 69-77.

³⁷ This response by Yun was originally published in *Kyung-in Daily*, 16 March 1955, and republished in Yi, *Nae nampyöŋ*, 1: 76.

different tone from the critique of the concert, Yun's works were described as "a true cultural asset of the nation."³⁸ This critic, a music professor at the Seoul National University, found that Yun's melodies conveyed "earnest love for one's home country" and reflected "the joys and sorrows carried on from our ancestors." It is noticeable that the review is almost entirely devoted to commending the indigenous spirit expressed in Yun's music, while hardly discussing any other musical features.

Yun won the Seoul Cultural Award with this work, and with the award funds he was able to travel to Europe the next year. He did not publish the work in Europe, however, because he considered it to be stylistically old-fashioned for the European standards at the time. He wrote another String Quartet (No. 2) in 1956 while he was in Paris, but it also remained unpublished for the same reason.³⁹ His decision not to make these two works public in Europe—despite the success of the first String Quartet in Korea (Figure 1.1)—is revealing in terms of his regard toward the musical standards in Europe and those in his hometown.

³⁸ Bongch'o Chŏn, "Dongyangjŏkin sinbigam, <Yun I-sang silnaeak kokjip ilki>" [The Asian mystery, Isang Yun's "Diary of Chamber Works"], *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 21 July 1955, 4.

³⁹ Yun, *Yun I-sang*, 97.

YUN IE SANG
STRING QUARTET NO. 1



THE SOCIETY FOR NATIVE CULTURAL RESEARCH
SEOUL, PUSAN, KOREA.

Figure 1.1: Cover page of String Quartet No. 1 (1955), published by The Society for Native Cultural Research in Korea (withdrawn by composer)

With the help of a Korean friend who was already in Paris, Yun applied for the Paris Conservatoire and was accepted to the school as a composition student. On June 2, 1956, he left Seoul for Paris, with the plan of staying in Europe for just three years. He had his wife and two children back in Korea, and he believed three years would be enough time for him to master the twelve-tone techniques. It is not clear whether or not Yun knew of Boulez or the following statement by Boulez before leaving for Europe: “[A]ny musician who has not experienced ... the necessity of the dodecaphonic language is OF NO USE. For his whole work is irrelevant to the needs of his epoch.”⁴⁰ Regardless, it is apparent that Yun understood the epochal significance of Schoenberg’s twelve-tone music.

Two weeks later, Yun arrived in Paris and studied with Tony Aubin and Pierre Revel. The life in Paris was neither easy nor satisfying for Yun. The high cost of living and expensive tuition in Paris made his life there as well as the life of his family, who remained in Korea, strenuous. More importantly, Yun wanted to study serial technique, but the classes at the Paris Conservatoire did not concentrate on it as much as Yun would have liked. For these reasons, two years after arriving in France, he decided to move to Germany, where school tuition and living expenses were cheaper and where he could study with a student of Schoenberg, Josef Rufer, as well as Boris Blacher and Reinhard Schwarz-Schilling. During his stay in Paris Yun encountered musical styles and sounds that he could not have been in touch with while in Korea, including the music of

⁴⁰ Pierre Boulez, “Eventuellement...” (1952), translated as “Possibly...,” in *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 113.

Messiaen, Dutilleux, André Jolivet, Alexandre Tansmann, and Henri Sauguet.⁴¹ But the true moment of culture shock for Yun happened in Darmstadt.

Europe in the Late 1950s: The Others at Darmstadt

The scene Yun found in Germany was a far cry from what he had imagined. In particular, his experience at the Darmstadt Summer Course in 1958 was perhaps the most influential in Yun's musical development. Among the works Yun heard at Darmstadt that year were the following: Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte für 10 Instrumente* (1953), Nono's *Cori di Didone* (1958), Boulez's *Le soleil des eaux* (1950), Maderna's *Musica su due dimensioni für Flöte und Tonband* (1952/1958), and Cage's *Music for Piano* (1946–1948).⁴² Yun's response to these works will be discussed further below, but before that, it is worthwhile to review briefly the process of development that led to such works at Darmstadt that year.

Music in Europe the late 1940s and 1950s progressed with a fairly singular focus, that of developing new paradigms of composing. At the Paris Conservatoire, the class of Messiaen which included Boulez, Stockhausen, and Karel Goeyvaerts was the hotbed of the next generation of musicians that would assume control of major musical scenes in West Europe. In 1951, Pierre Schaeffer founded the *Groupe de Recherche de Musique Concrète* (GRMC) in Paris and worked with magnetic tape. In Germany, various festivals

⁴¹ Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 137.

⁴² The program of the concerts and courses at the 1958 Darmstadt can be found here: Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, eds., *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946-1966: Geschichte und Dokumentation in vier Bänden* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997), 3: 589-595.

and organizations for new music were established, including the Donaueschingen Festival, which had stopped during the war years but was restored in 1945, and the Darmstadt Summer Course for New Music.

The Darmstadt Summer Course was established shortly after the conclusion of the Second World War in the American zone of Germany. Politically, it served as a new cultural scene in the wake of the installation of democratic institutions in West Germany. Musically, it provided a nexus for musicians from the fascist or fascist-occupied areas of Europe. In the Course's initial years, works of those composers who had been persecuted during the Nazi regime, including Webern, Schoenberg, and Hindemith, were played frequently, reflecting the current of *Nachholbedürfnis* ("the need to catch up").⁴³ In the early 1950s, the Darmstadt Course was the *locus classicus* of total serialism, as Nono and Stockhausen joined the Course in 1952, and as Boulez's Second Piano Sonata was presented at the Course in the same year. By the mid-1950s, the Course was marked by domination by the three young composers—Stockhausen, Boulez, and Nono. But in the late 1950s and the 1960s, with the presence of American avant-gardists, specifically after Cage's visit to the Course in 1958, and as the aesthetic disputes between Nono and

⁴³ See works by scholars such as Paul G. Attinello, "Postmodern or Modern: A Different Approach to Darmstadt," *Contemporary Music Review* 26/1 (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2007): 25-37; Amy C. Beal, "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946–1956," *American Musicological Society* 53 (2000): 105-139; Beal, "A Place to Play Their Wares with Dignity: American Composer-Performers in West Germany, 1972," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2002): 329-348; Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Borio and Danuser, ed., *Im Zenit der Moderne*; Morag J. Grant, *Serial Music, Serial Aesthetics: Compositional Theory in Post-War Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Stockhausen catalyzed the dissolution of the “Darmstadt school,” radical music of the American experimentalists, including Cage, Wolpe, and Tudor, shared the center stage.⁴⁴

One noticeable trend that replaced the dominant position of strict serialism in the 1950s was the employment of non-traditional sound and form. Boulez wrote his serial pieces such as *Polyphonie X* and *Structure Ia* in 1951 and 1952 but wrote works that were free in form by the late 1950s, including *Le marteau sans maître* (1955) and *Poésie pour pouvoir* (1958). Stockhausen, who had written total serial works such as *Kreuzspiel* and the first four *Klavierstücke* also in 1951 and 1952, turned his attention to electronic and aleatoric music by the mid-1950s after his involvement in the electronic studio in Cologne. Other composers followed the trend: Sylvano Bussotti (*5 Piano Pieces for David Tudor* (1959), Mauricio Kagel (*Transición II* for piano, percussion, and two tapes (1959), and Dieter Schnebel (*:(madrasha 2)* and *Für Stimmen (...missa est) I dt 31 6* (both 1958)) created chaotic, unorthodox scores that were meant to be an attack on old ideas, from conventional melody and rhythm to performance instructions to parametric thinking in general. Journals such as *Die Reihe* and the *Reitraege*, which were only available to those who attended the Course then, were also breeding grounds for new ideas on music.

Another important trend was to look beyond Europe for novel sources for sound and musical form. This tendency already had precedent: Messiaen, one of the “old masters” at the Course, had introduced non-European sound in his works from more than

⁴⁴ For the chronology of musical events at the Darmstadt Course, see: volume 3 of Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*; Iddon, *New Music*. On the disputes between Nono and Stockhausen, see Christopher Fox, “Luigi Nono and the Darmstadt School: Form and Meaning in the Early Works (1950–1959),” *Contemporary Music Review* 18/2 (1999): 111-130.

a decade earlier, as in *Harawi* (1944), which shows Andean influences, and in *Cantéyodjayâ* (1949), which features Hindu rhythm. Years later, this trend was gaining more impetus in Darmstadt. On July 18, 1957, the Berlin-born Israeli musicologist Peter Gradenwitz gave a lecture titled, “Meaning and influence of East in the New Music of the West with Musical Examples” (*Bedeutung und Einfluß des Orients in der Neuen Musik des Westens mit musikalischen Beispielen*). Later on the same day, a program called “Music from India” (*Musik aus Indien*) featured Indian musicians playing sitar, tabla, and tamboura.⁴⁵ In 1958, the Japanese composer Yoritsune Matsudaira’s *U-mai* [Right Dance] was performed.⁴⁶ That same year John Cage publicly concretized his musical conceptions based on Asian philosophy and the idea of chance in his lecture on indeterminacy.

Such changes were simultaneously a fresh challenge and a fortuitous event for Yun, who had started studying twelve-tone theories and composition with Boris Blacher, Josef Rufer, and Reinhard Schwarz-Schilling in Berlin near the end of 1957 and participated in the Darmstadt Course in 1958 and 1959. While in Korea, Yun was in a difficult position as a composer: on one hand, he identified himself as a composer of avant-garde Western art music by writing non-tonal music; on the other hand, he needed to prove his patriotism by displaying his connection with Korean tradition in his works. In the 1950s in Korea, while there was an unquestioning acceptance of Western music, there were also growing concerns and questions about what was Korean and what was

⁴⁵ Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 584-589.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 594-5.

modern. Conflicts were growing between more informed, up-to-date composers such as Yun and conservative composers who believed that Western music should be used to serve the purpose of preserving or improving traditional music.⁴⁷

The “Need to Catch Up”

In a place where new ideas quickly became old, and the denial of old traditions was usual, it is likely that Yun felt liberated from the pressure of exhibiting any kind of ideology in his music. The ideological debates at the Darmstadt Course did not interest him, while quickly changing compositional trends allowed him to utilize his cultural resources that had been—advantageously for Yun—unexplored in Europe. The letters Yun wrote to his wife in 1958, shortly after his arrival at the Course, reveal that this changing atmosphere was met with mixed feelings by the composer:⁴⁸

I believe less than two percent of the composers here write normal and traditional music like I do. New music—music that you wouldn’t even possibly imagine and which horrifies me as well—is being played every day here. Schoenberg and Alban Berg have become as obsolete as what we think of Beethoven.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ In 1964, the composer Woon-Yong Na challenged Korean composers to be critical of their acceptance of Western music and to create a new nationalistic style that would “suit the needs, senses, and tastes of modern Korean music.” He wrote, “In order for our music to be more Korean, three steps are required. One, discolored influences of the Japanese and Western elements have to be eliminated. Two, characteristic elements from the traditional music have to be better identified and then materialized in our new creation. Three, suitable elements from Western and Chinese music first be distinguished and filtered before we take them in.” Although this essay was written about a decade after Yun left Korea, it was a result of a long-lasting anxiety and questions about the identity of Korean music. Cited in Kwon, 39; Woon-Yong Na [Un-yung La], *Theme and Variations* [*Chuje wa pyŏnju*] (Seoul: SeKwang Publisher, 1964), 49.

⁴⁸ All of Yun’s letters and writings are given in my own translation.

⁴⁹ Letter by Yun to Su-ja Yi, written on September 4, 1958. Published in Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 154.

By “traditional music,” he refers to Schoenbergian and Bergian serial music, the compositional style which he believed he needed to master in order to be deemed legitimate in Europe. That year, Yun heard works mentioned above by Stockhausen, Nono, Boulex, Maderna and Cage—works that “horrificed” him.⁵⁰ A couple of days later, he wrote to his wife again:

I was not able to study Schoenbergian twelve-tone music that had begun in 1925. This technique progressed rapidly in Japan after the War but we Koreans were ignorant of it. Of course it is probably less than two percent of the European composers who engage in this technique, but [writing with the twelve-tone technique] seems to be the only way to be noticed here. Also, the fastest way to enter the international scene is to be recognized at Darmstadt. In my opinion, there are great works, but there are also some bad works. It is as if they are all affected by this epidemic of hanging onto techniques.⁵¹

The problem Yun was facing quite apparent: he needed to learn the old technique in order to be legitimized in Europe, yet there was a vigorous attack on that very technique which had attracted him to Europe in the first place. Observing the situation, he quickly concludes in the same letter:

None of my works have been written to fight. I have never thought of fighting against the radical avant-gardists. I did not have the means to do it, nor did I know of them. But now I do. And I’ve come to know where I, and my works, stand. So I will write works that will fight them. . . . I do not mean to write works that are like dexterous modern skyscrapers, like those by the German Karlheinz Stockhausen or the French Pierre Boulez. But it is fortunate for me that gaining popularity on the vanguard are works that convey subtle nihilism and silence like Asian ink paintings, yet are carefully structured with subtlety and abstraction.⁵²

⁵⁰ It is not clear which version of Maderna’s work was performed that year.

⁵¹ Letter by Yun to Su-ja Yi, written on September 10, 1958. Published in Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 155-6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 157.

The degree of sensitivity with which he was able to read the goings-on at the Course—including his criticism of the lack of variety there—is striking. These letters reveal Yun’s frustration of being behind in time, as well as his strong desire to be part of the European mainstream. This mixed psychology helped him to find his aesthetic niche in the midst of rapidly changing trends. Ideological debates involving compositional styles at home hindered compositional freedom and stagnated acceptance of new musical style. Such obstacles caused in Yun both the fear of falling behind and the strong desire to go to Europe to “catch up.” Being in Europe gave him the freedom of writing in complex and new languages as he wanted, but the newness was beyond his grasp. Realizing that what he had long regarded as the most advanced technique had become timeworn and trite, Yun understood very well that he could no longer make an impression by mere proficiency of serialism and that a personal twist was necessary. In other words, the rapidly changing musical aesthetic at the Course catalyzed his effort to establish a distinctive musical language.

The diverse and dynamic atmosphere that now characterized the Course allowed him to experiment within his own limitations. Yun tried to emulate European modernism in his early career, in the 1950s and early 1960s, but began to capitalize on his own cultural tradition more consciously as his music matured. He discussed the idea of expressing elements of traditional Asian music using serial technique with the director of the Course, Wolfgang Steinecke, in 1958. Steinecke was supportive of the idea and asked Yun to write a piece for the Course in 1959. Yun’s teacher in Berlin, Blacher, who had spent some years in China himself, also encouraged Yun to write music that incorporated

influences of both Western and Asian music.⁵³ Thus, after his first summer at Darmstadt, Yun returned to Berlin and wrote *Musik für sieben Instrumente*, which was completed on March 10, 1959.

Musik für sieben Instrumente (1959)

Before writing this septet, Yun had already experimented with strict serialism in *Five Pieces for Piano* a year earlier. *Musik für sieben Instrumente*, in three movements for flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, violin and cello, was also written with twelve-tone technique but expressed sounds of traditional Asian music more overtly than the previous work. These two early works stand apart from his later works for their non-programmatic titles. This naming, along with the traditional fast-slow-fast movement scheme, places *Musik* into the realm of absolute music as well as under Schoenbergian lineage. In fact, connection to the Classical forms is something that remained indispensable in Yun's music: although he occasionally turned to programmatic titles that reflect his Asian heritage and wrote in freer forms in the late 1960s and the 1970s, he returned in the 1980s to writing sonatas, concertos, quintets and quartets, and symphonies.

In addition to these ostensibly Classical characteristics, Yun's handling of tone rows in *Musik* resembles that of Schoenberg, especially in the latter composer's works from the 1920s. In *Musik*, motivic series are presented in multiple rhythmic patterns without losing their motivic identity, as in Schoenberg's Third String Quartet (1927) and the *Variation für Orchester*, Op. 31 (1928). There is even a hint of canonic writing, a

⁵³ Rinser and Yun, *Yun Isang sangch'ŏ ibŭn yong*, 79-80.

avored device by Schoenberg, as seen in his works such as the one-act opera *Von heute auf morgen* (1929), *Moses und Aron* (1932), *Canon for Thomas Mann on his 70th birthday* (1945), the late chorale work *Es gingen zwei Gespielen gut* (1948), as well as his numerous canonic works for the keyboard and the voices (Example 1.5). At the same time, Yun's configuration of the tone row, in which certain interval classes (often interval classes 1, 4, 5) are designated to function as main motivic ideas, is similar to that of Berg, who favored interval classes 3, 4, and 5, and Webern, who favored the interval class 1. These interval classes are subsets of bigger motifs that are in the form of tetrachords or hexachords, which is also reminiscent of the first movement of Berg's *Lyric Suite* for String Quartet (1926).

I

Andantino delicato $\text{♩} = \text{ca } 72$ [D#-E-A#-B-G#-A]

Flöte *p dolce* *mp*

Oboe *p* *mp*

Klarinette *mfp*

Fagott *p*

Horn [C-F-C#-F#] + P5 [D-G]

Violine *fp* *sul A*

Violoncello *fp* *sul D*

[C#-F-F#] + [G-D]

[F-F#] + [G-D]

pizz. *arco* *mf*

Example 1.5: *Musik für sieben Instrumente*, Mvt. 1, mm. 1-4: entry points of canonic voices and hexchord variations

Familiar and Unfamiliar Uses of Primary Interval and Intervallic Cycle

At the onset of the first movement, *Andantino delicato*, the twelve-tone row is divided into two hexachords: the first one, [D#-E-A#-B-G#-A], is introduced in its entirety by the flute (mm.1-3), and the second, [C-F-C#-F#-G-D], is played by the oboe and the clarinet (m.1; Example 1.5 above). There is a clear difference between the two hexachords in the way their pitch classes are arranged. The first hexachord consists of three pairs of minor seconds that are each separated by perfect fifth; the second one consists of three pairs of perfect fourths that are separated by a triad and a minor second respectively. The order of the first four pitches of the second hexachord are frequently shifted throughout the movement; it is possible to rearrange it as [C-C#-F-F#-G-D]. Now this can be divided further, into one tetrachord [C-F-C#-F#], or [C-C#-F-F#], and a perfect fifth (or interval-class 7) dyad [G-D], as it appears in this divided form with increasing frequency as the movement unfolds. In that case, the second hexachord can be described as two pairs of semi-tones, [C-C#] and [F-F#], and a dyad [G-D]. The two hexachords yield the following primary or motivic intervals: minor second (ic 1), perfect fourth (ic 5), and tritone (ic 4).

While motivic approach to a series is typical of early serial music, it is important to observe the unusual ways Yun treats certain interval classes. In particular, with the interval class 1, the first pitch class is often subordinate to the following one, whether a semitone higher or lower. That way, every hexachord or tetrachord can be reduced to a triad and a dyad of a perfect fourth or perfect fifth, each of the constituent pitches being elaborated with chromatic neighbor notes (Example 1.6).

6a

Hexachord I (Fl., mm. 1-3) Hexachord II (Ob. & Kl., mm. 1-2)

Tetrachord + Dyad

6b

Tone row expressed without subordinate tones

6c

Tone row without subordinate tones and rearranged in C5-cycle

Example 1.6: Tone row in *Musik für sieben Instrumente*, Mvt. 5

The cases of tetrachords that can be reduced to a perfect fourth or perfect fifth with an ornamental semitone are as follows:

C-F-F# [m. 1, oboe]
 C#-F-F# [m. 3, flute; m. 4 clarinet]
 F#-F-C-C# [mm. 5-9, oboe]
 C-C#-F-F# [mm. 16-18, horn; mm. 21-22, flute]
 F#-F-C#-C [most frequently featured form; m. 6, cello; m. 7, clarinet; m. 8, bassoon; m. 9-10, clarinet; mm. 13-14, flute; mm. 15-18, flute; m. 23 flute]
 C#-C-F#-F [mm. 24-27, horn]
 F#-F-C# [mm. 24-27, horn]

From the list of tetrachords, it is evident that pitch class sets are treated with considerable flexibility in this movement (Example 1.7). Such flexibility implies that retaining interval contents or pitch classes takes precedence over retaining the original configuration of pitch classes. In other words, the order of the pitch classes within a series is not the primary concern here. Take, for instance, the hexachord in the bassoon part (m. 6), [D#-D-Ab-G-Bb-A]. It is a modification of the original hexachord, created by switching around the second and the third pairs of semitones and inverting the pitch order in each pair. This way, the original configuration is unrecognizable, but the important interval contents—interval classes 1 and 4—remain unchanged.

a. mm. 5-7; oboe



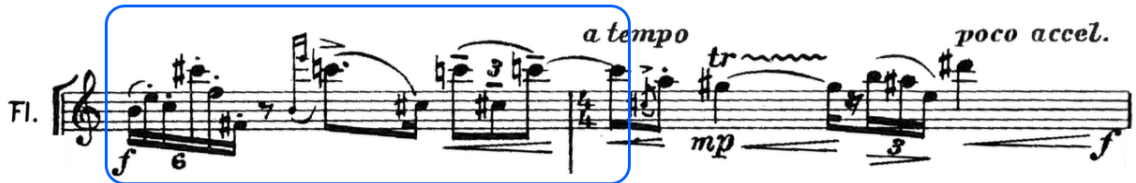
b. mm. 7-8; oboe, clarinet, bassoon



c. mm. 15-16; harp, violin



d. mm. 21-22; flute



Example 1.7: Various presentations of the tetrachord [C-C#-F-F#] and the perfect fifth dyad in *Musik*, Mvt. 1

Because interval contents are an important unifying element, focusing on the way they are treated reveals a number of significance facts about Yun's compositional language. First, the interval class 5, which has been proven to be important in this movement, serves as a primary interval of interest throughout Yun's oeuvre. Eliminating the semitone "grace notes" from the original tone row leaves seven pitches, [C#-F#-B-E-A-D-G], which is an interval cycle generated by repeating the perfect fourth, or the C5-cycle (Example 1.6b and Example 1.6c above). Development through a single interval is reminiscent of Berg, while the predilection for the perfect fourth interval is also suggestive of Bartók—and Isang Yun admired both composers. But repetition of the perfect fourth can also be seen as an adaptation from traditional Asian music, where the perfect fourth is one of the most favored intervals. The proclivity for the perfect fourth last throughout Yun's career: the perfect fourth is the primary interval content in the art song "Swing," as well as the chamber piece *Distanzen* for woodwinds and string quartet (1988), in which oscillation between the pitch C and the pitch F is the main developing feature.

In addition to the perfect fourth, the chromatic dyad, or the interval class 1, is another salient interval content, and it is often used as an embellishment or a sliding note. This approach is certainly distinguishable from the interval class 1 in post-tonal music or the leading tone in tonal music. A more convincing explanation for Yun's use of the interval class 1 is by making a connection with traditional Asian music, in which frequent uses of microtonality render the range of a pitch broader than that in Western music: a pitch is often "expanded" by being reached or followed by slides from pitches around it.

In this movement, Yun creates an impression of microtonal slides by using ornamental semitones. These points will be examined in detail with the analysis of Yun's other works later in the chapter.

An important question to be asked is, if pitch and interval contents remain consistent by avoiding transposition, how does the music progress? Put differently, what is the formal structure of the movement? In a cursory look, the movement can be divided into three sections according to the tempo changes:

1. *Andantino delicato*, ♩ = 72, mm. 1-27
[with a half-way point marked by the sustain of C at measure 14]
2. *Meno mosso*, ♩ = 60, mm. 28-31
3. *Andante*, ♩ = 66, mm. 32-44 (end)

However, tempo change is not very audible; instead, its texture is the feature that defines the form. The texture of the movement can be described chiefly as a gradual accumulation of instruments and successive intensification of musical momentum; after the climax, the music rapidly fades out and comes to a sudden halt at the end of *Meno mosso* (m. 31). Quickly picking up the music again is the cello part, which plays the inversion of the first hexachord played by the flute at the very beginning. This is followed by a short, tumultuous moment before reaching the final codetta which summarizes the movement by recapitulating all of the series that have been developed in the movement. The form, then, can be said to be established both by the development of texture as well as the return of the thematic material. In summary, the first movement of *Musik* progresses by taking motifs from its initial moment, complicating it, and resolving it,

which is the typical principle of musical development in Western tonal music; it also progresses by textural evolution, reflecting the contemporary concept on form.

Exoticism and Orientalism

Musik was received favorably at the Course when it was performed in 1959. Heinz

Joachim wrote after the conclusion of the 1959 season:

...Less productive were the two chamber concerts. Some composers remain stuck in the experiment or lose their profile to the law of the series (even including talents like Jacques Wildberger and Milko Kelemen). But we must not hide the fact that the serial technique can also contribute, namely wherever it is not used as an end in itself, but is connected with an original musical intention, (and mastery of technique) as with the French Claude Ballif (*Movements* for Flute and Piano) and the Korean Isang Yun (*Musik für 7 Instrumente*) and the Polish Włodzimierz Kotonski (*Musique en relief*). The fate of New Music would be better if this simple insight would find its way into the classrooms of the Darmstadt Courses.⁵⁴

The commitment to thematic development renders this early work of Yun's a Schoenbergian exercise as well as an offspring of the Germanic tradition. But the work was behind in time considering the stylistic trend in Europe. Composers such as Stockhausen and Boulez had already dismissed composing around thematic continuity or tonal continuity years ago, as shown in *Kreuzspiel* (1951), *Polyphonie X* (1950-51), or *Structures I* (1952).⁵⁵ Compared to their formalistic approach of applying algorithms to composition, Yun's musical style was closer to that of the old generation, adhering to the

⁵⁴ Heinz Joachim, "Gefährdet durch Willkür und Spielerei. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik enthüllen bedrohliche Tendenzen," *Die Welt*, 11 September, 1959. Published in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 3: 433-434.

⁵⁵ For analysis of these works, see Richard Toop, "Messiaen / Goeyvaerts, Fano / Stockhausen, Boulez," *Perspectives of New Music* 13 no. 1 (1974): 141-169.

legacies of the Classical period. Even with such stylistic belatedness the work was received as embodying a successful and novel use of then-timeworn serial technique. A handful of reviews on the work commonly mention the Asian quality in it, which has been made apparent by Yun's own explanation in the composer's note.⁵⁶ It is conceivable that an explicitly expressed Asian quality—both in sound and in the composer's words—placed the work in an entirely different category than the rest of the work performed at Darmstadt around that time. Yun's gesture could be seen as a *captatio benevolentiae*: one could even speculate whether the work would have been accepted as positively had it been written by a Western composer.

Yun's use of the sound elements of Asian traditional music within the frame of Western music draws an intriguing comparison to the adaptation of Asian sounds, instrumental techniques, or philosophy in works written by Western composers. Both Yun and any Western composers who drew from Asian traditions capitalized the cultures of the Other, yet their starting points were antithetical. As Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau write, the style of incorporating traditional musical elements into compositions of Asian composers “[signifies] a new aesthetic consciousness.” It is, as they claim shortly thereafter, “simply a fact of our lives and reflection of our hybrid cultural identities.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ In the composer's notes, Yun writes, “Dieses Werk ist eine Art moderner Phantasie, deren Tonfall von der alten koreanischen Hofmusik inspiriert ist.” Boosey & Hawkes, “Isang Yun: Musik für sieben Instrumente (1959),” <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Isang-Yun-Musik-f-r-sieben-Instrumente/27329> (accessed 18 February 2017).

⁵⁷ Yayoi Uno Everett, “Introduction,” in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, eds. Everett and Lau, xv.

Yun's case could be seen as a facet of musical transculturation, which happened bilaterally between Western and Eastern musical traditions by the 1950s. Yet what must be noted is the fact that the basic framework within which the Asian composers compose today is Western art music, as it was in the 1950s. Moreover, the success or the non-success of their works is judged and determined by Western standards, critics, composers, and audiences. These obvious statements are nonetheless important to remember because of their implications: that the disposition an Asian composer holds toward Western music is not perfectly analogous to the disposition a Western composer has facing Asian music. Therefore, extending Lau and Everett's question, "what stylistic distinctions and generalities can we glean from a comparative study of compositions written by Asian-influenced Western versus Western-influenced Asian composers?", one should first inquire whether it is possible even to establish such a parallel relationship between the two parts.⁵⁸

Japanese imperialism in Korea, modeled after European imperialism, brought Western cultural praxes into Korea and has undeniably engendered a non-equal binary relationship between Western culture and Korean traditional culture. Consequently, as a musician who engaged in a Western musical tradition, Yun assumed a position of cultural periphery and tried to emulate Western practices and standards, at least for the very early stage of his artistic development. On the contrary, Western composers explored different musical traditions to enrich their own tradition. Perhaps this attitude is comparable to that of the group of conservative Korean composers who were only interested in Western

⁵⁸ Ibid., xv.

music as a means to conserve their own traditional music, which had mainly been transmitted orally, in a written form. Even in such a situation the difference is that Western composers were in the position of cultural superiority, looking into foreign traditions as necessary yet still auxiliary sources, while those conservative Korean composers maintained the place of cultural subordination, their motivation for using a foreign tradition being the fear of deprivation of their traditions by domination of the imperial cultural tradition.

I would like to reflect on such exchanges with or appropriation of other cultures from the perspectives of three notions of cultural studies: exoticism, Orientalism, and globalization. The notion of exoticism, however neutral its definition sounds, presumes an unequal relationship between two parties because representation of other cultures is rarely free from some sort of partisan assumptions and judgments on both the self and the other.⁵⁹ The history of East Asian influence in Western music has been discussed by many.⁶⁰ Although it is beyond the scope of this study to survey the history of musical exoticism, it is important to note that within the practice of exoticism until the early twentieth century, there was an undeniable imbalance in power dynamics between the

⁵⁹ For example, Ralph P. Locke's definition of exoticism reads, "The evocation of a place, people or social milieu that is (or is perceived or imagined to be) profoundly different from accepted local norms in its attitudes, customs, and morals." "Exoticism," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45644> (accessed 12 December 2016).

⁶⁰ Everett, "Intercultural Synthesis in Western Art Music," in *Locating East Asia*, eds. Everett and Lau, 1-21; Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Chou Wen-Chung, "Asian Concepts and Twentieth-Century Composers," *Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971): 211-29; Born and Hesmondhalgh, eds., *Western Music and Its Others*; Catherine M. Cameron, *Dialectics in the Arts: The Rise of the American Music* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 87-89.

West and the East. Specifically, it has been noted by scholars that musical discourses by European scholars often carried euro-centric or racial attitudes. For instance, Annegret Fauser, in her study of musical exoticism in Europe leading to the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, shows that appropriation of non-Western musical material by European composers sometimes had the purpose of creating a more “authentic” experience of European cultural identity in the nineteenth century.⁶¹ In addition, musicological texts written by scholars of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, such as François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), Félix-Jacques-Alfred Clément (1822–1885), and Juste-Adrien-Lenoir de La Fage (1801–1862), commonly linked different musical traditions with different cultures or even genes. Despite divergences in racist positions, musical endeavors of the time were “at the heart of imperialism in that they prepared their readers for a world translatable into European systems of empire.”⁶²

This long-standing imperial stance in musical discourse can be accounted for with the modern notion of Orientalism. By “modern notion of Orientalism,” I mean the definition set forth by Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), a concept which has become unavoidable to acknowledge when discussing cultural crossings between the East and the West. Since the publication of Said’s text, the term Orientalism has been used predominantly to indicate a general attitude in representation of Eastern culture. In Said’s critique, Western culture assumes the position of the developed, rational, and superior,

⁶¹ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 5-6. A similar argument has been made by Jann Pasler. See the following: Pasler, “The Utility of Musical Instruments in the Racial and Colonial Agendas of Late Nineteenth-Century France,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129 (2004): 24-76.

⁶² Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 157.

and essentializes the Eastern societies as the less developed and irrational. Despite the undeniable importance of Said's analyses in the humanities in the past several decades, his text has some restraints when applied to the discussion of musical exchanges between the West and the Far East. First, Said's critique is limited to Middle East studies; second, he does not discuss music as much as other art forms such as literature and paintings. He attempted to overcome this latter point in his *Culture and Imperialism*, published five years after *Orientalism*. In this study, in showing that the "structure of attitude and reference" prevailed even before the age of empire, Said claims that Verdi's opera *Aida* serves as an instrument with which the West "[confirmed] the Orient as an essentially exotic, distant, and antique place in which Europeans can mount certain shows of force."⁶³

Yet, it is questionable whether it is appropriate to call works that provoke the image of Asia using sound or philosophical concepts taken from Asian cultures as being Orientalist.⁶⁴ For example, it would be difficult to see the use of pentatonic scale in Debussy's *Pagodes* as having an imperialist agenda. As Fauser writes, classical music is in a "privileged position" as opposed to other art forms: it lacks words or visual images—the signifiers—that might corrupt and warp the intention of a creator or the interpretation of a reader/viewer. A work such as *Pagodes* is certainly exotic in that it evokes a mood of a distant place, and thus is arguably Orientalist, but unsuited to be called imperialist.

⁶³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 111-112.

⁶⁴ As mentioned in the Introduction above, Locke has called such practice of employing the sound of other cultures as "Submerged Exoticism," which is a more subdued form of exoticism than explicit portrayal of other cultures. See Introduction, n. 12.

Especially in the twentieth century, when Western composers use Asian musical traditions not only to convey certain images or moods, but also to search for new ideas for sound, form, and even compositional paradigms, these intentions can be far from being imperialistic. Such “appropriation” of non-European music can be understood as an aspect of multiculturalism, where the boundaries between the center and the margin are blurred and the notion of the self or the other is far more complex than before. Yet, as this dissertation will show repeatedly in the pages to follow, this appropriation can sometimes be, either explicitly or by implication, an emphasis on differences between culture and thus result in further cultural “othering.”

While Western composers whose orientations are no longer outwardly imperialistic, Asian composers’ use of their own musical traditions when writing Western music carries in itself the legacy of colonialism. Isang Yun’s music, for instance, represent the sound and philosophy of his own culture using the musical techniques of the West. In this case, the traditional positions of the agent doing the representation and the represented object are reversed. Instead of evoking a foreign culture, Yun translated music of his own Asian background, from the sound of the instruments and instrumental techniques to holistic concepts regarding rhythm and tone, into the language and standards of another culture, mostly for the audiences of that culture. Aspects such as translation will be discussed in more detail below, but take for instance *Musik für sieben Instrumente*: there is still an evocation of Asian sound, but it is no longer a distant interest or attraction conveyed by someone outside of that culture. Rather, the composer’s own

culture is articulated in a musical language that is familiar and intelligible to listeners who are foreign to that culture.

Around the time of composing *Musik*, Yun regarded the twelve-tone technique as an emblem of European modernism. This compositional style was at the center of musical trends in mid-twentieth century Europe; and precisely because of the symbolic cultural authority serialism carried, the technique was also able to create musical peripheries. An analogy can be made with tonality, which is positioned at the center of the compositional principle of Western art music and which rendered non-tonal music unfamiliar and foreign-sounding. In yet another resemblance, the perceived position of the twelve-tone technique to non-European composers can be compared to that of European English to those in the colonized area. Consider the following passage from *The Empire Writes Back*, a critical study on Eurocentricism and theorizing and analyzing postcolonial texts.

A 'privileging norm' was enthroned at the heart of the formation of English Studies as a template for the denial of the value of the 'peripheral', the 'marginal', the 'uncanonized'. Literature was made as central to the cultural enterprise of Empire as the monarchy was to its political formation. So when elements of the periphery and margin threatened the exclusive claims of the centre they were rapidly incorporated. This was a process, in Edward Said's terms, of conscious affiliation proceeding under the guise of filiation (Said 1984), that is, a mimicry of the centre proceeding from a desire not only to be accepted but to be adopted and absorbed. It accused those from the periphery to immerse themselves in the imported culture, denying their origins in an attempt to become 'more English than the English'. We see examples of this in such writers as Henry James and T. S. Eliot.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Ashcroft et al., *The Empire*, 3-4.

Many aspects of the passage quoted above can be applied to postcolonial musical exchanges between Europe and non-Europe. European music was the “privileging norm” in the colonized world, and the traditional music was the “peripheral,” the “marginal,” and the “uncanonized.” During the colonial years in Korea, there was a decline of traditional court music, and in its place Western music and a Western musical education system were planted; thus, colonialism created borders between the “privileging norm” and the “marginal.” This was also true in Japan, where, during the Meiji Restoration, European music and military band music was strategically popularized as its government tried to Westernize the society. The desire to be accepted into the newly-created center was certainly the motivation to composers of the colonized world.⁶⁶ This was true for many other composers from East Asian countries. For instance, Toru Takemitsu (1930-1996) had consciously rejected traditional Japanese music in pursuit of writing more authentic Western music, but after he learned of Cage’s fascination with Japanese culture, Takemitsu turned to music of his own tradition and started composing for traditional instruments, especially the *biwa*, Japanese fretted lute, in works such as the film score *Seppuku* (1962), *Eclipse for biwa and shakuhachi* (1966), and *November Steps* (1967). In accounting for a rejection of one’s own culture and an acceptance of the colonizer’s culture, the concept of alienation suggested by Bill Ashcroft can be useful:

⁶⁶ Takemitsu was exposed to Western music during the mid-1940s when Western music was banned in Japan. Although he started experimenting with writing it himself in the 1950s, it was not until he met Cage in the late 1950s that Takemitsu employed elements of Japanese traditional music. See Peter Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Toru Takemitsu, *Confronting Science: Selected Writings* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1995).

The most widely shared discursive practice within which this alienation can be identified is the construction of ‘place’. The gap which opens between the experience of place and the language available to describe it forms a classic and all pervasive feature of post-colonial texts. This gap occurs for those whose language seems inadequate to describe a new place, for those whose language is systematically destroyed by enslavement, and for those whose language has been rendered unprivileged by the imposition of the language of a colonizing power. Some admixture of one or other of these models can describe the situation of all post-colonial societies. In each case a condition of alienation is inevitable until the colonizing language has been replaced or appropriated as English [*sic*].⁶⁷

Just as the language of the colonizing power was indoctrinated as the ruling language in India, which is the context of Ashcroft’s analysis, Western music that was taught at school (regulated by the Japanese) and played in major concerts and radio stations (regulated by the Japanese during WWII and the U.S., to some degree, for a number of years after 1945) in Korea rose as the more familiar and conventional, pushing traditional music to the margin. We can apply this theory of the rise of “English” in colonized India to the hybrid music that we see in Yun’s works, or in those of other Korean composers to be discussed in later chapters. Musical choices made in *Musik* reflect Yun’s fascination with the West, the agent that is perceived to be superior, or more advanced.

Postcolonial cultural theories explain the desire to “catch up” in terms of the concept of cultural imperialism: the colonized, under the imperialists’ cultural policies, is indoctrinated with false consciousness that the self is inferior, and the Western other, the

⁶⁷ Ashcroft et al., *The Empire*, 9.

colonizer, is superior.⁶⁸ Such consciousness of cultural inferior complexity can be read in Yun's letters quoted above. Yet, this psychology—the desire to “catch up” and to identify oneself with the “superior” colonizer—is often left unquestioned in the discussions of works by Asian composers writing Western art music in the post-World War II years. That is because the binary of “the West and the rest” which was formulated based on the historical Western-centricism has become a solid and ubiquitous conceptual structure of knowledge in both the colonized and the colonizer, rendering it “indeed difficult to shake loose.”⁶⁹ Then, what we observe here is the working of the modernizing operation in which “the West as fragments” have turned “internal to the local,” so that “we no longer consider the Western influence as an opposing entity but rather as one cultural resource among many others.”⁷⁰ Subsequently, there is the deeply inculcated imperialist consciousness among the colonized, in which the cultures of the imperialists turn into the exemplary to be emulated. To be noted in Chen's remarks just quoted is that the West which the colonized locals experience is the “fragments” of that West; the incomplete understanding of the West thus leaves a room for imagination and distortion of Western culture.

Another important phenomenon of such cultural crossings is the rise of new cultural identities. Positing that cultural identities are negotiable, Homi Bhabha suggests

⁶⁸ Chen, *Asia as Method*, 176. Also see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) and Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993).

⁶⁹ Chen, *Asia as Method*, 222. Also see Said, *Orientalism* (1979); Stuart Hall, “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Oxford: Polity in Association with Open University, 1992): 275-331.

⁷⁰ Chen, *Asia as Method*, 223.

that the creation of a cultural identity involves continual exchange of cultural performances that reveal cultural differences. Notably, these cultural differences are not only mutual but also reducible. Bhabha writes,

The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.⁷¹

Later, Bhabha reaffirms that those “moments of historical transformation,” or the “liminality”—which can happen between cultural collectives, between historical periods, between politics and aesthetics, and between theory and application—can serve as a place where a new hybrid culture arises. In these intersections, “the boundary becomes the place from which something begins its presencing.”⁷²

In musicology, such hybridity has been described with the word *syncretism*. It is a term that has been used frequently in the study of religion to describe the amalgamation of divergent, or even seemingly contradicting systems of belief, in which traditions of original religions survive in a new one. Musical syncretism was first discussed by Richard Waterman to explain the “syncretic process” in the ‘blending’ of African and European music in America in the late 1940s.⁷³ The term has since then used widely in

⁷¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷³ Richard A. Waterman, ““Hot” Rhythm in Negro Music,” *Journal of American Musicological Society* 1 (1948): 24-37, 26.

the discourse of world music, especially in the 1990s.⁷⁴ For example, Yayoi Uno Everett designates cross-cultural music into three categories: transference, syncretism, and synthesis. According to her definition, transference is where “the cultural resources (e.g., text, music, philosophy) of East Asia are borrowed or appropriated within a predominantly Western musical context.”⁷⁵ Examples in this category include Cage’s *Music of Changes* (1951) (“Draw on aesthetic principles or formal systems without iconic references to Asian sounds”); Stockhausen’s *Inori* (1974) and Yun’s Concerto for flute (1977) (“Evoke Asian sensibilities without explicit musical borrowing”); Benjamin Britten’s *Curlew River* (1964) (“Quote culture through literary or extramusical means”); and Tan Dun’s *Symphony 1997: Heaven, Earth, Man* (“Quote preexistent musical materials in the form of a collage”). Syncretism happens when “Asian and Western musical resources are merged procedurally within a given composition.” Given examples of syncretism include Yun’s *Piri* for oboe (1971) (“Transplant East Asian attributes of timbre, articulation, or scale system onto Western instruments”); and Zhou Long’s *Shi Jing* Cantata (1989) (“Combine musical instruments and/or tuning systems of East Asian and Western musical ensembles”). Finally, synthesis is defined as works that “effectively transform the cultural idioms and resources into a hybrid entity (so that they are no longer discernible as separable elements.” Chou Wen-chung’s *Metaphors* (1960) and Yun’s *Loyang* (1962) (“Transform traditional musical systems, form, and timbres into a

⁷⁴ Timothy Rice, “Syncretism,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46452>, (accessed 6 December 2015).

⁷⁵ Everett, “Intercultural Synthesis in Postwar Western Art Music,” 15.

distinctive synthesis of Western and Asian musical idioms”) fall under this category.⁷⁶ As Everett herself claims, this is not a definitive method of categorizing cross-cultural music, but it is meaningful in that it reveals the different strategies in incorporating and comprising disparate cultures. Further, although I do not intend to analyze Yun’s works according to this categorization, it is noteworthy that Yun employed diverse methods that embrace musical traditions of the East and the West.

Later Works

In the following section, I examine parts of selected works of Yun written between the early 1960s and the 1990s. As with other composers who have generated a large output, his compositional style evolved with distinctive characters through different “periods.” His works written in Korea reflect the popular compositional trend of the time in Korea, which was to translate traditional Korean music using Western systems of harmony and notation. Then, as I have shown, he went through a period during which he experimented with the serial technique, which lasted for his first couple of years in Europe. In later works, he began to employ traditional Asian instrumental/vocal techniques and idioms (rather than actual tunes and sounds), as well as Asian philosophy (as a conceptual framework of a composition), more consciously than before. What is noticeable is the fact that he had a clear idea about the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between the Western and Eastern musical traditions. He wrote an article on the differences between Western music and Eastern music with regard to the concepts of time, tone, and

⁷⁶ Ibid., 15-19.

construction of melody and harmony, which is reproduced in the composer's biography written by his widow, Su-ja Yi.⁷⁷ Excerpts from the article will be quoted in the analysis to follow.

In the analysis, I would like to underline the fact that his works developed with consistent stylistic traits which grow increasingly prominent. Most notably, his works show strong chromaticism. But this chromaticism does not work like leading tones in functional harmonic theory. Instead, as can be reasoned from Yun's own writing, chromatic tones serve as subordinate tones to the principle tone. Secondly, there is a melodic continuity. Again, the melodic continuity here is different from the kind of continuity achieved by thematic unity or development of the Germanic musical tradition; it is the continuity of a single tone that continuously draws from a previous tone and drifts throughout a work. Finally, there is a noticeable contrast between slow and fast sections, which Yun has explained as coming from the philosophy of Taoism, the concept of Yin and Yang.

Pitch Centers, Chromaticism, and Melodic Continuity: Gasa (1963)

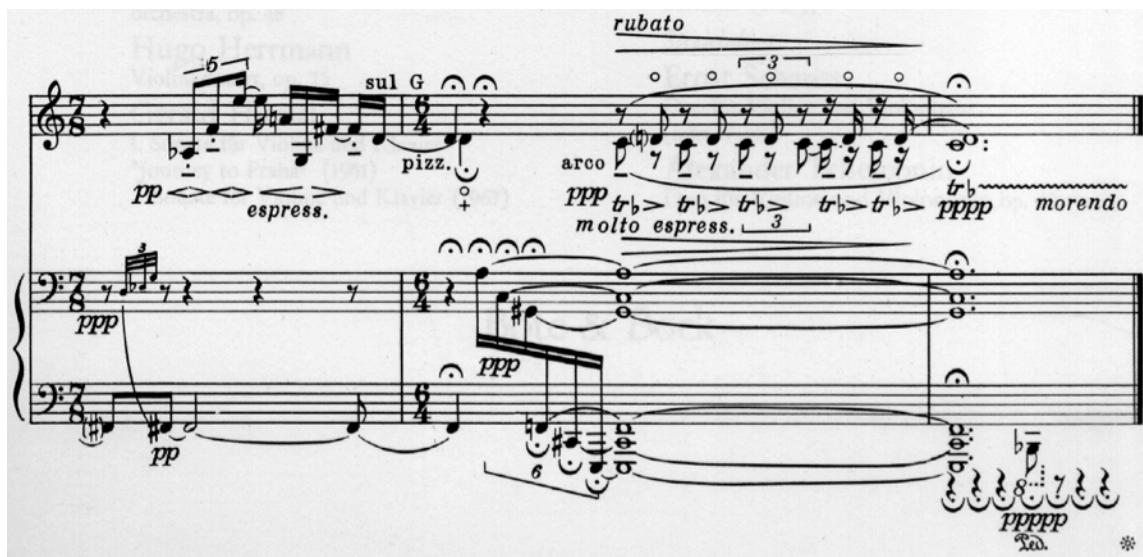
Gasa, written in 1963, takes its title from the Korean traditional vocal genre, *kasa*, which involves an hourglass-shaped drum (*changgo*) and a bamboo flute (*taegum*) accompanying a female solo voice. Instead of approximating this traditional instrumentation, *Gasa* is written for violin and piano. Having a slow-fast-slow structure, the work takes its characteristically contrasting relationship between the piano and the

⁷⁷ Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 2: 173-188.

violin from *kasa*. According to the Korean musicologist Jeongmee Kim, the piano part serves chiefly as an accompaniment or as a rhythmic element that marks structural points of the piece, just as the drum and the bamboo flute would for the voice in the traditional genre.⁷⁸ I propose instead that the piano and the violin parts are engaged in active conversation, complementing each other throughout. This reciprocal relationship is readily visible on the score: whenever one instrument stops playing or sustains a single tone or a chord, the other instrument is engaged. This exchange happens continuously, except for the climactic middle section (mm. 67-118). This part contrasts with the outer sections by having a faster tempo marking (♩ = 60, as opposed to ♩ = 52 in the outer sections) and a denser texture, suggesting that it is indeed an unusual musical moment of the piece.

Although it would be difficult to see *Gasa* as a serial work, its melodic and harmonic construction reflects the key principles of twelve-tone technique, namely using all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale with more or less equal importance and avoiding emphasizing one key area. For instance, the very last chord of *Gasa*, between the piano and the violin, consists of the pitches E, C#, F, G#, C, A, E, Bb. With this chord, it is difficult to tell what the prevailing tonality is at this final moment of the piece (Example 1.8). The similarity between his compositional approach and the twelve-tone principle is more noticeable in the outer sections of *Gasa*.

⁷⁸ Kim, “Musical Syncretism in Isang Yun’s *Gasa*,” in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Everett and Lau, 170.



Example 1.8: *Gasa*, final measures (mm. 146-148); the final chord suggests no single dominant tonality

Yet, unlike Yun's earlier serial work such as *Musik*, the tone row is now one of many motivic ideas explored, with numerous melodic lines that cannot be identified as any variations of the prime tone row. What *Gasa* does share with *Musik*, however, is the use of semitone pairing, or chromaticism in general. The tone row introduced at the beginning is as follows (neighboring semitones are bracketed):

Phrase I (mm. 1-4): [C#-C]-[G#-A]-[G-F#]-D#-[A#-B].

The chain of minor seconds (or its inversion major seventh) renders the tone row of *Gasa* similar to the tone row in *Musik*, in which the semitone pairings (especially C-C# and F-F#) serve as an important motivic idea (Example 1.9).



Example 1.9: The twelve-tone row stated across the first two phrases of the violin part, *Gasa*, mm. 1–4

What is noticeable about the use of semitones in *Gasa* is that the semitone relationships are realized as long-term chromaticism. This long-term semitone relationship is important in the development, as well as the continuity, of the movement. Take, for instance, the first couple of phrases in the violin, which do not follow the prime form of the tone row. The pitch classes of the violin part until measure 19 are as follows (local semitone pairs are bracketed, and pitches that form long-term chromatic lines are underlined):

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Phrase I (mm. 1-4): | <u>C#</u> -C]-[G#-A]-[G-F#]-D#-[A#-B] |
| Phrase II (mm. 5-8): | <u>D</u>]-[E-F]-C#-[A-G#]- <u>F#</u> - <u>D#</u> |
| Phrase III (mm. 10-11): | <u>G</u>]-[B-A#]-D-[E-F-E]-D-[C-C#-C] |
| Phrase IV (mm. 12-19): | <u>G#</u> -A-Eb-[Gb-G]-[B-A#]-D-G#-[C-C#]-F-A#-
D#-[#G- <u>A</u>] |

Across the first and second phrases, the chromatic line of C#-D-D# emerges (and also, the twelve-tone row spills into the beginning of the second phrase). Similarly, the F# of Phrase II (mm. 6-8) marks the beginning of another chromatic segment, F#-G-G#-A: the G that starts the third phrase (m. 10) is answered by the first note of the following phrase,

G# (m. 12), which is then answered by the last note of the same phrase, A (mm. 17-19).

This chromatically ascending line in the violin stops momentarily, but a brief cadenza-like passage in the violin (mm. 20-25) lands on Bb and holds the pitch for three measures above the piano's cadenza (mm. 26-28) (Example 1.10; pitches marked by circles form an ascending chromatic line starting on C#, and pitches marked by squares form an ascending chromatic line starting on F#). This contour continues even further, through A# (mm. 35-36), until it finally reaches B (mm. 41-42).

In *Gasa*, there are continuous cadence-like arrivals on specific pitches that form chromaticism at the background level, and through this chromaticism the music's continuity is achieved. Thus, chromaticism is the basis for construction of the local motives as well as the movement's larger-scale form.

(♩ = ca. 52)

mp (p.v.) (n.v.) *p* (p.v.) (n.v.) *mf* *f* (m.v.) *non dim.* *p* (p.v.)

5 *mp* (p.v.) *pp* (n.v.) *p* (n.v.) *dolciss.* *pp* (subito) (p.v.c.)

10 *p* (p.v.) *pp* (n.v.) *mp* (p.v.c.) *f* *p*

15 *p* (m.v.) *mp* *legato* *pp* (p.v.c.) *mf* *f* (m.v.) *ff* (m.v.) *f*

20 *mf* *mp* *p* *p dolciss.* (p.v.c.)

25 *sf p* (p.v.c.) *mp* *mf* *f* *sf p* *pp* *dolce* *p* *mp* *pp* *mp* *p* *grazioso*

pp (p.v.c.) *mf*

Example 1.10: Melodic continuity through pitch centers in the violin part of *Gasa*, mm. 1-27

Taoism, Haupttöne, Development through Gesture: Distanzen (1988)

Distanzen was composed in 1988, during Yun's "symphonic" period (all his five symphonies and two chamber symphonies come from the 1980s). It is a work in which the idea of using contrasting sonorities as a developing principle is taken to the extreme. Another significant feature is that, as in *Musik*, the perfect fourth interval, particularly that made of C and F, serves as thematic material.

The programmatic title represents primarily the physical distance between the performers. There are two possible formations for the performers (suggested by the composer), and both are designed to communicate an aphorism based on the Taoist philosophy, "Men depend on the Earth, and the Earth depends on Heaven" (Figure 1.2). According to the composer's note, in this setting, the three low strings, placed near the audience or at the lowest spot in the hall, symbolize the human world, while the two violins, between the stage and the audience, symbolize Buddhist Saints. The bassoon and the clarinet represent messengers; the oboe and the flute are the symbolic angels; and the horn, situated furthest back into the stage and in the highest spot in the hall, symbolizes God.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Despite this ostensibly "Asian" program, it is important to note the possible influence of Stockhausen on Yun's employment of performative space in *Distanzen*. Yun heard Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte für 10 Instrumente* at Darmstadt in 1958 (see n. 42 above), and possibly more works by Stockhausen thereafter. Yun was well aware of Stockhausen's music; his decision to engage with spatial music in this work may have been influenced by Stockhausen, despite the fact that no such acknowledgment has been made by Yun.

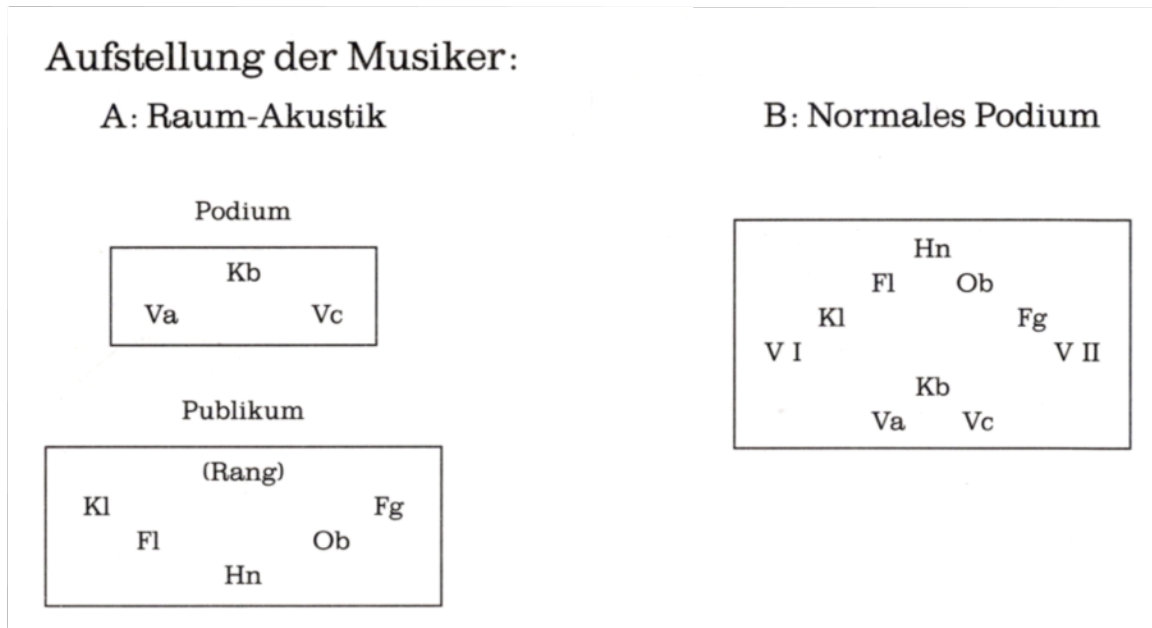


Figure 1.2: Seating diagram for performers as suggested in the score of *Distanzen*

The association of each instrument group with different levels of beings implies a hierarchical relationship among the instruments. Moreover, each group is linked to particular musical ideas, further enhancing the indicated program. The viola, cello, and bass are associated with the first musical idea, characterized by rhythmic agitation and strident dynamics that suggest an earthly chaos. The two violins, woodwind instruments, and horn play the contrasting second idea, marked by muted and atmospheric sounds that suggest the serenity of the Heaven. The contrasting sonority and texture between the first and the second musical ideas can be seen as a musical representation of the Yin and Yang: the two musical ideas eventually merge in final section of *Distanzen*, suggesting the inevitable co-existence of the two worlds.

The first musical idea (in 4/4), symbolizing the Yang, appears in the first section of the piece (mm. 1-12). It bursts with violent strokes and swirling motions in triplets,

quintuplets and sextuplets played exclusively by the three lowest strings in their low register. The turbulence is further escalated by the frequent use of trills and glissandi and with the dynamics that range between *f* and *ffff*. This short first section displays an arch shape: the intensity of the music rapidly builds up through growing dynamics and ascending registers, reaches its peak by measure 9, and quickly dissipates until it comes to a stall at measure 12. This arch shape suggests that the first twelve measures should be played as one gesture (Example 1.11). The slower and more muted second musical idea in 6/4 is played by all instruments except the three lower string instruments. The first idea occasionally recurs to disrupt the serenity of the second musical idea. This section will be studied in more detail later, but before proceeding, it is important to note the relationship between tempo markings and musical gestures in *Distanzen*.

ca. 68

1. Viol.
2. Viol.
Vla.
Vcl.
Kb.

10

6/4

Example 1.11: Opening of *Distanzen*, first musical idea, mm. 1-12

In many of Yun's works, tempo markings have a strong correlation with musical characteristics. For example, the German music historian Ilja Stephan observes that Yun's choice of tempo corresponds to certain musical characters, where 6/4 at ♩ = ca. 52 is frequently used with slow and peaceful movements, and 5/4 at ♩ = ca. 60-78 with fast movements.⁸⁰ This is also true in *Distanzen*, in which the first musical idea always appears in 4/4 at ♩ = ca. 68, while the second idea appears in 6/4 at ♩ = ca. 52. Between measures 95 and 134, when the two ideas are merged, the tempo is exactly in the middle of the two, at 4/4, ♩ = ca. 60, obviously an intentional choice to symbolize a unity of two forces (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Tempo marking and musical gestures in *Distanzen*

No.	Tempo Marking	Measure Number / Significant musical event	Number of Measures	Instruments
1	4/4 ca.68	1-12: Idea I	12	Viola, Cello, Bass
2	6/4 ca.52	13-74: Idea II Gradual merging of Ideas I & II	62	All
3	4/4 ca.68	75-78 Idea I 79-82 Idea II (wrong dynamics)	8	Viola, Cello, Bass
4	6/4 ca.52	83-90 Idea II	8	String Quintet
5	6/4 ca.52	91-94: Idea II; C as the center tone is introduced	4	All except horn
6	4/4 ca.60	95-134: Ideas I & II; the "C cycle" (statement-answer-divergence-return) repeats and intensifies; the notes C-E flat (D sharp)-F-A are emphasized.	40	All

⁸⁰ Ilja Stephan, "Kontinuität als Schaffensprinzip: Über zyklische Zusammenhänge im Werk von Isang Yun," Ilja Stephan, <http://www.iljastephan.de/publikationen/aufsaeetze/62.html> (accessed 22 February 2017).

No.	Tempo Marking	Measure Number / Significant musical event	Number of Measures	Instruments
7	6/4 ca.52	135-142: Ideas I & II; the “C cycle” appears for the last time, instruments gradually move away from C until they fade.	8	All
8	4/4 ca.68	143-144 1/2: return of Idea I	1.5	Viola, Cello, Bass
9	4/4 ca.52	144 1/2-158: Ideas I & II; ending notes: A, C, E flat (D sharp), F	14.5	All

The close linkage between tempo markings and musical texture is apparent, and to some degree, tempo and texture together inform the formal structure of *Distanzen* (which was the case in *Gasa* as well). Yet, underneath the surface level, the development of the central pitch C plays a key role in determining the form. *Distanzen* can be divided into three sections according to the stages of the development of C. The first section (mm. 1-90) consists of two contrasting musical ideas, and thus could be likened to the “exposition” of a sonata form. Unlike in a traditional sonata form, however, the turbulent first musical idea is not developed further, nor does it return in its complete form until much later, rendering itself almost as an introduction. Throughout the second musical idea, the pitch C surfaces as the primary pitch. In the next section (mm. 91-138), C is “developed” through the process of expansion, which will be discussed below. Finally, in the “recapitulation,” the two ideas from the “exposition” converge. The ternary structure of *Distanzen* according to the development of C can be summarized as follows:

Table 1.2: Formal division of *Distanzen*

mm. 1-90	mm. 91-138	mm. 139-158
<p>Introduction of two contrasting musical ideas (<u>idea I - dark, stormy</u> vs. <u>idea II - serene</u>):</p> <p>establishment of the pitch center C in idea II; contestation of the pitch center in idea I</p>	<p>"Development" section: "expansion" of the pitch center C</p>	<p>Merging of two musical ideas; the piece ends on F dominant</p>

The pitch C is established as the principle note through the process of stating the pitch, departing from it, and returning to it – quite similarly to the process of the establishment of tonality in tonal music. What is notable about this process in *Distanzen* is that it happens through a stretched passage, over the course of twenty measures (mm. 13-32), as one lengthy gesture. In this passage, pitch C is suggested as the central tone by beginning and ending on C; all of the musical events that happen between the two occurrences of the pitch C seem to be a journey away from and return to the central pitch (Example 1.12). There is a consistently ascending line from the initial C (m. 13), the chromatic pitches being shared by the two violin parts. This ascending motion is briefly interrupted by the more turbulent music played by the lower three strings (which are associated with the stormy first musical idea), but the violin duo picks up the chromaticism on G (m. 25) and carries on until reaching B (m. 28). The completion of the return to C is left to the horn; in fact, it is always the horn's role to state or restate the pitch center C in *Distanzen*.

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the second musical idea in *Distanzen*, measures 13-32. The score is in 6/4 time, marked 'ca. 52'. It features Violins 1 and 2, Viola, Violoncello, Kontrabaß, and Horn. The music is characterized by dynamic markings (p, pp, mp, mf, f, ppp) and articulations (dolce, Solo). The score is divided into two systems, with measures 20 and 30 marked.

Example 1.12 Beginning of the second musical idea, *Distanzen*, mm. 13-32 (score in concert pitch)

The process through which pitch centricity is maintained in the second, “development” section of *Distanzen* is again based on the principle of statement-development-resolution. Similar to departures from and resolutions to a tonal center, the pitch C is confirmed as the central pitch class by way of “developing” or “expanding” to its neighboring pitches, usually in stepwise motion, and then returning or “resolving” to C (Example 1.13).

91

FL. Ob. Klar. Fag. Hr. Viol. 1. 2. Vla. Vcl. Kb.

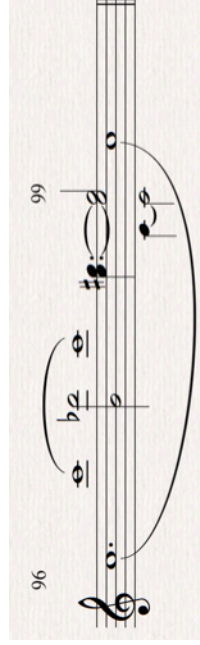
ca. 60

ca. 60

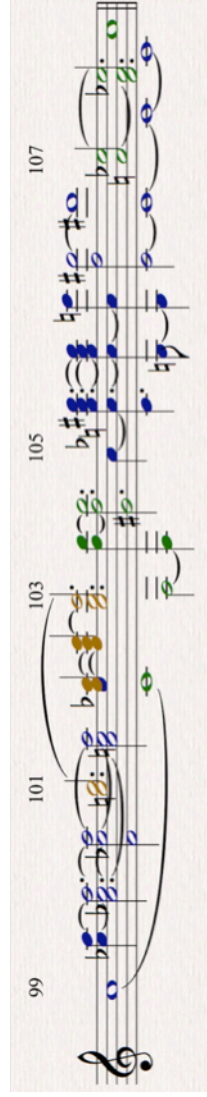
13a: *Distanzen*, mm. 91-95



13b: Reduction of 12a



13c: *Distanzen*, 96-99



13d: *Distanzen*, mm. 99-107

Example 1.13: The process of statement-development-reinstatement of central pitch C in the middle section of *Distanzen*

Toward the end of the middle section (m. 110), however, the major-minor seventh chord on F (or F dominant seventh chord)—which includes the pitch C—begins to emerge as an important idea. By the end of the “development” section, the F dominant seventh chord is the prevalent sonority for almost fifteen measures (mm. 119-134), rendering the ear to expect the music to resolve to Bb. Yet, against such an expectation, the C appears instead, reminding of its centrality in the piece (m. 135) (Example 1.14). It is notable that, while *Distanzen* does not follow the trajectory of “logical” resolution according to the functional harmony of Western music, its formal structure can still be understood within the structural frame of Western art music.

131

135

ca. 52

ca. 52

Fl.

Ob.

Klar.

Fag.

Hr.

Viol.

Via.

Vcl.

Kb.

All harmonic activities consolidate in C

All harmonic activities consolidate in C

Example 1.14: End of the “development” and beginning of “recapitulation” (m. 135) in *Distanzen*; the end return to C is preceded by a prolonged passage on an F dominant seventh chord

As we have seen earlier, the idea of a developing pitch center has been explored in *Gasa*, in which every phrase can be consolidated into a single pitch that would make up a longer melodic line. By the late 1960s, Isang Yun was referring to the principle of development through a single note center as *Haupttöne*, or principle tone, which consists of melodic lines that gravitate toward a central pitch. Most of his late works can be understood in terms of *Haupttöne*. Because the musical goal is placed on a tone, as well as on the process of approaching to and departing from it, *Haupttöne* is essentially a linear conception, as opposed to a vertical, harmonic conception. Rather than goal-oriented progressions from one pitch to another, or one harmonic area to another, exploring various ways to unfold a pitch can be the primary interest in *Haupttöne*.

Reflecting upon East Asian art music genres such as the Japanese *Kabuki* and *Noh* or the Korean *p'ansori*, Yun has explained the principle of *Haupttöne* in the following terms:

A tone in Western music does not have a meaning by itself; music can only be formed when tones are gathered and organized. A tone in Eastern music has in itself many characteristics and possesses a miniature universe . . . [In Western music], notes are collected, juxtaposed, dispersed, and juxtaposed again . . . Music is built architecturally. In Eastern music, throughout its development, there is little harmonic element or contrapuntal element. There is only a tune, or a melody, to borrow from Western music.⁸¹

Harmony is a notion which is largely absent in traditional Korean music. Even when multiple instruments play simultaneously, as in the traditional Korean court music *Hyangak*, harmony arises as an incidental element, a by-product of the layering of

⁸¹ Yun, "Difference between Eastern Music and Western Music," quoted in Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 2: 176.

individual musical lines. Notwithstanding the simplistic binary between Eastern music and Western music that Yun establishes here—which is likely to have been motivated by his urge to distinguish himself from other European composers at Darmstadt in the mid-1960s—two main ideas regarding the Eastern idea of the pitch can be underlined: first, the contemplation and exploration of a single note as a self-contained musical idea; and second, the elaborate and willful preparation and release surrounding a note, which is derived from the mechanism of East Asian musical instruments. In *Distanzen*, these ideas manifest themselves as the emphatic repetition of the pitch C throughout the work, melodic lines leaving and returning to that pitch by increasingly larger intervallic gaps, and the presence of harmonic areas that are essentially static. Musical tension is created by sustaining and escalating melodic deviation from the pitch center rather than harmonic divergence.

Finally, although the current analysis has argued for the significance of a pitch center in determining the form, it is also worthwhile to re-state the general importance of musical gestures or texture in Yun's works. Flutist Roswitha Stäge, who premiere and recorded many works by Yun during the composer's lifetime, recalls that Yun always preferred performances that delivered the right gesture to ones with correctly executed rhythm and pitches but lacking the gestural energy.⁸² One example of a work based on this principle of gesture is *Dimensions* (1971), in which music is sometimes notated merely as curves that approximate pitches. Yun engages with such an avant-gardist

⁸² Han'guk Ŭmakhak Hakhoe [Korean Musicological Society] and Yun I-sang P'yŏnghwa Chaedan [Isang Yun Peace Foundation], eds., *Yun I-sang*, 11-12.

approach to composition to a lesser degree well before *Distanzen*, but even in this work, especially in its first section, his focus on gesture is well perceivable.

The emphasis on gesture in Yun's music is also likely to have come from traditional Korean music. Because that music is not notated, a performer is given much freedom to improvise: he or she can embellish a note by sliding to other pitches or by stretching and shortening it at will. Yun's description of the performance practice of Korean traditional instruments is helpful in understanding this concept of embellishing a tone:

In any Asian music, nothing begins or ends in a straight linear motion. Music always embraces curves. For example, when playing the Korean *kayagŭm* and *kŏmun'go*, there is always a preparation before plucking a string, and how one reveals all the possibilities of a note after it sounds becomes an important aspect of playing the instruments. That is the foundation of Asian music and the most essential quality in my music.⁸³

One example of the direct translation of such performance practice is the prevalence of grace notes, which correspond to the slight curve at the beginning of a note. Also important in traditional Korean music is the relishing of a fading tone, which is considered as significant as a sounding one. Each tone is given adequate time so that the beginning as well as the end of a note—or a swelling of a tone—is heard fully before the next note is played. Beginning in the 1960s, Yun tried to convey the constant waxing and waning of sounds found in traditional Korean music by writing in a dynamic marking for almost every note. One may claim that the notion of an “expansive” pitch, or a pitch as a

⁸³ Yun, “Difference between Eastern Music and Western Music,” quoted in Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 2: 176.

complete musical element, and the principle of free elaboration of a pitch are two very closely connected ideas.

Finally, Yun notes that the perception of time in Korean music is different from that in Western music, because in the former, music is understood as the expansion and elongation of individual notes. He says, “Most Western music ends in 20 minutes, 30 minutes, or sometimes an hour (except for operas)—it has to end. But Asian music is different . . . Asian music is constructed with movements of a single note.”⁸⁴ In this binary, Western music is described as having an absolute conception of time, whereas Asian music is characterized by a relative concept of time.

Having discussed the concepts of traditional Korean music Yun adapted in his music written in the modernist language of Europe, it is important to point out that some of these ideas are also found in the works of Western avant-garde composers in the twentieth century. For instance, the notion of music as an embodiment of an uncontained, unmeasured time is shared by composers such as John Cage or La Monte Young. In Cage’s silent music or Young’s *The Well-Tuned Piano*, music can be extended infinitely because of the pure appreciation of the sound of a note or note ‘clouds,’ or music can be any sound that exists through the span of time—similar to the idea of time Yun wanted to communicate. Instead of a note serving as a building block of melody or harmony, it is musically complete and contains in itself the notions of rhythm and pitch.

Similarly, the use of expansive tone, or intentionally approximate music, was also one of the important stylistic trends in Europe during Yun’s first years there. Examples of

⁸⁴ Ibid., 175-6.

such music by European composers include Ligeti's *Atmosphères* (1961) or Penderecki's *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* (1960) and *Polymorphia* (1961). Microtonality, cluster chords, and emphasis on gesture and timbre, rather than regularity of harmony, rhythm, and melody, fascinated many European composers at that time. Could Yun have also been inspired by the trend while in Europe? Or was it, as Yun has stated in one of his letters, a fortuitous event that Western composers were interested in Asian philosophies and music at the time of Yun's arrival in Europe? Though it may be difficult to answer these questions in definitive terms, one thing is clear: many key concepts of Western and Asian musical traditions were increasingly sharing common philosophical and aesthetic grounds during this time.

Tonal Continuity as Developing Mechanism: Epilogue (1994)

Epilogue from 1994 is a prelude to *Engel in Flammen* ("Angel in Flame"), the "Memento" for Orchestra and Voice. This work is the last composition of the composer and is preceded by a number of chamber works, including *Wind Octet* with double bass (1991), *Trio* for clarinet, bassoon and horn (1992), *Espace II* for oboe, cello and harp (1993), *Quartet for oboe and string trio* (1994), and a miniature piece for cello and oboe, *Ost-West-Miniaturen I-II* (1994; notice Yun's predilection for writing for wind instruments). Written for a solo soprano, three-part female chorus, celesta, flute, oboe, violin, and cello, *Epilogue* carries an ethereal sonority, which comes from its sheer texture, high register, and a soft dynamic level.

Throughout *Epilogue* the meter and tempo marking remain at 6/4 and $\text{♩} = 52$, used in many of Yun's other works, including *Gasa* and *Distanzen*. As seen earlier, Yun

often uses changes in tempo and meter to delineate formal division; however, in *Epilogue*, the dynamics and texture inform the structure. The dynamics change frequently and grow organically here. At the beginning of the piece, the dynamic level is kept soft, between *ppp* and *mp* (mm. 1-16). The dynamic range expands in the next section, from *ppp* to *mf* (mm. 17-30). The music reaches its peak when the dynamics range from *f* to *ff* (mm. 30-40) and then return to the tranquil mood of the beginning in the last measures (mm. 40-52).

The texture, which evolves together with the changes in the dynamic range, is an important parameter that creates musical momentum. Textural change is achieved in the process of the expansion of the pitch center, which happens through the ubiquitous glissandos and sliding tones to neighboring tones. *Epilogue* begins with a single pitch, C#, played by the violin; this pitch is reintroduced a couple of beats later, in a perfect fifth with F# in the celesta. Soon, the three-part chorus enters singing a unison on C#, confirming it as the central pitch class. By the middle of measure 2, the violin moves to Eb, which is carried over by soprano in the next measure. At the same time, the celesta plays two dyads, F-A and C#-E; within three measures the C# pitch center has expanded to a minor seventh interval that spans from F5 to Eb6. The range of the register further expands by gradually moving upward, with the violin moving from F6 (m. 5) to F#6, and then to G#6 (m. 6). The range, now spanning from F5 to G#6, remains contained for six more measures, until the violin and the flute, the two high-register instruments, begin to move upward again in a staggering motion. It continues until the violin plays Eb7 (m. 15), which is highest pitch of the entire piece (Example 1.15).

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows measures 1-6 for Celesta and Violin. The second system shows measures 7-10 for Cello and Violin. The third system shows measures 11-16 for Flute & Oboe and Violin. The score is in 6/4 time. Key features include circled notes in measures 1, 5, 8, and 15, and a boxed-in section in measure 14 of the Violin part. Measure numbers 1 through 16 are indicated above the staves.

Example 1.15: Pitch center on C# and its expansion, *Epilogue*, mm. 1-15

Once this upward expansion is completed, the music explores the lower register with the entrance of the cello (m.16). Entering on C3, the cello swiftly moves down to Eb2, the lowest note in *Epilogue*. But after establishing this lower limit, the cello consistently strives to move away from this lowest point, staying in a range that is relatively high for the instrument, as though the descending leap was just a way to create room for a movement upward.

These upward-reaching gestures that happen both locally (for the cello) and generally (for the entire piece) seem to have a programmatic purpose. The piece concludes with, to borrow from the language of the common practice theory, a major-

major seventh chord built on D, or a [D-F#-A-C#] tetrachord. This C#, which has been presented as the pitch center from the onset, is now reassured, but has moved an octave higher, ringing repeatedly in the celesta that plays a D-A-C# triad. Curiously, C# is not the final pitch of the piece, but rather A (sung by the soprano), so that C# is readdressed in the context of a major third. With the ever-rising motion and the sanguine major third at the final moment, and remembering that this is the last work before the composer's death, one is tempted to conclude that there is a symbolic meaning behind the continuous upward gesture, namely, the human desire to strive for the higher realm, or looking up to the sublime being.

The pitch centrality of C# is constantly confirmed by its reentrance in almost every measure throughout the process of the registral expansion. When C# is not played, its neighboring tone C is present, as though to compensate for the absence of C#. Further, the constant presence of C# has a certain aural effect, namely that music progresses not by migrating from one tonal or pitch center to another, but by intensifying the energy of a single pitch, like the expansion of the universe, or the evolution of an organism. As a general statement, a composer's style is in a way defined by how he or she solves a compositional challenge, specifically that of constructing a structure over a span of time. For Yun, it seems that textural development, rather than harmonic development, is the main mechanism of musical development.

As shown in *Epilogue*, textural development is achieved through the expansion of a single pitch, by gradually adding instruments, through dynamic changes, and most significantly, by augmenting the impact of a pitch center through the gradual inclusion

neighboring pitches. Therefore, Yun's compositional mechanism is distinguishable from conventional tonal music in that his main material is a single pitch, not harmony: his music does not develop by departing from one tonal area and exploring others, which causes the tonic to be perceived differently after journeying through different tonalities, but by the deliberate and unrelenting sustaining of a pitch center. This way, the continuous exploring of other pitches—rather than Western-style deviation and return—is an action that feeds and augments that musical focal point.

The “Others” in Asian and Western Music

This chapter has shown that Isang Yun's first years in Europe can be summarized as an effort in valorization of the self within the culture of the Western society, which is caused by uncritical acceptance of Western standards and desires to identify himself with the Western other. This psychology is not completely unique in Yun, however. Cultural theory argues that it is a common mentality shared by those who have gone through radical cultural changes and whose cultural identities have been challenged by the powerful presence of an “other” culture that subliminally devalues one's own culture. Yet, we have also seen that such a crossing of cultures did not happen only for the colonized, but also for the colonizing, although the question of the cultural superior cannot be ignored. Hence Said's description that in the twentieth century's global setting, “no one is purely one thing,” so that “no one can deny the persisting continuities of long traditions.”⁸⁵ Said further claims that the only reasons to insist on the separation of

⁸⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 336.

distinctiveness of each cultural component would be “fear and prejudice.”⁸⁶ Yun’s case sheds light on how an individual contributes to the dynamics of global culture that is created and sustained by “transnational networks of people, ideas, and cultural products diffused from the ‘rest’ to the ‘West.’”⁸⁷ At the same time, it reveals how the “imagined” other is created by the internalization and localization of the culture of the other.⁸⁸ He overcame that rift between the imagined cultural center and its actuality by returning to his own cultural tradition. Although the next generation of Korean composers did not have to go through such a radical cultural disruption, Yun’s legacy of successful negotiation of multiple cultural sources was passed on to them.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 335.

⁸⁷ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1988), 273.

⁸⁸ See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010): 1-26.

2. Migration, Dislocation, and Postmodernist Art

The legacy of Nam June Paik (1932–2006), Isang Yun's contemporary, lives most vividly today in his video and television art, the media with which he worked most of his life. Yet his artistic journey began with music, his early musical education being in classical piano and composition. The transition from a musician to a widely renowned video artist was rapid: he was a student of music composition and aesthetics at the University of Tokyo in the mid-1950s, and by 1964, in his early thirties, he moved to New York City to immerse himself in the circle of Fluxus artists and work with television. His artistic shift was also progressive, having been anticipated by his experiments with various musical concepts and material, including serialism, electronic music, *musique concrète*, and action music, which eventually led him to performance art and to technology. In this chapter, I will focus on Paik's early career, from the late 1950s to the early 1960s, with an occasional visit to his later works when necessary. This investigation reveals a different kind of response to the colonial cultural disruption in Korea.

The change of Paik's artistic trajectory was so dramatic that analyses of his later works are not entirely relevant to this study. More importantly, the significance of his early years in terms of his development as an artist is undeniable, and deserves a close examination. In some ways, including Paik as part of this study may seem irrelevant, and for valid reasons. Apart from the fact that most of his artistic undertakings were in visual art, Paik's musical compositions are nothing but unconventional in ways that defy traditional musical analyses. Not only are they often unnotated, but they also do not

involve “musical” sound in a conventional sense—unless one recognizes Cagean silence and unpremeditated and primitive noise as such. Nevertheless, as the following analyses will show, Paik’s early involvement in the music world had an undeniable influence on his art. Paik was famously outspoken about his indebtedness to Cage, and though less clearly articulated, Stockhausen was also an important influence. In fact, one may even claim that Stockhausen’s ideas were more tangible influences on Paik, whereas Cage was an inspirational force and catalyst for Paik to change his artistic course in a full-fledged manner at the end of the 1950s. Both of their influences will be discussed below.

I also emphasize the connections between Paik’s provocative works and his experiences of migration and dislocation. In discussing an artist’s aesthetic choices, certain aspects can only be explained as his or her natural dispositions (although one might argue that such dispositions are the results of upbringing and personal experiences, which would lead us to the nature-versus-nurture argument, but that would be beyond the scope of this study); with someone of such strong character as Paik, such a statement would certainly prove to be true. Yet his early experiences, those of living in a colonized country, of the war, migration, and education in foreign countries, cannot be disregarded as determining factors in his artistic development—self-awareness of national/ethnic identity seems to have occupied him until later in his life. Despite being physically separated from his country, Paik shared with many of his countrymen a mixed feeling toward his native country and culture. The sentiment was on the one hand nostalgia for his own culture and on the other hand disdain for it (a sentiment partially created through propaganda of the colonizer). These contradictory attitudes were occasionally, yet

powerfully, articulated in his works. In addition, Paik's own post-colonial awareness does not seem to have hindered him from asserting his artistic personality, but rather to have motivated him to be even more radical and unconventional. He shared with Yun what could be considered a cultural inferiority complex as a composer of Western art music coming from Asia in the 1950s, and yet the way Paik reacted to this sentiment was entirely different from the way Yun did. The older composer, Yun, sensed that it was necessary for him first to be fully accepted by the composers at Darmstadt for using established conventions (serialism). He also responded to the expectation of being an "exotic" composer (from the Western point of view) by meeting that very expectation and incorporating elements of Korean traditional music in his compositions. Paik, meanwhile, reacted by contradicting such expectations and not necessarily commenting on his cultural background.

Nam June Paik, in Korea and Japan before 1956

Paik was born in Seoul into a wealthy family that allowed him to travel freely and experience foreign cultures during his youth. His musical education began in Korea: his music teachers were Jae Duk Shin (1917–1987), a pianist-composer who studied in Japan and the United States, and Keun Woo Lee (dates unknown), a composer who introduced the music and theories of Schoenberg to Paik as early as in 1947.¹ Paik's early education was privileged considering social conditions in Korea at the time. In 1949, at age

¹ Taehee Kang, "Nam June Paik: Early Years (1958–1973)" (PhD diss., The Florida State University, 1988), 4-5.

eighteen, while attending one of the most selective private high schools in Korea, he accompanied his father on a business trip to Hong Kong and enrolled in an international high school there. The next year, while he was visiting Korea, the Korean War broke out. The privileged few with financial resources were able to flee to neighboring countries or cities during the war. Paik's family fled first to Kobe, Japan, in 1950, and then by 1951 to Kamakura, the city about four miles south of Tokyo where Paik finished high school.² He then attended the University of Tokyo and majored in Western Aesthetics, History of Arts, and the History of Music. His composition teacher there was Saburo Moroi (1903–1977), who studied in Berlin (1934–1936) with Leo Schrattenholz (1872–1955), the teacher of Curt Sachs, and who had founded an “analysis school” based on the Germanic model upon returning to Japan.³ Paik concluded his study in 1956 with a dissertation on the music of Schoenberg.⁴

Schoenberg and his then-revolutionary technique of serialism were well known in Japan by the 1930s.⁵ By the late nineteenth century in Japan, writing in European style—which meant German Romanticism—was nothing new, but it was not until about the 1930s that the works of Debussy and Bartók, or the concept of atonality, became widely

² For this and other details about Paik's early life, see the following: Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun kŭ chi'iy ōrhan sam kwa yesul* [Nam June Paik, his fierce life and arts] (Seoul: Yōrŭmsa, 2000), 56-61.

³ Peter Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17.

⁴ Nam June Paik, *Nam June Paik: Exposition of Music, Electronic Television: Revisited* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2009), 233; Nam June Paik, Letter to Wolfgang, 16 June 1957, published in “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” in *Darmstadt-Dokumente*, eds. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1999), 110.

⁵ See chapter 1 above. Also see Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 50-55.

familiar.⁶ Japanese composer Yoritsune Matsudaira, a participant in the Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music in 1959, lamented in a lecture article written for the Course that Japanese composers in the first decades of the twentieth century tried “in vain” to compose in the “traditional” style (meaning tonal music), while European composers had already turned away from composing with the traditional tonal theories.⁷ According to the article, in the 1930s, around the time Japan joined the International Society for Contemporary Music, as increasing numbers of Japanese composers studied in Europe and returned home, three main compositional trends emerged in the Japanese musical scene: German academism (twelve-tone music), French academism (that of the Paris Conservatoire), and a group of composers whose music was characterized by the superimposition of the third or fifth intervals and the incorporation of Japanese traditional elements.⁸

⁶ Yoritsune Matsudaira, “Neue Musik in Japan (1959),” in *Im Zenit der Moderne: die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966*, ed. Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997), 3: 218–223.

⁷ Ibid., 221.

⁸ Ibid., 222. According to Matsudaira, Makoto Moroi (1930–2013), having been influenced by Schoenberg and Webern, was one of the composers who used the twelve-tone technique successfully. Such works include the *Partita* for flute (1952) and *Kihaku na tenkai* (1958), both of which won the ISCM prize. See Masakata Kanazawa, “Moroi, Makoto,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19157> (accessed 1 March 2017). Moroi was born in Tokyo and trained at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, but his father, the composer Saburō Moroi (1903–1977), who wrote the music theory textbooks *Kinō waseihō* [Functional Harmony] (1954) and *Junsui taiihō* [Counterpoint] (1955), had studied at the Berlin Musikhochschule in 1932–1934 and later composed using the twelve-tone technique. Kanazawa, “Moroi, Saburō,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19158> (accessed 1 March 2017). Matsudaira also names Toshiro Mayuzumi (1929–1997) as the composer who represents the style of the Paris Conservatoire, where he studied with Tony Aubin in 1951–2. Kanazawa writes, “[Mayuzumi’s] *X, Y, Z* (1955) was the first Japanese example of *musique concrète*, and his *Shūsaku I* (1955) the first of synthetic electronic music.” “Mayuzumi, Toshiro,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18186> (accessed 1 March 2017).

In the 1940s, critics and composers who studied in Japan, like Paik's own teacher in Korea, introduced the music of Debussy, Prokofiev, Ravel, Bartók, and Stravinsky in Korea through a series of articles in popular magazines and recordings.⁹ It was not uncommon for Korean musicians to study in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. While the generation of musicians that was born in the late nineteenth century and that witnessed Korea's struggle against the Japanese colonial force in the early 1900s felt that they were betraying their country by going to Japan to study, those who were born after the Korea-Japan Annexation (1910) not only felt less uncomfortable about the idea of studying in Japan but also were deeply influenced by the colonial propaganda actually to believe that Japanese music schools were "first rate."¹⁰ Such a belief was not entirely untrue as there were not enough capable music teachers in Korea. Plus, studying in Japan was financially more realistic than studying in Europe or America at the time. As a result, the majority of musicians in Western music (those who composed or performed Western music as opposed to indigenous music) in Korea went to Japanese music schools in cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Musashino.¹¹

By the 1950s in Japan, there was a rise in a new artistic trend which had been in the making since the 1920s. It was an art movement that could most conveniently be

⁹ Choong-Sik Ahn, *The Story of Western Music in Korea: A Social History, 1885–1950* (Morgan Hill, CA: eBookstand Books, 2005), 106. Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 52.

¹⁰ Ibid., 114.

¹¹ List of music schools attended by Korean composers between 1910 and 1919 is published as an appendix in Ahn, *The Story of Western Music*, 178. Ahn cites the following sources: Taehan Minguk Yesulwon, *Hanguk Yonye Daekam* [The Source Book of Performing Arts in Korea] (Seoul, Songyong Munwhasa, 1962); Ŭmak Nyonkam Pyonchan Wiwonhuei [Musical Yearbook Editing Committee], ed., *Ŭmak Yonkam* [Musical Yearbook] (Seoul: Saekwang Chulpansa, 1966).

understood as neo-Dada, and the cause of its emergence in the late 1940s and the 1950s traces back to the early twentieth century. The anti-communist Taisho government (1912–1926) suppressed any leftist movements, including activities of left-wing artistic and musical associations. This repression led in 1929 to the dissolution of the Dadaist group Mavo that had been founded by Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901–1977) in the early 1920s.¹² After the Taisho government was succeeded by the Showa regime (1926–1989), the Dada attitude among the radical artists in Japan was reinforced by the disbandment of Mavo. It reached its peak at the end of World War II with an even more heightened focus on individualism, leading to the emergence of various existentialist avant-garde movements. Murayama, the founder of Mavo, was initially heavily influenced by constructivism but later developed its philosophy into his own style, namely, using a collage of ordinary objects; he called this style “conscious constructivism.”¹³ The initial Mavo spirit responded to the rising industrialism in Japan by making daily objects or industrial products into art and vice versa. Mavo artists were also extremely aware of social issues, protesting against injustice by publicly displaying eroticism. All of their aesthetics—collage, using ordinary objects, and public theatricality involving eroticism—were later to be the hallmarks of Paik’s arts.

¹² For more history, see Alexandra Munroe, “Morphology of Revenge: The Yomiuri Independent Artists and Social Protest Tendencies in the 1960s,” in *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: J.N. Abrams, 1994), 149-187; Munroe, “To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun: The Gutai Group,” in *Japanese Art after 1945*, 83-123.

¹³ For extensive documentation and analysis of the MAVO movement, see Gennifer S. Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905–1931 (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

The concerns of the avant-garde artists of Japan during the post-World War II period were social and political as much as individual, reflecting the momentous consequences of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Japanese people's view of the West: their voices were primarily raised against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, which allowed the U.S. to use Japanese territory as their military base.¹⁴ In 1960, this antagonism eventually led to an uproar of artists in front of the Sogeto Art Center, the home of avant-garde artists and where Paik would stage his works during his visit to Japan in 1963 and 1964.¹⁵ Aesthetically, these artists were influenced by expressionism as well as existentialism, which rejected the positivistic and rational view of the world and instead focused on human emotions in navigating a complex and seemingly meaningless modern world. The art historian Alexandra Munroe describes the essence of Japanese avant-garde art after 1945 through the 1960s in the following words:

Cultivating methods and images intended to shock and revolt the status quo, artists led culture from the hallowed halls of museums and theaters into the streets, shopping centers, and train stations of Tokyo, striving to make art that would be defined by experience rather than medium, author, or commercial value. Essentially expressionistic, these artists dealt foremost with the problems of the "individual" in a quest for self-identity, reflecting a preoccupation with overt self-expression that was central to Japanese avant-garde culture of the sixties.¹⁶

¹⁴ For Japanese post-war recovery and rebuilding, see the following studies: Wilfred Burchett, "The Atomic Plague," in *Tell Me No Lies*, ed. John Pilger (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), 10-25; Japan Broadcasting Corporation, *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977); John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (London: Penguin, 2001); Kazuo Kawai, "The New Anti-Americanism in Japan," *Far Eastern Survey* 22 no. 12 (1953): 153-157; chapters 9 and 10 of Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

¹⁵ For this history, see Yayoi Uno Everett, "Scream Against the Sky," in *Sound Commitment: Avant-garde Music and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 187-208.

¹⁶ Alexandra Munroe, "Morphology of Revenge," in *Japanese Art after 1945*, 149. For more historical and societal background of the rise of the experimental arts in Japan, see the following: Midori Yoshimoto, *Into*

This artistic milieu in Japan during these post-World War II years paralleled the “abstract expressionist” impulse, associated with artists such as Jackson Pollock, Barnett Newman, Adolph Gottlieb, and Mark Rothko, that was sweeping America’s art scene during the same period. In accounting for the rise of abstract expressionism in New York City, the art historian Serge Guilbaut suggests that seemingly apolitical abstract subject matters might have allowed artists to escape the political censorship of the McCarthy era.¹⁷ With the Japanese art world’s increased exchanges with the West after World War II, the new experimental arts of the U.S. came into Japan.¹⁸ As a high school and a college student studying Art History and Aesthetics in Tokyo in the 1950s, it would be hard to imagine that Paik was not aware of these movements and influenced by their anarchistic and unorthodox ideals. It was with such a backdrop that Paik wholeheartedly accepted unconventional ideals of American experimentalism upon arriving at Darmstadt and developed them into his own style.

The Darmstadt Summer Course in 1957 and 1958

In October 1956, upon graduating from the University of Tokyo, Nam June Paik moved to Germany and continued his study in musicology and art history at University of

Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 9-44.

¹⁷ See Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

¹⁸ Ming Tiampo and Alexandra Munroe, *Gutai: Splendid Playground* (New York: Guggenheim, 2013), 21-22.

Munich.¹⁹ He found Munich too conservative and soon moved to the Hochschule für Musik in Freiburg. On June 16, 1957, Paik wrote his first letter to Wolfgang Steinecke, introducing himself as a Korean student of musicology and composition.²⁰ Paik asked for admission to the Darmstadt Course on a full scholarship, stating that he was barely making a living.²¹ He also wrote that he was planning to write a report on the Course, which would be published in a Korean daily newspaper, *Chayu shinmun* [Freedom news], and in a Japanese scholarly music journal, *Ongakugeijutzu* [Music Art].²² Just a week later, on 22 June, Steinecke replied in the affirmative to Paik's requests. Since René Leibowitz was unable to attend the Course that year, Paik was offered a seat in the class of Wolfgang Fortner (1907–1987), who was at Darmstadt from 1956 to 1958.²³ Considering Paik had only recently graduated from college and had not written any notable compositions, it is with surprising readiness that Steinecke admitted Paik to the Course. Even though Paik mentioned his thesis on Schoenberg and a string quartet in the application letter, Steinecke would never receive the said works. Paik continuously delayed sending his string quartet to Steinecke, with the excuse of having to revise it, but in the end the work was never submitted.²⁴

¹⁹ Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 75.

²⁰ The letters exchanged between Paik and Steinecke are published in “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” in *Darmstadt-Dokumente*, eds., Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1999), 110-134.

²¹ Paik to Steinecke, 16 June 1957, *ibid.*, 110.

²² *Chayu shinmun* [Freedom News], which was published in Seoul, Korea, between September 1953 and August 1961, was owned by Paik's brother Nam-il Paik. Bo-yŏng Kim, “Chayu shinmun” [Freedom News] http://db.history.go.kr/download.do?levelId=npfp&fileName=intro_npfp.pdf (accessed 2 March 2017).

²³ Steinecke to Paik, 22 June 1957, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 111.

²⁴ Steinecke to Paik, 22 June 1957; Paik to Steinecke, 25 June 1957; “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 111.

Steinecke's willing acceptance of Paik to the Course despite his insufficient credentials as a composer was perhaps based on Paik's ethnic and aesthetic backgrounds, which would be beneficial for the Course for several reasons. First, one of the goals of the Course was to shed the image of chauvinistic nationalism associated with Nazi Germany, and having an Asian composer would enhance ethnic diversity at the Course and create a cultural link between Asian countries and the Course.²⁵ Also, Paik's stated plan to write and publish a report on the Course in foreign publications might have appealed to Steinecke. Finally, the fact that Paik had written a thesis on Schoenberg, the revered composer for the older generation of musicians at Darmstadt, might have led Steinecke to believe that Paik would fit into the Darmstadt program with respect to its aesthetic stance.²⁶

Isang Yun, who was a roommate with Paik at Darmstadt in 1958, described Paik in a letter to his wife as a young, smart, yet shy student who was interested in electronic music and wanting to experiment with non-musical sounds on stage. According to the letter, Paik was already thinking of breaking off from the realm of music with such ideas.²⁷ An anecdote given by Peter Westergaard (b. 1931), who was at Darmstadt as

²⁵ Paik's name is included in the list of those attending Stockhausen's "Analyse neuer Werke" course in 1957. See the book, Stockhausen-Stiftung f. Musik, ed., *Karlheinz Stockhausen bei den Internationalen Ferienkursen für Neue Musik in Darmstadt 1951–1996: Dokumente und Briefe* (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2001), 150. Paik appears to be the only Asian name among 92 students who attended the course.

²⁶ Although Schoenberg's music and ideas, along with those of Stravinsky, Bartók, and Hindemith, were regarded as outmoded by 1957 by the younger generation of composers such as Boulez, Stockhausen, and Nono, in the early years of the Darmstadt Summer Music Course around the late 1940s there was an "unexpected resurgence" of Schoenberg's twelve-tone music. Richard Taruskin explains that the revived interest in Schoenberg in the late 1940s reflects a post-World War II desire to start *tabula rasa*. See the following: *The Late Twentieth Century*, vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 5 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-54.

²⁷ Su-ja Yi, *Nae nampyŏn*, 1: 154-155.

Fortner's teaching assistant between 1957 and 1959 and thus taught Paik there, depicts him as a completely enigmatic and baffling character. Fortner was an important figure at the Course but not necessarily a "Darmstadt composer," and he taught the latest ideals and trends of the Darmstadt composers to his students. One day, Westergaard suggested to his students that they try using the rows of Webern and other serialists in different ways to see if they worked. In the middle of the class, someone—possibly Westergaard himself—turned to Paik and asked what he thought. Paik "just smiled," and said, "'both.'" Aside from the possibility that communication could have been a problem for Paik, it is not difficult to imagine how little the fierce ideological disputes surrounding compositional methods at Darmstadt had interested the young composer.²⁸

On 23 December 1957, following his first period of attendance at Darmstadt, Paik informed Steinecke about his new work, *Poly-heterophonie*, a three-minute-long chamber piece based on *Sirla-hyanga*, a medieval Korean Buddhist chant.²⁹ It is written for ten performers, including soprano, flute (piccolo), trumpet, bass clarinet, harp, piano, violin, double bass, percussion (vibraphone and xyloimba), and optional clarinet. In early February 1958, Paik sent Steinecke the first part of the composition in the form of a verbal description.³⁰ The first section of the piece is largely for the soprano, who sings "peculiar" (*eigenartigen*) intervals and glissandi and can also freely improvise over the harp; microtonalism, but not chromaticism, dominates the music. Extreme dynamics,

²⁸ Peter Westergaard, "The State of Mind of Darmstadt" (Lecture given at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on 17 February 2012).

²⁹ Paik to Steinecke, 23 December 1957, "Ich schreibe 'Amusik,'" 112.

³⁰ Paik to Steinecke, 5 February 1957, *ibid.*, 114-115.

almost exclusively *p*, *pp*, or *f*, *ff*, prevail with just a few middle range dynamics. The second section is *musique concrète*, involving pistol, breaking of glass, police whistle and drums that together create heterophony. Upon reading the first part of the score, which consists entirely of descriptions of the desired actions, Steinecke replied that the music looked extremely difficult to perform because of its fast tempo.³¹ Paik responded by saying that the tempo could be slower (though it would not be ideal) as long as the proportion among the given tempi is kept intact, adding that the music should be performed “irrationally,” not mechanically.³² But when Steinecke consulted Maderna about the possibility of staging the work at the Course that year, Maderna deemed it would be difficult to realize the piece, largely because the score was not clearly written.³³ But the question of performance was ultimately made irrelevant because Paik was unable to finish the *musique concrète* part of the composition.³⁴ He ended up asking Steinecke to stage the work the next year, but as with the string quartet, this work was never completed although Paik told Steinecke that he would consider re-writing the piece as electronic music to achieve more accurate rhythm.

³¹ Steinecke to Paik, 12 February 1957, *ibid.*, 116.

³² Paik to Steinecke, 14 February 1957, *ibid.*, 116.

³³ “Auch Maderna hatte einige Bedenken im Hinblick auf die besonderen Schwierigkeiten der Realisierung Ihrer Partitur. Vor allem wäre es erforderlich, daß wir eine möglichst klar und deutlich geschriebene Partitur und entsprechend gutes Aufführungsmaterial von Ihnen zur Verfügung gestellt bekommen.” Steinecke to Paik, 12 May 1958, *ibid.*, 117.

³⁴ Paik to Steinecke, 10 May 1958, *ibid.*, 118.

Considering Paik's repeated delays and inability to complete a composition, it seems that he had difficulty in musical composition in general.³⁵ In fact, after he became well-known as a video artist Paik openly spoke about his insecurity as a composer in interviews—on several occasions Paik remarked that he was never as accomplished a composer of music as he would have liked to have been but that he still maintained a passion for music and composition.³⁶ An anecdote recounted in Mary Bauermeister's eulogy during Paik's funeral in 2006 provides a more detailed picture of what Paik thought of himself as a musician: in 1958, Paik observed Stockhausen rehearse with an orchestra for his *Gruppen* (1955–1957), and amidst the sonic chaos—involving a 160-piece orchestra—Stockhausen pointed to one of the violinists in the back and said that he needed to play G sharp, instead of G. This scene shocked Paik, who then said to Bauermeister, “I will never be such a good musician. I am going to change medium. I am going to enter art now, TV art, I can do that, I am better at that.”³⁷

Although Paik did not submit his works to Steinecke as promised, he did keep his word about writing a report on the Course and publishing it in a Korean newspaper, *Chayu shinmun*. Paik's article from 1957, the translated title of which is “Das Bauhaus der Musik: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt,” maintains a

³⁵ On Paik's difficulty in composing, see the following source: Michael Nyman, “Nam June Paik, Composer,” in *Michael Nyman: Collected Writings*, ed. Pwyll ap Siôn (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 349–350.

³⁶ Kang, “Nam June Paik: Early Years (1958–1973),” 75; Paul Gardner, “Tuning in to Nam June Paik,” *Art News* 81 (May 1982), 67; Nam June Paik (interview conducted by Jason Weiss), “Nam June Paik Interview,” *Ear* 9/10 (Fall 1985): 11.

³⁷ Mary Bauermeister, “Cage minus Stockhausen oder Stockhausen minus Cage,” in *Nam June Paik: There is No Rewind Button for Life*, eds. Wulf Herzogenrath and Andreas Kreul (Cologne: DuMont, 2007), 40.

critical tone.³⁸ Lamenting that all the works performed there are in the “pointillism” (*Punktualismus*) style, Paik condemns the parochialism across the festival as a whole as well as the unoriginality of the young composers: Leibowitz’s work is banal, Stockhausen speaks like a mad man, and Adorno claims that there is only one way for modern music, recognizing neither Hindemith nor Stravinsky. Paik also criticizes young composers who “jealously and banally imitate the art of the elites” and who have fallen under the “spell” of Stockhausen, calling them “second-tier” and “philistines.”³⁹ Paik also details Nono’s urges to end the “cult of personality” and to learn from Webern, who, unlike the composers Darmstadt, had never written anything about his own work.

Paik’s writing is obviously a criticism of a peculiar Darmstadt practice—composers explaining at length how their music was composed, implying certain compositional language to be better or worse, and thus ironically engendering a culture of compositional dogmatism. Yet he concludes the report more favorably, by introducing the works of Nono (*Incontri*), Stockhausen (*Elektronische Music Studie*), Maderna (*Quartetto in due tempi*), and Berio (*Allelujah*), and praising the “particularly impressive” composers, such as Maderna, Luc Ferrari, and Bo Nilsson. Finally, when he quotes Schoenberg’s famous statement from *Style and Idea*, “If it is art, it is not for all. If it is for

³⁸ Paik’s own German translation of this report, sent to Steinecke in 1958, is published in *Darmstadt-Dokumente*, 134-136. Translation mine unless otherwise noted.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

all, it is not art,” Paik already implies that his art will not be the kind that suites the taste of everyone.⁴⁰

In May 1958, Paik wrote to Steinecke to ask for a reference for a stipend to compose at an electronic studio at the radio station in Hesse. This move was suggested by Fortner, who felt that he could not adequately help a character like Paik yet who did help him financially to study at the electronic music studio.⁴¹ Because there is no electronic studio in Hesse, Steinecke instead suggested that Paik contact Herbert Eimert at the Elektronische Musik at Westdeutscher Rundfunk in Cologne.⁴² There, Paik met the German artist Mary Bauermeister (b. 1934), whose studio would be home to a score of avant-garde artists, including David Tudor, Cage, Stockhausen, George Brecht, and Paik throughout the 1960s. Paik did not compose electronic music at the electronic studios but collected unused sound materials which would later become part of his collage works; some of the recording scraps could have possibly included Stockhausen. Working at the electronic studio also deepened his interest in technology. By the 1960s, Paik was studying electronics seriously with visual art, rather than music, in mind.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid., 136. Schoenberg’s remark can be found in “New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea” (1946), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 124.

⁴¹ Paik to Steinecke, 10 May 1958, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 119.

⁴² Steinecke to Paik, 20 May 1958, *ibid.*, 119.

⁴³ Nam June Paik, interview by Irmeline Lebeer, “Entretien Avec Nam June Paik,” *L’Art Vivat* 55 (1975): 33, quoted in Kang, “Nam June Paik,” 75-76.

Hommage à John Cage

In September 1958, Paik attended the Course for the second time. That year, Cage gave his famous lecture, “Composition as Process,” which was later published in his 1961 essay collection, *Silence*. The lecture introduced chance operation and indeterminacy as major new concepts for avant-garde composition. The significance of Paik’s encounter with Cage for the younger composer’s artistic development is well known, as displayed in Paik’s eulogy of Cage in 1992: “My life started one evening in 1958 August at Darmstadt [...] 1957 was B.C.1. (Before Cage 1). 1947 was B.C.10. Plato lived in B.C.2500, not in B.C.500.”⁴⁴ Since this apparently life-changing experience, Paik followed Cage with a groupie-like zeal, and this loyalty lasted throughout Paik’s career. During the one year he spent in Japan after his solo exhibition in 1963, Paik actively introduced Cage’s art in Japan and in Korea.⁴⁵ Cage and Paik continued sharing their thoughts in years after, and their intellectual communion came to fruition in *Variation No. 5* in 1965. Years later, a more significant collaboration between the two artists, *Good Morning, Mr. Orwell*, a satellite installation, was broadcast in the U.S., France, Germany, and Korea on New Year’s day in 1984.

After his participation in the Course in 1958, Paik wrote his second report on the Course, which was published again in the Korean newspaper *Chayu-Shinmun* (Figure

⁴⁴ Nam June Paik, “B.C./A.D.” (1992), cited in Sohyun Lee, Sooyoung Lee, and Chaeyoung Lee, eds., *x_sound: John Cage, Nam June Paik and After* (Seoul: Nam June Paik Art Center, 2012), exhibition catalog, 30. Originally published in Nam June Paik, *Du Cheval à Christo et autres écrits*, eds. Irmeline Ebeer and Edith Decker-Philipp (Bruxelles: Ed. Lebeer Hossmann, 1993), 27.

⁴⁵ Paik maintained a close relationship with Japanese art circles and continued to contribute to the Japanese magazine *Ongakugeijutzu* [Music art] with reports about the German avant-garde music and arts scenes in the late-1950s and 1960s. See the following: Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 61.

2.1). This time, the report was devoted to Cage and his idea of chance music. It described Cage's aleatoric music in rather romantic and poetic language: “. . . it is a beautiful resignation to nature and it is the way to desert our stagnant brain that has been hardened between consciousness and unconsciousness, and to reach the state of moderation which is the will of heaven.”⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Nam June Paik, “Uyŏnhan ūmak—Darmshutatŭ kukje sinŭmak banghak caemp ū” [Music of chance - Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music], *Chayu shinmun* [Freedom news], 6 January 1959. My translation. Paik's report was published over two days, 6 and 7 January 1959.

그의 音樂會는 例마다
X X X X X X X X X X
모르는 家給人足의 爆笑
거리가 되었으니 萬個의
角形보다도 五角形을 사할
아래 있어 慈若하다 人
心惟危 道心惟微 그는나
무고치해서 웃으유사담
를 「우」로 「를」通해서
神妙達理는 精神(도스)
로에부스키 카포카 佛
교의經國圖 中世의 樂能
風像이다 今二二二의
리송의 하하히기다
거구 울의 웃지않는다
한단 세번 웃지않았다
處女의一回性

X X
今年度 모르도록이나
의難題와 時間的인音樂
「空閒」을 들어온것이全
國이다 「크루아주」
(愛德)代表인 詩集
作樂의 「시」의 意의

「레스트라」를 할수만
페」에서는 가운데 많은
손님을 세명의指揮者와 세
명의 오케스트라가 많
은形으로 들리고 「부레
스」(佛蘭西를 代表하는
前衛)의 「힘을 發詩」
에서는 會場가운데의 세
개의오－레스트라(指揮二
名)를 등 두그라운드聽衆이

基本的一 제가」二間各과라
메」러 《音樂音聲色意高
》의平等化와相互交換性으로
發展되어왔는데이 우의
友誼 奉獻三才代의天才는
空間(소리나는位置) 마자
平等化시키버리고 하는
것이다 이런 새로운 授
企에對하여「우리들의
는 音聲에對해서는 날

偶然한音樂
(下)

「달고슈타트」音樂講席一

白南準

導入하지않는限 一理이는
말이다
그러나「空間自體」將
來性이있어서 그후가진
것이 아니고「부르크」하
우전」이 갔으니가 空間
에將來性의生々々이다 라
고 말 할수는 없을까?
「物自體」歷史自體公司
論理와意味가있는나쁘느
나관용을「물음표」하나
結論이 남가막히면「題의」
그이런것을소홀히決定해서
權力化 物權化하는데어人

問의 오프로業ヲ有는及
이니 物自體、物自體속이다
歷史自體속에 論理有る意
味가 있는것이아니고그가
意識與하는것은 無知부가
외로 드러난人間의主體
性이다이란 思考法은能
히可能하고 第若그것을假
設한다면 主體性偶然無天
才란 連鎖第一부터작
用하게安當한가? 藝術史
天才의意外의企圖에(意
外로우미만 天才)은 부
滿의 批評家

十二回제 예리는 이講
座에는 鐵欄뒤를 包圍한
五大州一千六個國에서三
百二十七名이 모였다 眞
實로「新音樂十年史」는 달
고슈타트 十年史적이이다
(卷一)의二一獨逸의指
導의批評家

11 Music d
- Dan

11 Musik der Zeitall. 11

— Darmstadt Ferienkurse
für Neue Musik
(2)
N. J. PAIK

Figure 2.1: The second half of Nam June Paik's article, titled "Uyŏnhan ŭmak" [Music of chance], *Chayu shinmun*, 7 January 1959, 4; copy of the article reproduced courtesy of the archive at the International Music Institute Darmstadt

In December 1958, Paik informed Steinecke that he was writing a “pure theater” work, called *Hommage à John Cage*. In the letter to Steinecke, Paik described the piece as neither electronic nor *concrète*, but as tape-antimusic.⁴⁷ *Antimusik* (or *Amusik*) is a term that Paik invented himself to describe his own works that could not be explained by any other existing terms or genres of classical music. In labelling his music with this new term, Paik writes that Schoenberg wrote “atonal” music and Cage wrote “acompositions.”⁴⁸ Naming two composers who had the most significant influence on his unorthodox music, Paik is establishing an aesthetic lineage here. But while Cage’s works are still composition, where the absence of composition is very purposefully the composition itself, Paik took the concept even further and pushed the boundaries of music. *Hommage*, the first of his *antimusik* works to be publicly performed, is sketched as follows:

The piece requires a regular piano, a very bad, prepared piano, and a scooter. The piano is treated not only as a plucked instrument, but also as a percussion and string instrument. Players read the newspaper, talk to the audience, push the wings to throw out the piano . . . , and a piano falling from the stage to the hall floor. Listeners throw shooting fireworks on the stage, with the gun breaking glass. The scooter appears from behind.

⁴⁷ Paik to Steinecke, 8 December 1958, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 123.

⁴⁸ “Schönberg hat geschrieben “atonal.” John Cage hat geschrieben “Akomposition.” Ich schreibe “Amusik.”” Ibid., 123. A striking example of Cage’s “acomposition” is his 1962 work *0’00”* (a sequel of *4’33”*), comprised of a single sentence: “In a provided with maximum amplification (no feedback), a perform a disciplined action.” The premiere of this piece took place in Tokyo, Japan. Many of Paik’s works are obviously influenced by age’s radical disposal of “conventional” compositional thinking. See chapter 5, ““Music (not composition)” (1962-1969)” from James Pritchett, *The Music of John Cage* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univeristy Press: 1993), 138-162.

In addition, many toys, weather views, news, Sports relays (from the radio), boogie-woogie, water, tape recorder tone, etc., i.e. the functional tones that have become functionless.⁴⁹

The material for the first part of *Hommage* is radio-collage and language, where language is “reduced to its primitive stage.”⁵⁰ This “primitive stage” is the state in which the verbal rhythm is conceived as “one unit in terms of breathing, focus, and dynamics”—one could imagine something like a shout rather than planned utterances. The second section is explained as arising from the boredom of everyday life, a description that highlights the existentialist stance which had influenced Paik greatly around this time. The third movement is described as “musical philosophy,” and Paik uses the phrase *actes gratuits* to confirm that the work is an unpremeditated performance act. Steinecke was initially intrigued by the theatricality of the piece, but upon hearing concretized details of the work half a year later, in May 1959, he was taken aback by its radicalism and refused to stage it at Darmstadt. Extra-musical elements in *Hommage* such as throwing eggs, breaking glass, letting loose live chickens, and driving a moving motorcycle onstage, were simply too provocative and unsuited to Darmstadt, Steinecke explained.⁵¹ Further, Steinecke urged Paik to write music that remained in the confines of pure music, with a reminder that Cage had written many works with the traditional means.⁵² Thus, even though Paik did attend the Course in 1959, he was not registered in the special courses,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁰ The descriptions of the piece in this section come from: Paik to Steinecke, 2 May 1959, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 125-126.

⁵¹ Steinecke to Paik, 13 May 1959, *ibid.*, 127.

⁵² Ibid.

nor was his work performed as he had hoped. Instead, the piece was premiered the same year at Gallery 22, Düsseldorf, the very place where Cage presented his *Walk Music* the same year.⁵³ Paik was gradually distancing himself from the music circle of Darmstadt—in a way, he was never fully part of it at all. Paik continued his exchanges with Steinecke occasionally and received help from him, but he was never to associate himself with the academism of the Course again.

The significance of *Hommage* for Paik was more than paying respect to a revered musician. With this work, Paik displayed an unprecedented level of self-confidence as an artist. He assured Steinecke that he would show a completely new style in *Hommage*, asking Steinecke to disregard *Poly-heterophony*, which was written a year earlier as a study piece. Paik wrote, “You may well believe in the quality of this piece [*Hommage*] ... I have written to you several times that it is not a ‘study’—an average level of ‘studio concert’—I want it to be my ‘debut.’”⁵⁴ *Hommage* was the beginning of Paik’s involvement with the “Happenings” and the Fluxus movement, which would define his artistic career for the next decade.

The influence of Cage on Paik was certainly inspirational and philosophical, but it was also musical. Paik experimented with various technical methods which Cage had used, including prepared piano, collage, and tape slicing (which Paik used in *Hommage à John Cage* and *Random Access Music* (1957/1978)). In August 1963, in an interview

⁵³ For chronology of Happenings and Fluxus performances in Germany and the U.S. in the late 1950s and 1960s, see the following: Günter Berghaus, *Avant-garde Performance: Live Events and Electronic Technologies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 241-244.

⁵⁴ Paik to Steinecke, 2 May 1959, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 126.

with the Japanese magazine *Ongakugeijutzu* [Music Art], Paik said, “I was really impressed with Cage when he came to Darmstadt in 1958. Cage has two important aspects. One is the surprise such as collage. Surprise is a way of life like Zen riddles, and it attacks you with paradoxes. Likewise with a variation. It lets this and that choices or radio sounds go randomly... Anyway, I always wanted to apply the collage in visual art to music.”⁵⁵

Paik wholeheartedly appreciated randomness in his arts. When there were accidental cuts and blanks because of the transmission delay during the performance of *Good Morning, Mr. Orwell*, Paik welcomed the chaos and impromptu episodes because they enhanced the “live mood.”⁵⁶ Also, Paik took Cage’s notion of disorderliness to another level. Although Paik used a Cagean prepared piano, Paik’s preparation of the piano was very different than Cage’s, except for the use of toys. While Cage expanded the sound possibilities of the piano by adjusting the instrument’s mechanism or using various objects, Paik completely deconstructs the instrument so that it is stripped of its identity as an instrument in a traditional sense. *Hommage à John Cage* is devised in such a way as to show that the boundary of classical music can be pushed even further than anyone had imagined. In particular, through actions on stage, Paik wanted to incorporate the concept of space in the piece. Paik was joined by other composers, such as Mauricio Kagel, Ligeti, and Gottfried Michael Koenig, who were also actively exploring theatrical

⁵⁵ Nam June Paik, interview conducted by Moroi Makato, “International Avant-Garde and Music,” *Music Art*, August, 1963. Cited in Lee, Lee, and Lee, eds., *x_sound*, 22. Translation from Japanese to English by editors of *x_sound*.

⁵⁶ “Good Morning, Mr. Orwell,” *Media Art Net*, <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/goog-morning> (accessed 6 August 2014).

music, or “Instrumental theater,” to borrow from Mauricio Kagel.⁵⁷ Ligeti, for instance, caused a scandal with his silent lecture, *The Future of Music—A Collective Composition* at the 1961 “European Forum” in Alpbach.⁵⁸

As momentous as Cage’s influence was, there were also influences from other artists in *Hommage*. Shortly after his encounter with Cage, Paik attended an event that is likely to have pushed him toward radicalism. From September 5 to October 19, 1958, the Dada documentary exhibition *Dada: Documente einer Bewegung* was installed at the Kunsthalle Düsseldorf.⁵⁹ The exhibition was one of the first major Dada shows in Germany and represented the works of Marcel Duchamp, Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, Max Ernst, and Jean Crotti. Paik was struck in particular by the works of Duchamp and Schwitters, and their influences in the conception of *Hommage* is evidenced in the two lines that open the work:

Marcel Duchamp + Dostoyevsky = K. Schwitters

Variété ≠ Variation

⁵⁷ Kagel had written about the aesthetics of “instrumental theater” in 1960. See the following: Mauricio Kagel, “Neuer Raum—Neue Musik. Gedanken zum Instrumentalen Theater (1966),” in *Im Zenit der Moderne*, eds. Borio and Danuser, 3: 245-253.

⁵⁸ Ligeti was asked to give a lecture on the future of music by the organizers of this event, and believing that no one was in the position to discuss this topic, Ligeti stayed silent for ten minutes at the rostrum, causing a commotion among the audience. Ligeti and Koenig had also met Paik on Cologne in 1958, as the only audience members at Paik’s private “happening” performance. For a detailed account of these two incidents, see the following: Richard Toop, *György Ligeti* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), 80-82.

⁵⁹ Kang, “Nam June Paik,” 9.

At the exhibition was an anthology of Schwitters's poetry, including *An Anna Blume* (1919), the work that had allowed Schwitter to be associated with the Berlin Dada circle. Regarding *An Anna Blume*, Schwitters wrote, "I pasted words and sentences into poems in such a way as to produce a rhythmic design. Reversing the process, I pasted up pictures and drawings so that sentences could be read in them."⁶⁰ Pasting of words and sentences is also collage, and there seems to be a certain aspect of collage that appealed to Paik. Collage does not require cohesive or conjunct logic, which Paik often seems to have considered to be unnecessary, or even detrimental, in art. A review by a German critic gives a vivid description of what happened at the premiere of *Hommage*:

The first movement started with 20 young women's agonizing screams from the tape-recorders, and the news service of West Deutsche Rundfunk. Paik threw an egg to the wall and then played the piano for 30 seconds at a normal speed following the metronome and the music box. In the second movement, he jumped around the room shouting in Korean, whistled the plastic-locomotive, turned off the light, and lit a candle. The third movement began restrainedly in the candle light, but two loud bangs made the audience shudder. In the fourth movement, with a final fury, he ran across the space to bring a cooking knife, and cut the strings of the piano, and finally overturned the jangling piano, the audience did not stop its applause, and the only dissonance of the piece was the cooked egg which was supposed to be raw.⁶¹

All of these happened against a background music, which was a tape collage of classical music and various non-music sounds: a lottery announcement on the phone, news reports,

⁶⁰ "Kurt Schwitters, Merz (1920)," in *Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell (New York: George Wittenborn, 1951), 59. Quoted in Kang, "Nam June Paik," 14.

⁶¹ Review of *Hommage à John Cage*, "Mutter, der Man mit dem Schrein ist da . . . Zurücktreten bitte—Musik!" from a Düsseldorf Newspaper, mid-November 1959, reprinted in Nam June Paik, *Nam June Paik: Werke 1946–1976: Musik, Fluxus, Video* (Cologne, Der Kunstverein: 1976), 42.

and excerpts from Beethoven and Rachmaninoff.⁶² While the mix of non-musical sources and music is not something new, Paik tried to deliver a message by doing so. Prior to the concert, he had written to Steinecke, “Today, Henze and Buffet sit on the crown, as did Handel, Rubens, Liszt, Hindemith, Stravinsky and Picasso have been sitting on the crown.”⁶³ By trivializing the high esteem of these old masters, Paik is unreserved in expressing his unease toward the seriousness associated with the high art.

Similar distortion of traditional music is seen in his later collaboration with the Greek artist Vassilakis Takis (b. 1925) in *Duett Paik/Takis* (1979, premiered in Cologne), performed exactly two decades after the premiere of *Hommage*.⁶⁴ Here, Paik improvises on the piano while Takis performs on his metal sculptures. The audio part begins with a rhythmically distorted Chopin waltz and Bach invention, both interrupted and cut short as though in a practice session. A very quiet improvisation on the piano ensues but is soon interrupted by sudden attack on gong or symbols. The music turns from sentimental to mournful, as a ghostly voice joins. A haunting blend of improvisation on the piano, a singing voice emanating from a speaker, and the intrusions of the ironically poignant gong continues for a while, until the voice finally starts to sing a more recognizable tune, a Korean folk song. It is then followed by bright Korean traditional folk music, which lasts for a minute, and returns promptly to the somber improvisation, before transitioning into a series of Bach two-part inventions played on a harpsichord. The music concludes

⁶² Michael Nyman, “Nam June Paik, Composer,” in *Nam June Paik*, ed. by John Hanhardt (New York: Norton, 1982), 82.

⁶³ Paik to Steinecke, “Ich schreibe ‘Amusik,’” 126.

⁶⁴ A recording of this work is included in the following disc: Nam June Paik, *Nam June Paik Works 1958.1979*. Sub Rosa SR178 EFA, 2001, compact disc.

with a slowing of the Bach until it becomes out of proportion and eventually dissipates. This is perhaps the most “musical” and mellow of Paik’s musical works and represents a vast contrast to his works from the 1960s. Through the endless juxtaposition of seemingly unharmonious elements, Paik renders meaningless the separation between “high” culture and “low” culture—one of the central principles of collage art.

Action Music and Fluxus — Larking, Stockhausen, Postmusic

At Paik’s funeral held in NYC in 2006, a richly anecdotal eulogy was given by the artist Mary Bauermeister, a participant in Stockhausen’s class at Darmstadt in 1961 and the owner of the Cologne studio that was home to many avant-garde artists, including Paik, Cage, David Tudor, Christo Javacheff, and George Brecht, from 1960 to 1962.⁶⁵ It was a rich compilation of anecdotes that revealed not only Paik’s character but also the philosophical foundations behind his works which could be misconstrued as frivolous undertakings. According to Bauermeister, although Paik did reject excessive seriousness in arts, this choice was intentional, arising from his profound aesthetic deliberations. Paik’s undertakings in the early 1960s might seem like a “lark” today, yet his approach to music and art was very serious. Paik and the Fluxus circle’s primary artistic aim was, according to Bauermeister, how to achieve “the true,” “the good,” and “the beautiful”—

⁶⁵ For Bauermeister’s participation in Stockhausen’s class, see Mary Bauermeister and Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Manifestatie Mary Bauermeister en Karlheinz Stockhausen: schilderijen, elektronische muziek: Catalogus van een tentoonstelling, Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1/2–24/2 1963* (Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum: 1963), 167. For the Fluxus artists’ gatherings and happening performances at Bauermeister’s studio, see Wilfried Dörstel, Rainer Steinberg, and Robert von Zahn, “The Bauermeister Studio: Proto-Fluxus in Cologne, 1960–62,” in *Fluxus Virus*, ed. Ken Friedman (Cologne: Galerie Schüppenhauer, 1992), 48-62; Hannah Higgins, *Fluxus Experience* (Berkeley: California University Press), 10-11.

ideals of music that separate it from human, and possibly erroneous, enterprises.⁶⁶ At the same time, this circle of artists was concerned with how they could “exorcise the German-ness,” spearheaded by the theoretical force of Adorno and the Frankfurt School that caused the excess formalism displayed at the Darmstadt Courses in the late 1950s. Paik came to Darmstadt with a strong education in philosophy, being familiar with German philosophers, as well as the philosophies of Buddhism, but he could not agree with the rigid domination of ideologies over the arts. Thomas Kellein’s eulogy likewise points out Paik’s deep knowledge in philosophy. Paik had studied philosophy as a student of aesthetics and musicology in Japan, and before attending Darmstadt in 1958, he taught himself German by reading Hegel’s *Philosophy of Art*. He also took classes in the history of philosophy and art theories of the twentieth century while in Munich, and attended lectures and seminars by Hans Sedlmayr, an Austrian art historian.⁶⁷ Both Bauermeister’s and Kellein’s testimonies seek to underline the fact that Paik’s seemingly skittish and absurd arts in fact grew out of rigorous philosophical and artistic contemplations, although neither of them define Paik’s aesthetic ideals in plain terms.

Paik did not elaborate on the theoretical basis behind his work, unlike many other composers of the time; he was notably nonchalant yet humorously gentle, which enable him to be unapologetic in talking about his arts and thoughts without offending people. While explicating Paik’s aesthetic philosophy in a clear-cut or comprehensive manner might require some thoughtful reading of his works, his many pithy remarks, such as “All

⁶⁶ Bauermeister, “Cage minus Stockhausen,” 36-37.

⁶⁷ Thomas Kellein, “Homage to Nam June Paik,” in *Nam June Paik: There is No Rewind Button for Life*, eds. Wulf Herzogenrath and Andreas Kreul (Cologne: DuMont, 2007), 52-53.

arts are hoax,” and “It is not art if it is not fun,” provide some basis from which to understand his artistic motivations and intentions.⁶⁸

One of Paik’s most enigmatic remarks is the phrase, “Stockhausen minus Cage,” which Paik had written on a scroll in front of Bauermeister without any explanation. Bauermeister questions whether the phrase is supposed to mean “structure minus the aleatoric” or “aleatoric minus structure.”⁶⁹ Instead of providing an answer herself, she explains that being a pupil of Fortner who had “already been placed *ad acta* by the avant-garde artists—Stockhausen, Pousseur, Nono, Blouez” was “a strange situation” for someone like Paik. The formulation “Stockhausen minus Cage” deserves attention as it suggests that Stockhausen was also an important influence for Paik, although that connection is much less frequently discussed than the influence of Cage.

In 1959, a year before *Hommage à John Cage*, Paik made compositions at the WDR Cologne electronic music studio, where Stockhausen had made his first electronic pieces. Stockhausen had already experimented with alternative sound material (*Konkrete Etüde*) in Pierre Schaeffer’s Paris *musique concrète* studio in the early 1950s. Stockhausen, while working at the NWDR studio in Cologne, composed electronic works such as *Electronic Studies* (1953–54) and *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955–56). The latter work is significant from the perspective of being an influence on Paik, because it is the first important and successful work that uses combined *concrète* and experiments with

⁶⁸ These remarks were made during his various interviews with Korean media. The first comment, made in 1984, is recounted in Yong-u Yi, “Paek Nam-jun kŭ chi’iy ōrhan sam kwa yesul (2)” [Nam June Paik, his fierce life and arts (2)], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 23 April 1999, 35. The second remark comes from Nam June Paik, “Jaemi ōpsŭmyŏn yes ūli anida” [It is not art if it is not fun], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 26 March 1993, 35.

⁶⁹ Bauermeister, “Cage minus Stockhausen,” 40-41.

spatial placement of sound material. Furthermore, in recollecting his early phase, Stockhausen wrote, “The first revolution occurred from 1952/53 as *musique concrète*, *electronic tape music*, and *space music*, entailing composition with transformers, generators, modulators, magnetophones, etc; the integration of all concrete and abstract (synthetic) sound possibilities (also all noises), and the controlled projection of sound in space.”⁷⁰ These concepts—electronic music, collage, space music, transformation, and working with technical gadgets—constituted essential building blocks of Paik’s arts since the late 1950s.

Although it has not been clearly proven that Paik heard Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* or other electronic works, considering the fact that Paik was at the electronic studio in Cologne and his avid interest in new material, it is difficult not to think that Paik knew of the older composer’s early works. Although Paik remained loyal to Cage throughout his life, outspokenly declaring the older composer to be his most important teacher on numerous occasions, it is undeniable that many of the concepts with which Stockhausen experimented are prominent in Paik’s works.

Finally, Stockhausen’s influence on Paik was not only conceptual, but also practical. In Cologne, Paik and Stockhausen lived nearby, and after Paik presented his *Etude for Pianoforte* (1960), Stockhausen was so impressed that he invited Paik to present something for *Die Originale* at the Theater am Dom in Cologne in the fall of 1961 (26 October–6 November).⁷¹ Although Paik was already gaining a reputation in

⁷⁰ English translation cited in Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs, eds., *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 374.

⁷¹ Paik, “Nam June Paik Interview,” 11.

Cologne through his various private performances since the late 1950s, this participation allowed Paik to connected with a wider network of the Fluxus artists in Cologne.⁷² It was also Stockhausen who helped Paik to receive a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation when the younger composer asked him to write a letter in support of his application.⁷³

Having discussed influences of other artists, it is worthwhile to consider Paik's own personal dispositions at this point. Paik's naturally Bohemian inclination is well-known. It is revealing to consider that although many composers pondered musical novelty in the late 1950s, not all of those composers were attracted to Cage's idea of radical randomness and experimental approach with such a notable immediacy as Paik was; nor did all artists who were affected by Cage think to shatter the limits of musical art to the extend Paik did. Take, for instance, Morton Feldman, another figure who was profoundly influenced by Cage. Feldman also rejected the European formalism, as evident in *The Anxiety of Art* (1965), and joined the avant-garde musical scene in New York City, yet his concern remained largely within the matter of notation and the process of "writing" music.⁷⁴ Paik, on the contrary, completely left the conventional boundaries of classical music and attempted to create a new mode of producing and listening to sound. And, as his colleagues testify, he was highly educated, informed, and eager to

⁷² For an example of Paik's private performance, see note 58 above.

⁷³ Bauermeister, "Cage minus Stockhausen," 44-45.

⁷⁴ Regarding influences by Cage and the New York Avant-Garde art scene on Feldman's compositional process, see Amy Beal, "Time Canvasses: Morton Feldman and the Painters of the New York School" in *Music and Modern Art*, ed. James Leggio (New York: Routledge, 2002).

make a difference, and all of these qualities made his arts more than un contemplated disorderliness.

Sometimes, a strong aesthetic bent such as Paik's can only be explained as an artist's natural predilection. He had developed an attitude of indifference early in his life. He recalls the moment when he was escaping from Korea:

Sometimes I felt I was on wrong side. In 1950, we were on refugee train and bombing started. We got out and I really don't know which side I am on. Then I thought, well—enlightenment! I will just look at everything from now on like baseball. You know, nothing serious. I became quite cynical.⁷⁵

His artistic language was ingrained in cynicism and bizarre representations of everyday life. Considering this disposition, it is not surprising that Paik was immediately drawn to the Happenings and Fluxus movement, which dismantled the seriousness of art with their seeming ludicrousness and illogicality. Also, as shown earlier, he had already been introduced to the neo-Dada ideals which were on the rise in Tokyo in the late 1950s, while he was a college student there. With this exposure, his encounters with Cage at Darmstadt in 1958 and other radical artists in Cologne were well-primed. In other words, Paik's natural tendencies as a nonconformist were enhanced by many factors—his early experience of geographic, cultural and ideological detachment and alienation, his exposure to new streams of aesthetics in Japan, and his frustrations at not being able to compose in traditional means. All of these experiences contributed to Paik's fully fledged engagement with radicalism in the late 1950s. Therefore, a work like *Hommage* was a

⁷⁵ Cited in Calvin Tomkins, "Profiles: Video Visionary," *New Yorker*, 5 May 1975, 46.

manifestation of the ideas and attitudes that began developing long before his encounter with Cage.

Paik's involvement with the Fluxus movement grew increasingly stronger in the early 1960s. On October 6, 1960, Paik presented the notoriously violent and outrageous *Etude for Pianoforte* at Bauermeister's atelier. To the shock of everyone present, Paik smashed two pianos, cut Cage's necktie with a pair of long scissors, and poured shampoo on Cage's and David Tudor's hair, leading the panicky Stockhausen to sneak out from the audience (Stockhausen was still so impressed with the performance that he invited Paik to participate in the premier of *Originale* the following year).⁷⁶ The performance was so appalling and offensive that Cage was heard to wonder "whether his influence on the young was altogether a good one."⁷⁷ But the work surely made Paik's name known across the Atlantic and firmly ensconced him among the Fluxus artists. Another audio work from this period is *Simple* (1961), uncovered in 1999 from more than two thousand undocumented or uncatalogued film, video and audio tapes in Paik's Mercer Street loft in New York City, while the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum was preparing for the exhibition *The Worlds of Nam June Paik* (February 11 to April 26, 2000). This short bit of audio lasting twenty seconds is an angst-filled, distorted electronic sound, with pre-auto-tuned alterations of voices and a Korean popular song.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 74. Nyman incorrectly states that this work was *Hommage à John Cage*.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ This work was released by Sub Rosa. See: *Nam June Paik Works 1958.1979*. Sub Rosa SR178 EFA, 2001, compact disc.

More performances of Paik's works took place in between 1961 and 1962. In 1961, Paik met George Maciunas and Joseph Beuys, the pioneers of the Fluxus movement, who would stay influential Paik's artistic career from then on.⁷⁹ In the fall of that year a number of his action music works were premiered, *Simple* in Stockholm and *Zen for Head* and *Etude Platonique* No. 3 in Cologne. He also participated in the performance of Stockhausen's *Die Originale*.⁸⁰ In 1962, at the "Neo-Dada in der Musika" event held in Düsseldorf, *One for Violin*, *Sonata quasi una fantasia*, and *Smile Gently* (No. 5 of his *Étude platonique*) were presented. Later that year, he participated in the Fluxus International Festival of the Newest Music, an event that celebrated the formation of Fluxus in Wiesbaden.⁸¹

These associations with the Fluxus movement culminated in his first solo exhibition, *Exposition of Music-Electronic Television*, held at Parnass Gallery in Wuppertal in 1963.⁸² Then, the following year, he made his New York debut performing *Robot K-456* and *Robot Opera* with cellist Charlotte Moorman at the New York Avant-Garde Festival. By this point, Paik was better known as a performance artist who exploited technology and sound than anything else. But he continued to "compose," and these compositions only exist in graphics, writings, and sound files. Paik believed that,

⁷⁹ The same year George Maciunas composed *12 Piano Compositions for Nam June Paik*, which begins and ends by carrying the piano onstage and then offstage, with events to be carried out by the pianist, such as to "place a dog or cat (or both) inside the piano, play Chopin, stretch the 3 highest strings with a tuning key till they burst, place one piano on top of another." Nyman, *Experimental Music*, 74.

⁸⁰ See note 71 above.

⁸¹ Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 311.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 311-312.

clearly influenced by Cage, performance pieces should not be repeated, nor recorded.⁸³

Paik's works are often mere stage directions, like his *Hommage à John Cage*, or some enigmatic utterances. Some of his "scores" are printed in the final issue of the magazine *Source: Music of the Avant Garde* from 1973. This issue, bearing a special title, "International Sources," is devoted to Fluxus and intermedia works and features artists such as Paik, Nicolas Slonimsky, Dick Higgins, and Max Neuhaus, who were described as "past masters of old music."⁸⁴ One of his works published in this magazine is *My Symphonies*, which begins like this: "Anton Webern wrote sinfonie but neither Cage nor Stockhausen wrote any... I wrote already 5 sinfonies." Symphony No. 3 unfolds more like a confession: "I forgot to write...simple, like that," so "therefore recently, I commissioned Ken Friedman to write my Symphony No. 3."⁸⁵

These "symphonies" materialize the sarcasm Paik holds toward art music expressed in his essay, "New Ontology of Music (1965)" It begins as follows:

I am tired of renewing the form of music.

-serial or aleatoric, graphic or five lines, instrumental or belcanto,
screaming or action, tape or live...-

I ~~hope~~ must renew the ontological form of music.⁸⁶ . . .

⁸³ Nam June Paik, "Expanded Education for the Paper-less Society" (1986), in *Nam June Paik: Videa 'N' Videology 1959–1973*, ed. Judson Rosebush (Syracuse, New York: Everson Museum of Art), 33. Quoted in Kang, 32.

⁸⁴ The editor of this issue was Ken Friedman and Stanley Lunetta. Larry Austin and Douglas Kahn, eds., *Source: Music of the Avant-garde, 1966–1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 351.

⁸⁵ Ken Friedman was the co-editor of *Source*. Paik, "My Symphonies," in *Source*, eds. Austin and Kahn, 363–364.

⁸⁶ Paik, "New Ontology of Music," reprinted in *Source*, eds. Austin and Kahn, 365.

Instead of creating novelty within the established or tried forms, Paik sought to create an entirely new form of music—a concern most musicians shared at the time, but that was apparently more pressing for him. What other genre could be more symbolically proper than the symphony to express such cynicism? Some may call it resignation, but it is without question that he took the challenge of producing novelty very seriously as a musician during his twenties, struggled with it, experimenting and revolting, until he found the media with which he was convinced he could be truly original.

Paik as a Postmodernist

I have introduced and described (rather than analyzed) some of Paik's "musical" works. Paik's works defy analysis in a traditional sense because they are conceived as phenomena to be experienced at the instance of their happening, rather than to be sustained and celebrated. They are also materializations of uncanny imaginations, rather than representations of plausible reality. Put differently, his works resist readings within the frame of modern aesthetics because they, by construction, breach the frames of modern art. Fredric Jameson, in his analysis of postmodernism in light of late capitalism, writes, "Postmodernism is what you have when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good" so that there are no hermeneutic relationships between art and nature.⁸⁷ In Paik's works, conventional notions of depth and dimensions—in both

⁸⁷ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), ix.

realistic and figurative senses—are ruptured, and nothing about his art appears to be “natural” representation of the nature.

With the overt cynicism toward established art forms and rejection of traditional modes of narrative, Paik’s works embody the ideals of what we call postmodernism. Some of the decidedly postmodern qualities, such as the meeting between the high culture (traditional classical repertoire) and the commercial culture (popular songs and/or other technology that is familiar in our everyday life) and the mix of sources from various cultural roots, are the defining aspects of Paik’s works. Also notably, his interest was not just confined within the realm of art, but reached the spheres of everyday practicality. Paik once told Bauermeister he had an aspiration of studying economics and going into politics to “change the world.” Notwithstanding the somewhat youthful ambition, it is notable that Paik was aware of the world outside art, which he believed to drive the art world. He was not necessarily political, but was conscious of the paradoxes and dangers of the market system in the world of art: in order to make his art relevant—both economically and historically—it needed to involve something that is radically new, consequential, and indispensable for the public.

Perhaps because of the excessive outrageousness of his art, he was never successful in making a profit with his art, a pattern which started in the late 1960s, when New York City’s press and critics recognized his works but art collectors with actual money were unwilling to buy them.⁸⁸ Paik despised art’s inevitable dependence on the market system, or the inseparable relationship between the commercial world and the art

⁸⁸ Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 264-267.

world. In accounting for Paik's ideas about the arts market, Bauermeister explains that the arts in the 1960s "experienced a conflict with capitalism, even though [they] were dependent on it."⁸⁹ She then suggests that this relationship was still true in the 1990s: "Without a capitalist system, no art is sold, so the contradiction was obvious to us, as was the compromise that you had to enter into—with money."⁹⁰ Bauermeister's description of the twentieth-century art market, despite the historical distance, draws a telling parallelism with the description of the eighteenth-century book market as described by Renato Poggioli, who has offered the first comprehensive analysis and theory of the avant-garde. He shows that, in the eighteenth-century nationalist economy, the significance of the book market was such that it caused book writers to confront and compete with the popular literature which had already gained a mass appeal.⁹¹ Ultimately, Poggioli suggests that the driving force of art production was not so much the self-interest of an artist, but rather commercialism, conformism, and "the ideological reproduction of society."⁹²

Adapting Poggioli's thinking, Peter Bürger describes the development of the relationship between avant-garde art and economy in the following words:

one might even claim that the creation of the alienated mentality (and avant-garde itself, for that matter) is a phenomenon at least notably

⁸⁹ Bauermeister, "Cage minus Stockhausen," 44-45.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ Poggioli's analysis of the avant-garde was first published in Italian in 1962, the year before his death, as *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia*. This work was translated into English posthumously as *Theory of the Avant-garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968). Cited in Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), ix.

⁹² Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, ix-x.

conditioned by the practical, ideological, and spiritual effects of the sudden, relatively recent transformation of the artist's economic position.⁹³

This "transformation of the artist's economic position," according to Bürger, can be summarized by his or her loss of autonomy: he claims that the avant-garde of the twentieth century marks the first time in history when art's mode of existence was not determined by an acceptance of autonomy. He goes as far as to assert that art as an institution was no longer autonomous, and this resignation had to be accepted as a norm by the artists in this new era.⁹⁴

Paik resisted being part of this "institutionalization," and this inclination is expressed in his "New Ontology of Music":

"Happening" is just one thing in this world,
one thing through which you cannot become "famous", If you make the
publicity in advance, invite the critics, sell
tickets to snobs, and buy many copies of newspapers having
written about it, - then it is no more a "happening."
It is just a concert. I never use therefore this holy word "happening" for
my "concerts", which are equally snobbish
as those of Franz Liszt. I am just more self-conscious or less hypocritical
than my anti-artist friends. I am the same
clown as Goethe and Beethoven,
The Post music "The Monthly Review of the University of
Avant-garde Hinduism" comes in succession from my search
for the new ontology of music, and simultaneously is
The first 'Journalisme pour la Journalisme' in the sense of "l'art pour
l'art", or
"La post pour la post" in the sense of "l'art pour l'art".⁹⁵

⁹³ Ibid., ix-x.

⁹⁴ Ibid., x.

⁹⁵ Paik, "New Ontology of Music," 365.

His cynicism or criticism toward an establishment of arts is not only toward “old” high art that is placed on a pedestal but also concerning the Fluxus art. In other words, he cautions against any tendency that would distance art from daily human life, that would ensconce art in another, higher realm. And he sees that the driving force behind this establishment is the art market or the media which creates hype about these arts.

Jameson has explained that the convergence of art and the economy is the defining condition of postmodernism.⁹⁶ It is ironic to think that Paik, who so openly criticized the influence of commercialism on art, created work that can be identified as quintessentially postmodern, with the TV—a symbol of consumerism—as his primary medium for most of his artistic career. Whether the TV represents a commentary on consumerism or the embracing of a quotidian object as art, one thing is clear: he rejected all forms of institutionalization which may result in unnecessary motives other than his own artistic interests.

Experience of Separation and Expression of National Identity

The way Paik expressed his national identity was in a way similar to his dismissal of any conformist attitude. But let us consider Paik’s life as an embodiment of the conditions of postmodernism, crossing boundaries and making borders irrelevant. He not only spent his entire life in multiple countries since a very young age, but also consciously detached

⁹⁶ Jameson writes, “What has happened is that aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally: the frantic economic urgency of producing fresh waves of ever more novel-seeming goods (from clothing to aeroplanes), at ever greater rates of turnover, now assigns an increasingly essential structural function and position to aesthetic innovation and experimentation. Such economic necessities then find recognition in the varied kinds of institutional support available for the newer art, from foundations and grants to museums and other forms of patronage.” *Postmodernism*, 4-5.

himself from any national or institutional associations. One might ask, given Paik's attitude, why is the discussion of his national identity even relevant? First of all, it is because Paik himself had made it clear that his Korean cultural roots mattered, by quoting traditional Korean music (for example in *Hommage à John Cage*) or employing images of Korean traditional subject matters (as in his 2005 video installation *Ommah* [Mother], where a TV projecting an image of three children in Korean traditional costumes, *hanbok*, is also covered in a traditional woman's robe). Furthermore, one of Paik's later writings, *Autobiography inside Womb* (1981), reveals his sentiments toward his cultural roots:

*N. J. P. – 109 years old.
I asked. What is Korea?
My father said, that will be your country.
I asked. Why?
Mother said, no reason.
N. J. P. Is it a big country?
Mother said it was not.
I asked. Is it an advanced country?
Mother. No, it is a backward moving country.
N. J. P. I don't want to be born.
Mother said. But weak can be good, too.
We will avoid calamity in 1943.
I asked, why did you choose Korea?⁹⁷*

This text is a candid representation of Paik's perception of his own country as small, powerless, and behind in time; the Paik in this writing is obviously resentful to have been born into a country with little cultural privilege. Born in 1932, in the midst of Japanese

⁹⁷ Nam June Paik, *Autobiography inside Womb* (color print on paper, 1981), texts reprinted in Chŏng-jin Pak, *Kut ūro ponŭn Paek Nam-jun pidio at'ŭ ilki: neo syamŏnijŭm (neo-shamanism) esŏ eco-p'enijŭm (eco-feminism) kkaji* [Reading Nam June Paik's video art through the practice of exorcism: From neo-shamanism to eco-feminism] (P'aju, Korea: Han'guk Haksul Chŏngbo, 2010), 257. Original print location: Mary Bauermeister Collection, Nam June Paik Art Center Archives.

rule in Korea, Paik experienced displacement from his own culture. His image of the self, or his national identity, could not have been completely free from the influence of colonialism and separation from his cultural roots. The mention of the year 1943 is also notable: it is the year when the Allies decided to take away all the territories that imperial Japan had acquired at the end of the nineteenth century. Without directly mentioning Japan or colonization, he conveys the trouble which colonialism had caused in his country.

The kind of resentment expressed in *Autobiography* can be explained the notion of by the erosion of a sense of self explained by Ashcroft in *The Empire Writes Back*:

A valid and active sense of self may have been eroded by *dislocation*, resulting from migration, the experience of enslavement, transportation, or “voluntary” removal for indentured labour. Or it may have been destroyed by *cultural denigration*, the conscious and unconscious oppression of the indigenous personality and culture by a supposedly superior racial or cultural model.⁹⁸

Paik was affected by both migration and “cultural denigration,” carried out strategically by the Japanese colonial force in Korea. Yet this erosion of identity is not the only reason why Paik remained relatively silent about his cultural background.⁹⁹ Paik’s explanation from the 1960s on why he avoids talking about Zen is telling: he does so “not to become a salesman of ‘Our’ culture like Daisetsu Suzuki, because cultural patriotism is more

⁹⁸ Ashcroft, et al., *The Empire*, 9.

⁹⁹ Although Paik was already familiar with Buddhist philosophy and Zen practice before coming to Germany, he kept his knowledge of these Asian ideals hidden. He even recalls that he was skeptical of Cage’s use of Zen ideas initially, believing that it is impossible for Westerners to understand Asian philosophy. Yet, fully convinced by Cage’s conceptual incorporation of Buddhist ideals in his art, Paik reconsidered the possibility of integrating Asian philosophies in his art. His later installation art works such as *TV-Buddha* (1974) and *Reclining Buddha* (1994) are some of the conspicuous examples of such blending. See Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 76.

harmful than political patriotism.”¹⁰⁰ An interview with Paik from around the late 1990s reveals a similar perspective about expressing a national identity:

... I restrain myself from communicating my love for Korea. . . . One should investigate ways not to be too outspoken about their patriotism. It seems that in Korea the ultranationalists are winning most debates. Cultural scope will stay narrow in a country where an internationalist continues to lose.¹⁰¹

Considering that Paik left Korea in the 1950s and that his contact with Korean society was limited since then, his view of the dominance of nationalists in Korea might have been rather outdated by the late 1990s. Regardless, it is important to recognize that his early experiences of the war and cultural/geographical displacement, his resentment toward his home country’s unfortunate situation, and his nostalgia for his own cultural heritage have all contributed to his aesthetics. Yet, given his nonconformist nature, it is likely that he regarded an overt expression of national identity as a constraint to his artistic scope. His choice of the TV as his primary artistic media may also be understood in terms of his desire to be unbounded by cultural terrain—with the ability to transmit images and sounds from distant areas, the TV symbolizes transcendence of geographical boundaries.

Paik’s disposition as an internationalist caused him to belong everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Daryl Chin, a New York-based artist and writer, points out that

¹⁰⁰ Paik, “Afterlude to the Exposition of Experimental Television” (1963), in *Fluxus CC Five Three* (June 1964), reprinted in *Nam June Paik: Video ‘N’ Videology*, 5-6. Daisetsu Suzuki (1870–1966), or D. T. Suzuki, is a Japanese writer, whose main motives included Zen, Buddha, and Shin. Suzuki’s writings contributed to introducing these notably Asian religious ideas to the West.

¹⁰¹ Yong-u Yi, *Paek Nam-jun*, 306.

Nam June Paik's name was omitted in the anthology of Asian-American media artists published by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press in 1992.¹⁰² Chin analyses Paik's position in the art world as follows:

As an artist, Paik is "intercultural," being of Korean heritage, brought up in Japan, and now an American citizen; his work acknowledges and includes references to the multiplicity of ethnicities and nationalities in his life . . . He has attained an international profile as an artist; in the field of video art, he is perhaps the best-known figure in the world. Paik is "Asian-American," yet his work does not deal with the issues of identity that such an appellation implies. Now, because of his fame, many Asian-American media organizations have asked him to lend his support in order to ensure a certain level of art-world visibility and legitimacy; as far as I know, Paik never has refused. Yet, when these organizations publish books about Asian-American media, Paik is excluded, because his success belies the idea of the Asian-American media artist as part of an underclass.¹⁰³

This last point, the plain acknowledgement of the placement of Asian artists as the cultural periphery in the Western arts world, may shed light on Paik's incentive to be wary of excessive promotion of his cultural identity through his art. He understood that overt expression of nationalistic sentiment would hinder his arts from gaining the understanding of Western audiences and art circles, and the fact that he came from a culturally unprivileged part of the world exacerbated the problem. We saw in the previous chapter that Yun's own awareness of coming from a culturally marginalized country led him to engage with twelve-tone music in the late 1950s. This allowed him to be "legitimate" in the European modern music circle, and later to incorporate elements of

¹⁰² Russell Leong, ed., *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Visual Communications, Southern California Asian American Studies Central: 1991).

¹⁰³ Daryl Chin, "Multiculturalism and Its Masks: The Art of Identity Politics," *Performing Arts Journal* 14/1 (1992): 1-15.

traditional Korean/Asian music, which made him gain his individualized voice.¹⁰⁴ With Paik's arts, despite the widely different artistic trajectory from Yun's music, we see that the subdued expression of a national/cultural identity is also caused by his self-consciousness of his own cultural origin. Finally, Paik experienced displacement and separation throughout his life, first as an Asian among Western artists and later as an "Asian-American" among Asian artists. Facing multiple layers of dislocation, his sense of social or cultural conventions was in a constant state of adjustment. His disjunctive and nonsensical postmodern works are candid reflections of this experience.

¹⁰⁴ See chapter 1 above.

3. Looking Inward: Mid-1960s to Late 1970s

Composers who spent active years in Korea during the 1960s and the 1970s, dubbed “second generation” composers, are distinguishable from the composers discussed in the earlier chapters by their relationship to the West and their home country.¹ This difference reflects a changed attitude toward the West. As I have shown in the previous chapter, the question, “What is Korean music?” remained one of the most controversial and inescapable problems of the Korean musical community throughout the twentieth century. Upon examination, it is noticeable that the same question began to be discussed with the rhetoric of national selfhood and identity in the mid-1960s and throughout the 1970s. In this chapter, I highlight the shift of focus to issues of identity within the Korean musical scene by relating it to similar nationwide concerns of rediscovering tradition and establishing a unified national identity.

Here, I identify the mid-1960s as the starting point of a new rhetoric of national identity and “self-reliance.” By this point, the status of the U.S. as Korea’s sole benefactor had weakened considerably. At the same time, collective efforts for nationalist ideals such as national rebuilding and achieving a self-reliant economy emerged as social tropes under the new regime of Park Chung Hee.² Amidst a historical and social milieu

¹ This term, the “second generation,” was used by Korean musicologist So-yŏng Yi to describe the Korean composers who adopted and spread the modernist musical traditions of the Darmstadt school in Korea. So-yŏng Yi, *Han’guk ūmak ūi naemyŏnhwa toen orient’allijŭm ūl nŏmŏsŏ* [Overcoming internalized orientalism in Korean music] (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2005), 195.

² Some of the frequently cited studies include the following: Bruce Cumings, *Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005); Meredith Woo-Cumings, *Race to the Swift* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Ŭn Hŏ, *Miguk ūi hegemoni wa Han’guk minjokchuŭi: naengjŏn sidae, 1945–1965: munhwajŏk kyŏnggye ūi kuch’uk kwa kyunyŏl ūi tongban* [The U.S. hegemony and Korea’s

that compelled one to reflect upon his or her identity primarily as a national subject, one of the overarching goals for the second generation of composers in the mid-1960s through the 1970s was to contribute to a body of works identifiable as “Korean.”³ The first part of this chapter will be devoted to illuminating this socio-historical backdrop.

Besides the societal thrust, there were external factors that drove Korean composers to employ traditional elements in their music. First, there was the expectation of the European musical world that Asian composers convey “Asian-ness” through their music. Second, it was the West’s postmodern pursuit of innovation and pluralism in musical language—which led some Western composers to employ instruments and musical idioms of Asian traditional music—that prompted Korean composers to look into their own culture. Thus, although many Korean composers wrote music that was

nationalism: The Cold War period, 1945–1965, constructing cultural boundaries and accompanying rupture], (Seoul: Koryŏ Taehakkyo Minjok Munhwa Yŏn’guwŏn, 2008); and Sang-Dawn Lee, *Big Brother, Little Brother: The American Influence on Korean Culture in the Lyndon B. Johnson Years* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002). For a more recent study on the Park era, see Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, ed., *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); on the U.S. influence on cultural policy in South Korea, see Wol-san Liem, “Telling the ‘Truth’ to Koreans: U.S. Cultural Policy in South Korea during the Early Cold War, 1947–1967,” (PhD diss., New York University, 2010).

³ The question of how to define Korean music has been raised for as long as Western music has existed in Korea. Notably, the Korean musicologist Kang-suk Yi argued in the late 1970s that all Western art music written by Korean composers until then had been imitations of works by Western composers and that it was imperative that Korean composers develop a national musical language; he subsequently suggested the notion of “national music (*minch’ok ŭmak*).” While many Korean composers of Western music responded strongly to such an opinion, Yi extended his criticism to musicians of Korean traditional music, claiming that music should be *for* people, close to the lives of people and somehow serve them in positive ways. Kang-suk Yi, Ch’un-mi Kim, and Kyŏng-ch’an Min, *Uri yangak 100-yŏn* [Hundred years of our Western music] (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 2001), 325-330. The Korean musicologist So-yŏng Yi provides a summary of the discourse surrounding the question of how to define and create Korean traditional music within the Korean traditional music community. See So-yŏng Yi, *Han’guk ŭmak*, 77-82.

seemingly nationalistic and “Korean” during this period, each composer was driven by subtly different motivations.

In the next two chapters, I examine two composers, Sukhi Kang (b. 1934) and Pyŏng-dong Paek (b. 1936), whose works manifest divergent motives for indigenizing European musical traditions and exhibit contrasting responses to the rhetoric of “self-reliance.” In a broader sense, I conclude that regardless of each composer’s motivations, underneath expressions of national character was a postcolonial consciousness: Korean composers pursued tradition, yet the pursuit was facilitated by the postmodern interest in newness on the part of the Western musical community. Therefore, during this period, employing traditions was an act of looking inward as well as through the prism of the West.

Songs to Uplift the Nation

The early 1960s is often portrayed as one of the most politically tumultuous periods in the modern history of Korea. A massive student uprising, known as the April 19 Revolution, forced Syngman Rhee, the first President of South Korea (1948–1960), to resign the presidency on April 25, 1960.⁴ In the wake of the revolution, Prime Minister Chang Myung became the nation’s actual leader, while the elected President Yun Bo-seon, previously Rhee’s vice president, remained titular head of the nation. However, the

⁴ Despite public contempt for his inadequate leadership of twelve years, Rhee was reelected as the president of Korea in March 1960 as a result of ballot manipulation. When a group of high school students in a southern city of Masan demonstrated against the outcome of the election, the military fired on the students, killing many of them, and the incident led to a series of massive riots throughout the country. On April 19, college students in Seoul marched to the president’s office in demonstration, and just a couple of days later, the spurned president resigned and was exiled to Hawaii. See Cumings, *Korea’s Place*, 342-352.

new government failed to earn the trust of the ruling Democratic Party, placate the public, or motivate the demoralized police to operate, and internal turmoil and disorder persisted. On May 16, 1961, Military General Park Chung Hee led a coup d'état with his Military Revolutionary Committee. While the military coup put an end to this unruliness, it also marked the beginning of the Park era, eighteen years of a near-authoritarian regime that also brought about remarkable economic advancement.

Significant research has been done on this volatile period, and the majority of studies focus on either the political or economic aspects of the Park regime. Historian Kim Young-Jak highlights Park's own nationalistic stance as the primary motivation behind his political decisions.⁵ In Kim's analysis, Park's extreme nationalist attitude led him to place concerns of economic development and national security above those of achieving a democratic government. From the moment he rose to power, Park persistently emphasized the concepts of "nation" (*kukka*) and the "national" (*minchok*). The idea of the nation as a collective entity facing common goals and a shared destiny is plain in the Revolutionary Pledge of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction, announced nationwide immediately following the military coup. The pledge proposed six primary tasks: 1) engaging in anti-communist acts; 2) abiding by international treaties and the United Nations Charter, and reinforcing ties with the free world, including the U.S.; 3) reconstructing the nation by purging corruption; 4) rebuilding the country's economy to develop a self-reliance; 5) strengthening the military to prepare for reunification of the

⁵ Young Jak Kim, "Park Chung Hee's Governing Ideas: Impact on National Consciousness and Identity," in *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961–1979: Development, Political Thought, Democracy, and Cultural Influence*, eds. Hyung-A Kim and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 95-106.

nation; and 6) returning power to the civilian population once the previous five tasks had been fulfilled.⁶ The last proposal was only partially realized, leading to Park's assassination in 1979.⁷ Note how the pledges highlight Korea's place in an international context. Diplomacy was an important political tool throughout the Park regime, and this location/placement of Korea in an international context heightened a sense of national identity among Korean people at that time.

Throughout its rule, Park's regime emphasized and propagated the third and fourth pledges in more elaborate terms: "We eliminate all corruptions and old evils, and promote a new spirit in order to restore the morality and spirit of the nation; we resolve the people's economic plight and focus on rebuilding the nation with a self-reliant economy, improving national life in social, economic, and all other fields."⁸ The notion of "national morality" (*kungmin toŭi*) was at the core of the regime's propaganda. Here, "morality" not only indicated obvious qualities such as diligence, frugality, and prudence, but also included specific cultural measures to improve social conditions and eliminate the defeatist sentiment that had saturated national consciousness as a result of prolonged colonial rule. For example, indigenous shamanic rituals and gambling were forbidden

⁶ Ibid., 96. These pledges were publicly declared, appearing in newspapers and being announced on the radio. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 21 May 1961, 4.

⁷ In 1963, two years after the coup, the military government came to an end, and the national assembly reopened. But Park attempted to extend his presidency by changing the constitution in 1969 and then again in 1972 to stay in presidency indefinitely by declaring *yushin*, the special presidential order which dismissed the national assembly, changed direct presidential election to indirect election, and brought all three branches of the government under the control of the president. After seven years, on October 26, 1979, Park was assassinated by Jae-kyu Kim, the president's security chief. See Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 22-38 and 87-105.

⁸ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 1 April 1968, 9.

since both were designated as harmful to public morals.⁹ Literacy campaigns were enacted to abolish illiteracy. Popular songs that were deemed to be in the Japanese style (*waesaek*) were banned, driving many beloved songs out of the public sphere.¹⁰

Songs were an important propaganda tool used to promote national morality and uplift the spirit.¹¹ The Supreme Council for National Reconstruction replaced banned popular songs with “sound national songs” (*kŏnchon kungmin kayo*). In September 1961, the Bureau of Public Information announced a special “call for a national song.” In this announcement, a national song, *kungmin kayo*, was defined as one “suitable for the public sentiment” in order to “help redress corrupted national morality and national spirit, conforming to the ideals of the revolution” and to make “the public life merry and fair.”¹² Bearing titles such as “The Song of New Livelihood” (*Saesallim ūi norae*), “New Nation is Calling” (*Sae nara neun purŭnda*), and “New Morning” (*Sae ach ’im*), the selected songs praised or encouraged the spirit of national rebuilding.¹³ The lyrics of “New Morning” (Example 3.1 below) are rife with sanguine optimism:

Verse 1: The Sun is bright on this cheerful morning; you head to the field
and I to the factory / Now our lives prosper; leaving our destitute past
behind / You and I, through national reconstruction, let’s live well.

⁹ For example, a newspaper article from August 2, 1961 reports that in the city of Chunchŏn, the Committee of the National Reconstruction Movement forced three shamans and one fortune teller to change their professions to manual labor or farming. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 2 August 1961, 2. Shamanism was also persecuted during the colonial years, most noticeably in the late 1920s.

¹⁰ Public broadcasting of Japanese music, film, and TV programs was prohibited by law from 1948. The ban was lifted over the course of four phases, beginning in 1998.

¹¹ Yŏng-mi Yi, *Han ’guk taejung kayosa* [History of Korean popular music] (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2006).

¹² *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 5 September 1961, 3.

¹³ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 18 January 1962, 3.

Refrain: Let's live well; reconstruction, reconstruction, let's salute each other / let's fulfill the mission of May 16 with earnest smiles.

Verse 2: The sky is high on this bright morning; you are at the front line, me at home / Now the anti-communist country sees the light; leaving our troublesome days behind / You and I, through anti-communist reconstruction, let's live well.

Refrain

Verse 3: The morning of sonorous military music of the revolution; with revolution of our industry, society, and homes / Now our country becomes rich and powerful, leaving our intemperate past behind / You and I, through reconstruction of our lives, let's live well.

Refrain

The motto of the refrain, “let's live well” (*ch'al sarapose*), is a crude expression of the desire to rise to affluence, and it was one of the most frequently used slogans of the Park regime. In the second verse, the “I” is probably a woman, who sings of the acceptable gender responsibilities of the time—men being “at the front line” of livelihood and women taking care of the home. By depicting a moral household and good-spirited, hard-working citizens, the lyrics fulfill the “requirements” for a sound national song. Moreover, by linking May 16—the day of the military coup d'état—to reconstruction and revolutionary spirit, the lyricist draws a positive image of the new regime.

새 아 침

안경옥 작곡

명 찬 한 새 아 침 에 대 양 도 밝 다 -
 령 란 한 이 소 리 하 우 텡 찬 아 침 -
 당 신 은 늘 로 가 고 나 는 공 장 에 -
 당 신 은 문 일 선 에 서 나 는 가 정 에 -
 이 전 야 우 리 살 림 피 어 나 모 네 -
 " " " 반 공 국 가 빛 을 나 하 네 -
 " " " 우 리 국 가 부 강 해 지 네 -
 가 난 헛 런 지 반 올 씻 - 어 버 리 고
 가 랄 만 뵈 던 " " " " " " " "
 사 차 뵈 던 " " " " " " " "
 너 도 나 도 국 가 재 건 잘 - 살 아 보 세 너 도 나 도 국 가 재 건
 " " " " 반 공 재 건 " " " " " " " " 반 공 " "
 " " " " 생 활 " " " " " " " " 생 활 " "
 잘 - 살 아 보 세 - 재 건 - 재 건 만 나 면 인 - 사 -
 부 지 런 한 웃 음 속 에 혁 명 과 - 업 이 루 자 -

Example 3.1: "New Morning" (Sae a'chim); stenographical copy of the original

In “New Morning,” there is no accompaniment, probably because the song was meant to be sung by the masses at any time or in any space. The melody is built from a pentatonic scale, evoking the mood of folk songs. Another song, “New Nation is Calling,” written by high school teachers Dongil Oh and Wuyǒng Ham, is written in E-flat major (although we cannot be sure if the composer Oh Dongil was aware of the key’s frequent association with heroism in Western art music) (Example 3.2 below). In marching 4/4 meter, the song is comprised of a simple melody suitable for public singing. The heroic finish on E-flat at the end of an ascending melody also effectively conveys the spirit of triumph and resolution. The lyrics plainly praise the land and the people of Korea and urge the listener to “go forward” to answer “the new nation’s calling.”

새 나라는 부른다

참모 우동영 작곡

백두산 줄기 차게 뻗은 기상 이
 연만년은 이 강산 을 새 로 가 꺾 어
 동해의 푸른 물결 반기 는 땅 에
 자유의 와평 화 위 해 피 땀 흘 렸 다
 보아 새 희 망 의 먼 동 이 른 다
 들 어 라 삼 천 만 이 외 천 공 약 을
 불 러 우 령 차 게 재 건 의 노 래

뜨거운 정성으로 깃발을 들고

나가자 새 나라는 나를 부른다

나가자 새 나라는 나를 부른다

Apr. 7. 1962.

Example 3.2: “New Nation is Calling” (*Sae nara nŭn burŭnda*); stenographical copy of the original

These national songs were distributed systematically. In September 1962, the Supreme Council of the National Reconstruction and the Bureau of Public Information launched an “echoes of a song” campaign (*norae ŭi meari undong*), in which these new songs were taught and sung collectively in various public spaces, such as schools, theaters, and work places.¹⁴ A children’s chorus was formed, and amateur music competitions were organized to distribute the songs effectively. Select government officials were taught the songs (along with simple physical exercises) so that they could teach them to other workers in their own sub-organizations, and thus the songs dispersed into the public.¹⁵ Despite this nation-wide effort, the songs did not gain much popularity in the early 1960s because of their overt propagandistic character.¹⁶ However, these types of national songs continued to be written and distributed under the auspices of the military government, gradually gaining increasing popularity over time. By the 1980s, such songs, labeled *kŏnchon kayo* or “sound popular songs,” had become one of the most loved genres by the public.¹⁷ Regardless of the unpopularity of the songs in their initial years, the new regime’s all-inclusive efforts to ingrain an optimistic vision for a revived, flourishing country planted a seed for a new nationalist sentiment to burgeon in the years to follow.

¹⁴ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 3 September 1962, 3.

¹⁵ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 15 October 1962, 6; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 24 October 1962, 8; *ibid.*, 29 November 1962, 8.

¹⁶ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 7 September 1962, 5. The music critic Park Yong-ku wrote that the songs failed to appeal to the masses because their lyrics were too far from public sentiments. *Ibid.*, 27 September 1962, 4.

¹⁷ Yŏng-mi Yi, *Han’guk taejung kayosa*, 334-338.

In Search of Selfhood: The Notion of chuch'esǒng

With this backdrop of an official emphasis on collective national rebuilding, in the 1960s, Korean people's own perceptions of selfhood and their awareness of national identity vis-à-vis other countries underwent a significant change. Although defining the nature of a transformation of a national identity is not an easy task, reading through journals and newspapers from the 1960s reveals that the notion of *chuch'esǒng*—translated as selfhood, identity, subjectivity, or independence—prevailed in the South Korean public and intellectual discourse by 1965.¹⁸ The word *chuch'esǒng* began to appear in public discourse in 1945, the year that Korea was liberated from Japanese rule. In 1965, however, the use of the word saw an unprecedented surge. The Korean philosopher Kyu-ho Yi (1926-2002) recorded in a brief introduction on the etymology of the word *chuch'esǒng*, “it is the most frequently used word in our society today.”¹⁹ When the term was mentioned in public contexts, it was often in a derogatory tone of self-reproach,

¹⁸ Before further discussion, it is worthwhile to distinguish the notion of *chuch'esǒng* from a similar-sounding word, *chuch'esasang*. While both words contain the root word *chuch'e* (“subject” or “self”), the two carry a different political significance. The latter, *chuch'esasang*, is North Korea's fundamental governing ideology of self-reliance, which began to form in the late 1950s and became ensconced as the Kim Il Sung regime's central creed in 1965. On the development of this ideology, see “Pukhan ūi t'ongch'i inyŏm kwa chŏngch'i ch'eje” [“North Korea's ruling ideology and governing practice”], Education Center for Unification, Ministry of Unification, http://pyungtong.ca/bbs/table/board_3/upload/20130731150218.pdf (accessed 20 October 2015). Because of its communist connotations, the term *chuch'esasang* was rarely used in South Korea until the 1970s. When it began to be used in the mid-1980s as official exchanges between the North and the South began, it was done so in the context of studying or criticizing the Kim regime. After the historical event of both Koreas' joining the UN together in 1992, the word as an ideological concept began to be analyzed and discussed in academic works.

¹⁹ Kyu-ho Yi, “Chuch'esǒng,” *Kitokkyo Sasang* [Christian Ideology] 9, no. 8 (1965): 95. Yi studied with the German philosopher Otto F. Bollnow at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen in the 1960s and became an influential philosopher in Korea.

regretting the lack of national *chuch'esŏng*. In the public opinion section of one of the major newspapers of the time, a student contributor wrote:

There has been an increase of coming-and-going to and from Japan. How can we be distracted by this Japan “boom” when we have not even normalized our relationship with Japan? . . . Japan still disdains us as colonial subjects . . . We must caution against the infiltration of Japanese trends. We cannot possibly grasp others’ cultures without having understood our own national culture. Foreign cultures can serve as references but cannot be the staple of our culture. You hasty Japan-admirers! Act according to your “sense of self” [*chuch'esŏng*].²⁰

As we can see in this letter, cultural purity was an important element in achieving *chuch'esŏng*. The fixation on “pure” culture is also evidenced in another newspaper article from 1965:

Sitting in front of the radio or the TV, the dregs of filthy decadence penetrates into our homes. These strands of decadence are an imitation of the lethargic backstreets of foreign countries. Instead of sonorous choruses to lift our spirit and to encourage the advancing and building of tomorrow, songs unqualified as songs, shows unqualified as shows, decadent melodies of foreign popular songs, to which we shake our bodies yet which we cannot even pronounce well, corrupt our vision. This life of a puppet, dancing to the melodies of others while losing ourselves, this is one sad portrayal of Korea, tainted by colonial practices.²¹

In a tone that vaguely resembles the chauvinistic language of today’s North Korea, the article rebukes a high school student who claimed to have forgotten the Korean language after a two-month visit to the U.S. It criticizes period films that portray Korean people from historical times as Japanese Samurais or American cowboys and bemoans politicians who swallow their opinions because of what foreigners might think. As the

²⁰ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 20 February 1965, 3. The quotation marks are from the original article.

²¹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 19 January 1965, 1.

title of the article suggests, in the 1960s, a “colonial mentality” and “astounding loss of the self” were some of the most alarming vices that ought to be vanquished by a robust national identity.

The emphasis on unified cultural identity carried on through the late 1960s. In 1969, another newspaper article titled “The ‘60s: Struggle for a new order” quotes college professor Hyungjin Yu, who claims, “Nearly all aspects of the daily lives of ordinary people of the ‘60s were focused around the ideas of identity or autonomy.”²² This article adverts to the language used in the Charter of National Education, declared on December 5, 1968, which emphatically underlined national spirit with phrases such as “historical mission of restoring of the nation” or “creation of the new history.” According to the article, the obsession with forming a new national identity in the 1960s was the result of self-reflection on the mindless reception of Western culture—often understood as “materialistic” culture—of the previous decades. From the late 1940s through the 1950s, Korea depended heavily on Western help and influences, primarily on American aids. As described previously, the U.S. military that came to South Korea at the end of World War II influenced the cultural lives of Korean people at large, both through systematic aid programs initiated by the United States Information Services and through personal exchanges in informal settings. Also, European cultural praxis, mixed with Japanese lifestyle, had entered the Korean society in the early twentieth century.²³ The

²² *Kyunghang Shinmun*, 20 December 1969, 5.

²³ On infiltration of Western culture during these periods, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

1960s was the time of an awakening, marked by sweeping reflections on national selfhood.

Changing Relationships with the West

To understand what caused this sudden obsession with national selfhood in the 1960s, it is necessary to investigate the historical turn of events during that period. The mid-1960s saw a series of important diplomatic decisions that changed Korea's relationships with the West, including the normalization of relations with Japan, dispatch of Korean troops to Vietnam, and increasing economic exchanges with countries other than the U.S.²⁴ In the 1960s, American financial aid declined noticeably, and the reduction in financial aid was a threat to the Korean economy.²⁵ President Park Chung-Hee sought to resolve the situation through diplomacy. As many historians have shown, normalizing relations with Japan and involvement in the Vietnam War provided dramatic relief for the Korean economy through reparation money, increased trade, and rapid industrialization.²⁶

The Japan-Korea normalization had been a U.S. interest in East Asia since the 1940s, yet neither president before Park was willing to come to terms with Japan unless it

²⁴ Political scientist Byung-Kook Kim assesses that Park “dexterously brought the United States and Japan into a transnational coalition in support of his program of economic growth and military build-up.” Byung-Kook Kim, “Introduction: The Case for Political History,” in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, eds. Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 5.

²⁵ The U.S. aid decreased from \$230 million during 1959–1963 to \$110 million in 1964–1968. Min Yong Lee, “The Vietnam War: South Korea’s Search for National Security,” in *The Park Chung Hee Era*, 407.

²⁶ Jung-Hoon Lee, “Normalization of Relations with Japan: Toward a New Partnership,” in *The Park Chung Hee Era*, 434; Woo-Cumings extensively discusses the economic benefits of both the normalization and the Vietnam War for Korea in *Race to the Swift*, 85–106.

gave enough reparation money and apologized for its colonial wrongdoings.²⁷ Park placed economic benefits before public sentiments and pushed the normalization effort by tempering the conditions placed on Japan. Although many at the time regarded Park as pro-Japanese for this reason, the basic principle in many of his policies was, in fact, to “beat Japan” (*kukil*).²⁸ He believed that removing traces of Japanese colonialism was one of the important strategies of building Korean nationalism during this time.²⁹ Yet, ongoing threats from North Korea made it all the more necessary for South Korea to rely on Japan; strengthening South Korea’s anti-communist stance by becoming allies with Japan, itself an ally with the U.S., was imperative to achieve economic and political stabilization.³⁰

This normalization of relations with Japan in 1964 was ill-received by the majority of Korean people, and there was widespread, impassioned resistance across the nation. The memory of colonialism was still vivid in the minds of Korean people, and there had been no formal acknowledgement or apology from Japan for the unwanted

²⁷ Woo-Cumings, *Race to the Swift*, 85. Rhee was an intrinsically anti-Japanese nationalist, and his primary focus was the U.S.-Korea alliance to curb the communists. Lee, “Normalization,” in *The Park Chung Hee Era*, 433.

²⁸ Lee, “Normalization,” 434. Many of Park’s policies were adopted from Japanese examples, especially those from the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912). For example, historian Sang Mi Park argues that the New Village movement (*saemaïl undong*) of the 1970s, the nationwide campaign for comprehensive economic and social development in Korea, was also similar to the New Life movement (*shin seikatsu undo*). Sang Mi Park, “The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965–Present,” *The Journal of Korean Studies* 15 no. 1 (2010): 75–80.

²⁹ Charles Armstrong shows that this notion of Japan as a model and competitor was not just limited to Park’s own personal inclination, but also was an important cause of South Korea’s economic development, as he quotes an executive of the automobile company Hyundai: “We were obsessed with beating Japan. That drove us to work harder and put all our efforts into creating the most efficient, most productive industries we could. Catching up with and surpassing Japan was our goal.” Charles K. Armstrong, *The Koreas* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 29.

³⁰ Sang Mi Park, “The Paradox,” 72.

annexation of Korea in 1910. The public consensus was that Park was compromising too much on issues like settling the coastal border and calling the sum of money Korea received from Japan something other than “reparation,” leading people to call the normalization treaty “a national sell-out.”³¹ Despite vehement opposition, the treaty bills were formalized on August 14 and officially exchanged between the two countries on December 18, 1965.³²

Browsing through newspapers from 1964 and 1965, one can find numerous contributions by readers, politicians, and journalists that equate the normalization to returning to colonialism. Even after the treaty was ratified, on August 21, 1965, *Sasanggye*, one of the leading intellectual magazines in Korea, attempted to distribute pamphlets titled, “Why the Normalization Treaty Must Be Annulled,” but the leaflets were confiscated by the police before they could be circulated.³³ Beneath such ardent opposition was the fear that Korea’s identity might be subsumed by external influences, as it had been during the colonial period. An editorial from July 1965 titled “National Selfhood (*minchok chuch’esŏng*) and Disillusion with our Leaders” began by asserting that nationalism was a necessity in Korea:

³¹ Lee, “Normalization,” 451; Armstrong records that Korea received more than \$800 million in compensation for damages incurred by Japan’s colonial domination, which was an enormous sum for Korea at the time. *The Koreas*, 30.

³² Opposing politicians organized the Committee for the Struggle against Humiliating Diplomacy with Japan and made an address to both Lyndon B. Johnson and Park Chung-Hee on May 29, 1965 seeking to stop the normalization. *Dong-a Ilbo*, 29 May 1965, 1. Jung-Hoon Lee also writes that the two largest opposition parties, the Democratic Justice Party and the Democratic Party, merged to form the Popular Party (*Minjungdang*) to create a bigger force to resist Park’s initiative. In 1965, some universities shut down to prevent student protests from spreading. Lee, “Normalization,” 451.

³³ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 21 August 1965, 7; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 21 August 1965, 7.

At no other time in history has national selfhood (*minchok chuch'esǒng*) been emphasized so strongly. . . . Nationalism, emerging from the intrinsic desire for the independence of a nation, now manifests itself as an active form of striving for each nation's economic and social prosperity or enlargement of international role. Apart from the value of such a trend, facing our own situation, it would never be enough to emphasize the importance of national self. Especially, in the reality of an imminent treaty with our long-standing enemy Japan, it is a time for all citizens to be introspective, to reflect on and ponder the matter of national self.³⁴

Later in the editorial, the author gave an example of what he saw as the lack of national selfhood:

Last week, a weekly magazine reported that all of last week's bestsellers (in novels) were translations of Japanese and American works. An exception was the novel *The Martyred* by Richard Kim. However, the fact that the work was written in English, and the fact that . . . he wished to become a U.S. citizen, brings up the question of whether his work can be considered a work by a pure Korean. I'd like to ask those publishers if they really wish to translate Japanese works in this anti-Japanese maelstrom.³⁵

The emphasis on being “pure Korean” was reminiscent of the ethnic nationalism that had prevailed in Korea during the colonial years. Central to ethnic nationalism is the notion of *minjok*—translatable as “nation,” “people,” or “ethnic-entity”—popularized by historian and activist Ch'ae-Ho Sin in the early twentieth century.³⁶ Sin argued in his 1908 book that historically the Koreans were a brave, warlike race with its link to Manchuria and that it had persevered throughout history to defend its ethnic unity; only recently had this

³⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 5 July 1965, 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Formed during the Meiji era in Japan and based on Darwinian socialism, this notion was employed by Japan for its colonial rhetoric of assimilation, which rationalized that Japanese and Koreans were essentially of the same ethnicity, though Koreans were slightly subordinate to Japanese. Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

warlike spirit been “emasculated.”³⁷ Park Chung-Hee’s idea of a strong, “self-reliant” economy was based on Sin’s idea of ethnic nationalism.³⁸ With his urge to revive the spirit of *minchok*, the ideology served as a unifying force and drive behind the independence movement throughout the colonial period in Korea.³⁹ Thus, the fervent oppositions to the normalization and subsequent emphasis on pure national identity in 1965 marked a resurgence of colonial-era nationalism, as well as the rise of modern day ethnic-national identity awareness.

The Vietnam War

If normalization strengthened awareness of a national identity, involvement in the Vietnam War caused Koreans to place themselves in an international context. South Korea sent more than 300,000 soldiers to Vietnam, the second largest number of troops after the U.S. military. As with the normalization, political and economic benefits were strong motivations for Korea to send troops to Vietnam. In 1961, North Korea concluded

³⁷ The title of this book is *A New Reading of History* [Toksa sillon], and its main arguments are explicated in Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 13-16; Andre Schmid, “Rediscovering Manchuria: Sin Ch’aeho and the Politics of Territorial History in Korea,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 56 no. 1 (1997): 32. Sin’s writings are published in Ch’ae-ho Sin, *Tanjae Sin Ch’ae-ho chŏnjip* [The complete works of Tanjae Sin Ch’ae-ho] (Ch’ungnam Ch’ŏnan-si: Tongnip Kinyŏmgwan Han’guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn’guso [Institute of Korean Independence Movement Studies], 2007).

³⁸ Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building*, 16.

³⁹ Hyung-il Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 1. After World War II, this ethnic nationalism survived in both South Korea and North Korea, serving as an important political ideology in each regime, although in divergent manners. The journalist and historian Brian Reynolds Myers suggests that in North Korea, the rhetoric of ethnic purity or “cleanest race” based on ethnic nationalism, rather than communist ideologies, served as the foundation of its political ideology. Myers, *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves and Why It Matters* (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2010).

mutual defense and assistance treaties with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, making it imperative for Park to establish himself as a strategic ally of the U.S.⁴⁰ Winning the trust of the U.S. was especially important for Park, because the U.S. disapproved of his military coup of 1961; moreover, U.S. and South Korean conservatives viewed Park's ideological stance as being sympathetic to communism.⁴¹ Supporting the U.S. war was a means for Park to redress his relationship with the country's most significant benefactor and to clarify his position as anti-communist and pro-America.⁴² By sending troops to the War, Korea received civilian and military subsidies of more than one billion dollars from the U.S. between 1965 and 1970.⁴³ The procurement enabled South Korea's heavy industries to take off and became the foundation of Korea's economic growth through the 1980s. Also, Vietnam emerged as

⁴⁰ Historian Min Yong Lee argues that Korea's dispatch of troops to Vietnam was motivated by political, more than economic, reasons and suggests that South Korea was able to "acquire a modern armed forces with combat experience" by participating in the Vietnam War. Lee, "The Vietnam War," 404-405.

⁴¹ Ibid., 406-704. Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 355.

⁴² According to Min Yong Lee, Park's efforts to gain the U.S. approval and support succeeded. For example, the U.S. advised Park to declare martial law during student protests against normalization with Japan in 1964, and also supported Park's fiscal policies in 1964-1965. Lee, "The Vietnam War," 407. Dispatching troops to Vietnam was a tacit agreement between the U.S. and Korea: during the normalization talks, Park offered to provide military support for the United States in Vietnam, and in return, U.S. National security adviser McGeorge Bundy pledged to help Korea get what it wanted from Japan through normalization. Jung-Hoon Lee, "Normalization," 447. The U.S. initially feared escalating conflicts with North Korea and did not agree with Park's decision to send South Korean soldiers to Vietnam. When Park insisted on dispatching troops, the U.S. called his motivation "mercenary." Senate, "United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad," Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 91st Congress (Washington, D.C., 1970), 1566-1568. Quoted in Min Yong Lee, "The Vietnam War," 403.

⁴³ Frank Baldwin, "America's Rented Troops: South Koreans in Vietnam," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 7 no. 4 (1975): 37-38. Quoted in Armstrong, *The Koreas*, 117. A news article from 30 July, 1964 also reported that the payment for Korean troops would be provided by the U.S. at 6 dollars per day for officers and 1 dollar per day for privates. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 30 July 1964, 1.

one of South Korea's major export customers for steel and transportation equipment in the late 1960s.⁴⁴

In addition to economic and political benefits, participating in the Vietnam War had a psychological significance for the Korean people. The U.S. war in Vietnam was the first foreign war—fighting in a foreign country and in a war of foreign countries—in Korea's recent history. It was also the first war in which Korea took part for a seemingly ideological reason with international relevance. Arguably, it was one of the earliest incidents in modern history that placed Korea on the international scene, not as a colonial subject or a receiver of grant aids, but as a provider and collaborator. One of the earliest recorded responses to the announcement of the dispatch, appearing in the opinion section of a newspaper, highlighted the significance of Korea's contribution to the cause of protecting the peace and security of the "free world."⁴⁵ The author pleaded for national support for the dispatch, depicting Vietnam as an anti-communist ally, who was undergoing a conflict similar to the one which Korea had suffered just a decade earlier.⁴⁶ While many were opposed to the dispatch of an increasing number of soldiers to Vietnam in 1965, still others stressed the importance of Korea's contribution to a foreign war, as echoed in the following editorial:

Vietnam and Korea have had shared responsibilities as anti-communist allies, but now the two countries have even closer connections. We have a deep interest in every aspect of the state of affairs in Vietnam, as their

⁴⁴ Armstrong, *The Koreas*, 30. According to Woo-Cumings, South Korea exported more than 90 percent of its steel and more than 50 percent of its transportation equipment to Vietnam in the late 1960s. Woo-Cumings, *Race to the Swift*, 95.

⁴⁵ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 14 July 1964, 3.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

destiny is link to our destiny. [...] What we ask of our soldiers is to be good people, not only good soldiers, so that they are regarded as respectable and praiseworthy by the people of Vietnam. Because it is the first time a large number of our soldiers are fighting abroad, they must not forget that their reputation affects the reputation of our people as a whole.⁴⁷

Taking on the new national role of a contributor in the international scene strengthened shared awareness of a national identity. In particular, consciousness of a collective identity as a nation was more prominent and significant than that of individual identity during this early stage of international exchange.

Coinciding with the normalization with Japan and the involvement in the Vietnam War, Korea's diplomatic relationships with other countries continued to increase. As the U.S. grants-in-aid decreased, the Korean government began to look to European countries to establish economic partnerships in the 1960s.⁴⁸ Starting in 1964 with West Germany, who would remain the largest provider of loans after the U.S. and Japan, an increasing number of European countries, including Italy, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the U.K., agreed to lend money or establish skills cooperation, which involved sending Korean engineers to other countries to learn about each nation's technological strengths. In Korea, these agreements were regarded as an important diplomatic success.⁴⁹ It was the first time since World War II that Korea independently established direct relationships with foreign countries other than the U.S. or Japan, and in the form of reciprocal exchanges.

⁴⁷ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 28 January 1965, 2.

⁴⁸ Ŭn Hŏ shows that the U.S. financial grant-in-aid to Korea decreased from \$389 million in 1957 to \$199 million in 1961. Ŭn Hŏ, *Miguk ũi hegemoni* [The U.S. hegemony], 88.

⁴⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 15 December 1964, 1.

Revised Rhetoric of “Catching up”

Increased exchanges with foreign countries strengthened the rhetoric of “catching up” in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet unlike the idea of “catching up” in the previous decades, which centered around adopting Western cultural practices, the focus was now on reviving a national spirit and traditions.⁵⁰ Cultural events and programs of this time were an important factor in promoting the sense of national unity among people. In a somewhat socialist air, artists and intelligentsia felt obliged to make their works speak of national unity or national spirit. Films of this time contained messages that supported frugality and diligence, depicting people who worked earnestly for the country; painters illustrated historical images that reminded viewers of the nation’s history; and musicians created “sound” songs consisting of cheerful, simple melodies and spirited lyrics.⁵¹

Similar efforts extended to other cultural realms. Several universities started Korean studies or Asian studies institutes between 1968 and 1969.⁵² On the state level, the Minister of Culture and Education launched a government unit to promote discovery

⁵⁰ As mentioned previously, one of the important principles behind Park Chung Hee’s economic and cultural policies was to catch up, or to “beat Japan” (*kukil*). Many of his policies were formed after the Japanese model, which was itself taken from Germany. Historian Sang Mi Park calls this phenomenon the “paradox of postcolonial Korean nationalism.” She writes, “The idea of ‘public-spiritedness’ promoted in South Korea under the Park regime drew upon methods and goals common to other modern regimes of widely varying ideological bents. Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, China, North Korea, and even the United States have at times carried out national, patriotic, mobilization efforts. . . . The specific models for the South Korean programs, however, were in many cases conspicuously and consciously derived from wartime Japan’s mobilization efforts, which in turn had originally been copied by Japanese leader from earlier Nazi German models.” One of the examples in which Japanese institutions followed the German models is the *Kraft durch Freude* [“Strength through joy”], the state-controlled leisure organization of the third Reich designed to promote a sense of community or public-spiritedness during the Third Reich. Many principles of the Japanese citizen of the 1930 and 1940s, such as “to serve the public good, to encourage the public to abandon selfishness or private-mindedness, and to cooperate under the state-led, corporatist ‘New Order,’” were drawn from the ideals of the *Kraft durch Freude*. Park, “The Paradox,” 80-82.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵² *Dong-a Ilbo*, 28 September 1968, 6.

and archiving of traditional literature from the pre-colonial period.⁵³ A nationwide contest of traditional culture and customs was launched. Notably, an ensemble of traditional music and dance, called *Yegrin*, which originally started in 1963 but soon disintegrated for financial reasons, was revived in early 1966 with the support of the politician Kim Jong-Pil, the right arm of President Park.⁵⁴ More traditional theatrical plays were staged than ever before, and old palaces and temples were revitalized throughout the late 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁵

The notion of national identity that dominated the intellectuals of Korea during the late 1960s and 1970s was multifaceted. On the one hand, the normalization with Japan reinvigorated ethnic nationalism, and government policy and propaganda heightened the ideals of public-spiritedness, civic unity, national rebuilding, and revival of tradition. On the other hand, increased exchanges with foreign countries through diplomacy prompted awareness of Korea's place in the global scene, as well as the need to reach international standards. The idea of "catching up" during this period is distinguishable from that of the 1950s, when fixation on looking outwards overshadowed the voices advocating tradition. The paradoxical combination of the tendencies of looking both outward and inward conflated the goal of providing indigenous culture with international relevancy.

⁵³ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 15 December 1969, 5.

⁵⁴ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 26 February 1963, 8; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 22 February 1966, 5.

⁵⁵ The national museum was built between 1966 and 1969 inside the Gyöngbokgung Palace, the main palace of the Chosön Dynasty. *Maeil Business Newspaper*, 21 November, 1966, 2.

Nationalism in Music

We see comparable trends in the sphere of music: rendering traditional music internationally recognizable was a growing concern. In 1965, Hyegu Lee, a professor in traditional Korean music, noted the previous trend of disdaining traditional Korean music and admiring anything Western, including music.⁵⁶ He claimed that the juxtaposition of indigenous culture and foreign culture was meaningful primarily because the latter could help re-create and advance indigenous culture—an idea shared by many other composers. For example, the composer Unyoung La (1922–1993) expressed a similar opinion in an article dating from 1969:

It hasn't been long since the word 'identity' became part of our daily conversations. It is a tendency today to be sensitive about ideas or trends of the West such as structuralism or mass media, while being uninterested in identity. . . . "What is our purpose in learning Western music?" asks composer Unyoung La: "Just like education in foreign languages tends toward translating our works and introducing them abroad, it is important to write our music on the internationally communicated five-lined staff." Composer Sukhi Kang says that when discussing music of a country it is not about performance but composition. He emphasizes that our music can gain attention when international careers of our young performers perform "our music." . . . Although [Korean musicians abroad] have built a reputation for 80 years, their performance careers have functioned as vines that maintain the existence [of Western music] but not the fruits. They are putting on marionette shows with something of theirs, not ours.⁵⁷

La's view toward Western music—as a vehicle through which indigenous music could be transcribed and circulated outside Korea—echoed the dilemma of composers of the post-colonial period. They were trapped by the incongruity between the form of their art—

⁵⁶ Hyegu Lee, "Domestic Culture versus Foreign Culture," *Dong-a Ilbo*, March 9, 1965, 5.

⁵⁷ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 3 February 1969, 5.

new, Western, and of “the Other”—and the content—old, traditional, and of “us.” The former was the art form with which they were familiar as a result of their musical education during the colonial period, while the latter was the idea and spirit which they wished—and felt obliged—to preserve. The fundamental differences between these two musical traditions generated such convoluted questions as: How can “Korean music” be created when it is engaged with the language of a Western art form? How can one “write” Korean music when its traditional music is by nature orally bequeathed from generation to generation and not newly composed? Or if the sound of traditional Korean music is transcribed using Western system and instruments, is it Western music or Korean music? In the absence of easy and concrete answers, a composer such as Sukhi Kang claimed that, without a substantial body of original works by Korean composers, Western art music could not be considered to have matured in Korea.⁵⁸

The question of how to express national identity in musical terms was not easily answered and would generate many different responses. For instance, in 1965, the composer Tae-Hyun Park (1907–1993) suggested as a solution that Korean traditional music—*minch’ok ŭmak* (translated as “national music”)—and Western music should stay in separate realms, while a third genre, Koreanized Western music, or *hankuk ŭmak* (Korean music), should be established.⁵⁹ He was not the first to suggest such an idea, and the defining of “Koreanized Western music” engendered extended, heated discussions for the following decade. But many composers approached this question, each in an

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 22 March 1965, 5.

individual manner, by writing music that utilized the idioms, philosophical ideas, or instrumentations of Korean traditional music. Examples of such music will be examined in the sections and chapters to follow.

Here, it is worthwhile to acknowledge the opinion of James Wade, an American composer living in Korea since 1954, on the practice of “Koreanizing Western music.”⁶⁰ He regarded westernizing indigenous music to be an impossible task because of the intrinsic differences between the two musical traditions. He also considered the concerns surrounding cultural nationalism “not so respectable” because its motivation was “inherently self-defensive.”⁶¹ The efforts to “indigenize” Western art music were indeed a nationalistic endeavor; in a country whose cultural identity had been shaken for more than half a century, re-establishing a collective sense of national selfhood and a lineage of tradition was the paramount shared concern.

Sukhi Kang: Nationalism and Beyond

Sukhi Kang (born in 1934), one of the most devoted proponents of contemporary Western art music in Korea, also experimented with writing in idioms derived from Korean traditional music throughout his career. He was educated in Korea until 1970 and

⁶⁰ The composer, music educator, and journalist Wade first came to Korea in 1954 as a military officer, and in 1960, returned with his family and lived in Korea until his death in 1983. He was a central figure in the development of Western music in Korea throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He invited composers to his house and played recordings of contemporary music, which became an important source of new music for the Korean composers who had limited access to European music. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 5 June 1965, 4. For his own account of his activities in the Korean musical community, see James Wade, *One Man's Korea* (Seoul, Hollym Corp.: 1976). Kang also points to Wade as an important contributor in the dissemination of the knowledge of contemporary music in Korea. Hee Kyung Lee, *Conversations with Sukhi Kang* (Seoul: Yesol, 2002), 48-49.

⁶¹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 5 June 1965, 4.

then in Germany between 1970 and 1975. After returning home in 1975, he divided his time between Korea and Germany. Thus, Kang's early career, from the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, coincides with a transitional time for the development of Western music in Korea and the growing concerns for establishing a nationalist style in Western art music.

In this section, I will discuss Kang's career and works to show that his use of traditional elements was not necessarily indicative of his nationalistic stance—which separates him from other Korean composers who believed that Western art music was a tool to transcribe Korean traditional music or to convey national sentiments. Beyond being influenced by the strong tendency of nationalism within Korea, his expression of national identity was also motivated in part by his knowledge that Western composers were in search of new stylistic resources from other cultures.

The Composer in Korea

Born in Seoul in 1934, Kang lived through the last decade of Japanese rule and the disruption of the Korean War (1950-1953) before reaching his twenties. Despite the political unrest in the 1940s and 1950s, musical life did have room to grow in Korea. Although the level of practice or understanding of Western music was not as sophisticated as it would later become, Kang did receive an elementary level of music education in his early years.⁶² He was exposed to Western music primarily through

⁶² The musical scene of the 1940s Korea is well depicted in the collection of essays and concert reviews by the Korean music critic Yong-gu Pak (b. 1914). First published in 1949, this collection is one of the earliest published writings of music criticism in Korea and thus a valuable record of the concerts, trends, and

singing in the choir of his protestant church and later by teaching himself the rules of harmony and counterpoint. He also heard various types of Korean traditional music in street shows and shaman rituals, which were performed in open spaces.⁶³ Between 1955 and 1960, he majored in composition at Seoul National University, studying with the composers Sehyung Kim (1906–1999) and Heegap Chŏng (1923–unknown).⁶⁴ The former was trained in the United States, and the latter in Korea, but both composers wrote music that resembled *Lieder*, songs written to short traditional poetry originating from Korea, or on some rare occasions, by the American poet Gilbert Moyle.⁶⁵ These art songs, or *kakok*, constituted one of the most common compositional genres among Korean composers during this period. They were simple in harmony and form, revealing that the understanding of the histories, techniques, and languages of Western Music were rather vestigial in the 1950s. Kang recalls his classes at the university as rudimentary, and in order to compensate for his limited background in music, he listened to recordings of relatively new Western music, including that of Ravel, Stravinsky, or Debussy, at then-popular “music rooms.”⁶⁶ These “music rooms,” bearing names such as “Dolce” or

conversations surrounding Western music in Korea of the 1940s. Pak, *Ŭmak kwa hyŏnsil* [Music and reality] (Seoul: Yesol, 1998).

⁶³ On Kang’s early musical education, see Lee, *Conversations*, 28-45.

⁶⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 16 July 1935, 2. The newspaper article records that Kim went to America nine years before, earned a bachelor’s degree at the University of Southern California, and composed a number of works in America.

⁶⁵ Heegap Chŏng experimented with employing the languages of both Western music and traditional Korean music. *Maeil Business Newspaper*, 16 November 1972, 7.

⁶⁶ Author’s interview with Kang. Records of regular “music listening gatherings” at the music room “Renaissance,” located in Seoul, start from April 1962. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 29 April 1962, 4.

“Renaissance,” were at the center of music listening culture in Seoul in the late 1950s through the 1960s, when gramophones were rare and expensive. During this time, announcements for “music listening meetings” at these “music rooms” appeared in major newspapers, and many college students, musicians, and music enthusiasts frequented music rooms to satiate their musical cravings.

Like many intellectuals of the mid-1960s, Kang believed that the Korean musical community could not be considered mature without a substantial body of new works by Korean composers. At the same time, he also thought that, given the social atmosphere and situations, expressing one’s national identity was inevitable for Korean intellectuals and artists during the 1960s.⁶⁷ Kang’s thoughts on negotiating between expression of national identity and application of the modern language of Western music were influenced by Isang Yun (1917-1995), who himself had struggled with such a dilemma.⁶⁸

Yun, who was abducted by the government of Park Chung-Hee while in Germany and imprisoned for treason in June 1967, had been released from prison and hospitalized in Seoul by 1968, thanks to an amnesty petition signed by a large group of musicians around the world. While in the hospital, Kang was able to meet Yun through a friend who was in the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.⁶⁹ Under the surveillance of two KCIA

⁶⁷ Author’s interview with Kang. Unfortunately, few well-known works of Kang’s survive from the early 1960s, as the composer has since withdrawn them. It is noteworthy, however, that he composed his first electronic music, *Wonsaekui Hyangyeon* [The Feast of Id], at the radio studio of the Korean Broadcasting System in 1966. Composed after reading an article about an electric generator in a Japanese technology magazine, the work was a sort of study piece and marked the beginning of his many experiments with timbre. His attempt was groundbreaking, as no electronic music was played on the radio or in concerts at the time. He would later engage with electronic music extensively in the 1980s.

⁶⁸ On analyses of his life and works, see chapter 1.

⁶⁹ Lee, *Conversations*, 67-73. Also Author’s interview with Sukhi Kang.

agents, Kang met with Yun every Tuesday and Thursday. Yun's wife, Suja Yi, was always present at these meetings.⁷⁰ Yun had just composed, during his imprisonment, *Image* for flute, oboe, violin and cello (1968) and the opera *Die Witwe des Schmetterlings* (1968). He taught much of what he had learned during his ten years in Germany to the younger composer. Specifically, Yun suggested that Kang study the techniques of twelve-tone music. The writing styles of the two, however, were worlds apart; Yun, a traditionalist, had little interest in experimenting with new timbre or form, while Kang did not want to write serial music.⁷¹

Yet it was not only the techniques of contemporary Western music that Yun handed down to the younger composer. Like many other composers of the time, Yun was deeply concerned with his own cultural and national identity. Having indulged in the rigorous culture of serialism in Germany, Yun came to believe that expression of his national identity in terms of Western art music did not mean that he “preserved” traditional sound transcribing traditional music. Yun urged Kang to dismiss the concern of being a “Korean” composer and the idea of recreating traditional music, and instead to focus on developing a personal musical style while freely utilizing materials from traditional music.⁷²

Heeding this advice, Kang engaged with the sounds, melodies, rhythms, forms, and ideas of traditional music and customs in the late 1960s and through the 1970s, rather than trying to compose music that *resulted* in sounding like a certain type of music. For

⁷⁰ On Kang's studies with Isang Yun, see Lee, *Conversations*, 67-73.

⁷¹ Ibid., 68.

⁷² Author's interview with Kang.

example, *Lyebul* (Buddhist Service, 1968), which was written during these lesson-meetings, takes its material from the Buddhist service called *lyebul*.⁷³ The key elements of the ceremony include narration of sung prayers to Buddha, called *bum-pae*, and the striking of a large bell, *bum-chong*. In Kang's *Lyebul*, written for a male solo voice, a male chorus, and thirty percussionists, the male voices sing *bum-pae*, and the percussion instruments play what is supposed to express the sound of *bum-chong*. Kang's *Lyebul* takes the concepts and structure of the Buddhist services, but is not a literal transcription of the chants used in those services.

In the late 1960s, contemporary Western art music was still unknown territory to Koreans, including composers. Kang recalls the period as a dark age in the Korean musical scene, reflecting on the inadequate knowledge of the current trends of Western music.⁷⁴ Most information about happenings abroad was available only by word of mouth, and updates on European musical activities were scarce. According to Kang, the phrase “contemporary music” was familiarized to laymen who did not even know what such music sounded like through news of the imprisonment the “contemporary composer” Isang Yun.⁷⁵ Yun, having experienced Europe, felt that in order for Korean musical communities to mature, works by composers other than the already-familiar Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, or Tchaikovsky must be performed in concert halls. Because of the limitations placed on his public activities within South Korea, Yun

⁷³ This work has been withdrawn, and the score is not available for analysis. However, the composer's description of the work is available in Lee, *Conversations*, 266.

⁷⁴ Author's interview with Kang.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

suggested Kang start a music festival resembling those in Europe, such as Darmstadt or Donaueschingen.

Never having been to Europe, Kang contacted a Korean composition student who was studying in Austria, Junsang Bahk, and asked him send recent scores published by Universal Edition for use in this festival.⁷⁶ Consequently, the first music festival solely devoted to contemporary music, the Seoul Biennale for Contemporary Music, was held on September 5, 1969. Lasting three days, the festival introduced some of the most important European and American composers from the 1950s and on, including Edgard Varèse, Earle Brown, Pierre Boulez, Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Bo Nilson, and Nam June Paik. A number of works by Junsang Bahk and Sukhi Kang were also included in the program. The programs for two evenings were as follows:

National Theater, September 5, Conductor Wonsik Im

1. Edgar Varèse (France) - *Octandre* for 8 Instruments
2. Earl Brown (*sic*) (U.S.A.) - Four Systems for Four Amplified Cymbals
3. Pierre Boulez (France) - Sonata 1 pour Piano
4. Junsang Bahk (Korea) - *Parodie* für Flöte und Rückkopplung
- *Intermission* -
5. John Cage (U.S.A.) - Piano Piece No. 16
6. Roman Haubenstock-Ramati (Austria) - *Interpolation* (Mobile for Flute)
7. Karlheinz Stockhausen (Germany) - *Solo* für Melodie-instrument mit Rückkopplung
8. Sukhi Kang (Korea) - *Nirmanakaya* for Piano, V. Cello, and Percussion

National Theater, September 6, Conductors Namsoo Lee / Manyoung Hahn

1. Herbert Eimert (Germany) - Selection 1 für elektronische Musik
2. Charles Boone (U.S.A.) - *Not Now* for Solo Clarinet

⁷⁶ Ibid.

3. Junsang Bahk (Korea) - *Vision* für elektronische Musik
4. Bo Nilseon (*sic*) (Sweden) - *20 Gruppen* für Piccolo, Oboe und Klarinette
- *Intermission* -
5. Sukhi Kang (Korea) - *Roundtone* for 7 Players
6. Namjune Paik (*sic*) (Korea) - *Composition*
7. Karlheinz Stockhausen (Germany) - *Kreuzspiel* für Ob., B. Klar. Und 3 Schlagzeuger
8. Junsang Bahk (Korea) - *Tangul* für Kammer Orchester⁷⁷

Despite the worries of the festival's organizers, the concerts attracted large crowds who came to listen to the new music of the West. One review of the concert states, "The response of the audience was careful yet favorable."⁷⁸ The review spent most of its words describing the shock of the sound, as well as the visual elements of the concert; it also focused on the most provocative and talked-about work on the program, Nam June Paik's *Composition*, which in typical Paik fashion, involved a couple engaging in sexually suggestive actions. The festival was so successful that the organizers decided to make it an annual event, and it remains one of the most important contemporary music festivals in Korea today.

Writing "Korean" Music in Germany — Nong (1970)

In 1970, two years after he met Isang Yun in Seoul, Kang moved to Germany. Yun had invited Kang and another Korean composer, Byung-dong Paik (b. 1936), to study with him. On his way to Europe, on March 15, Kang stopped in Osaka, Japan, to attend the World's Fair. Neighboring the German, French, and Chinese Pavilions, was the Korean Pavilion with an exhibition of the traditional Korean Bell, *bum-chong*, which would later

⁷⁷ The programs have been reproduced in Sukhi Kang, *Sekye Ŭmak ŭi Hyunchang ŭl Ch'ajasŏ* (Seoul: Koryŏwŏn, 1979), 180-181. Spelling is as written in Kang's book.

⁷⁸ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 10 September 1969, 5.

become the inspiration for Kang's work *Buru* (1976). Significantly, three of Kang's works, *Lyebul*, the work described above, *Saengsung 69*, an experimental work inspired by Krzysztof Penderecki's *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima*, and *Woneum* ("Roundtone"), electronic music written in 1969, were performed in three different pavilions representing past, present, and future.⁷⁹

That year, one of the most popular exhibitions was the Apollo 11 in the American Pavilion. Meanwhile the USSR Pavilion countered this American display of power by erecting the tallest building in the Expo, which resembled a space vehicle.⁸⁰ The West German Pavilion, designed by the German architect Fritz Bornemann, featured the world's first spherical concert hall, called *Ball Auditorium*. The hall enabled multimedia and electronic music presentations to be made according to Stockhausen's concepts of a surround sound auditorium, and it also celebrated Beethoven's bicentennial.⁸¹ Kang did not meet either Stockhausen or Fritz Winckel, although both were present at the Expo, but did meet a number of Japanese musicians, including the music critic and composer Joji Yuasa, with whom he would remain a lifelong friend and collaborator.

Kang arrived in Germany in April 1970 and took lessons with Isang Yun while registered at the Hanover Music School until 1971. During the following four years, he majored in engineering at the Technische Universitaet in Berlin, which had a combined degree program with the Music University. There he studied with Boris Blacher, Isang

⁷⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 22 January 1970, 3.

⁸⁰ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 6 March 1970, 5.

⁸¹ For more detailed descriptions of Stockhausen's conception of the spherical hall for the Expo 70, see Simon Emmerson, *Living Electronic Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 158-160.

Yun's teacher, and with Fritz Winckel, who founded the electronic music studio at the Technische Universität and established the Working Group on Electronic Music with Blacher in 1953.⁸² His three teachers had diverging musical interests: Blacher had attempted electronic music and was interested in aleatoric music as well as the marriage of moving images and music; Winckel was a pioneer in electronic music; and Yun was a musical conservative with a deep affinity for the serial technique. With such teachers, Kang was able to explore various media and styles. Especially with Yun, Kang continued to learn how to apply Korean idioms to the theoretical frame of European music, especially twelve-tone music. Kang also worked part time at the publisher Bote & Bock, copying scores, which gave him full exposure to Yun's works as well as those of other composers.⁸³

In addition to lessons and classes, music festivals throughout Germany became important sources of learning for Kang. In June 1970, he went to the ISCM World Music Days Festival in Basel, where he heard Stockhausen's *Stimmung* (1968) and Ligeti's *Ten Pieces for Wind Quintet* (1968).⁸⁴ These works, as well as others he heard at the festival, surpassed what he had imagined of European music while in Korea. The custom of discussing music after performances was also a new experience for him. For his remaining time in Germany, he made an effort to attend as many concerts and festivals as

⁸² Lee, *Conversation*, 93. Also see, Fritz Winckel, *Music, Sound and Sensation: A Modern Exposition*, trans. Thomas Binkley (New York: Dover Publications, 1967).

⁸³ Lee, *Conversation*, 94.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

possible, including those at Darmstadt, Gaudeamus, Donaueschingen, and Hanover.⁸⁵ He recalled the experience of visiting these music festivals as follows: “It was something that I could not have even imagined—even though I had more information on such music than most Korean composers did, especially through Isang Yun—I had never actually heard it.”⁸⁶ Throughout the 1970s, he wrote detailed reports on these festivals and ISCM music festivals for Korean newspapers, describing the music, composers, audiences, and the general atmosphere; his reports provided those at home with valuable, vivid portrayals of the most current happenings in Europe.⁸⁷

Notably, Kang’s analysis of new art music by European composers was similar to Yun’s observation. Kang saw contemporary musical trends in Europe as being advantageous to composers like him, who came from a culture that had known Western music for less than a century. The increased demand for new timbre, form, and approach in the European musical scene had made his non-European background a welcome contribution. It was a paradoxical situation. To composers in Korea, contemporary music was yet another new musical tradition to be understood and mastered, in addition to the language of pre-twentieth-century Western music, namely tonality, harmony, and counterpoint. Contemporary musical trends had created greater challenges for those coming from non-European traditions and lacked the understanding of the historical background and legitimacy of post-Romantic period music. Although the European music scene of the 1970s was anything but pluralistic from the perspective of Western

⁸⁵ Ibid., 88.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁸⁷ These essays are published in Kang, *Sekye Ŭmak* (1979).

composers, for a Korean composer such as Kang, the departure from functional harmony and tonality of modern music was significant. The seeming pluralism in approach to technique and style in European modern music seemed to create room for non-European to make contributions in the formation of a new musical tradition. For Kang, this perceived pluralism meant employing elements of Korean traditional music in his composition would make him distinguishable from other European composers.

During his years as a student in Germany, Kang composed works inspired by Korean traditional music, images, and ideals, expressed in the avant-garde musical languages that characterized the Darmstadt of the late 1950s and 1960s. These works of Kang include *Nong* (1970), *Bansa* (1971), *Banya* (1973), *Byunyong* (1974), and *Saseul* (1975). During this period Kang also tried to remove traces of Yun's influence from his work.⁸⁸ According to Kang, he avoided using excessive ornaments in *Banya*, since he believed employing ornamentations such as glissandi, slides, trills, tremolos, and grace notes, which had been heavily used by Isang Yun, would put him in danger of replicating the older composer's styles.⁸⁹ In general, Kang believed that embellishments were used too often by Asian composers to express their "Asian-ness" and that there should be other methods of communicating this.⁹⁰

Nong for flute and piano (1970), the first work Kang composed in Germany, stands out because it is also the first of many other works in which he experimented with

⁸⁸ Author's interview with Kang.

⁸⁹ Sukhi Kang, *Na nŭn ūmak ūl sŏlgye hanŭn chakkokka: hyŏndae ūmakka Kang Sŏk-hŭi ūi salm kwa kkum kŭrigo ūmak* [I am a composer who designs sound: Contemporary composer Sukhi Kang's life, dream, and music]. (Seoul: Salm kwa Kkum, 1998), 139-140.

⁹⁰ Author's interview with Kang.

taking a technique of a Korean traditional instrument and expressing it in the modernist musical language of Europe. In this work, Kang expresses the gestures of *nonghyun*, one technique used in playing a plucked instrument such as the *kayagŭm*. In playing the *kayagŭm*, a 12-string zither, the right hand plucks or flicks one or more strings while the left hand, placed to the left of the bridge, presses or shakes the vibrating string to create various ornamental effects. In Korean traditional music, deep vibratos such as those generated using the *nonghyun* technique are more commonly heard in folk or popular music rather than in court music because it is considered more emotional and less refined; Kang employed the former style in most of his works.⁹¹ Expression inspired by the *nonghyun* technique can be seen in his works from the early 1970s, such as *Apex* for piano (1972), *Parodie für Flöte und Orgel* (1972), and in a later work, *Five Scenes for the Kayagŭm* (2000).⁹² An example of a passage from *Nong* that reflects the *nonghyun* of *kayagŭm* is shown below (Example 3.3). Here, both the flute and the piano parts express deep vibratos or bending of notes. At the same time, there are clearly defined main tones in each part, which would have been the notes played by the right hand on *kayagŭm*.

⁹¹ Keith Howard, *Korean Kayagŭm Sanjo: A Traditional Instrumental Genre* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁹² The last work has been analyzed in Rae-Suk Han, “Kang Sŏk Hee ŭi kayak ŭm ŭl wuihan tasŏt kaeŭi chŏngkyŏng punsŏk yŏnku” [“Analytical study of Sukhi Kang’s *Five Scenes for Kayagŭm*”] Master’s Thesis, Seoul National University, 2006.



Example 3.3: *Nong*, mm. 2-4; both the piano and flute replicate the sound that would be created on *kayagŭm*

It is significant that Kang's fascination with *Nonghyun* was ignited by a work of the American composer Lou Harrison (1917-2003).⁹³ A student of Henry Cowell and Arnold Schoenberg, Harrison had a great interest in Asian music and often incorporated instruments from China, Korea, and Indonesia in his works. He traveled to Japan as a delegate to the 1961 Tokyo East-West Music Encounter conference and then spent seven months in Korea and Taiwan in late 1961 and early 1962. During this time, he studied the Korean double-reed instrument *p'iri*, the zither instrument *kayagŭm*, and the Chinese psaltery *zheng*.⁹⁴ Subsequently, he composed a few works for these instruments, including *Moogunkwha*, *Se Tang Ak* ("Sharon Rose, a New Song in the Old Style") for the Korean court orchestra in 1961, and *Quintal Taryung* for two Korean flutes and

⁹³ Lee, *Conversations*, 95-96.

⁹⁴ Leta E. Miller and Charles Hanson, "Harrison, Lou," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46517> (accessed 10 December 2015). In addition to Lou Harrison, the American composer Alan Hovhaness (1911–2000) has also written for Korean traditional instruments in his Symphony No. 16 in 1963. Both composers are mentioned in Sukhi Kang's recollection of the period. Lee, *Conversations*, 46-7. See also Keith Howard, *Creating Korean Music*, vol. 2 of *Perspectives on Korean Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 91; So-yŏng Yi, *Han'guk ūmak*, 79; and Kang-Suk Yi, Ch'un-mi Kim, and Kyŏng-ch'an Min, *Uri yangak 100-yŏn* [One hundred years of our Western music] (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 2001), 287-288.

changgo, a Korean drum, between 1961 and 1962.⁹⁵ One of these works that expresses the sound of *Nonghyun* was performed in California, and Kang heard a live recording of this performance provided by a Korean professor who attended the concert.⁹⁶

According to Kang, in addition to *nonghyun*, *Nong* was inspired by the shamanic ritual dance he saw in the countryside of Korea in his youth.⁹⁷ One of the most characteristic qualities of *Nong* is its robust movements, which depict the sound and physical movements of the shaman's dance. The work opens with an extended passage of repeated notes on the pitch A, played on the piano (Example 3.4). This unusual opening is a transcription of the drum (*changgo*) work that heralds the entrance of the shaman's dance. The rhythmic variations, or the increase and decrease in the rhythmic division, express a drum roll.

⁹⁵ Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 2: 91.

⁹⁶ Author's interview with Kang. It is not clear which of the two works he heard.

⁹⁷ Author's interview with Kang.

NONG für Flöte und Klavier

3

für Beate Gabriela Schmitt

Sukhi Kang (1970)

The musical score for 'Nong' (measures 1-4) is presented in two systems. The first system shows measures 1-4, with the piano part marked *fff (sempre)*. The second system shows measures 5-8, continuing the rhythmic patterns. The third system shows measures 9-12, with the piano part marked *mf sub.* and the flute part marked *8va*. The fourth system shows measures 13-16, with the piano part marked *mf sub.* and the flute part marked *8va*. The score is written for two staves: Flute (top) and Piano (bottom). The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, often beamed together, with dynamic markings like *fff (sempre)* and *mf sub.*. The flute part has various notes and rests, with some measures marked *8va*.

Example 3.4: *Nong*, m. 1; the opening piano part expresses the sound of a drum (*changgo*)

Although the composer claims that the work is not meant to convey any tonal centers, there are clear pitch centers that are underlined by the means of repetition, as with the A in the introduction (Example 3.4) and the E and F suggested by the flute and the piano

beginning in m. 2 (Example 3.3).⁹⁸ The music progresses by weaving through various pitch centers, rather than by harmonic development. This linear approach to musical unfolding is similar to Isang Yun's concept of musical development through *Haupttöne*, in which multiple melodic strands arise from and gravitate towards a pitch center.⁹⁹

While Kang avoided the direct transcription of existing Korean traditional music in *Nong*, one exception stands out—his adoption of one of the well-known traditional rhythmic patterns (*changtan*).¹⁰⁰ This specific rhythmic figure, called *kutkōri*, appears in a varied form in the flute part (Example 3.5). Likewise, in the absence of strongly defined harmonic centers, *Nong* uses other parameters of music, including pitch, rhythm, register, and dynamics to transcribe the gesture of the dance or the sound of the drum of a shamanic ritual. For instance, in the piano part shown in Example 3.6, large leaps across several registers and staccato markings express the jolting nature of the dance.

Kang expresses the seemingly agitated and unsettling quality of the shaman's dance by engaging many registers and pitches within a phrase. Throughout the work, sweeping gestures utilize all possible registers within both instruments' tessitura. This tendency intensifies toward the middle of the work, climaxing at the cadenza-like section (mm. 74-160) in which both the piano and the flute continue to cross between registers, often jumping over two, three, or four octaves between neighboring notes, as in the introduction (Example 3.5). Because the musical goal is to highlight the physicality of the

⁹⁸ Kang told me that the A# at the end of measure 1 in the published score (Example 3.4) should have been an A.

⁹⁹ For analyses and examples of *Haupttöne* in Yun's work, see chapter 1 above.

¹⁰⁰ Korean traditional music has specific names for rhythmic patterns (*changtan*). In actual performances these preset rhythms are often modified in improvisatory manners.

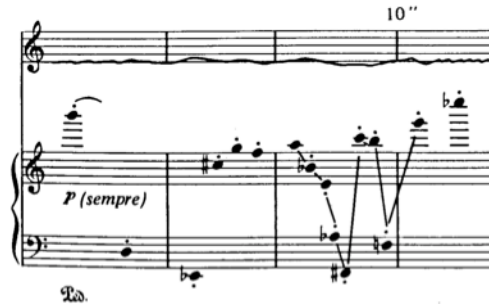
dance, melodic contour, rather than melodic continuity, surfaces as the work's primary importance. Simultaneously, there seems to be one consistent principle in his melodic construction: Kang tends to create melodies by consciously avoiding repetition of the same pitch class or pitch within a phrase. The only exceptions are the sections where there is a clear pitch center, as in the opening measure or in the passage with the sound of *kayagŭm*. As a result, *Nong* unwittingly proceeds like a twelve-tone work in many parts, although there is no tone row that can be identified as the prime one from which other tone rows develop.

3.5a



3.5b

Example 3.5: (a) *Kutkŏri* changtan and (b) its variation in *Nong*, m. 177



Example 3.6: *Nong*, mm. 142-145: the piano part depicts the “W” shape jump of a shamanic dance

For instance, after the flute finishes presenting F as its pitch center (Example 3.3), it begins to explore other pitches. It immediately completes a tone row, F-A-G-B-F#-Bb-Ab-D-C-C#-E, with the addition of the piano that plays Eb as its tonal center (mm. 8-10). The flute continues to play a series of tone rows, both complete and incomplete:

Row 1: F-A-G-B-F#-Bb-Ab-D-C-C#-E-Eb (mm. 2-8)

Row 2: F#-Eb-D-E-Bb-C-Ab-G-A-B-F (C# is missing; mm. 10-11)

Row 3: Bb-E-F#-D-G#-G-D#-F-B-C#-C-A (m. 11)

Row 4: Bb-Db-D-C-F#-E-G#-A-D#-G-F-B (mm. 11-12)

Row 5: F#-C-Bb-D#-G#-A-C#-B-F-(D#)-E-G-(E)-C# (mm. 12-13).

Attempting to establish any relationship between these tone rows through the known techniques of serial music reveals that pitches are selected randomly and are not meant to develop organically.

The dynamics of *Nong* display extreme control. The range of dynamics across the entire work is between *ppp* and *fff*, and only near the end is the flute asked to play *ffff* (m.

179). The frequent changes of dynamic markings--moving from one level to another at every note—suggest two influences. On the one hand, such style is reminiscent of the pointillist use of dynamics that marked the 1950s Darmstadt as well as the works of Isang Yun, who was heavily influenced by the Darmstadt aesthetics. On the other hand, it could also be seen as the expression of the rhythmicity of the shaman's dance. Here, we see the confluence of the two seemingly different musical traditions. The register, pitch contents, and dynamic markings in *Nong* are all carefully chosen to intensify the spirits of haphazardness and volatility often experienced during shamanic rituals that are meant to correspond, soothe, or please the souls of the deceased. At the same time, an extreme control of musical parameters seems to display kinship to the serial music of the Darmstadt School, although none of these parameters show enough strict regularity to qualify *Nong* as a serial work.

In *Nong*, one can clearly sense Kang's urge to experiment with his own cultural tradition, whether as a response to the social milieu of Korea that stressed the revival of tradition or as a reaction to the cultural clamoring in Germany that expected novel sounds from a foreign composer. Yet, it is significant that the idea to incorporate techniques of a traditional instrument was inspired by knowledge that an American composer had employed Korean traditional instruments in his work. During the time when Kang was contemplating the meaning of writing "Korean music" without necessarily employing its traditional sounds and instruments, a Western composer's merging of Western art music and traditional music served as an inspiration for writing similar, syncretic works. A successful example of hybrid music by a Western composer provided Kang with an

example of a viable musical style that could be accepted and understood by Western audiences while engaging with traditional music.

Hybrid Music: Homi Bhabha's Concepts of Mimicry and Third Space

The transition from looking outward to looking inward can be explained by the theories of postcolonialism. A dismantling of the polarized opposition of the colonizer and the colonized is a central conceptual feature of the works of postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said (1978), Bill Ashcroft (1989), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999), and Homi Bhabha (1994/2004). Drawing on Michel Foucault's analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge, these studies propose mutual relationships in which the colonizer and the colonized mutually affect one another.¹⁰¹ Among these works, Bhabha's analysis of the formation of cultural identity in a post-colonial society seems most applicable as a framework to account for Korean composers' changing relations with traditional and foreign music in the 1960s and 1970s and to understand the process of reconciling traditional musical material with the language of Western music. Although Bhabha's works take written texts as the main object of analysis, as is often done in postcolonial studies, his notions of mimicry, hybridity, ambivalence, and Third Space can convincingly explain the emergence of new musical styles in the course of postcolonial cultural exchanges.

¹⁰¹ See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); for original publication in French, *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

One mechanism through which colonialism leaves lasting changes in a colonized society is mimicry, the act of adopting the culture of the dominating force. Bhabha's analysis of mimicry builds upon Jacques Lacan's account, which explains that mimicry is similar to camouflage used in nature as a survival tactic.¹⁰² In this sense, mimicry is "not a harmonization of repression of difference, but a form of resemblance."¹⁰³ But when Bhabha adapts this concept within a postcolonial context in his essay "Of Mimicry and Man," it is far from being innocuous. From the colonized's point of view it is "the desire to emerge as 'authentic'" or "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*."¹⁰⁴ One must pay attention to the hesitancy in Bhabha's language: mimicry is not complete, but partial, and this partiality is caused by the innate evasiveness embedded in the colonial strategy. Bhabha describes "flawed colonial mimesis" by presenting the case of Charles Grant's "Observation on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain" from 1772. Grant's work shows that English colonizers, caught between the need to educate and form a colonial identity according to their own religion and moral values and the fear of colonial subjects' rebellion, chose to transfer only part of their culture and customs.¹⁰⁵ In this colonial strategy, the subaltern unwittingly and merely remains a "mimic man," thus

¹⁰² Jacques Lacan. "The Line and the Light," in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1978), 91-104. Quoted in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 121.

¹⁰³ Lacan, "The Line and the Light," 99. Quoted in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 125.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 126, 122. Emphasis in the original text.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 123-6.

caught in the irony of postcolonial society, which is “to be Anglicized, but emphatically not to be English.”¹⁰⁶

The problem is that this inherent “partial” diffusion of dominating culture renders mimicry a “menace” rather than “resemblance,” as mimicry “*repeats* rather than *re-presents*.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, mimicry never produces perfect synchronization or harmonization with the original, but results in a partial, distorted presence of the Other. Hence Bhabha’s idea of the “threat” of mimicry, which comes from the “strategic production of conflictual, fantastic, discriminatory ‘identity effects’ in the play of power that is elusive because it hides no essence, no ‘itself.’”¹⁰⁸ The nub of this “threat” lies in the feeling of ambivalence: as the colonized cut off their ties with tradition to assume the masks of the “Other,” they realize they are left with no identity. They experience the trauma of disoriented identity, “a difference that is almost nothing but not quite.”¹⁰⁹

Such sense of disorientation is similarly observed in the Korean musical community in the years after World War II and through the 1960s, as shown in the previous section. Musicians were driven by ardent efforts to absorb the culture, systems, and language of Western music, to “catch up,” in a conditioned acceptance of the notion of the “Other.” As a result, Western music was no longer foreign in the daily soundscape

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 125. Here, Bhabha uses the examples of the mimic man from the literary works of Kipling, Foster, Orwell, Naipaul, as well as the analytic work of Benedict Anderson. This paradox leads Bhabha to assert that mimicry is, from the colonizer’s stance, also “one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge.” For mimicry to be effective, it “must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference,” as it “emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal,” *ibid.*, 122.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 125.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 128-9.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 152-6; 131.

in the 1960s, to the degree that the sound of traditional music was even more foreign than the sound of Western music. But it is clear from newspaper articles that the composers regretted the prevalence of Western music in society, not because of its existence *per se*, but for the fact that there was no “self” in it. Performing music written by foreign composers, whose sentiments and traditions Koreans could not have possibly fully understood, was merely a “marionette show.”¹¹⁰ The ambivalence surrounding Western music in Korea as described in the articles draws a striking resemblance to the feeling of nothingness and insignificance of the subalterns appearing in the literature of colonized India.¹¹¹ Performing musical works written by those who had no consideration or understanding of this culture was mimicry, mere repetition; composing new music using the language of the other to express “our” own traditions and emotions would be re-presentation. Hybridization inevitably generates ambivalence, in which colonial people feel that their culture does not belong anywhere—it is not ours, but it is not theirs either.

On another level, there is also some parallelism when the character in V. S. Naipaul’s *The Mimic Men* laments, “We pretend to be real, to be learning, to be preparing ourselves for life, we mimic men of the New World, one unknown corner of it, with all

¹¹⁰ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 3 February 1969, 5.

¹¹¹ Despite the similarities between these Indian colonial figures and Korean musicians of the 1960s, I should also highlight the obvious differences in their situations. First, there was no direct colonial rule by European countries in Korea the way the English ruled in India until 1947. Western music came in through American missionaries and Japanese colonizers, both of whom had voluntarily taken in the European models. This rendered the knowledge and understanding of Western music in Korea secondhand until the 1960s. Korean musicians adopted the culture of an Other that was physically distant and historically removed, with more heightened awareness of the self and of tradition that is present here and now, and with a vaguely fantastical notion of the Western Other. Secondly, whereas mimicry in India was a result of partiality in the formation of the colonial identity, there was no such comparable intentional partial delivery of Western culture in the sphere of music (there certainly was similar distortion in the process of “reform” by the Japanese during the Japanese rule, but that is outside the scope of this study).

its reminders of the corruption that came so quickly to the new.”¹¹² It is reminiscent of the way Koreans despised those exhibiting the “pretension” of the West, like those who sang and danced to Western pop songs yet could not even pronounce the words well.¹¹³ Taking in colonial culture could make colonial subjects appear similar to the colonizers but not the same in essence. The nationalistic discourse in music at the end of the 1960s was therefore a reflection of both an anxiety of identity—self-reproach that they had failed to protect their tradition—and a desire for untenable purity and homogeneity in culture. It was also a pursuit of continuity in cultural history, which had been involuntarily ruptured by colonial forces.

Ambivalence, as an integral element of hybridity that surfaces at the crossings of two cultures, is thus a social, cultural, or psychological state that reveals the destructive aspect of the colonial process. Nevertheless, postcolonial studies seem to suggest that cultural hybridization not only is inevitable but also has generative aspects. Bill Ashcroft emphasizes that hybridity commonly refers to “the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization.”¹¹⁴ Elsewhere, he also writes, “hybridity and the power it releases may well be seen as the characteristic feature and contribution of the post-colonial, allowing a means of evading the replication of the binary categories of the past and developing new anti-monolithic models of cultural

¹¹² V. S. Naipaul, *The Mimic Men* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 416. Quoted in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 125.

¹¹³ See n. 21 above.

¹¹⁴ Ashcroft et al., *The Empire*, 118.

exchange and growth.”¹¹⁵ All social forms, including nation-states, cultures, and ethnic groups, are caught in a continuous process of hybridity as “cultural crossing results in something new and substantially different than just conglomerates of new and old elements.”¹¹⁶ Culture is not singular in its development and effect, and any postcolonial society that has experienced changes in its cultural systems will continue to evolve with the impressions of behaviors, practices, and values of the colonizer—hence Bhabha’s premise that histories and cultures of colonialism do not stay in the past, but are lived persistently in the present.

Hybridity can also be explained by Bhabha’s concept of the Third Space, which is drawn from the notion of “liminality,” a transitional, in-between state of things.¹¹⁷ The Third Space, in Bhabha’s words, “constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew.”¹¹⁸ In this symbolic “space,” culture is rid of any pre-given nationalistic meanings and thus can allow language to be a signifier in its purest form. One could claim that the musical scene in postcolonial Korea—where, for some composers, Western music was a mere conveyer for nationalistic sentiments, minds, and patterns—was the Third Space of

¹¹⁵ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 137.

¹¹⁶ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 162.

¹¹⁷ Arnold van Gennep and Victor W. Turner explained the concept in the context of rites of passage, in which a member of a community temporarily leaves that society only to return to it during the transitory stage of a ritual. See Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995).

¹¹⁸ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 55.

enunciation. Here, new meanings, nuances, and even histories were bestowed onto Western music. Western music had been planted where the stems of traditional music were broken off (albeit not completely), creating a new hybrid form of culture that continued to develop and evolve on its own beyond the period during which new practices had been imposed.

Rebuilding the Cultural Scene in 1970s Korea

In the 1970s in Korea, considerable efforts toward the reconstruction of the nation were made at the state level, but the focus was the cultural realm. The public slogan of the Park regime during the 1970s was “Cultural Korea” (*munwha Hankuk*), and the nationwide campaign “New Village Movement” (*saemaül undong*) was also announced in 1970. As in the 1960s, the campaign initially concentrated on improving the overall standard of living, invigorating the spirits of people, and encouraging frugality and collaboration among citizens, but as the economic situation in Korea improved, the campaign’s focus gradually shifted to the arts and sports.

In 1972, the Culture and Arts Promotion Act was implemented, which then led to the establishment of the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (KCAF), the country’s first independent cultural ministry. Between 1974 and 1978, the government executed its five-year plan for fostering the arts. Some of the main projects included supporting Korean Studies; restoring folk arts; designating important artists as “intangible cultural assets”; promoting traditional music by founding a specialized school for traditional music and traditional music ensembles; launching festivals in music, theater, and dance; increasing

government financial support for artists; increasing international cultural exchanges; and introducing foreign countries to the Korean culture.¹¹⁹

The emphasis of these efforts was on reviving Korean cultural traditions and establishing the foundation for Korean Studies at home and abroad. Likewise, in the arena of music, the enhancement of traditional music was the main goal. According to the public records of the KCAF's budget and project planning, in 1974, the 5,309,000 Korean *won* designated for music was allocated for the education and performance of traditional music and for the promotion of newly composed music that carried Korean traditional themes.¹²⁰ In 1975, the 5,660,000 *won* for music was similarly earmarked for education in traditional music, citizens' choruses, and promotion of new music by Korean composers.¹²¹ In 1976, the Federation of Cultural Organizations of Korea (*yech'ong*), a sub-organization of the Ministry of Culture and Sports, announced some sixty projects for the year across many disciplines, including architecture, traditional music, dance, literature, visual art, photography, theater, TV, film, and Western music. Of these sixty projects, eight were devoted to traditional music, while four concerned Western art music. These four projects were, respectively, the Seoul Music Festival, designed to promote music written by Korean composers; the Korean Music Festival,

¹¹⁹ Han-suk Chŏng, *Han'guk ŭi munhwa chŏngch'aek* [Korea's cultural policy], ed. Yŏng-dong Chŏn (Seoul: Korea Arts and Culture Foundation, 1992); Mun-hwan Kim, *Mirae rŭl sanŭn munhwa chŏngch'aek* [Cultural policies for the future] (Seoul: Nanam, 1996).

¹²⁰ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 3 June 1974, 5.

¹²¹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 18 July 1975, 5.

which served as the main stage for mostly Korean musicians; and two choral competitions for the general public.¹²²

It was into this atmosphere that Kang entered upon returning home from Germany in 1975. He saw that support for composers of Western art music in Korea was meager. Despite limited opportunities for composers, he remained prolific and began teaching composition and theory at Yonsei University and Seoul National University, his alma mater.¹²³ To make ends meet, he also worked for a car insurance company, while producing at least one work each year, and sometimes up to five works, in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. *Dalha*, written in 1979 for large orchestra, was chosen for the president's award by the Music Association of Korea, one of the most prestigious awards for composers of Western art music in Korea. Gradually Kang established himself as one of the most influential composers of contemporary music at home, and in 1988, he was commissioned to compose a work for the torch run at the opening ceremony of the Seoul Olympics (*Prometheus Kommt*, 1988).

In the meantime, he thought it was necessary to increase opportunities for musical exchanges with Europe. For example, in 1976, the year after he returned from Germany, he submitted the last two works composed there to the International Music Council-UNESCO in Paris and the International Society of Contemporary Music. These works,

¹²² *Maeil Business Newspaper*, 20 January 1976, 6.

¹²³ Kang stopped teaching at the colleges after 1979, as he went to Germany again as a DAAD scholar in 1980. He then returned to teaching at Seoul National University between 1982 and 1999. There, some of his notable students included Unsuk Chin (b. 1961), a composer to be discussed in a later chapter, Shin-woo Lee and Jiyoung Cho.

Metamorphosen for flute and string quartet (1974) and *Catena* for large orchestra (1974-1975), were both accepted and performed in 1976.¹²⁴

Another important avenue towards continued participation in the European musical scene was the Pan Music Festival. The music festivals Kang had organized for Korean audiences before he left for Germany, in 1969 and 1971, with Isang Yun's encouragement, had continued in Kang's absence under the name Biennale for Contemporary Music. Once Kang returned to Korea, he took the charge of the festival again and changed its name to the Pan Music Festival (this name remains in use for the festival today). Because the government's support for music was focused on traditional music at the time, Kang received the necessary financial help from the Goethe-Institut in Seoul.¹²⁵

Between 1976 and 1979, the festival served two functions. Primarily, it was an important venue for introducing very recent Western music to Korean audiences. Works introduced through the Pan Music Festival included Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Mantra* (1970), Mauricio Kagel's *Match* (1964) and his film *Ludwig Van* (1970), and Luciano Berio's *Sequenza VIII* (1976). Another function of the festival was the provision of a platform on which Korean traditional music and contemporary Western art music were programmed together. Such programming was an important, rare experiment at the time. The juxtaposition of the traditional music of Korea and the new music of the West on a

¹²⁴ *Metamorphosen* was one of the top ten recommended works in 1976. Author's e-mail exchange with International Music Council, 20 April–15 May, 2014.

¹²⁵ According to Kang, Walter Breuer, the director of the Goethe-Institut in Seoul between 1971 and 1978, offered Kang 100 dollars to hold a composition recital in 1976. Kang instead suggested that he would use the money to start a contemporary music festival, and the Goethe-Institut willingly supported the beginning of the festival. Kang, "Dr. Breuer and the Birth of the Pan Music Festival," in *Nanŭn*, 16-17.

shared stage diminished the psychological gap between the two musical traditions—reflecting the growing trends in works by other Korean composers, such as Kang’s contemporary Byung-dong Paik, who will be discussed in the following chapter.

4. Reconciling Old Music and New Music: Expansion of Modern Music in 1970s Korea

In Chapter 3, we saw that the 1970s were marked by the Korean government's efforts to revive traditional culture. At the same time, growing international exchanges in Korean society at large were matched by increased interaction between Korean musicians and foreign musical communities. As already noted, one common thread running through the Korean musical community during the post-war decades was the collective desire to learn about Western musical culture and meet international standards. These aspirations were realized during the period of the 1970s. This chapter reveals the detail of the Korean musical community's interchanges with foreign musicians, drawing mainly from the monthly periodical, *Wŏlgan ūmak* [*Monthly Music*], in addition to newspaper articles and radio programming. *Monthly Music*, which targeted both professional musicians and music enthusiasts, served as a leading voice and nexus of communication in the Korean music community from its founding in June 1970 until its discontinuation in 1993. As the leading periodical specializing in music at the time, the magazine was an important and reliable source of music news both inside and outside Korea. Thus, *Monthly Music* informed laymen and musicians alike about domestic and international musical trends.

A close reading of articles featured in *Monthly Music* reveals certain tendencies of the Korean musical community during the 1970s. First, it confirms the interest in new styles of Western art music, which was fueled by an increased number of Korean music performers and composers who studied abroad. Second, there was a great deal of

attention to modern American composers as well as American music education.

However, despite these newfound interests in the musical world beyond Korean borders, there arose a resistance to new musical styles and a desire for the establishment of a musical style that could be identified as “Korean.”

Monthly Music: *The Channel to Music Outside Korea*

The contents of *Monthly Music* came from diverse sources. Articles on non-Korean composers were mostly translations of material that had been published in foreign languages. For example, the inaugural issue in July 1970, which was devoted to Beethoven in celebration of his bicentennial, included translations of Donald Francis Tovey’s writing on Beethoven’s symphonies from *Essays on Musical Analysis*. It also published translations of Gerald Abraham’s writing on Wagner operas from *One Hundred Years of Music*, as well as Leonard Bernstein’s lectures on rhythm (Bernstein’s other lectures were published throughout the issues of 1970). Korean music critics, composers, and performers also contributed to the magazine, often in the form of concert reviews or reports of their educational experiences and festivals they had attended abroad. There were contents tailored to educators and performers, such as the translation of the well-known violinist Ivan Galamian’s lecture series “Principles of Violin Playing and Teaching,” which was published over a two-year span, between February 1971 and February 1973. Each issue contained scores from a wide range of musical genres, from the national anthems of China, Austria, and the United States to children’s songs and

Christmas carols originating in different countries, from a Haydn string quartet and Benjamin Britten's *Simple Symphony* to old and new works by Korean composers. The magazine also occasionally contained a feature on traditional Korean music, introducing various rhythmic and melodic patterns from different regions of the country. However, the difference in the amount and the scope of materials dedicated to Western art music as opposed to those focused on traditional Korean music is indicative of the interest of the time.

While articles continued to be written about the works of familiar composers from previous centuries, the interest in new music and the contemporary musical scenes of foreign countries can be sensed through the contents of *Monthly Music*. In fact, one of the charges of *Monthly Music* was to inform its readers of foreign composers and recent works. Starting with Igor Stravinsky (second issue, August 1970) and Béla Bartók (third issue, September 1970), the magazine introduced the works and ideas of Western composers—both European and American (Table 4.1 below). Before continuing, it is worthwhile to remember that the Korean musical community had always been zealously interested in new Western music. In addition, information on new foreign music was available to the general public through radio and other print materials.¹ However, few

¹ For example, the radio programming of 20 November 1956 included Copland's *Music for the Theatre* and Prokofiev's *Chout*, Op. 21, in addition to works by Mozart, Beethoven, Handel, Debussy, Wagner, Dvořák, Grieg, Puccini, Bizet, Weber, and Mendelssohn. "Radio," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 20 November 1956. There were also a number of short-lived music periodicals before *Monthly Music*. One such magazine was also named *Monthly Music*, and its issue from 1955 contained articles such as "Music of Today" (introducing various styles and -isms such as impressionism, neo-classicism, atonality, and serialism) and

homes possessed radios or subscribed to specialized magazines during the economically dire 1960s, which would have made sharing knowledge about new music a protracted process.² With translations of foreign articles and interviews, reports and letters about overseas musical scenes, and concert reviews of new music, *Monthly Music* supplied specialized information about contemporary Western art music to interested readers more effectively than any other media until then.

Table 4.1: Contents about foreign composers in *Monthly Music*, 1970–1978

Issue Date	Composer	Contents
August 1970	Igor Stravinsky	Translation of excerpts from Robert Craft's <i>Souvenirs et commentaires</i>
September 1970	Béla Bartók	Translation of excerpts from "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music"
January 1971	Erik Satie	Introduction of Satie; translation of Satie's writing (<i>source unspecified</i>)
February 1971	Aaron Copland	"The American Composer Copland"; Copland's "Sleep is Supposed to Be" from <i>Twelve Poems of Emily Dickinson</i> (score) ³
May 1971	Igor Stravinsky	Translation of Eric Salzman's writing on Stravinsky, part 1 (<i>source unspecified</i>) Editor's note to commemorate Stravinsky's death On Stravinsky's <i>Le sacre du printemps</i>
June 1971	Igor Stravinsky	Translation of Eric Salzman's writing on Stravinsky, part 2 (<i>source unspecified</i>)
September 1971	Igor Stravinsky	[Cover page]

"Composers of the Twentieth Century: France" (covering composers such as Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, Albert Roussel, and Maurice Ravel).

² A survey from 1962 showed that there were approximately 261,000 radios in households in Seoul, with some households possessing more than one radio, and less than 210,000 radios in the rest of Korea. *Dong-a Ilbo*, 22 June 1962, 1. Also, see *ibid.*, 29 May 1961, 4.

³ All titles are my translations. Authors of original articles in Korea were often unspecified during this time.

Issue Date	Composer	Contents
January 1972	Pierre Boulez	Translation of Boulez interview with William Bender (<i>source unspecified</i>)
April 1972	Igor Stravinsky	Translation of Lillian Libman's interview regarding Robert Craft's relationship with Stravinsky (<i>source unspecified</i>)
February 1973	Maurizio Kagel	"Maurizio Kagel in Korea" (concert report)
April 1973	Maurizio Kagel	"The Music of Maurizio Kagel"
May 1973	Pierre Boulez	"Pierre Boulez, the <i>enfant terrible</i> of the New York Philharmonic"
June 1973	Benjamin Britten	" <i>The War Requiem</i> , Commemorating 6.25, the Outbreak of the Korean War"
	Béla Bartók	"New Discovery of Bartók's Music" (Quintet for the Piano from 1904)
October 1973	Arnold Schoenberg	"The Orphan of the Century, Arnold Schoenberg: Facing Schoenberg's Centennial"
September–November 1973	Benjamin Britten	<i>Simple Symphony</i> , Op. 4 (score)
November 1973	Manuel de Falla	<i>Homage le tombeau de Debussy</i> (score)
December 1973	Olivier Messiaen	"Composer of the Month: Oliver Messiaen"
December 1973–April 1974	Benjamin Britten	On <i>The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra</i>
May 1975	Anton Webern	"The Pioneer of Contemporary Music"
May 1975	Zoltan Kodály	On <i>Háry János</i>
December 1975	Aaron Copland	Translation of Copland interview (<i>source unspecified</i>)
September 1976	Anton Webern	Variationen für Klavier, op. 27 (score)
October 1976	Claude Debussy	On <i>Children's Corner</i>
January 1977	Benjamin Britten	"The British Composer Benjamin Britten Dies"
December 1977	Kurt Weill	"Protest Music" (about <i>Threepenny Opera</i> ; also Mentions Brecht, Hindemith and Milhaud)
June 1978	George Crumb	"The American Composer George Crumb's Visit to Korea"

The choice of the composers covered in the magazine was sometimes motivated by the anniversary of a birth or death, as in the case of Stravinsky's death in 1972 and Britten's passing in 1976. Older composers such as Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Bartók were already familiar names in the Korean music community by the 1950s, chiefly through recordings and the teaching of composers who studied in Japan in the early twentieth century.⁴ In particular, the Korean music circle's connection to Bartók was grounded in an interest in his successful merging of Hungarian folk music and modern music, which will be discussed more in detail below.

Sometimes, a previously established familiarity with certain composers or musicians prompted further attention. For example, Boulez was known, somewhat inaccurately, as a composer of *musique concrète* as early as the late 1950s, and his music was performed at the Pan Music Festival in 1969.⁵ But his post as the director of the New York Philharmonic, regarded in Korean music circles as one of the world's best orchestras, likely increased interest in the composer.⁶ The New York Philharmonic had

⁴ See chapter 1 above.

⁵ "Juche ūmak iran?" [What is *musique concrète*?], *Dong-a Ilbo*, 8 March 1959, 4. In the early 1950s, Boulez was mainly associated with *musique concrète*, and it is difficult to tell whether his more significant work such as *Le marteau sans maître* (1955) was known to the Korean music circle by the end of the 1960s. The Pan Music Festival of 1969 presented Boulez's much earlier work, Piano Sonata No. 1 from 1946. See chapter 3 above. Also see *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 10 September 1969, 5.

⁶ By the 1960s, Korean musicians and followers of Western art music were well informed about the world's leading orchestras, which were frequently introduced in various media. For instance, a newspaper article from 1962 makes a list of about fifty orchestras around the world that any music enthusiast or a conductor should "know about as a matter of common sense." *Dong-a Ilbo*, 20 June 1962, 4.

been made familiar through recordings,⁷ as well as Korean musicians' performances with the orchestra throughout the 1950s and the 1960s.⁸ Boulez's association with the orchestra caused Korean musicians to feel even closer to the French avant-garde composer. One Korean newspaper wrote in November 1970 that Boulez's joining the orchestra would make him "the most authoritative figure of modern music in the U.S."⁹

Similarly, the Korean music community's connection to Britten may have been stimulated by the London Symphony Orchestra's visit to Korea in 1964. In fact, Britten's music had already been familiar to Korean musicians before the LSO's visit: the earliest record of a performance of Britten's work comes from the review of a Seoul Philharmonic concert in June 1962, which included "Four Sea Interludes" from *Peter Grimes*.¹⁰ Britten's *Simple Symphony* was already performed as early as 1963 by a private ensemble called the Ahn Young Gu String Ensemble, and other works by Britten, including the Cello Sonata, some vocal works, and *The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra* were also performed frequently by Korean musicians beginning in the early

⁷ A news article from 1956 reviewing foreign recordings mentions the Philharmonic's recording of "The Sound of Genius" (1956, Columbia Masterworks), *ibid.*, 24 October 1956, 4.

⁸ The news of the pianist Dongil Han's performance with the Philharmonic at the Carnegie Hall caused great excitement among the Korean music community in 1956. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 13 March 1956, 4. Ten years later, the violinist Young-Uck Kim performed with the Philharmonic and Leonard Bernstein in 1966 and the violinist Kyungwha Chung did the same in 1968. *Dong-a Ilbo*, 27 December 1966, 5; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 4 May 1968, 5. The Philharmonic's first visit to Korea did not happen until 7 July 1978, however.

⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 9 November 1970, 5.

¹⁰ The program included Beethoven's Symphony No. 3, Britten's "Four Sea Interludes" from *Peter Grimes*, and Tchaikovsky's *Variations on a Rococo Theme*, Op. 33. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 15 June 1962, 4.

1960s.¹¹ The existing interest in the composer was further fueled by the LSO's visit, which caused great excitement in the Korean music community; it was one of the first major foreign ensembles to visit Korea, after the Symphony of the Air in 1955 and the Los Angeles Philharmonic in 1956.¹² The LSO performed in Seoul in November 1964 as it made its world tour in celebration of its sixtieth anniversary, with Colin Davis conducting Dvořák's Symphony No. 7 and Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony and István Kertész conducting Kodály's *Dances of Galánta* and Brahms's Symphony No. 1.¹³ The ensemble's visit was described as a "historical" event during a time when such performances were rare, and the two concerts were broadcast on TV in four segments on four days.¹⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, the newspaper which supported the LSO's visit to Seoul, published a three-part, in-depth introduction of the ensemble. Titled "The Story of the London Symphony Orchestra, the Prince of the Symphony," the articles introduced the orchestra's history, repertoire, members, and conductors, as well as the composers who had been associated with the ensemble, including Elgar, Vaughan Williams, and Britten.¹⁵ Among these composers, Britten's works were most frequently performed, which may be due to the fact that Britten was the most recent composer of the three, yet

¹¹ Other concert reviews of programs that included Britten's work come from *Dong-a Ilbo*, 16 March 1965, 5; *ibid.*, 7 March 1963, 6; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 25 January 1963, 8.

¹² Other American ensembles, such as the Little Orchestra Society of New York and the Boston Symphony, visited Korea in 1959 and 1960, respectively.

¹³ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 22 September 1964, 6; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 18 November 1964, 5.

¹⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 22 August 1964, 1; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 26 September 1964, 5.

¹⁵ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 3 November 1964, 7. Also, *ibid.*, 26 October 1964, 6, and 5 November 1964, 6.

with a musical language that remained accessible. Making a connection between the LSO's visit and the interest in Britten might seem like an untenable connection by today's standard; however, in a country where such events were scarce, and during a period when the notion of a collective national identity was the prevailing public discourse, a memorable visit by an artist could easily ignite an interest in the country from which the artist originated—precisely the logic behind America's cultural diplomacy, which will be discussed below in relation to Copland.

Finally, attention given to Mauricio Kagel and George Crumb was motivated by the composers' visits to Korea (Kagel in 1973, Crumb in 1978 and 1979). Kagel's visit was promoted by *Chang-ak-hoe*, an association of composers of contemporary music.¹⁶ Kagel's works, including *Match* (1964), *Atem für einen Bläser* (1969), and *Ludwig Van* (1970) had also been introduced to Korean audiences through the Pan Music Festival in 1971.¹⁷ In addition, Byung-dong Paik, who attended the Darmstadt Summer Music Course in 1970, also introduced Kagel's music in writing through his report on the Course.¹⁸ The composer's actual visit prompted more comprehensive conversations regarding his music. On January 12, 1973, just before Kagel visited Korea, the Pan Music Festival led a seminar on Kagel's music and graphic notation.¹⁹ About 700 students and musicians gathered to listen to the Cologne Ensemble of New Music's performance of

¹⁶ See chapter 1 above.

¹⁷ See chapter 3 above. Also, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 13 September 1971, 5.

¹⁸ This report was published in *Dong-a Ilbo*, 12 September 1970, 6.

¹⁹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 11 January 1973, 5.

Kagel's experimental theater works, *Tactil* (1970) and *Repertoire aus Staatstheater* (1967/1970).²⁰ The two reviews of the Kagel performances in *Monthly Music* in February and April 1973 were favorable. One critic wrote,

the important thing is that . . . any music, whether Bach's music or experimental music, as long as it relates to our [present time] and our pathological, tragic situation, does not deviate from the essence of the art; it is only the means of expression that is different. If you remember this fact, experimental music or contemporary music is not difficult, nor should it scare you away.²¹

The review indicates a much more positive acceptance of such experimental music, especially compared to the reception of the performance of Nam June Paik's *Composition* in 1969.²²

The 1970s was the period during which direct contact and conversation between Korean and Western music communities began to form and eventually flourish. Composers who visited Korea or were associated with Korean musicians often made lasting impressions, abetted by the scarcity of such events. These direct visits and the accompanying indirect associations catalyzed and expanded conversations about new

²⁰ Ibid., 13 January 1973, 5.

²¹ "Yŏnjuhoe P'yŏng: Kagel ŭi chŏnwi ŭmak kongyŏn" [Concert weview: Performance of Kagel's experimental music], *Monthly Music*, February 1973, 70.

²² See chapter 3 above. The reviews of Kagel's performance were published in *Monthly Music*, February 1973, 69-70; *ibid.*, April 1973, 32-35.

music, sometimes inspiring Korean composers and musicians to move to other countries to study, initiating further musical exchanges.²³

In addition to articles about individual composers, there were also articles in *Monthly Music* serving to enhance understanding of contemporary music (Table 4.2). Many of the articles came in the form of reports of various lectures, forums, and concerts attended by Korean musicians abroad.

²³ For example, in 1974, cellist Duk-Sung Na, who studied at the Cologne Musikhochschule, described the music of Stockhausen and Kagel, who were teaching at the school then, in an interview published in *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 20 September 1974, 5.

Table 4.2: Topical articles in *Monthly Music*, 1970–1980

Issue Date	Contents
August 1970	“Expo ’70 and the Music of the Future” by Yong-gu Park (music critic) ²⁴
October 1970	Translation of excerpts from Leonard Bernstein’s <i>The Infinite Variety of Music</i> [section on modern music]
October 1970	“A letter from Hanover, West Germany: Report on the Darmstadt Summer Music Festival” by In-chan Choi (student of Isang Yun)
November 1970	“American Contemporary Music”
October 1971	“Experiencing World’s Music Centers”; “Korean Music in the World”
November 1971	“After Attending the Contemporary Music Festival and Forum in Japan” (by Unyoung La)
January 1972	“Contemporary Music in Japan”
March 1972	“Music Education in France”
June 1972	“Understanding Modern Music”
June 1972	“Japan-Korea Composition Seminar”
June 1973	“A Note to Help Understand Contemporary Music”
April 1974	“French Music after Debussy and Ravel”
May 1974	“What is Contemporary Music” (Explains Impressionism, expressionism, neo-classicism, abstractionism, <i>musique concrète</i> , electronic music, music of chance operation and prospect of future music)
July 1974	“What I Learned in Europe”
December 1974	“France’s New Research Center for Contemporary Music” (on IRCAM)
May 1975	“Terminologies of Contemporary Music” (e.g. graphic notation, indeterminacy, tone cluster, computer music, etc.)
November 1975	“Possibility of Modern Expression in Musical Works” by Byung-dong Paik
December 1975	“An Artist’s Way of Thinking and Modern Symptoms”
January 1976	“Modernism in Korean Music” by Byung-dong Paik

²⁴ All titles are my translations. Authors were often unspecified during this time; the names that were published in the article are omitted here unless the author is directly related to this dissertation.

Issue Date	Contents
December 1977	“Influence of Asian Music on Western Music”
January 1978	“Sukhi Kang Wins the ISCM Competition” (announcement)
December 1978	“A Century of Western Music: Finding a Problem Work by a Korean Composer”
February 1979	“Understanding Contemporary Music: Notation”
February 1979	“Korean Composer Award”
March 1979	“Music in China, Told by a Chinese Conductor: Before and After the Cultural Revolution”
May 1979	“News about the IRCAM”
June 1979	“It is Difficult to Express Human Emotions with Contemporary Music Technique”
July 1979	“A Bias Toward Contemporary Music Governs Korean Music”

While articles on contemporary Western composers and topical articles regarding contemporary music continued to be published in *Monthly Music* in the 1970s, it is notable that the focus began to shift mid-decade to the contemporary Korean musical scene. This change was clearly a result of the Park regime’s cultural policy of the 1970s. This policy, which emphasized “sound” culture and banned a lot of popular music, especially Japanese music and rock music, intensified in the mid-1970s.²⁵ Although art music was not directly regulated, the conservative atmosphere which controlled foreign influences can be sensed in the contents of *Monthly Music*. In addition, Korean musicians’ participation in the international musical scene increased throughout the

²⁵ For details of this cultural policy and its ramifications, see chapter 3 above.

1970s, which could also have led to *Monthly Music* choosing to highlight their activities abroad, rather than those of foreign musicians.

Bartók as Model of Nationalist Modern Music

Bartók, though far-removed historically and culturally, held a special place in the Korean music community. In fact, studies have shown that Bartók was commonly seen in all three East Asian countries—Korea, Japan, and China—as the model for integrating indigenous folk tunes to new music of the twentieth century.²⁶ It is telling that Bartók was the first composer of the twentieth century to be introduced in *Monthly Music*. In particular, the September 1970 issue published a translation of Bartók’s essay, “Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music.”²⁷ In this essay, Bartók discusses how composers should utilize folk music, which he believes to be “most varied and perfect in its forms.”²⁸ He continues, “Its expressive power is amazing, and at the same time it is void of all sentimentality and superfluous ornaments. It is simple, sometimes primitive but never silly.” His suggestion is for a composer to “reap the full benefit of his studies of

²⁶ Bright Sheng wrote in his short essay, “Bartók and Modern Chinese Music,” that his use of folk music in his works was “modeled after” Bartók’s integration of folk idioms and European art music. Bright Sheng, “Batuoque yu xiandai zhongguo yinyue” [Bartók and modern Chinese music], *The Art of Music* 75 (1998): 55-56. Chinese scholar Hoi-Yan Wong shows that Bartók was perhaps the most influential twentieth-century composer for Chinese composers during the post-Cultural Revolution era. Hoi-Yan Wong, “Bartók’s Influence on Chinese New Music,” *Studia Musicologica* 48 (2007): 237-243. The Japanese composer Yoritune Matsudaira also implied in 1959 that Japanese composers learned how to harmonize from the works of Debussy and Bartók. Yoritune Matsudaira, “Neue Musik in Japan [1959],” in *Im Zenit der Moderne*, eds. Borio and Danuser, 3: 218-223.

²⁷ An English translation of this essay is published as “The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music” in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 340-344.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 341. The rest of the quotes are from the same page.

peasant music,” in order to “assimilate the idiom of peasant music so completely that he is able to forget all about it and use it as his musical mother tongue.” Bartók’s proposition is in line with the opinions of many Korean composers who emphasized that music written by Korean composers should reflect the indigenous musical culture of Korea.²⁹

One of those who voices such view was the *gayagŭm* player and composer of Korean tradition music Pyŏng-gi Hwang, who in 1960 wrote, “the most important and pressing problem of our musical scene is the establishment of national music,” acknowledging correctly that “it is by no means a new challenge.”³⁰ He claims that the practice of casting traditional Korean music into the Western musical system of major or minor scales or translating Korean music for performance on Western instruments would yield neither national music nor modern music. Describing Bartók as “the hero of Hungarian national music and the great contemporary composer of the twentieth century,” Hwang explains that Bartók, through his study of folk music, has freed himself from the confines of major/minor scales and has shown a possibility to use pitch-class sets from twelve-tone rows freely.³¹ Hwang concludes the article by urging Korean composers to follow Bartók’s model and by asserting that Bartók’s achievement came not only from his genius but also from his meticulous and persistent study of folk music.

²⁹ See chapters 1 and 3 above.

³⁰ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 26 October 1960, 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*

With a prevailing concern for the creation of national music—music that represented the sound and spirit of the people—it is not surprising that Bartók’s essay on the application of Hungarian peasant music to modern music appeared as one of the first articles on twentieth-century music in *Monthly Music*.³² The Korean musical community was eager to devise a singular style that could be identifiable as “national,” but that went beyond a mere translation of traditional music into Western musical scales. With their balance between folk and modern music, Bartók’s works were deemed the model of artistic nationalistic music. In addition, it is worthwhile to note that the frustration and resentment some Korean composers felt toward the predominant popularity of European art music among Korean audiences mirrored the resentment Bartók felt toward the Hungarian people who imitated Western European—in particular, German—musical traditions.

By the time Bartók’s essay appeared in *Monthly Music*, knowledge of his music had been spreading among Koreans for over two decades. The first recorded account of the introduction of Bartók to Korean musicians comes from the renowned art historian James Cahill, who spent 1946 to 1948 in South Korea as a United States Army lieutenant in the Language and Documents Office. In post-World War II Korea, the new government was administered by the United States, who brought more than just military aid into the country. Along with the comprehensive and strategic goal of instilling the

³² “Nongmin ūmak i hyōndae ūmak e mich’in yōnghyang” [“The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music”], *Monthly Music*, September 1970, 60-61, 31.

values of democracy into South Korea, the U.S. invested in nearly all areas of everyday life in South Korea largely in an attempt to protect the country from the growing influence of communists. In the sphere of music, instead of exercising direct control concerning which style of music was to be performed or learned, the United States dispatched military officers to the education division who were expected to interact with the leaders of various fields. It was through the military officers that many unfamiliar composers and their works were introduced into the South Korean musical scene.³³

Being more interested in music than art history at the time, Cahill befriended many musicians and was actively involved in the Korean musical scene. He was eventually given a job as the “semi-official liaison between the 24th Corps and the Korean Symphony Orchestra” in an effort to improve relations between educated Koreans and the U.S. Army.³⁴ Among Cahill’s many contributions to the burgeoning Western art music scene was introducing recordings that were previously unknown to Korean musicians and music-lovers, who, according to Cahill, were “desperately anxious to hear some recent recordings of modern music.”³⁵ Cahill played three recently-released recordings, which his composer friend Gordon Cyr sent to him from Berkeley, California.

³³ Danielle Fosler-Lussier has provided a valuable and extensive study of America’s diplomatic efforts through music during the Cold War era, although in her work Cahill is not mentioned. See Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

³⁴ James Cahill’s account of his involvement in the Korean musical scene can be found in the following website: “49. Music in Korea,” *James Cahill—Professor Emeritus, History of Art—UC Berkeley*, <http://jamescahill.info/the-writings-of-james-cahill/responses-a-reminiscences/171-49-music-in-korea> (accessed 15 June 2016).

³⁵ Ibid.

These albums included the following: the first recording of the Bartók Violin Concerto No. 2 (with Yehudi Menuhin as soloist and Antal Dorati conducting the Dallas Symphony Orchestra), Stravinsky's *Symphony in Three Movements*, and excerpts from Berg's *Wozzeck*. In 1948, these recordings were "all excitingly new." Cahill shared these recordings with eager Korean musicians at a listening gathering at his place. He then donated the LPs to a tea-house in Seoul for wider listenership. Listening gatherings at various tea houses, bearing names such as the Renaissance, the Philharmonie, the Baroque, or the Apollo, enabled the enthusiastic followers of Western art music with limited resources—both in terms of recordings and audio devices—to enjoy recent music at the cost of a cup of coffee or tea. It seems probable that these recordings became available to many composers of South Korea: composer Sukhi Kang has described how any new recordings, scores, or books on music from abroad were circulated among the small circle of musicians during this period.³⁶

From the moment of his introduction by Cahill into the country, Bartók and his works were regarded with special respect by Korean musicians. By 1953, a group of composers and scholars of Western music started a group whose name is translated as the "Korean Society of Contemporary Musicology" (Figure 4.1 below). For its inaugural gathering on September 26, they commemorated the seventh anniversary of Bartók's

³⁶ Sukhi Kang, *Chakkokka Kang Sŏk-hŭi waŭi taehwa* [Conversations with composer Sukhi Kang] (Seoul: Yesol, 2004), 46-47. Another piece of evidence that recordings of new music were probably shared among Korean musicians is the fact that an article on Britten's *War Requiem*—the first time the work was formally introduced to the Korean music community, albeit in writing—also mentioned who was in possession of this recording in Korea ("who living in where has this recording.").

death.³⁷ Per the press announcement about the meeting, Bartók was “the great master of contemporary music.” The works played during this listening session included Bartók’s *Contrasts* for Violin, Clarinet and Piano (1938), Piano Concerto No. 3 (1945), and a Violin Concerto (although it is unclear which Violin Concerto was played).³⁸ The listening session was accompanied by lengthy program notes written by Un-yung La, whose String Quartet from two years later displays unmistakable influences of Bartók.³⁹ The notes, titled “Béla Bartók Studies,” are twelve pages in length and include topics such as “Bartók and Folk Music,” “Praise for Bartók,” and “Bartók Quotes.”

³⁷ “Bartók’s Seventh Anniversary,” *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 26 September 1953, 2.

³⁸ The printed program indicates that the Trio was written for violin, flute, and piano, which does not exist in Bartók’s work list. Since *Contrasts* for Violin, Clarinet, and Piano is Bartók’s only trio work for the piano, violin, and a woodwind instrument, I have made the change accordingly in this dissertation.

³⁹ Un-yung La, *Béla Bartók Studies, Contemporary Music Pamphlet 1* (Seoul: Korean Contemporary Music Society, 1953). I thank Mr. Kun La at the Un-yung La Archive in Seoul, Korea, for providing the program notes.

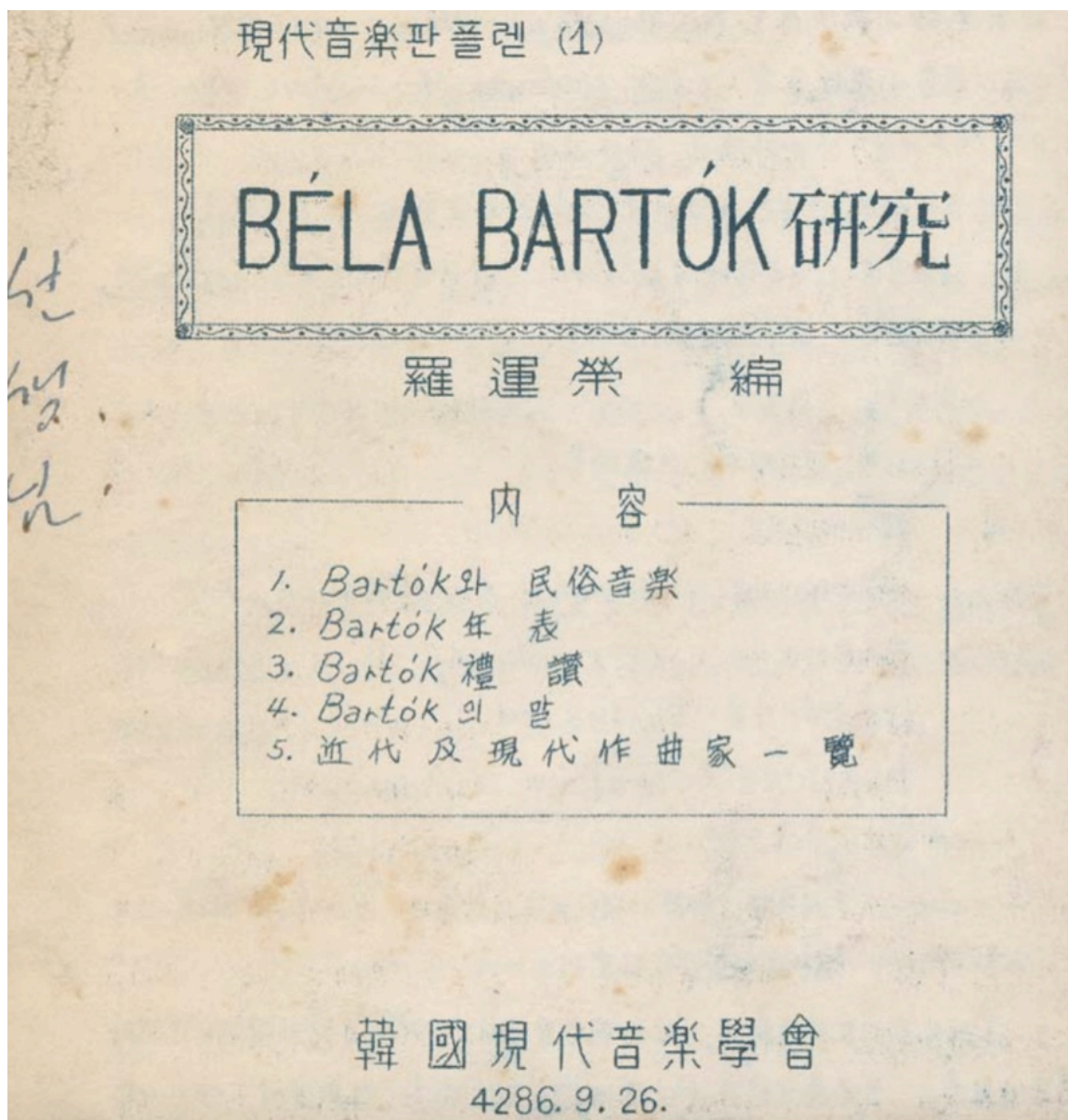


Figure 4.1: The front page of the program of Bartók study session on 26 September 1953; program provided by the Un-yung La Archive in Seoul, Korea

Drawing from *Die Moderne Musik seit der Romantik* by Hans Mersmann (1891–1971), the first part of the program notes, titled “Bartók and Folk Music,” highlights

Bartók's research on Eastern European folk music and his collaboration with Kodály to create a modern Hungarian musical style incorporating folk elements.⁴⁰ The notes explain that Bartók sublimated Hungarian folk music—characterized by primitive rhythm and simple, repetitive melodic motives within a small intervallic range—into art music by emphasizing bold dissonances, intense rhythm, and unconventional tonality (or atonality).

The section entitled “Praise for Bartók” in La’s notes details the commendable qualities of Bartók’s music by comparing them to lesser desirable properties of other contemporary composers. According to the notes, while Hindemith’s music is international, unpatriotic, impersonal, subjective, and predictable, Bartók’s music is nationalistic, patriotic, personal, eclectic, and melodic. In contrast to Debussy’s decadence, Ravel’s polished and elevated emotions, Schoenberg’s delusional sentiments, and Stravinsky’s indulgence in destructive violence and self-negation, only Bartók is free of these inevitable phenomena of the time. In addition, while Stravinsky’s use of folk tunes is “purely ornamental,” Bartók grasps the fundamentals of folk music. The notes eventually reach the rather bold conclusion that Bartók is a messianic figure in the modern history of Western music. Reflecting an unshaken admiration for Bartók, the section titled “Appreciation of Bartók” was replaced by sections titled “Criticism of...” during the later listening gatherings that were devoted to composers such as Bach (November 1953), Stravinsky (December 1953 and July 1954), Les Six (February 1954),

⁴⁰ Hans Mersmann, *Die Moderne Musik seit der Romantik* (Wildpark-Postdam: Akademische Verlagsanstalt Athenaion, 1929).

Beethoven (March 1954), Stravinsky (June 1954), Schoenberg (July 1954), Ibert (August 1954), Milhaud (September 1954), and Messiaen (December 1954).

The high regard for Bartók among the Korean music community is further confirmed by other symbolic incidents. When the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra was re-established in 1957, its inaugural concert began with the *Ruslan and Ludmila* Overture by Glinka, followed by Bartók's *Romanian Folk Dances* for Violin and Orchestra and Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony.⁴¹ The choice of repertoire for the ensemble's inaugural concert was far from arbitrary, but was rather a careful selection that was intended to reflect its artistry and intellect.

Additionally, in each of the first years of the Donga Music Competition, which began in 1961 as the "National Music Competition," the majority of participants in the composition division unfailingly mentioned Bartók as their favorite composer, role model, or inspiration, many of them claiming that their compositional goal was to write modern music using the idioms of traditional Korean music.⁴² Korean musicians' respect

⁴¹ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 12 September 1957, 4. The concert took place on the 13th and 14th of September, 1957, at the Seoul City Hall. The conductor was Sengryō Kim (1912–1955), a conductor and violinist who had studied in Japan and the United States; the solo violinist was Chiyu Hong (1913–?), a niece of an important Korean violinist and composer Nanpa Hong.

⁴² Some of the interviews of the participants who made reference to Bartók are published in the following newspaper articles, all of which were published in *Dong-a Ilbo*. From 1961: "Participant Profile: Jung-geun Park," 22 October 1961, 2; "Participant Profile: Sunja Yoon," 25 October 1961, 2; "Participant Profile: Inyong Na," 26 October 1961, 2; "Participant Profile: Kyung-hye Lee," 27 October 1961, 2. From 1962: "Participant Profile: Min-sup Chung," 28 November 1962, 5 (remarked that his musical goal was expressing "indigenous sentiments," but didn't mention Bartók); "Participant Profile: Dong-jun Choi," 30 November 1962, 5. From 1963: "Participant Profile: Gui-ja Lee," 3 October 1963, 6 (did not mention Bartók, but mentioned modernizing traditional Korean music); "Participant Profile: Dong-jun Choi," 4 November 1963, 6. *Dong-a Ilbo*, the newspaper that initiated the music competition, stopped running profiles of competition participants after 1963.

for Bartók was unmistakably a reflection of their desire and pressing sense of obligation to create a Korean version of modern, nationalistic music. Bartók's works continued to be performed frequently in symphonic concerts and recitals from the 1950s to the 1970s. *Monthly Music*'s early attention to Bartók confirms the unique position he held in the Korean musical scene.

American Music — The Cold War Efforts

Another important trend of the 1970s, as reflected in the contents of *Monthly Music*, was a growing interest in art music by American composers (Table 4.3 below). The main contributors to this heightened interest in American music were visits by American musicians and an increase in the number of Korean musicians studying in the US who then brought back news about the American musical scene upon their return to Korea. As will be discussed in this section, neither of these aspects were coincidental; they were both direct and indirect consequences of American Cold War cultural efforts. In a richly detailed chronicle, Danielle Fosler-Lussier has revealed that, during the Cold War era, the United States Information Agency (USIA) initiated multiple propaganda operations, such as the Cultural Presentations program and the American Specialists program, in countries that had recently been decolonized or that were potentially under the influence of the Soviets. These countries included Korea, Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Iceland,

Norway, Poland, Finland, and Austria.⁴³ Under these programs, music “specialists”—individual musicians, ensembles, composers, and music historians—were sent to the identified countries to give concerts and lectures or to provide help with music ensembles and schools; the ultimate goal was to build lasting relationships and to create a positive image of the U.S. in these countries.⁴⁴

Table 4.3: Articles regarding American music and composers in *Monthly Music*, 1970–1978

Issue Date	Contents
September 1970	“Returning from the USA”; “Composer Byung-Kon Kim Returns from the USA”
October 1970	Translation of Excerpts from Leonard Bernstein’s <i>Infinite Variety of Music</i>
November 1970	“American Educator Dayton”; “American Contemporary Music”; “Musician who Returned from the USA”
February 1971	“Copland, an American Composer”; Copland’s “Sleep is Supposed to Be” from <i>Twelve Poems of Emily Dickinson</i> (score)
June 1971	“A Letter from New York”
September 1971	“A Letter from New York”; “A Letter from Chicago”

⁴³ Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, 48. While Fosler-Lussier’s documentation is rich, her discussions are focused on countries such as Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Austria, and the African countries, largely following the activities of the conductor William Strickland.

⁴⁴ As the substantial body of scholarship on the subject shows, music was only one of the numerous areas that the U.S. supported as part of its extensive cultural Cold War efforts. For some recent studies on the cultural Cold War, see the following: Sarah Miller Harris, *The CIA and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the Early Cold War: The Limits of Making Common Cause* (London: Routledge, 2016); Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Andrew James Wulf, *U.S. International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds Through Cultural Diplomacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Kathleen Starck, ed., *Between Fear and Freedom: Cultural Representations of the Cold War* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010). Also, see the following: Peter Schmelz, *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music During the Thaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabberndam, eds., *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945–1960* (London: F. Cass, 2003); Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2000 [1999]).

Issue Date	Contents
November 1971	“The Origins and Evolution of the Black Spiritual Songs”
February 1972	“A Letter from New York”
May 1972	“On American Musical Scene”
September 1972	“A Letter from New York”
November 1972	“About the Juilliard School”
December 1972	“A Letter from USA”; “A Letter from London”; “News from the USA”; “The Great Concerts I Attended in the USA”
February 1973	“A Letter from Peabody”, “A Letter from California”
February 1973	“The Star-Spangled Banner” (score)
May 1973	“A Letter from Los Angeles”
May 1974	Translation of Nicolas Slonimsky’s lecture, “Americanism in American Symphony Music,” from Lectures broadcast in the Voice of America series <i>The American Symphony Orchestra</i> (November 1967) ⁴⁵
February 1975	“Concert of American Music by Mrs. Lee Sneider, the Wife of the US Ambassador to Korea” (announcement)
February 1975	“Two Composition Professors Return from the USA”
December 1975	Translation of Aaron Copland Interview (<i>source unspecified</i>)
December 1975	“The Night of American Composers at the Korean Symphony Orchestra’s Concert”
June 1976	“American Music 200 years”
July 1976	“200th Anniversary of the USA’s Founding and Its Music”
June 1978	“Studying in the USA”

⁴⁵ The script of the original lecture is at the Library of Congress, “Americanism in American Symphonic Music. [Lectures broadcast in the Voice of America series *The American Symphony Orchestra*, Nov. 1967.]” Box 8, Nicolas Slonimsky Collection.

The specialists and cultural officers interacted with musicians in Korea through a wide range of activities. The previously mentioned case of Cahill, who introduced the recording of Bartók's Violin Concerto to Korean musicians, is a good example of a U.S. military personnel's involvement in Korea's musical scene in the 1940s. In addition, an early record of American musicians visiting Korea reveals that in the summer of 1955, five American performers, including the pianist Seymour Bernstein and the cellist Richard Kay, visited Seoul at the invitation of the *Han-kuk kyo-hyang-ak hyŏp-hwe* (Korean Association of Orchestral Music; 한국교향악협회) and under the sponsorship of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Seoul.⁴⁶ During their two-month-long stay, the American musicians gave about twenty-five performances. Their programs consisted of mostly Romantic repertoire, such as Rossini's *Semiramide* Overture, Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto, and Dvořák's Cello Concerto. They also gave music lessons and lectures throughout Korea.⁴⁷ In the same year, the Symphony of the Air visited Seoul, and their concerts were also initiated by the USIS.⁴⁸ It performed Rossini's *Semiramide* Overture; Brahms's Symphony No. 1; Gabriel Pierné's *Konzerstück pour harpe et orchestre*, Op. 39; Gershwin's *An American in Paris*; and Tchaikovsky's *Romeo*

⁴⁶ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 15 June 1955, 3.

⁴⁷ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 10 June 1955, 4; *ibid.*, 14 June 1955, 4.

⁴⁸ Symphony of the Air had a tour of the Far East in 1955 during their first season. The orchestra of ninety-six musicians visited Japan (22 concerts), Korea (2 concerts), Taiwan (2 concerts), Hong Kong (2 concerts), Manila (7 concerts), and the US Military bases (3 concerts). *Ibid.*, 1 May 1955, 4. After returning to the US, they donated the proceeds from the concerts in Korea of \$1000 to Korean music students. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 5 November 1955, 3.

and *Juliet Fantasy-Overture*.⁴⁹ A year prior, the American-Korean foundation, an organization initiated under the endorsement of President Eisenhower to aid war-ridden Korea, made grants to support the Korean National Symphony Orchestra. According to the letter announcing this grant, the aid sought to allow the Korean ensemble to “engage in a more ambitious program of concerts for the United Nations and United States troops stationed in Korea as well as the people of the Republic of Korea.”⁵⁰

It is noteworthy that the letter mentioned a “more ambitious program”: U.S. government officials were careful in choosing which repertoire to present in their target countries. A program consisting of music that was too modern and “elite” would alienate the public; a program presenting music that was too familiar and “easy” would either cause the U.S. to appear condescending to the target country, or would make the U.S. seem unsophisticated, which was precisely the image the U.S. was striving to divest itself of.⁵¹ This reasoning is perhaps a key to understanding why the concerts given in Korea by the American musicians were almost entirely comprised of Romantic-period repertoire. The one work by an American composer, Gershwin’s *An American in Paris*, is one of the more approachable twentieth-century scores. Evidently, in the late 1950s, Korea was

⁴⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 28 May 1955, 3.

⁵⁰ “Report of the Special Projects Committee to the Board of Directors,” 20 April 1954, RG469, Records of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Agencies, 1948–1961, Box 18, File “Korea-Relief-American Korean Foundation,” National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁵¹ See Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, 23-44. In order to better strategize their materials, the USIS conducted a survey of the patterns of radio listening in the 1950s and the 1960s, including which genres of music were favored. RG469, Box 154, File “Korea-Information-Radio,” National Archives at College Park, MD.

viewed as a country that would be better suited for “easier” music. Continuing through the 1960s, more accessible works by composers such as Copland and Gershwin, rather than experimental composers, were presented to Korean audiences.

A general preference for accessible programming is evident; for instance, the concert by the Little Orchestra Society, conducted by Thomas Schumann on April 8, 1959, presented works by Aaron Copland, Ernest Bloch and Beethoven.⁵² When Arthur Fiedler, the conductor of the Boston Pops Orchestra, visited and conducted the Korean Broadcasting Symphony Orchestra in 1965, the program included once again Rossini’s *Semiramide* Overture, Beethoven’s Symphony No. 8, Saint-Saëns’s Piano Concerto No. 2, and Copland’s *An Outdoor Overture*.⁵³ Copland himself was supposed to visit Korea with the Boston Symphony orchestra and Charles Munch in 1960 as part of the American Specialists program, but the April 19 Revolution in Korea precluded his visit that year.⁵⁴

Perhaps the American government’s assessment of the musical tastes of Korean musicians and the Korean public was correct. Copland soon appeared to become one of the most popular twentieth-century composers in the Korean music community: he was certainly the most frequently heard American composer from the late 1950s and on, as suggested by radio programs and many programs of concerts and recitals prepared by

⁵² *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 31 March 1959, 3.

⁵³ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 28 August 1965, 5.

⁵⁴ Danielle Fosler-Lussier explains that the American Specialist Program typically included scientists who could provide developing countries with technical knowledge; in music, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Virgil Thomson were sent abroad to introduce their own music and the music of other American composers. Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, 47.

Korean musicians. One of the earliest records of Copland's music on public radio comes from 1956, when the Korean Broadcasting System Radio 1 aired *Music for the Theater*.⁵⁵ But the most popular work throughout the early 1960s was *Appalachian Spring*: it was "recommended music for the spring," for more than one year, in addition to appearing frequently in concert programs.⁵⁶

The February 1971 coverage on Copland in *Monthly Music*, in a historical sense, was almost an afterthought, although it might have been the first time some readers learned about the stylistic variety of Copland's works. The article introduced Copland's musical style, as well as several of his works, including *Piano Variations* (1930) from his "abstract" period; the already well-known *Appalachian Spring* (1944); his "cowboy" work *Billy The Kid*; Symphony No. 3 (1946), a symphony in his "Americana" style; and his serial works *Connotations* (1962) and *Inscape* (1967). Additionally, in November 1975, the *Chang-ak-hoe*, a Korean association of composers of modern music, celebrated Copland's 75th birthday by holding a seminar dedicated to his music. This program was sponsored by the American Center Korea.⁵⁷ Whereas *Appalachian Spring* was nearly the exclusive choice when Copland's work was performed in Korea in the 1960s, the 1970s saw the performance of a greater variety of Copland's scores by Korean musicians, including pieces such as Four Dance Episodes from *Rodeo*, *Scherzo Humoristique*,

⁵⁵ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 29 November 1965, 4.

⁵⁶ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 22 April 1961, 4; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 4 January 1963, 8; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 15 February 1963, 7.

⁵⁷ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 13 November 1975, 5.

Passacaglia, *The Red Pony*, and the Organ Concerto.⁵⁸ Perhaps the articles and seminars mentioned above played a role in this expansion of stylistic range.

While visits by American musicians and educators undoubtedly made impressions on musical communities and the public in general, such contacts reveal only one side of the story. As the contents of *Monthly Music* suggest, there were numerous Korean musicians studying in the U.S. throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, and their experiential accounts and evaluations served as significant sources of information about the contemporary American musical scene. This form of data exchange or relationship-building was also an important strategy of U.S. cultural diplomacy. Through the evaluation of information-sharing patterns, such as the effectiveness of film, radio, and newspaper in dispersing messages as well as the public's reception of them, the USIS reasoned that it would be more efficient to target the elites of Korea rather than the general public. As early as 1954, the USIS Seoul, as part of a staff revision plan, made a proposal to the USIA in Washington, DC, for the "Elimination of all USIS activities which may be deemed marginal either because they affect too few people of too low priority, or because they reach audience groups at a disproportionate cost in money and

⁵⁸ Announcements and reviews of the concerts and recitals that included these works were published in the following sources (the order corresponds to the pieces mentioned above): *Dong-a Ilbo*, 6 September 1971, 5; *ibid.*, 22 April 1972, 5; *ibid.*, 3 July 1976, 5; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 27 October 1975, 5; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 2 September 1978, 5.

staff effort.”⁵⁹ Their rationale was that if they centered their limited resources on the “leader” group, this group would then influence the general public.

One way to “educate” this “elite” group was to send them to the U.S. to study abroad and gain a first-hand understanding of the American culture. Their reasoning was that when these American-trained elites returned home, bringing new skills with them, they would help maintain a strong alliance between Korea and America, and when they rose to leading positions in society, they would express favorable opinions about America.⁶⁰ The same document by the USIS Seoul indicates that by 1954 a great number of Korean students went to the U.S. through an exchange program, which was further vitalized by the establishment of the American-Korean Foundation.⁶¹ By 1958, there were about 4000 Korean exchange students in the U.S., and many of them, to the consternation of USIS, did not want to return to Korea with their newly-acquired skills.⁶² A report from 1959, which includes a list of all Korean students studying in the U.S., shows that there were 76 Korean students who were studying in various music programs

⁵⁹ “Revised Staffing Pattern for USIS, Korea,” 17 June 1954, RG 469, Box 18, File “Korea-Public Relations,” National Archives at College Park, MD. “Cultural Affairs Officer (IE-4) will be occupied almost exclusively on exchange problems, which have increased considerably with the advent of the American-Korean Foundation program in this field. The Cultural Affairs Officer (IE-5) will handle an expanded book translation and presentation program, plus many of the ‘normal’ day by day cultural duties involving schools, art, music and other cultural groups. The two officers will share cultural representation and contact work between them.”

⁶⁰ See Wol-san Liem, “Telling the ‘Truth’ to Koreans.”

⁶¹ Embassy, Pusan to the Department of State, Washington, “IIA Prospectus Call for Korea,” 27 May 1953, RG 59 CDF, Box 2451, 511.95B/5-2753, National Archives at College Park, MD, 1. Quoted in Liem, “Telling the ‘Truth’ to Koreans,” 197.

⁶² “Jobs for America-trained Korean Students,” 28 April 1958, RG 469, Box 104, File “Korea-Education-Exchange Program,” National Archives at College Park, MD.

at the university level in the U.S.⁶³ When these students shared the positive experiences they had in the U.S. with those back home, it began to change Korean musicians' opinions of American music—just as the U.S. had hoped. In one instance, a conductor who had spent six years in the U.S. remarked in a 1961 newspaper interview that the U.S. was gaining more independence in their musical tradition in contrast to the previous century when the U.S. had to depend on Europe for resources on classical music.⁶⁴

Until that time, Korean musicians had been influenced almost exclusively by European composers and had relatively little knowledge of recent American composers and their compositional styles. A roundtable discussion on new music in the U.S. and Europe, part of which was published in the September 1970 issue of *Monthly Music*, reflects an idea that had prevailed in the Korean music community for several decades during the mid-20th century.⁶⁵ In this conversation, musicians who studied in the United States observed that young American musicians were interested in jazz rather than “pure music.”⁶⁶ Another commented that American musical tradition was built by talent brought from Europe. In other words, there was a belief that the European musical culture was legitimate, while the American scene was less original or serious.⁶⁷

⁶³ “Korean Students in the United States,” 13 November 1959, RG 469, Box 105, File “Korea-Education-Students,” National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁶⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 11 June 1961, 4.

⁶⁵ “Chwadam: kukje hwaltong ūi hyŏnhwang kwa chŏnmang” [Colloquy: The current state and prospect of international activity], *Monthly Music*, September 1970, 11-15.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁷ This was the precise view from which the US wished to disassociate itself. As Fosler-Lussier records, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Andrew H. Berding, in a response to the Soviets' propaganda

In addition to the perception of European music carrying more authority, the news of Isang Yun's success in Germany made Korean composers more readily associate contemporary art music with Europe than with America; those who were interested in modern music often went to Germany to study with Yun. The so-called "Hanover composers," including Sukhi Kang, Byung-dong Paik, and Inchan Choi, all studied with Yun in Hanover in the early 1970s; they were regarded as the leading force of contemporary music in Korea throughout the 1970s.⁶⁸ Europe (and Germany in particular) was still considered the center of musical modernism among Korean musicians during the 1970s.

However, for the most part, the idea of Americans as "cultural barbarians"—to borrow the term Soviet propaganda writers had used to describe America and the one the U.S. was consciously trying to shed—slowly changed in the 1970s, clearly benefitting from American cultural diplomacy.⁶⁹ For example, a composer named Byung-kon Kim, who had obtained his master's and doctoral degrees at Indiana University before returning to Korea, described the American system of music education in *Monthly Music*

frame, "a cultured nation is a mature nation," told the ACA in 1958 that "we have to show through our actions that the United States is a highly-cultured nation with real achievements in the arts, education, literature, etc. and make that manifest to other peoples." Quoted in Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, 23.

⁶⁸ See chapter 3 above.

⁶⁹ See Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, 3. She cites the following document: "Are the Communists Right in Calling Us Cultural Barbarians?" Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ), 84th Cong., 1st sess., Extension of Remarks, Cong. Rec. 101 (27 June 1955), A4692. Ibid., 229n10.

in September 1970. In this interview, Kim said, “Before World War II, most American composers and performers went to Europe to study, except for a few people, including Charles Ives. But now things have changed. Most famous performers and composers visit the United States. America now has the ability to create its own new music.”⁷⁰

American musical education also began to be highly regarded in the 1970s, as many America-trained Korean performers, including the members of the Chung trio (Kyung-wha Chung, Myung-whun Chung, and Myung-wha Chung were all trained at the Juilliard School), built reputations in Europe and America. The February 1975 issue of *Monthly Music* ran an interview with the composers Hoe-gap Chŏng (1923-2013) and Choong-hoo Park (1932-), both of whom had recently returned from the U.S.⁷¹

Explaining the curriculum of composition majors at their schools, both composers share their surprise at learning how the U.S. college curriculum emphasized the fundamentals of music theory, in particular, harmony and counterpoint. They also both discussed new music in America, including computer music at Columbia, Princeton, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition to such reports, various “letters” from music students in the U.S. were published in *Monthly Music* and informed Korean readers of the vibrant, mature, musical scene of America.

⁷⁰ “Intöbyu: mikuk sŏ doraon chakkokka Kim Byŏng-gon nim” [Interview: Composer Byung-Kon Kim returns from the USA], *Monthly Music*, September 1970, 21.

⁷¹ “Mikuk gatda doraon du chakkok kyosu” [Two composition professors return from the USA], *Monthly Music*, February 1975, 39-42. Chŏng, a composer who wrote for both traditional and Western instruments, was a visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles between 1973 and 1974. Park studied composition at the Eastman School of Music between 1972 and 1974.

Although the number of concerts sponsored by the U.S. State Department dropped sharply in the 1970s, the legacy of American cultural diplomacy through music continued, as the following episodes show.⁷² The American music theorist and musicologist Daryl Dayton visited Kyunghee University in Seoul, Korea, in November 1970, to give a lecture on American music. He introduced the Korean audience to works by American composers, including Charles Ives's *Three Quarter Tone Pieces* (1924), John Cage's *Sonatas and Interludes for Prepared Piano* (1948), George Crumb's *Eleven Echoes of Autumn* (1965), and Mario Davidovsky's *Synchronisms* No. 1 for flute and electronic sounds (1962).⁷³ He also spoke about new forms of notations, new techniques for the voice and other instruments, aleatoric music, and electronic music—all of which were employed by contemporary American composers. This lecture, entitled “Today’s Music: USA” was prepared by the USIA as a part of the cultural program.⁷⁴

Also, Lea Lee Sneider, the wife of the then-American ambassador to Korea (Richard Lee Sneider), was a pianist trained at the University of Michigan and the Juilliard School, and a student of Artur Schnabel and Rosalyn Tureck. She performed frequently, both as a solo pianist and as a chamber musician with other Korean musicians

⁷² For the dates of the performances sponsored by the U.S. State Department, see Danielle Fosler-Lussier and Eric Fosler-Lussier, “Database of Cultural Presentations: Accompaniment to *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*,” version 1.1, last modified 1 April 2015, <http://musicdiplomacy.org/database.html>.

⁷³ “Mikuk hyōndae ūmak (Deitūn)” [“American contemporary music (Dayton)”], *Monthly Music*, November 1970, 30.

⁷⁴ Fosler-Lussier records that Dayton’s lecture was translated for presentations. Daryl Dayton’s lecture “Today’s Music: USA,” USIA Circular CA-734, “Packaged Program ‘Today’s Music’: Field Programming Notes,” 1 April 1969, ARK II b71 f7, quoted in Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, 271n12.

during her time in Seoul (1974 to 1978), introducing many American composers. For example, she planned a concert of American music in 1975, and the program included works such as Concerto Grosso (1925) by Ernest Bloch, Canon and Fugue in D minor, Op. 33 (1941) by Wallingford Riegger, and *Adagio for Strings* (1936) and *Dover Beach* by Samuel Barber.⁷⁵ She also handed to Seoul National University the newly published *The Bicentennial Musical Celebration*, which was published in 1975 by JC Penney to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the U.S., a score that included 35 orchestral, choral, and band works by American composers.⁷⁶

In May 1974, a lecture by Nicolas Slonimsky, a member of the Music Advisory Panel of the USIA, was published in *Monthly Music*. This lecture had already been broadcast in the Voice of America series *The American Symphony Orchestra* in November 1967, but by printing it in a magazine, the USIA sought to reach more people. Apparently designed to promote the image of America as a cultured nation, the lecture began by asserting that American talents in art music had flourished and that American music was no longer under the shadow of German music.⁷⁷ Slonimsky introduced various musical styles associated with American composers, some of whom previously had rarely been heard or discussed in Korea, including Ives, Cowell, Cage, Barber, Gershwin, Edward MacDowell, George Antheil, Walter Piston, Roger Sessions, Howard Hanson,

⁷⁵ “Mikik ūmak yŏnjuhoe” [Concert of American music], *Monthly Music*, February 1975, 96; *Dong-a Ilbo*, 15 February 1975, 5.

⁷⁶ *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 12 April 1976, 5.

⁷⁷ Nicolas Slonimsky, “Mikuk gyohyang akdan americŏnizm” [“Americanism in American Symphony music”], *Monthly Music*, May 1974, 98-99.

Roy Harris, and Gian Carlo Menotti.⁷⁸ Finally, articles in *Monthly Music*, such as the celebration of the 200th anniversary of American music in June and July of 1976, recorded that the U.S. government sent musicians all around the world as “cultural envoys.” In Korea, the American violinist Andre Granat, as well as Korean musicians and a choir, performed American music to celebrate the occasion.⁷⁹

These exchanges improved Korean musicians’ impressions of the American musical scene. Yet, as noted earlier, America’s repeated presentation of less radical composers throughout the 1960s may have generated the idea that more avant-garde and intellectually challenging music still originated in Europe. This notion was likely to have been enforced by the fact that the German-based Korean composers actively introduced European modernist composers to Korea in venues such as the Pan Music Festival and concerts by *Chang-ak-hoe*, which was in stark contrast to the concerts prepared by the U.S. State Department.⁸⁰

Reactions to New Music

One consequence of the influx of information about new styles of Western art music to Korea in the 1960s and 1970s was a greater interest in new works written by native-born composers. Some of the most significant contributions came from the aforementioned

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *Kyunghayng Shinmun*, 2 July 1976, 6. Korean musicians and dancers were also sent to the US in reciprocation. Ibid., 18 June 1976, 7.

⁸⁰ See chapter 3 above.

Chang-ak-hoe, a league of composers who advocated new styles of music. Founded in 1958, *Chang-ak-hoe* was active during its initial five years, giving annual concerts that presented new works by Korean composers, but took a hiatus for several years in the late 1960s. In 1970, as the “Hanover composers” and composers who studied in the U.S. returned home, the association experienced a remarkable revival. In addition to semiannual concerts, *Chang-ak-hoe* organized symposia on American composers, including Ives (a 1974 celebration of Ives’s centennial), Copland (a 1975 commemoration of Copland’s 75th birthday) and George Crumb (in 1978). All three symposia were sponsored by the American Cultural Center.⁸¹

Furthermore, the Korean division of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was established in 1971, allowing composers to interact with the international musical community by participating in events such as World Music Day. The ISCM Korea, of which Sukhi Kang was a founding member, also became responsible for organizing the Pan Music Festival. The establishment of these organizations laid a solid foundation for dialogue among foreign musical communities.

Although contemporary music was welcomed by many as a force that enriched the musical scene in Korea, it was also met with two adverse reactions. Among more traditionally-minded composers, the sweeping expansion of new musical styles spawned anxiety and antipathy. Others considered the rise of new music as an opportunity to

⁸¹ “History,” *Contemporary Music Society in Seoul*, <https://changak.com/history/> (accessed 22 December 2016).

revitalize traditional Korean music because they believed modern music's unconventional organization to be closer to traditional Asian music. I will consider each in more detail below.

Hostility Toward New Music

Hostility toward new music can be sensed in many articles of *Monthly Music* throughout the 1970s. In a foreword to the November 1970 issue, entitled "Music that has turned away from our time," the editor-in-chief and composer Kŭm Su-hyŏn expressed his disdain for music he had recently heard during the second annual Seoul Music Festival. The Festival was founded in 1969 by the Music Association of Korea, and its goal was to provide an all-around stage for native-born musicians by presenting recent works composed by Korean composers and performed by Korean musicians. Reviewing the Festival in 1970, Kŭm called it "regrettable" that the majority of chamber music programmed was "incomprehensible."⁸² Those works, which were in the style of contemporary music, "intentionally avoided the beauty of music" by displaying radically unconventional melody, rhythm, and harmony. He argued the lack of a universal appeal in such music was the reason why it took so long for modern music to arrive in Korea; he then concluded that composing such esoteric music was a "provocative and selfish act," in which a composer was only trying to stand out by surprising the audience.

⁸² "Hyondai reul deungchin umak" [Music which has turned away from our time], *Monthly Music*, November 1970, 10-11.

Reflecting the disparate positions in the Korean music community, many articles of *Monthly Music* delivered voices of similar resentment toward new music. In a review of the Pan Music Festival titled, “Contemporary Music, the Inappropriate Name,” from October 1971, the vexed author questioned, “why use the word ‘music’ for ‘non-music’?”⁸³ The author denounced Isang Yun, whose *Music für sieben Instrumente* was performed at the Festival:

I have known Isang Yun for decades. He was a quite great composer 20 years ago. His “Gopungŭsang,” “Dalmuri” or “Pyŏnchi” are all unconventional yet still moving songs. It was all but disappointing to listen to his work this time. He chose to write with the twelve-tone technique—how is it meaningful? I regret that he is still caught in an illusion. Take a look at the late works by Schoenberg, the creator of twelve-tone music. He died without quite making his way back to music from destruction. I can only hope that Isang Yun will return to “the spirit of Korea” or “true music.” [quotation marks in original]

Conflicting stances toward new music were sometimes projected onto generational divisions: it was often the case that older composers felt strong resistance to the new styles of music brought in by younger composers with foreign experience. The antagonism was most visible in altercations that took place in the pages of *Monthly Music* between January 1975 and January 1976. This verbal duel was fought between Byung-dong Paik, who had recently returned from Hanover after studying with Yun, and Ch’ŏn-sŏk Pae (b. 1922), a previous teacher of Paik. The dispute began with the older composer’s diatribe against composers of modern music: Pae condemned composing in

⁸³ “Hyundae ŭmak iran chalmot putchin irŭm” [Contemporary music, the inappropriate name], *Monthly Music*, October 1971, 28-29.

the new styles as “an erroneous deed of negating traditional music,” an act of self-deception and narcissism which would eventually estrange audiences. Instead of writing in the style of contemporary music, he suggested, Korean composers should first master classical genres such as the string quartet and develop an identifiably Korean musical style by exploiting the intervals of the second, third, fifth, and sixth, and the pentatonic scale.⁸⁴

When Paik responded to the condemnation by claiming that it was “the duty of a composer” to seek the proper techniques to express the sentiments and aesthetic standards of the present time, Pae countered that contemporary music was indifferent to human emotions and sense. “Display of technique does not lead to excellent art,” the older composer asserted, concluding his missive by urging composers of contemporary music to “develop new technique and musicality . . . by faithfully inheriting the tradition.”⁸⁵ *Monthly Music* eventually invited both composers to a roundtable discussion, which was published in the July 1975 issue.⁸⁶ Although polite, each composer was firmly convinced of his aesthetic stance. The uncompromising conversation symbolized the fissure that existed in the Korean music community—a dichotomy between tonality and atonality, between an older generation and a younger one, and between tradition and non-tradition.

⁸⁴ This argument was summarized in Paik’s own words in his response to the older composer’s writing. Paik, “Hyōndae ūmak kwa silhōm chungsin” [Contemporary music and the spirit of experiment], *Monthly Music*, March/April 1975, 49.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 48-50; “Minchung kyohwa wa chōntong ūmak” [Enlightening the people and traditional music], *Monthly Music*, May 1975, 94-98.

⁸⁶ “Han’gukchōk in ūmak ui sanghwang gū ilbu” [A Facet of the Situation Surrounding Korean Music], *Monthly Music*, July 1975, 50-52.

The older composer closed the conversation by stressing that it was “urgent for Korean composers to use traditional Korean subject matters” and “to find national characteristics” using “traditional techniques.”⁸⁷ Many older generation composers like Pae felt an artistic obligation to write understandable music—tonal, and preferably with sing-able melodies—as well as music with discernible, national musical characteristics.

It is notable that those who criticized modern music as incomprehensible and elitist often also advocated clear nationalistic characteristics in new works. One explanation for the connection between “approachable” Western art music and traditional Korean music is that, as seen in previous chapters, many of the older composers saw Western music as a vehicle for the effective translation of indigenous music. In addition, until this point, one of the most popular genres employed by Korean composers was vocal music in the style of the *Lied*: these art songs, written to accompany popular Korean poetry, utilized melodies often drawn from a pentatonic scale, already-familiar tunes, or rhythmic patterns of traditional Korean music.⁸⁸ Over time, Western tonal music had established itself in Korea as a tradition in its own right, although the problem of how to make it distinctively “Korean” was still to be resolved. Contemporary music, by contrast, was perceived as a specialized genre and associated with young, radical composers who had received formal musical training in the West. Marked by new

⁸⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁸⁸ Composers who were against the influx of contemporary music reacted by concentrating on writing these songs. Most of the older generation composers, such composers established a group called *hankuk chakokka hoe* [Association of Korean Composers] in November 1973, and gave recitals exclusively dedicated to art songs. *Meil Kyungche*, 12 November 1973, 8; *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, 24 December 1973, 5.

techniques, non-tonal harmony, and a lack of melodies, the new style of music was not only considered elitist, uncommunicative, and senseless, but was also deemed a disruption to the newly established “tradition” of “Koreanized” Western music. Thus, modern music of the West engendered a new kind of cultural baggage.

Bridging the Gap Between Modern Western Music and Traditional Korean Music

The growing presence of contemporary Western music also rekindled the conversation about nationalistic music, or *minchok ŭmak*. Although this subject had always been a central issue among Korean musicians, exposure to new styles of music broadened the scope of the discourse. Also, whereas strategies of national characteristics through music were previously conceived of in rather vague terms, with few concrete suggestions toward feasible methods, new information on various composers and musical styles brought about more specific ideas.

A wide range of views on nationalist music surfaced in the late 1970s as a consequence of increased contact with Western contemporary music. Among them were: 1) while expressing national characteristics is important, excessive demonstrations of indigenous traits can deprive music of global appeal;⁸⁹ 2) it is necessary to have a strong understanding of traditional music in order to incorporate it into art music in a

⁸⁹ “Gukjjŏk itnŭn ŭmakŭl” [Music with nationality], *Monthly Music*, December 1974, 26-27; “Gominesŏŭi talchul” [Escaping from trouble], *Monthly Music*, January 1977, 24-27.

sophisticated manner;⁹⁰ and 3) there are many commonalities between traditional Asian music and contemporary Western music.⁹¹

Critics and composers began to remark on the appearance of Asian influences in the unusual uses of scales, harmony, rhythm, meter, and form in works by modern composers, including Stravinsky, Hindemith, Bartók, Milhaud, Messiaen, Stockhausen, Cage, Xenakis, Lou Harrison, and George Crumb.⁹² In addition to articles published in *Monthly Music*, at the 6th Asian Arts Symposium (now International Arts Symposium), held by the National Academy of Arts of the Republic of Korea in 1977, the theme for the music division was “the Influence of Asian Music on Western Music.” The keynote speakers that year were Chou Wen-chung, who was born in China and based in America, and the Korean composer Jung-gil Kim, who studied in Hanover and at Seoul National University. In 1971 Chou had published an article entitled “Asian Concepts and Twentieth-Century Western Composers,” and he revisited its arguments at the symposium.⁹³ The article examined Asian elements in Western art music, beginning with Debussy’s engagement with Javanese gamelan music and surveying elements that were

⁹⁰ “Hanguk jakkokgye: Onŭlŭi joapyowa jŏnmang” [Musical composition in Korea: Its current state and prospect], *Monthly Music*, May 1973, 36.

⁹¹ Junghu Park, “20segi ūmake issŏsŏŭi dongyangjŏkin soje” [Asian motives in 20th-century music], *Monthly Music*, November 1974, 40-43; Kyungrin Sŏng, “Dongsŏ Ūmak ŭi Tŭkjing” [Characteristics of Eastern and Western music], *Monthly Music*, November 1974, 44-47; Jung-gil Kim, “Asia ūmaki sŏyang ūmake michin yŏhyang” [The influence of Asian music on Western music], *Monthly Music*, December 1977, 70-73.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Chou Wen-chung, “Asian Concepts and Twentieth-Century Western Music,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 57 no. 2 (1971): 211-229.

either influenced by Asian music or displayed parallels with Asian concepts in works by Bartók, Stravinsky, Webern, Varèse, Harry Partch, John Alden Carpenter, Charles Griffes, Henry Eichheim, Henry Cowell, Alan Hovhaness, Harrison, and Cage. Chou noted that Varèse's notion of music as "organized sound" or sound as "living matter" is "a modern Western parallel of a pervasive Chinese concept: that each single tone is a musical entity in itself, that musical meaning lies intrinsically in the tones themselves."⁹⁴ This concept of a tone as "a musical entity in itself" is what Isang Yun had emphatically identified as a central idea in his music.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Jung-gil Kim's article, which appeared after the symposium, in the December 1977 issue of *Monthly Music*, was also titled "The Influence of Asian Music on Western Music."⁹⁶ Quoting Chou's essay as well as lectures by German musicologists Robert Gunter and Rudolf Heinemann on the topic, the article examined Asian musical elements and concepts in works of Cage, Messiaen, Steve Reich, and the German composer Peter Michael Hamel (b. 1947).

Through these observations and discussions, Korean composers began to formulate clearer ideas regarding which aspects of traditional Asian music were distinctively different from Western music. Speaking in broad terms, Asian music was understood as less restricted than Western music in the sphere of time, consequently

⁹⁴ Ibid., 214-216.

⁹⁵ Chou also considers Varèse's music, which demonstrates "the growth potential of the interval components of nuclear ideas than a continual melodic movement," to have a strong affinity with Asian music. Chou specifically identifies "a curious coincidence between the opening of Varèse's *Intégrales* and that of the *ha* movement of a *togaku* composition." Ibid., 216-217.

⁹⁶ Jung-gil Kim, "Asia ūmaki sōyang ūmake michin yōhyang" [The influence of Asian music on Western music], 70-73. The sources of these quoted lectures were not provided by the author of the article.

resulting in more flexible rhythms.⁹⁷ The recognition of a tone as a self-sufficient entity in traditional Asian music substantiated the idea that Asian music is intrinsically more linear and less suited to harmonic development than Western music. Such a holistic notion of tone also meant that each single pitch event was often elaborated through vibratos, inflections, slides, and tremolos, and organically evolved into melodic lines, an approach clearly distinguishable from Western ideas of contrapuntal music.⁹⁸

Ongoing interactions with the Western musical community catalyzed the identification of these qualities. While the idea that music composed by Korean composers should express a national identity continued to persist, the approaches to attaining that goal became more sophisticated: instead of simply quoting familiar rhythms or melodies, more intrinsic qualities such as freer notions of time, tone, and form could be employed. Pentatonic scales, which had been used frequently by earlier generations of Korean composers as a means to convey an Asian quality, were also recognized as existing across many cultures, rather than being specific to Korean or Asian music.⁹⁹

Along with these considerations, some composers began to voice the idea that it was not necessary for composers to burden themselves with the notion of national music.¹⁰⁰ The composers who supported this view, including Kang, claimed that music

⁹⁷ *Dong-a Ilbo*, 18 November 1978, 5.

⁹⁸ Gyosuk Lee, “Hankukjjök iranün gut” [What it means for music to be “Korean”], *Monthly Music*, February 1975, 51-53.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰⁰ Composer Kuk-chin Kim observed that national awareness was decreasing among composers at the cost of achieving internationalism. He argued that neither the use of tonality and atonality nor the specific

would naturally reflect and embody a composer's cultural background. While the expression of a national identity was a principal concern for composers of the older generation, who had experienced the colonial period, younger composers of the 1970s supported the idea of individual expression.¹⁰¹ As we will see with the case of Byung-dong Paik, even the expression of Asian culture was motivated by artistic objectives instead of nationalistic mindsets.

Reconciling The Old and The New: Music of Byung-dong Paik

Byung-dong Paik spent just two years outside Korea, in Hanover, studying with Isang Yun in 1970 and 1971; he also attended the Darmstadt Summer Courses in 1970 and exposed himself to the most recent European music of the time.¹⁰² While his music is undoubtedly in the modernist tradition, it is also deeply rooted in traditional Asian music and philosophy. His fascination with traditional music has led him to compose about a

musical technique was important, but that it was crucial that music written by a Korean composer expressed sentiments identifiable as Korean. He mentioned Russian musical nationalism, in particular composers such as Glinka, Shostakovich, and Prokofiev, as role models for Korean composers to follow. Similarly, composer Nyōm Cho suggested that it was necessary for music written by Korean composers to express national sentiment. Kuk-chin Kim, "Hankukchōkin ūmak ui hwakrib" [Establishing Korean music], *Monthly Music*, May 1975, 54-56.

¹⁰¹ Korean musicologist Hee-Kyung Lee also suggested this view. Kee-Kyung Lee, "Ūmak," in *Han'guk hyōndae yesulsa taegyē IV: Ch'ōn gubaek ch'ilship nyōndae* [The history of Korean contemporary arts IV: 1970s], compiled by Han'guk Yesul Yōn'guso [Korean National Research Center for the Arts] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 299.

¹⁰² According to the McCune-Reischauer system for Romanization of Korean words and names, Paik's name is spelled Pyōng-dong Paek. For Romanized titles of published works containing his name, I follow the McCune-Reischauer system because it is more common in library catalogs.

dozen works for traditional Korean instruments throughout his career.¹⁰³ Yet it would be incorrect to say that his music was driven by the sense of obligation to express his national identity, which was the goal of many older generation composers. Rather, his concern was to compose music that was “accessible,” as opposed to being driven by theory—his perception of the European music he heard in Germany in the early 1970s. He believed that he could best achieve that goal by employing the sound and philosophy of his own culture. Before going further, let us briefly consider his early musical education and influences.

Born in 1936 in Manchuria, Byung-dong Paik lived the life of a migrant as a child.¹⁰⁴ His father, a doctor, had moved to Manchuria in the early 1930s to avoid being absorbed into the pro-Japanese group—a small pack of Korean people who ended up collaborating with Japan’s colonial government. This was a seemingly inevitable fate for many Korean elites under the Japanese colonial policy which coerced or otherwise convinced respected professionals and people of influential classes to support the colonial scheme.¹⁰⁵ Like Paik’s father, many educated people left their homeland to escape this plan and join the independence movement outside Korea. However, Japan invaded

¹⁰³ His interest in composing for traditional instruments may have been triggered by Byungki Hwang, the *gayagŭm* player and composer of creative traditional Korean music, with whom Paik shared an office when he taught at Ewha Women’s University after returning from Germany.

¹⁰⁴ I am indebted to the work of the Korean musicologist Ch’un-mi Kim for much of the biographical information of Byung-dong Paik throughout this chapter. See Ch’un-mi Kim, *Paek Pyŏng-dong yŏn’gu* [Studies on Byung-dong Paik] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000). Also see Tai Bong Chung, “Paek Pyŏng-dong kwa kŭ ui ūmak” [Byung-dong Paik and his music], *Nangman Ŭmak* [Romantic Music] 7 no. 4 (1995): 5-44.

¹⁰⁵ See Henry A. Todd, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

Manchuria in 1931 and 1932, and the force of the Korean independence movement began to weaken in the following years. Consequently, in 1940, Paik's family moved to Hwanghae province, an area now in North Korea. They returned to Seoul in 1944, the year before the end of colonial Japan. After the U.S. military government entered Korea in 1945, the family divided their time between Seoul and Kangwon Province, the northeast coastal region of South Korea. During the Korean War, they moved further south when his father became a professor of medicine at Chŏnbuk National University.¹⁰⁶ These moves happened before Paik entered middle school, and his father's profound concern for the country's independence nurtured Paik's predilection for discovering the traditional culture of Korea.

Despite frequent relocation, Paik developed an intense interest in music during his early years. The *mélange* of musical styles—Western art music, Japanese popular songs, military songs, Hollywood film music, and *chang-ga* (art songs set to existing poems)—that sparked Paik's interest in music reflected the cultural diversity he experienced as a child.¹⁰⁷ Among the composers of these styles, Beethoven was an important figure for Paik. While in middle school, Paik listened to recordings of the Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, as well as Schubert's *Die Winterreise*. He closely studied the score of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, the work which captivated him most deeply. He taught himself the fundamentals of harmony, melody, and instrumentation by familiarizing

¹⁰⁶ Chŏng, "Paek Pyŏng-dong," 24.

¹⁰⁷ For Paik's musical influences in this paragraph, see Kim, *Paek Pyŏng-dong*, 36-48.

himself with the workings of the Symphony: the timbre of each instrument, The various ways in which melodies progress, how different harmonies and melodies support a primary melody, how musical tension is created and resolved, the differing degrees of stability between chords, and so on.¹⁰⁸ In addition, Paik studied music formally through music classes at his middle school. The textbook was *Kinō waseihō* [機能と声法, Functional Harmony] written by the Japanese composer Saburō Moroi (1903-1977), which, along with *Junsui taiihō* [純粹対位法, Counterpoint] by the same author, was the bible for those who studied music during that time.¹⁰⁹

Later, he studied composition at Seoul National University, which Sukhi Kang was also attending. With Kang, musicologist Yi Kang-suk, and another composer named Hae-Sōb Song, Paik would listen to and study contemporary music, especially works by Schoenberg and Bartók.¹¹⁰ Another important musical influence was the work of Korean composer Sun-Nam Kim (1917-1983?): Kim was one of the first Korean composers to try twelve-tone techniques and thus became an important influence for many Korean

¹⁰⁸ Byung-dong Paik, “Na ūi ūmak ul malhada” [On my music], *Nangman Quarterly* (1990), 8.

¹⁰⁹ Byung-dong Paik recalls that these two books were used by nearly everybody who studied music during the 1950s, when formal musical education was rare and difficult. During the colonial period and after the liberation, Moroi was a central figure for musical education for Korean musicians. Moroi taught himself music as a non-music major at the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1932 he went to Germany to study at the Berlin Musikhochschule with Leo Schrattenholz and Walter Gmeindl. He turned to twelve tone music in his later career. Several Korean composers, including Un-yung La (1922–1993) and Song-te Kim (1910–1992), two of the first Korean composers to study in Japan, studied with Moroi during the colonial period. “Chakokka Kim Chung-Kil Sōnseng” [Composer Mr. Kim Chung-Kim], *Ūmak chunchu*, May 2012, 201. See chapter 2, note 8 above.

¹¹⁰ Kim, *Paek Pyōng-dong*, 46.

composers during the 1940s and 1950s.¹¹¹ While in college, Paik also encountered Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* through a friend who had traveled abroad. Paik described the experience of listening to it for the first time as “completely overturning my commonsense and eye-opening.”¹¹² He was struck by the opening measures, where the constantly changing meters were made more complex by the mismatched phrasing of the bassoon melody. Such flexible rhythms, as well as the fluid temporal notion in traditional Asian music would later influence Paik's experiments with fluid rhythm, as seen in his *Un for Piano* (1970) (Example 4.1 below).

After graduating from college, Paik worked as a high school music teacher. He continued to compose and held composition recitals periodically throughout the 1960s. Composition recitals were rare at the time, and soon Paik was recognized as one of the most notable young composers in Korea. With his first symphonic work, *Symphonic Three Chapters* (1962), Paik won the New Artists Award (*Sinin Yesulsang*), sponsored by the new military government to promote works by Korean composers.¹¹³ He was also one of the few composers in Korea, along with Sukhi Kang, to compose non-tonal music in

¹¹¹ Ibid., 47. Sun-Nam Kim studied music in Japan in the late 1930s; he then defected to North Korea in 1948, when all communist activities were banned in South Korea, and was well respected there as a composer. In 1952, he went to Moscow and studied with Aram Khachaturian at the Conservatory. There have been few studies in English on Sun-Nam Kim to this date, partially because his music was not well-known in the free world until 1988. Studies of his life and works are gaining more momentum in recent years in South Korea. For an article in Korean, see Tong-ün No, “Nengch’ôn Sidae Minch’ok ūmak e daehan konoe, Kim Sun-Nam ūi sam kwa yesul” [The ordeal of musical nationalism during the Cold War era, the life and art of Sun-Nam Kim], *Yesul ū Ch’ōndang*, May 1988. http://www.sac.or.kr/magazine/s_m_view_a.jsp?mag_id=312 (accessed 2 January 2017).

¹¹² Kim, *Paek Pyōng-dong*, 49-50; Paik, “Na ūi ūmak,” 13.

¹¹³ Chōng, “Paek Pyōng-dong,” 29.

the 1960s. For instance, “Death of a Girl in Budapest” for the voice (1960) is atonal, and his piano work *Three Essays* (1963) is a serial work. However, despite being one of the most prolific and recognized young composers of throughout the 1960s in Korea, Paik still felt his knowledge of modern music was limited. In the spring of 1970, persuaded by his friend Suhki Kang, Paik moved to Germany to study with Isang Yun at the Hanover Academy of Music.¹¹⁴ In addition to his lessons with Yun, Paik attended various music festivals and seminars, including the ISCM, Gaudeamus Festival, and Darmstadt Summer Course.

Unlike Kang, who was fascinated with the new music that was being produced in Western Europe, Paik found himself disconnected from the contemporary music he heard in Europe because of its “inability to genuinely move and touch the listener.”¹¹⁵ Even though he had an interest in twelve-tone music, he was not impressed by works that were driven primarily by theoretical systems and calculations. When Yun went to Darmstadt in the late 1950s, he remarked that he was uninterested in much of the music he heard there, which he described as resembling “dexterous modern skyscrapers.”¹¹⁶ Similarly, Paik called the music he discovered in Europe in 1970 “forced songs,” where technique replaced music.¹¹⁷ Despite his discomfort with contemporary music, especially total-

¹¹⁴ Kim, *Paek Pyŏng-dong*, 52-53.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 52.

¹¹⁶ Letter by Yun to Su-ja Yi, written on 10 September 1958. Published in Yi, *Nae Namp'yŏn*, 1: 155-6.

¹¹⁷ Paik, “Na ūi umak,” 16. Interestingly, Paik’s remark echoes, unknowingly, Ernst Krenek’s remarks regarding total serial works: “Actually the composer has come to distrust his inspiration because it is not really as innocent as it was supposed to be, but rather conditioned by a tremendous body of recollection,

serial music, Paik was one of the most outspoken advocates of modern music. This is evidenced in his written arguments with his teacher, which are quoted earlier in this chapter. In one of these exchanges, rebutting the claims made by an older composer that the aim of modern music was merely the creation of a spectacle, Paik wrote that engaging with contemporary techniques was a way of participating in the historical and natural human desire for development and that he was committed to enlightening those who were not moved by new music about the profound spirit of modern music.¹¹⁸

Yet his interest in music was driven chiefly by philosophical and spiritual ideals. He writes that listening to European modern music made him want to “recover forgotten lyricism.”¹¹⁹ Being in Europe also allowed him to clarify cultural differences between the East and the West, compelling him to think more clearly about national identity expressions in music. Paik wrote,

I realized that it was not necessary to use materials or elements of traditional Korean music. Every thought of mine comes from the mountains and streams of Korea; I came to be sure that, if I remember the scent of the soil of my country and base my thoughts on the indigenous

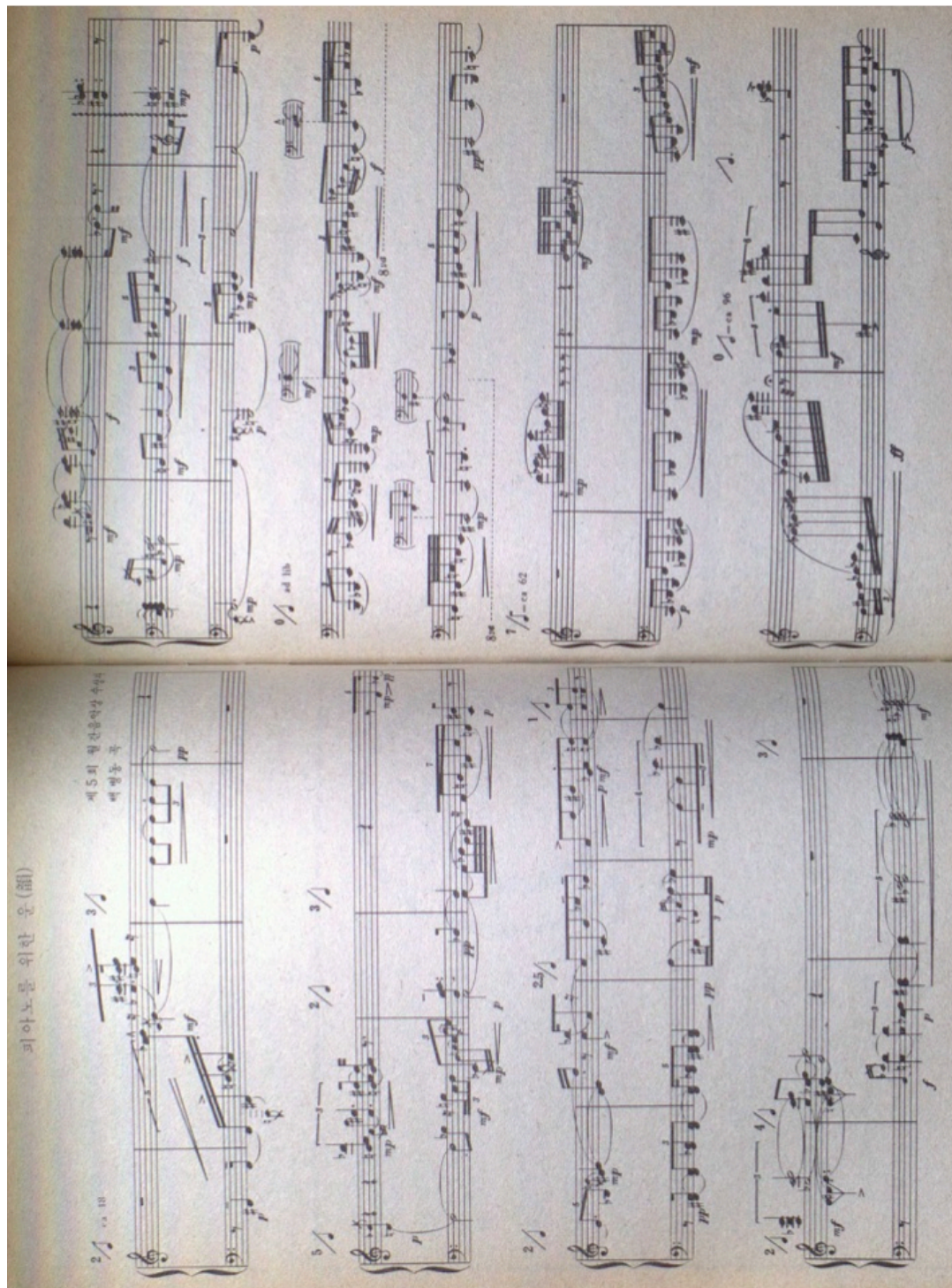
tradition, training, and experience. In order to avoid the dictations of such ghosts, he prefers to set up an impersonal mechanism which will furnish, according to premeditated patterns, unpredictable situations. Ernst Krenek, “Extents and Limits of Serial Techniques,” *Problems of Modern Music: The Princeton Seminar in Advanced Musical Studies*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: Norton, 1962), 83.

¹¹⁸ Byung-dong Paik, “Minch’ung Kyohwa wa Ch’öntong ūmak” [Enlightenment of the public and traditional music], *Monthly Music*, June 1975, 105.

¹¹⁹ Paik, “Na ūi ūmak,” 16.

sentiments and ideas of my country, when they are filtered through my own mind, then that music is of my own as well as of my country.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Ibid., 16.



Example 4.1: Score of *Un for Piano* (mm. 1-27), as published in *Monthly Music* (July 1975), 200-204

Paik's idea of expressing his cultural identity, then, was like that of Yun or Kang: all three composers arrived at the conclusion that they did not have to directly quote or use idioms or materials of traditional Korean music to make their music "Korean." Yet there is an important difference between Kang and Paik: while Kang consciously tried to shed the notion altogether of composing to express his national identity, Paik focused on recovering poetry in music by returning to Korean and Asian philosophy and music, for which he developed a stronger affinity after witnessing "the excessively practical lifestyle" of Europe.¹²¹ He emphasized the importance of understanding traditional culture in order to compose music that is culturally grounded:

Education on our traditional music is neglected while European music, which is just one of many "exotic" musics from our point of view, occupies most of our music education. In Europe, by contrary, there are serious studies on Asian music, including techniques of instruments, melody, form, and rhythm. These circumstances indicate that our attitude toward music is flawed; in addition, the current trend, which misunderstands contemporary music as technically abstruse and esoteric, needs to change. I suggest that establishing music that is ours yet stays in accord with the currents of the world can be done by aspiring to the beauty that is both modern and emanating from Asian meditative thinking.¹²²

Paik's simultaneous pursuit of composing contemporary music and expressing traditional Asian values contested the previously prevailing notion that contemporary music was a genre unsuited to be wedded to traditional Korean music. It is notable that, although Yun had a similar goal, his earlier music was more intent on translating the sound of

¹²¹ Chŏng, "Paek Pyŏng-dong," 8.

¹²² Byung-dong Paik, "Sori, hokŭn soksagim" [Sound, or whisper] (Seoul, Ŭnhae: 1981). Quoted in Chŏng, "Paek Pyŏng-dong," 9. Page number of the original essay is not indicated in Chŏng's article.

traditional instruments; his conceptual method of conveying Asian musical sonority, such as *Haupttöne*, came about toward the end of the 1960s, just a few years before Paik studied with him in Hanover. Thus, one could claim that Paik's idea of abstract adaptation of the sound worlds of traditional Asian music was influenced by Yun's recently established idea about merging two musical conventions.

What distinguishes Paik from the other two composers is that he spent his career almost exclusively in Korea. After deciding while in Germany that he needed to delve into Asian culture to create his ideal music, he promptly returned home. Unlike many of his contemporaries who felt it was necessary to prove themselves on international stages—a widespread perception across all arenas of Korean society then—he seems to have focused his career in Korea. Such a decision may have been caused by the fact that Paik considered his music to be best performed by Korean, or Asian, musicians. His anecdote regarding performances of his work *Un for Piano* is telling:

I heard [two musicians] perform: the performance by [a German pianist] was almost perfect technically, but I didn't care for it. The sound did not exude or project. I think that such a problem is caused by the difference in nationality, the difference between sentiments felt by Western people and those felt by Asian people. I had a similar experience when my string quartet was performed in Paris. There were no Korean performers, but one violist was Japanese. . . . During the performance, only the violist created the right sound. . . . I realized then that nationality was very important. I do not like it when my compositions are performed by foreigners. I prefer to have Korean musicians perform my works, even if they are not as technically fluent. Asian performers are also good. I believe that there is a

common sentiment toward sound shared among Asian cultures, even though it is difficult to articulate what that sentiment is.¹²³

Paik's concern for staying current with the latest musical styles made him continue to engage with the techniques or forms such as chance music (as in his *Verknüpfung für Klavier* from 1987 and *Drinnen für 3 Soprane, 3 Instrumentalisten und 3 Tänzerinnen* from 1973) and unusual vocal techniques reminiscent of Berio's music (as in *DA SA DU DM KI*, 1975).¹²⁴ While composed in the modernist style he encountered in Europe, his music can be described, above all, as being driven by varying densities of various musical parameters that are used to "embellish," or "expand" single tonal centers. Musicologist Ch'un-mi Kim convincingly explains that Paik's music is founded on the notion of a tone as a living, organic element.¹²⁵ The concern for sustaining the "life" of a note results in a musical texture that is, generally, linear and continuous. It is worthwhile to note that Paik's treatment of a single tone as an organic element is also central to Yun's music, although the continuous quality is more noticeable in Paik's music.

Some of these qualities can be seen in his chamber work, *Sinaui für ARK* (1979), written for flute, clarinet, harp, piano, and percussion (a glockenspiel, 5 temple-blocks, 4 tom-toms, 3 triangles, and 1 gong). The word *sinaui* is the name of a traditional music genre with its origin in shaman music. It is free-form chamber music, where melodies are

¹²³ Ch'un-mi Kim, Ŭn-hee Park, and Byung-dong Paik, "Dedahm: Paek Pyŏng-dong Paek kwa kŭ ŭi piano ch'akpumŭro tokch'uhŏerŭl kach'in Park Ŭnhee waŭi daedam" [Colloquy: Conversations with Byung-dong Paik and Park Ŭn-hee, who gave a recital with Paik's piano works], *Nangman Quarterly* (1990): 102.

¹²⁴ For a summary of the stylistic evolution of Paik's works, see Kim, *Paek Pyŏng-dong*, 151-176.

¹²⁵ Kim, *Paek Pyŏng-dong*, 178-186. Also see Chŏng, "Paek Pyŏng-dong," 8.

undetermined and often improvised, in a manner very similar to jazz. In Paik's *Sinaui*, the score is written so that all instruments do not play at the same time, except for a 13-second moment in the middle section. The entire piece is supposed to last exactly 8 minutes: instead of using meter signatures, Paik indicates the number of seconds above each measure (Example 4.2 below). This system of time notation reflects Paik's interest in devising a meter system that moves beyond the conventional practice of division of a pulse. In an interview conducted in the 1980s, Paik stated,

I tried to develop a framework for rhythm by considering ways to fix the limitations of the traditional rhythmic system, where a [pulse] is divided by integers only... Varying the value of each pulse by multipliers such as 1, 1.5, 3, 2, 2.5 and then dividing odd-numbered pulses by an even number and even-numbered pulses by an odd number would allow greater tension in rhythm.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Byung-dong Paik in an interview with Yong-gu Park. Date of the interview unspecified. Quoted in Paik, "Na ŭi ūmak," 13-14.

Fl

Kl

T. Bk

Hf

Fl

Kl

Fltz

Hf

33 34 35 4" 12" 51

3" 6" 7" 12" 14" 26 12" 38

11" 49 6" 5" 8"

pp sf pp sf pp mp p mp p mp p p pp

fp fp fp p pp p pp mf fp pp

f mf mp p pp p mp pp

mp pp pp pp

pp p pp pp pp

(Klappern geräusch)

Example 4.2: Last 1'28" of *Sinai für ARK*

In the previously mentioned work, *Un for Piano* (Example 4.1 above), Paik used markings that simply indicate the number of quarter notes in each measure instead of a conventional meter sign. Such a system obscures the notion of downbeats and upbeats and the possibilities of phrasing based on meter. In *Sinaui*, by indicating the absolute duration of time instead of using a meter signature, Paik is able to avoid the concept of pulse: musical events are instead placed approximately within each indicated duration. The seeming looseness of this rhythmic system, however, requires precision in measuring time because the time duration is an absolute value, not a relative value, and because instruments need to enter or finish at the right time without breaking the continuity of the texture or creating an unwanted overlap of sound. In other words, performance of this work requires as much precision in the coordination of the ensemble as conventionally notated music, if not more.

The use of collective breathing results in a conception of the given instruments as one unit, rather than individual parts. This “single unit” carries the note introduced by the flute at the beginning of *Sinaui* (Db4, preceded by a grace note on E5; Example 4.3 below) through its evolution across the music, until it reaches its final stopping point on D2. At numerous points throughout the piece, pitches are inflected and bent, accompanied by frequent changes in dynamics. While any of these qualities can be viewed as reflecting the techniques of modernist European music, the fluidity, continuity, and flexible breathing patterns are based on the idea of a tone as an expansive, self-

sufficient element, rather than a material used to form larger units such as melodies or harmonies.

Example 4.3: Beginning of *Sinaui für ARK*

One could claim that Paik’s approach to composition realizes a true merging of Western and Asian music, its primary goal no longer being about “mastering” or “catching up with” Western music. In that sense, the relevant discussion in Paik’s music is not about the reconciliation between Western and Asian music, but instead about the joining of contemporary music and “traditional” Western music.

Paik’s case encapsulates the nuances of the musical scene in Korea in the 1970s. The decade saw an embarrassment of riches in almost every regard, with an unmatched growth of information about recent Western—both European and American—music, foreign musical exchanges, Korean composers’ appearances on domestic and international stages, an increase in the standard of newly composed music by Korean composers, and even interest in traditional Korean music. This chapter and the previous chapter have chronicled the details of some of the significant events of the 1970s to show that progress happened concurrently with, or because of, the country’s economic

development and increased interactions with foreign countries in the society at large. Korean government regulations on cultural policies, though often associated with the authoritarian military regime and thus not always positively received, certainly had a considerable influence in the musical community in terms of promoting traditional Korean music and its musicians. America's Cold War efforts in the cultural sphere during the 1950s and 1960s, notwithstanding their motives, precipitated the encounters of Korean music communities with American musical culture; such endeavors led to more visible results in the 1970s, with an increased understanding of and respect for American music and musicians.

Finally, music such as Paik's—in which expression of one's culture was achieved through far more abstract and conceptual adaptation of the traditional music than quotation of familiar sound—suggested a new mode of harnessing both Eastern and Western musical traditions. Although discussions surrounding what defined proper nationalistic music continued into the next decade, the examples of successful integration of two different musical worlds, hinted at in the works and ideas of Paik and Kang, further enabled younger composers to explore different methods of engagement with the two musical worlds.

5. From Nationalism to Universalism: Unsuik Chin and the Rejection of Culture-Specific Music

Many previously written histories of Western music in Korea highlight the 1980s as the most dynamic decade, during which time one of the most heated debates surrounding nationalistic music arose.¹ It is true that the voices advocating the establishment of the “Korean” style of Western music were more organized than before, making it more conspicuous. However, as shown in earlier chapters, conversations concerning the national musical style had always been present in the Korean music community since the end of World War II, weighing upon Korea composers who engaged with Western music. This chapter begins by briefly considering the debates which surfaced in the early 1980s. Then, I focus on Unsuik Chin (b. 1961), a composer who left Korea in the mid-1980s and has since made Germany her second home. Directly influenced by the European modernist tradition, Chin is the youngest of the lineage of modernist composers from Korea discussed in this dissertation. Examining her musical trajectory and works reveals the drastic changes, which took place over three decades beginning in the 1950s, regarding the notion of expressing national identity through music.

¹ Yi, Kim, and Min, *Uri yangak 100-yŏn*, 316-345; So-yŏng Yi and Jiyŏng Jŏn, “Music,” in *Han’guk hyŏndae yesulsa taegye V: Ch’ŏn gubaek palship nyŏndae* [The history of Korean contemporary arts V: 1980s], comp., Han’guk Yesul Yŏn’guso [Korean National Research Center for the Arts] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 313-365. Also see Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 2: 166-169.

The 1980s in Korea: The Argument for Third-World Music

The 1980s opened with one of the most violent civil uprisings in the modern history of Korea, known as the Gwangju Uprising or the Gwangju Democratization Movement. Taking place in Gwangju, the capital of South Chōlla Province, between May 18 and 27, 1980, the uprising began as a protest against the military regime following the 1979 assassination of Park Chung-hee. After Park's 12-year-long dictatorial regime came to a sudden end, protests for democratic civil rights emerged throughout the country. Amidst such turmoil, the army general and Chief of the Defense Security, Chun Doo-whan, seized power through a coup d'état, and his new military regime forcefully suppressed these democratic movements. On May 17, 1980, Chun ordered martial law to be extended throughout the entire nation, banning popular protests, restricting press rights, and placing armies throughout the country; subsequently, armed university students in Gwangju began a massive protest. Within a mere ten days, the government military overpowered the civil militia, resulting in more than 500 civilian deaths, the disappearance of nearly a thousand people, and the imprisonment of many who were suspected of involvement.²

² Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 382-383. Cumings cites the following source: Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, ed., *Lost Victory: An Overview of the Korean People's Struggle for Democracy in 1987*, (Seoul: Minjungsa, 1988), 30-32. Also, see Gi-Wook Shin and Kyung Moon Hwang, ed., *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003); Jai-eui Lee, Kap Su Seol, and Nick Mamatas, eds., *Kwangju Diary: Beyond Death, Beyond the Darkness of the Age* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 1999).

This incident left a profound scar on Korean society. Isang Yun's *Exemplum in memoriam Kwangju* (1981) was written in response to this massacre. One major consequence of the insurrection was strong anti-Americanism: Korean people believed that the U.S. Military was hesitant to intervene despite the citizens' council's appeal to the U.S. Embassy.³ Bruce Cumings explains this sentiment in the following words:

Gwangju convinced a new generation of young Koreans that the democratic movement had developed not with the support of Washington, as an older generation of more conservative Koreans thought, but in the face of daily American support for any dictator who could quell the democratic aspirations of the Korean people. The result was an anti-American movement in the 1980s that threatened to bring down the whole structure of American support for the ROK. American cultural centers were burned to the ground (more than once in Gwangju); students immolated themselves in protest of Reagan's support for Chun.

Voices throughout the nation called for intellectual and cultural independence from the West. Such ideas were distinguishable from the notions of self-reliance, or *chuch'esŏng*, which had surfaced in the 1960s.⁴ If the previous notion of self-reliance reflected the desire to stand on par with Western standards in the economic, cultural, and social spheres, this time, the underlying attitude was a general distrust of the established authority and the West, particularly the U.S., who was perceived by the general public as the supporting force behind privileged power in Korea.

³ Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 382.

⁴ See chapter 3 above.

Such sentiments were reflected in a statement from the so-called “third-generation” composers, who attacked the older composers for wanting approval from the West. The statement read:

. . . We will compose music which reflects the unique strength of the Third World. Our music looks to the future of Korean music, not the present Western music or to “Koreanized” Western music of the past half-century. The first generation of composers was focused on importing music of the First World; second-generation composers were determined to adopt the contemporary culture of the First World as ours, believing that our culture was behind. . . . Their beliefs implicitly acknowledge that the world’s culture would be united by the culture of the First World. But we, the third-generation composers, believe that we need to establish our culture on our own, and by doing so, we will be able to have equal cultural self-esteem as the First World. Furthermore, participating in the history of the world as members of the Third World is the forward-looking way which can only be done by the Third World . . . We, the third generation composers, are proud to be the citizens of the Third World. . .⁵

Sukhi Kang and Byung-dong Paik, raised during Korea’s most rapid process of modernization and Westernization, were considered part of the second generation of composers. A wide variety of ideas regarding the “Korean” style of music was proposed by this younger group of third-generation progressive composers. These propositions ranged from composing works for Korean traditional instruments to starting a new music theater genre with scripts relevant to current concerns of Korea to promoting “music for the people,” rather than “art-for-art’s-sake” music.⁶ Keith Howard notes that Korean musicologist Kang-Suk Yi, who advocated the idea of music which reflected the daily

⁵ Tong-ŭn No and Kŏnyong Yi, *Minjok ūmak ron* [Theories of national music] (Seoul, Hangil-sa: 1991), 197-198. Quoted in Yi, Kim, and Min, *Uri yangak*, 317-318.

⁶ Yi, Kim, and Min, *Uri yangak*, 318.

lives of ordinary people, began a movement to distinguish between “Korean music” (*Han’guk ŭmak*) and “quasi-Korean music” (*chun Hang’guk ŭmak*). Geonyong Lee, the successor of Yi, expanded upon the idea by adding the category “people’s music” (*minjok ŭmak*).⁷

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to trace all arguments of such debates, this historical account provides an important backdrop to the music by those composers who chose contrasting paths, such as Unsuk Chin. Chin, like her teacher Sukhi Kang, did not participate in the nationalistic discourse that engulfed the Korean music community in the 1980s. Instead, she moved to Europe and freed herself from the societal expectations that Korean composers should write music which reflects current social issues of Korea and conveys a nationalistic sentiment. In the following analyses of selected works, it will become apparent that Chin’s music seldom shows explicit connections to Korean traditional music. In the rare cases where she does draw from Korean or Asian culture, she is careful not to associate her music primarily with her Korean or Asian background. This aesthetic choice of Chin will be considered in more detail below.

⁷ Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 2: 166-167.

Akrostichon-Wortspiel: *Designing Disorder*

Born in Seoul, Korea, in 1961, as the daughter of a church pastor, Unsuk Chin learned to play the piano at her father's church.⁸ Her first job was as a pianist at various weddings, but she did not receive any formal musical education until college. She majored in composition at the Seoul National University, where her teacher Sukhi Kang introduced her to modern music of Europe. After graduating, Chin moved to Germany and studied with Ligeti at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg from 1985 to 1988. Ligeti's role was instrumental during the period Chin was developing her personal musical language, as will be discussed later. In 1988, she moved to Berlin and worked at the electronic music studio of the Technische Universität.⁹

One of her major works after her involvement in the electronic studio is *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* [Acrostic-Wordplay], written between 1991 and 1993. Subtitled "Seven Scenes from Fairy-Tales for Soprano and Ensemble," *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* draws its texts from *The Endless Story* by Michael Ende and *Alice Through the Looking Glass* by Lewis Carroll.¹⁰ The fantasy of the original work is further twisted in

⁸ For Chin's early biography, see the following: Stefan Drees, "Faszination und Neugier. Unsuk Chin im Gespräch mit Stefan Drees über ihre musikalischen Kindheits- und Jugenderinnerungen," in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, ed. Drees, 13-26.

⁹ Chin's *Gradus ad Infinitum* for 8 pianos for tape, written between 1989 and 1990, is one of the outcomes of her involvement at the electronic studio.

¹⁰ *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* was first composed in 1991, with the commission by the Gaudeamus Foundation for the Gaudeamus Prizewinners' Concert. The first performance was given in an incomplete form by the Nieuw ensemble in Amsterdam, conducted by Dutch composer and conductor David Porcelijn and sung by Moniek Krüs. The piece was completed in 1993 and premiered at the Queen Elizabeth Hall in London in September 1993 by the Premiere Ensemble and the soprano Penelope Walmsley-Clark, led by George Benjamin. Unsuk Chin, Composer's Note in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel: Seven Scenes from Fairy-Tales for*

Akrostichon-Wortspiel as the original literary texts are reworked in various ways, by rearranging consonants and vowels randomly or reversing the characters of words. Through such procedures, the texts in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* are deprived of their original sound and meaning.

Many twentieth and twenty-first century composers have used text in unconventional ways: we see examples in Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1956) and Ligeti's *Aventures* (1962) and *Nouvelles aventures* (1964).¹¹ However, Chin's use of texts in her vocal works is distinctive in that she selects texts from well-known literary works, often in several different languages, and carefully reworks them to remove their semantic referents. For example, the text of her 2000 work *Kalá* is multilingual poetry that combines German, French, Danish, Finnish and Latin literary works, allowing most listeners only a partial understanding of the text. In *Miroirs des temps* (2001), works of Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa are mixed with words from Ciconia's *virelai* and *ballata*.¹² Furthermore, the nonsensical text of *Cantatrix Sopranica* (2005) reconfigures

Soprano and Ensemble (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1996). The book that Unsuk Chin calls *The Endless Story* is more typically translated in English as *The Neverending Story*.

¹¹ In particular, the 1950s saw the use of manipulated texts in important works. In addition to the works mentioned here, Boulez's *Le marteau sans maître* (1955) reconfigures René Char's poetry to create a cyclic form, and Nono's *Il canto sospeso* (1956) muddles textual delivery for heightened emotional effect.

¹² See Program Note on Boosey & Hawkes website: "Chin, Unsuk: *Miroirs des temps*," Boosey & Hawkes, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-Miroirs-des-temps/5584> (accessed 23 February 2017).

words from works by modern American and German writers, as well as a song from the Tang dynasty.¹³

Chin's use of nonsensical text raises various questions, from practical ones related to the timbral and rhythmic functions of the vocal part in her works, to more abstract ones concerning musical semiosis. The analysis below reveals the analogous relationship between the treatment of the text and that of rhythm and pitch materials. In *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, primary pitch and rhythmic materials are carefully constructed and then consciously made less perceptible, similar to the manner in which meaning is removed from pre-existing texts. A segment of Chin's sketch, published in a collection of essays edited by German musicologist Stefan Drees, shows that the procedure of creating the nonsensical text of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* is anything but arbitrary (Figure 5.1).

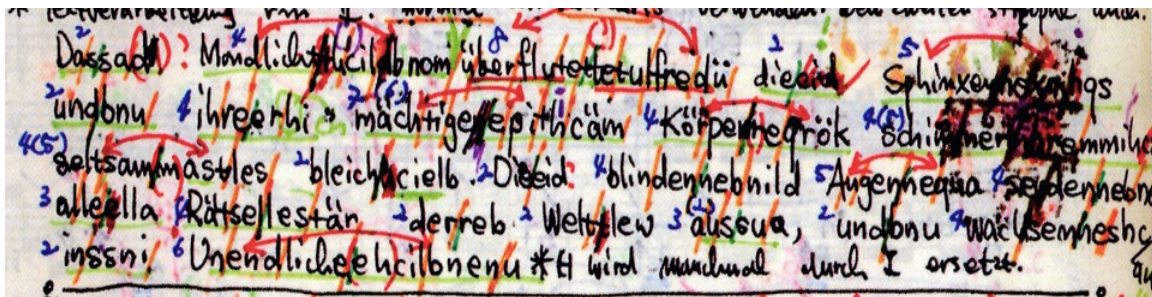


Figure 5.1: Unsuk Chin's sketch of word configuration for *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, reprinted in Drees, ed., *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, 111

¹³ Chin adapts literary works by novelist Harry Mathews and German dramatist Arno Holz in this work. "Chin, Unsuk: *Cantatrix Sopranica*," Boosey & Hawkes, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-Cantatrix-Sopranica/45367> (accessed 23 February 2017).

In this sketch, used in Movement II, “Das Rätsel von den drei magischen Toren” [The Mystery of Three Magical Gates], she has created palindromes or simply mirrored letters (as in changing “über” to “redü” or “und” to “bnu”). In this way, words become meaningless, and in the absence of comprehensible texts, the voice is conceived as a timbral element, rather than as a vessel for semantic messages. In one prominent example of this treatment in the second movement, a musical gesture is paired to a specific word. The word “xenex,” or its variants “xenik” or “xenek,” is always paired with a group of thirty-second notes that fill the interval of a third (Figure 5.2). Linking similar-sounding words to a specific musical motif indicates that the sound of these words, rather than their message, defines the character of the motif.

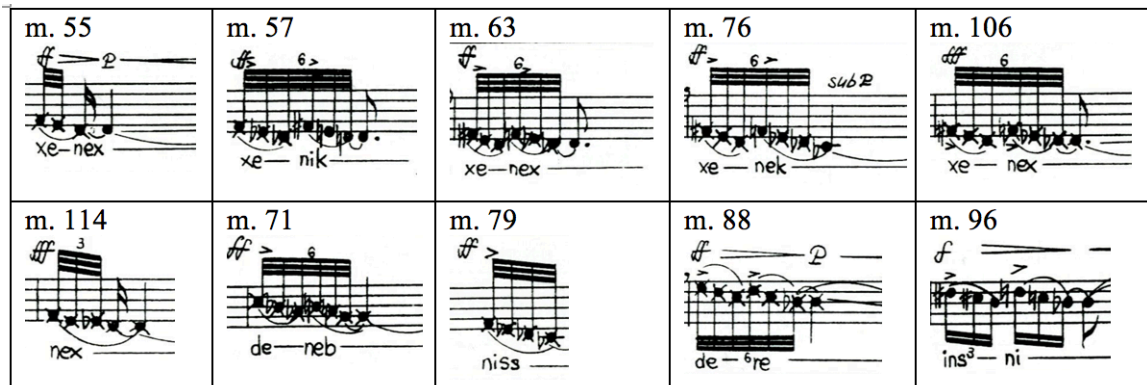


Figure 5.2: The “xenex” motif and its variants in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, Mvt. 2; other words begin to be associated with the motive after m. 71

The idea of a timbral vocal part devoid of lexical meaning defies traditional notions of text-music relationship. Chin has expressed her discomfort with establishing interdependence between music and text in the following terms:

Composing music based on poetry which conveys specific content and emotion is not something I am particularly fond of doing. Music and literature are forms of expression with clearly different “idioms” which not infrequently get in each other’s way when combined. The way I see (and hear) it, the advantage of combinatorial techniques in poetry is not only the lack of concrete meaning and “messages,” but also—and more importantly—how closely related this approach is to the process of composing music.¹⁴

Chin’s primary purpose in reworking the borrowed texts is to eliminate pre-existing connotations that might interfere with her musical intentions. But if all meanings are to be eradicated, why use well-known texts? One obvious reason would be that there is a lasting impression of a borrowed work even when its literal meaning has been removed; for instance, *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* can be understood as a musical interpretation of the fantasy worlds of Lewis Carroll’s and Michael Endes’s works.

More significantly, it is the principle of purposefully breaching existing boundaries that runs through many parameters of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*. Rather than creating from nothingness, Chin first constructs or borrows usable material and then challenges its meaning. The process of questioning and rearranging previously meaningful ideas is at the core of Chin’s compositional *modus operandi*. The procedure of dissecting and rearranging existing sources—taking an established system (a language, in this case) and altering it in ways that render it unintelligible in traditional ways—seems to be linked to her proclivity for the world of fantasy. Further, her rejection of the

¹⁴ “Chin, Unsuk: *Cantatrix Sopranica*,” Boosey & Hawkes, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-Cantatrix-Sopranica/45367> (accessed 7 January 2017). By the time she composed *Cantatrix Sopranica* (2005), Chin had been influenced by Dadaist poets such as Georges Perec and others involved in Oulipo (L’Ouvroir de littérature potentielle), a French literary group formed in the 1960s.

conventional marriage of text and music is in line with her tendency to draw from several languages to create her own text. Because she believes that language and music—two distinct modes of expression—conflict with rather than enhance each other, conveying meaning through linguistic means is not part of her musical goal.

In another part of the same sketch of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* shown earlier, we can see that a similar procedure of fragmentation and reconfiguration is applied to rhythm (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: Chin's sketch of rhythmic patterns for *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, reprinted in Drees, ed., *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, 111

The far left column of the table in the top half of the figure presents notes in increasing values, from a thirty-second note to a quarter note. Taking the rhythm in this column as the “base value,” the rhythmic duration in each row increases by twice the base value from the row to its left. For example, the top left cell is one thirty-second note (♩_x 1); the second cell of the same row is a dotted sixteenth note, which is equivalent to three thirty-second notes (♩_x 3); the third cell is an eighth note tied to a sixteenth note, which is five thirty-second notes (♩_x 5); and the arithmetic sequence continues until it reaches nineteen thirty-second notes. The same additive process applies to the rest of the rows (The circled numbers in each cell indicate the number of thirty-second notes within each value). Once this matrix is completed, cells are shuffled; the colored arrows show that there are multiple schemes of shuffling. The red arrows indicate that cells are arranged in a consecutively increasing number of thirty-second notes; the yellow-green lines show that each cell is moved diagonally top-right, as though to draw a larger triangle each time, and the resulting rhythm is shown in the score on the bottom of the sketch. Finally, the purple arrows indicate the opposite process, beginning at the lower left corner and moving first up and then down diagonally. There is an apparent irony to this elaborate procedure: Chin goes through meticulous and thoughtful steps to generate seemingly irregular rhythmic patterns—she creates an algorithm for disorderliness.

Finally, an analogous process of intentional constructing and obfuscating can be observed in the treatment of pitches. In the Composer’s Notes of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, Chin writes, “All seven pieces are constructed around a controlling pitch centre but they

are fully differentiated from one another in their means of expression.”¹⁵ While a central pitch is easily discernible in each movement, the gestures of challenging it are also apparent. As I will show with examples from Movements I, II, and VII, the obscuring of a pitch center is orchestrated through multiple strategies, including microtuning, use of a chromatic neighbor tone, and/or layering of other musical gestures that compete with a pitch center.

Microtuning is required by the Performance Note for the piccolo, alto flute, clarinet in Bb, harp, violin and double bass: players are requested to adjust “between a quarter and a sixth of a tone to achieve a refined microtonality,” while “the soprano fluctuates between these two tuning systems, depending upon which she is aware of at any time.”¹⁶ This micro tuning—a likely reflection of her involvement with electro-acoustic music—blurs local pitch definition. It generates the shimmering and ethereal sound quality that is characteristic of Chin’s music.

In Movement I, “Versteckspiel,” or Hide-and-Seek, the pitch B is presented as the central tone from the onset: it is the first pitch to be played, and it is the only pitch that is not part of a figuration in the opening measures (Example 5.1). At the same time, the pitch B is frequently juxtaposed with A#. Although A# functions mostly as a subordinate pitch to B, or as a dissonant pitch in relation to B by often “resolving” up to B, it gradually gains more independence as the movement progresses. The relationship

¹⁵ Chin, “Composer’s Note,” *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*.

¹⁶ Ibid.

between the central center B and its subordinating pitch A# can be seen in the reduction sketch below (Example 5.2).

I. Versteckspiel

The musical score for "I. Versteckspiel" is written for a large ensemble and includes the following parts and markings:

- Fl. in G:** Flute in G, 3+4 time signature.
- Ob.:** Oboe, 8 time signature.
- Kla. in B:** Clarinet in B, 8 time signature.
- Mand.:** Mandolin, 3+4 time signature.
- Hf.:** Harp, 3+4 time signature, with a key signature of A#B C# D E F# G# and the instruction "Sulla tavola".
- Pf.:** Piano, 8 time signature.
- Schlg.:** Percussion, including Vib. mit Streichenbogen, Ant. Zimbeln mit Holzstäben, and U.C. (Ungarische Csárdás).
- soio Sop.:** Soprano solo, 3+4 time signature, with the lyrics "wa-re-be-ra" and "iet".
- Vn.:** Violin, 3+4 time signature.
- Bra.:** Brass, 8 time signature.
- K.B.:** Keyboard, 8 time signature, with the instruction "sul Gr".

The score is divided into four measures, with tempo changes from "ca. 50" to "ca. 92" and then to "tempo I" and "tempo II". A red box highlights the central section of the score, and a red circle highlights the lyrics "wa-re-be-ra" and "iet".

Example 5.1: Opening of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, mm. 1-6

Example 5.2: Reduction of the soprano melody, Mvt. 1, *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*

The reduction shows that the soprano's melody can be expressed as having two layers, especially in the first half of the movement: the lower voice is formed primarily with the constant appearance of B, while the upper voice is comprised of notes that deviate from it. In the lower melody, the pitch B is often approached via its lower neighbor, A#. The reduction also shows that A# is a secondary note to B in the first half but later in the movement begins to emerge as a more prominent, self-standing note (mm. 32-40), eventually becoming a part of a longer melodic line (mm. 42-47). With the increasing prominence of the A#, the centrality of B weakens.

The pitch B is also challenged by sweeping figurations, which often appear with the pitch A# (marked in Example 5.1 above); whenever the figurations appear, the pitch B vanishes. This pattern of presenting B is closely associated with the tempo markings in this movement. There are two tempi, Tempo I at $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 50$ and Tempo II at $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 92$

(the concluding codetta-like section is marked by a third tempo, ♩ = 40, but this tempo appears only once in Movement I and is not associated with any particular musical motive.) (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Tempo markings, Mvt. 1, *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*

Tempo	♩ = Ca. 50 (I)	♩ = Ca. 92 (II)	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	♩ = 40 (Coda)
Measure number	1-2	3	4-5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-20	21-27	28-32	33-38	39-45	46-50	51-54

The tempo markings are not simply an indication of speed, but rather of musical character. The slower Tempo I is associated with the presentation of B, while Tempo II is characterized by more activity, such as tremolos, arpeggiated chords, and glissandi (Example 5.1 above). Although the aural effects of the tempo changes may be subtle, exchanges between these two textures are conspicuous. Echoing the movement's title, "Versteckspiel," the teasing appearance of the pitch B between other musical events—the pitch A# and the softly bustling figurations—is a like game of "hide-and-seek."

Whereas in Movement I, the returning B assumes the focal point primarily for the soprano's melody, in Movement II, the D appears as the primary pitch material with a hint of either D minor or D major tonality, which are suggested by the voice as well as the ensemble. The soprano melody conveys the D-centrality by frequently beginning and ending on the pitch D like the final of a chant (marked with circles in Example 5.3). At the same time, from the onset of the movement, the soprano line falls from F to D,

thereby outlining a minor triad. The rest of the ensemble also imply either a D minor triad or D minor at different points of the piece. Yet the harmony is not always clearly audible because both the melody and harmony are muddled by pitches that are “misplaced” by a half step. The soprano sometimes lands on a “wrong” pitch, missing D by a half step (marked with squares in Example 5.3). Likewise, the D minor tonality that is implied by the soprano at the beginning is blurred by various pitches of the ensemble that conflict with the D minor sound (Example 5.4).

The image displays a musical score for a Soprano Solo, spanning measures 55 to 120. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics are in German, and the music features various dynamics (f, ff, p, mp) and articulations (accents, slurs). Annotations highlight specific pitch choices related to D-centrality:

- Measure 55:** The first staff shows the lyrics "xe-nex Mond xe-nik flu dü fre". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff, and another red circle and arrow point to the note D in the second staff.
- Measure 56:** The second staff shows the lyrics "ü ben-flu-tet e-ti-câm xe-nex". A blue box and arrow point to the note D \flat (labeled "Db: 'wrong' pitch"), and another blue box and arrow point to the note D \flat in the third staff.
- Measure 57:** The third staff shows the lyrics "(er) hi re mi nes de-neb". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff, and another red circle and arrow point to the note D \flat in the second staff.
- Measure 58:** The fourth staff shows the lyrics "(neb) de neb xe-nex". A blue box and arrow point to the note E \flat (labeled "Eb"), and another blue box and arrow point to the note C \flat (labeled "Cb") in the fifth staff.
- Measure 59:** The fifth staff shows the lyrics "niss les". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff.
- Measure 60:** The sixth staff shows the lyrics "(les) de-re belt we". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff, and another red circle and arrow point to the note C \sharp (labeled "C \sharp ") in the second staff.
- Measure 61:** The seventh staff shows the lyrics "(mast) a suanu rebnesti el-lestäl-rütt end ne nu ti e picâm senegrök". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff.
- Measure 62:** The eighth staff shows the lyrics "(we) ci ti met ins-ni mast". A blue box and arrow point to the note D \sharp (labeled "D \sharp : 'wrong' pitch"), and another blue box and arrow point to the note D in the ninth staff.
- Measure 63:** The ninth staff shows the lyrics "(grök) xe-nex". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff.
- Measure 64:** The tenth staff shows the lyrics "rüt nex". A red circle and arrow point to the note D in the first staff, and another red circle and arrow point to the note D in the second staff.

Example 5.3: The soprano melody at the end of the second movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* (mm. 55-120): confirmation of D-centrality

II. Das Rätsel von den drei magischen Toren

55 energisch u. grotesk 60

$\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 112-120$

Fl.
Ob.
Kla. \uparrow
in B

Mand.
Hf. \uparrow
Pf.
Schlg.

Solo Sop.

Vn. \uparrow
Bra.
K.B. \uparrow

$\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 112-120$ möglichst ohne Vibrato (mit reher Stimme)

xe-nex Mond xe-nik flu dü fre

sul pont. *gias* *gias* *gias* *gias*

* Schlg. \rightarrow vers. 5-Drum mit 5-Saiten \rightarrow Tamburin (auf einem Glinder) \rightarrow Pauken
 \rightarrow vers. Tom-Tom

* Tempo 120 ist empfohlen.

* Die mit * gekennzeichneten Töne sind im starken Sprechen auszuführen.

10

Example 5.4: Opening measures (mm. 55-60) of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*: conflicts with D minor

Chin's employment of a single tonal center in a piece of music, as well as her linking of tempo markings and musical texture as in the first movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, is reminiscent of similar practices in Isang Yun's music. By the late 1960s, Yun developed the notion of *Haupttöne* to account for his use of a single tone as a focal point of music. Yun explained that *Haupttöne* has its conceptual foundation in traditional Korean or Asian music. Asian music is primarily monophonic, and although intervals may arise as a result of the layering of melodies, the simultaneity of melodies is not as formulaic as in the counterpoint of Western music.¹⁷ Because of its inherently linear quality, in traditional Asian music the concept of harmony and the principle of musical development by moving away from and returning to the home key are foreign. Further, in Asian music, an individual note can develop by means of vibrato, slides, or bends. Yun's concept of *Haupttöne* draws on this notion of a single tone as an independent element subject to musical development; in a way, he replaces a tonal center with a pitch center in his music.

The tonic-like presence of a central tone in each movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* can be seen as connected to Yun's *Haupttöne*. Musical influence is always difficult to speak of in definitive terms, and in the case of Chin, it is certainly so. For one, despite the apparent musical connections, she has explicitly stated that her music is very

¹⁷ See chapter 1 above.

different from Yun's—this aspect will be discussed more below.¹⁸ Moreover, by the time of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, European modernist composers, including Chin's teacher Ligeti and Kaija Saariaho (b. 1952), wrote music which employed a single tone or tone-color as central musical material. For instance, in his Cello Concerto from 1966, Ligeti takes a single pitch as a focal point from which music develops and intensifies. Saariaho's *Im Traume* for Cello and Piano from 1980 (revised in 1988) uses a harmony as a static sonic background against which other musical events take place. These pieces offer two examples of recent composers building pieces around a single referential note or harmony, subverting traditional paradigms of tonal expectation.

Further, there is a certain commonality between the idea of a tone as an unconfined, expansive element in Asian music, as reflected in Yun's *Haupttöne*, and Ligeti's questioning of pitch definition, which is echoed in his remark, "Both functional tonality and atonality have worn out, along with twelve-tone equal temperament."¹⁹ Yun did not use microtuning but implied it by copious use of vibrato, slides, and ornaments; his emphasis on the proper delivery of musical gestures rather than the precise production of a pitch is telling of his approach to the concept of tone.²⁰ Ligeti's break with the

¹⁸ For Chin's brief reflection of Yun's music, see the following: Stefan Drees, "Faszination und Neugier," in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, ed. Drees, 21-22.

¹⁹ György Ligeti, "Rhapsodische Gedanken über Musik, besonders über meine eigene Kompositionen" (1991), repr. in Ligeti, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Monika Lichtenfeld (Mainz: Schott, 2007), 133. "Sowohl die funktionale Tonalität als auch die Atonalität haben sich abgenutzt, ebenso die gleichschwebende zwölftönige Temperatur." English translation cited from Felix Wörner, Ullrich Scheideler, and Philip Rupprecht, eds., "Introduction," in *Tonality Since 1950* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017), 12.

²⁰ See chapter 1 above.

conventional boundary of a pitch is more daring: his *Volumina* (1966) extends a cluster to a wall of sound, and his later work Violin Concerto (1992) has a violin and a viola from the orchestra tuned to the harmonics of the double bass. Chin's music engages a range of methods mentioned here, from lavish ornaments to microtuning, although Ligetian sound blocks are rarely seen in her music—in general, Chin's music has a more delicate, ethereal quality.

The goal of considering these musical thoughts is not to determine by which composer Chin was influenced as much as to understand the larger conceptual frame within which her approach to tone and tonality is placed. That said, Chin's treatment of "tonal center" in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* shows certain differences from Yun's principle of *Haupttöne*. In Yun's concept, a strong emphasis is placed on the linear and organic development of a tone, which is treated almost as the tonic in music from the tradition of functional harmony. In *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, as shown above, a central tone is conceived as a more or less fixed idea against which other, often humorously contrasting musical events take place.

An effective example of a non-developing tonal center is found in Movement VII of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*. Here, the pitch center B is contested by Bb: B disappears at the appearance of Bb. Although a binary between a central tone and its chromatic neighbor tone was also seen in Movement I earlier, in Movement VII, the two pitches are clearly set up as opposing forces. The pitch B is established at the beginning by the entire ensemble in unison. As the movement progresses, there is an increasing digression to Bb,

and by the end of the movement, Bb becomes as prominent as the pitch center B. After constant alternations between B and Bb over almost twenty measures (mm. 375-395), Bb begins to sound like the tonal center onto which B is supposed to resolve. This confusion is exacerbated by the fact that Bb is emphasized with *ff* while B is played *p*. The piece ends on Bb, on a “wrong” note; the listener is left disoriented at the conclusion of the work (Example 5.5). The irony of this movement is that the pitch B, originally suggested as the primary pitch at the beginning, functions increasingly like a background, or a canvas, against which another tonal/pitch color can arise, rather than maintaining its central position.

The musical score for the ending of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, Mvt. 7, mm. 385-395, is presented for a full orchestra and a solo soprano. The instruments shown are Piccolo (Picc.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon in B (Baß Kla. in B), Timpani (Schlg.), Solo Soprano (Solo Sop.), Violin (Vn.), Trombone (Bra.), and Contrabass (K.B.). The music features a complex interplay of B and Bb pitches, with dynamics ranging from piano (*p*) to fortissimo (*ff*). The solo soprano part has lyrics: (ni) tes scha nu laß ruh. The score is marked with measure numbers 390 and 395.

Example 5.5: Ending of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, Mvt. 7, mm. 385-395

More Influences of Ligeti

In addition to the notion of harmony and tone as color and timbre, other influences of Ligeti on Chin are worth noting at this point. For one, Chin's proclivity for nonsensical text seems to be parallel to Ligeti's interests. As mentioned earlier, Ligeti's dramatic vocal works *Aventures* and *Nouvelles Aventures* employ nonsensical texts. In addition, the fifth madrigal of his *Nonsense Madrigals*, "The Lobster Quadrille," uses the text of the nonsense song "The Lobster Quadrille" from the fifth chapter of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Ligeti's fascination with the adventure story is a well-known fact.²¹ Ligeti had always talked about composing an opera on Carroll's adventure story, although his plan to compose one never materialized; Chin composed her opera *Alice in Wonderland* the year following Ligeti's death. Furthermore, other stylistic features in Chin's works also suggest Ligeti's influence. Rhythmic irregularities, polyrhythm, colorful use of harmony, and extreme timbral sonorities are observed in both composers' music, although Chin's music can be described, in general terms, as less dense, more colorful, and more filled with unexpected events.

Yet, perhaps the most important role Ligeti played in the formation of Chin's musical language was guiding her to step out of the shadow of the formalist school of modern music of post-World War II Germany. Ligeti, who fled from the Russian forces in Hungary to enter the Western European musical world, was ironically faced with a

²¹ Paul Griffiths. "Ligeti, György." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16642> (accessed 8 January 2017).

different form of cultural dogma in West Germany; from these experiences, he learned to question cultural establishments. His later interest in world music from the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia further broadened his musical scope, and his pan-cultural thinking certainly had an impact on Chin.

When Chin met Ligeti in Hamburg in 1985, she had just finished studying with Sukhi Kang, who was at Darmstadt in the early 1970s and actively engaged with German musical modernism ever since.²² As discussed earlier, Kang's involvement in German modern music to some extent reflected his belief that German modern music exemplified a stylistic novelty to be emulated. The legacy of Darmstadt-German musical avant-garde, which started with Isang Yun in the late 1950s, reached Chin through her teacher Kang and subsequently shaped Chin's early musical language during the early to mid-1980s.

Ligeti was critical of her music from this period, which was clearly stylized according to the modern German musical language. Chin recalls,

When Ligeti first saw my works, he scolded me harshly. "You are from Korea and have not lived in Germany, yet you are writing in the cliché of contemporary German music. Unbelievable! Think about it this way, you wake up tomorrow and are a completely different person."²³

Later in the same anecdote, Chin also recollects that Ligeti asked her to use Asian cultural sources. This kind of expectation, that Asian composers should draw from their

²² See chapter 3 above.

²³ Patrick Hahn and Unsuk Chin. "Honjae doen jöanchesung kwa önö yuhhüi" [Mixed identity and wordplay], in *Chin Ũn-suk, miraeüi akporül kürita: 'Arüsü noba' Chin Ũn-suk, hyöndaeumakül 'ümak' ũro mandülda* [Unsuk Chin draws the score of the future: 'Ars Nova' Unsuk Chin turns contemporary music into 'music'], eds. Stefan Drees and Hüi-kyöng Yi (Mainz: Schott, 2011), 63.

own culture, was something that Sukhi Kang also faced in Europe.²⁴ Yet Chin did not take this path, although she still followed Ligeti's advice to steer away from overtly German modern music.

After three years of study with Ligeti, in the late 1980s, she familiarized herself with electronic music and spectral music. *Gradus ad Infinitum* (1989) and *Allegro ma non troppo* (1994) are her early attempts at tape music; the IRCAM-commissioned *Xi* (1998), *Double Bind?* for violin and live electronics (2007), and *Fanfare chimérique* for woodwinds and live electronics are her more mature and ambitious electro-acoustic works. In addition to these works, spectral music, with which she acquainted herself through contacts with "spectralist" composers such as Tristan Murail and Gérard Grisey at IRCAM, remains one of her important musical stylistic languages.²⁵ Chin's *Etude No. 5, Toccata* (2003), analyzed below, is a work which grew out of spectralist thinking.

Piano Etude No. 5, Toccata

Toccata, the fifth of Chin's six etudes for the piano, is in a *moto perpetuo* texture, with a continuum of sixteenth notes in the right hand. While the sixteenth notes remain the primary rhythmic motive throughout the piece, the texture grows consistently until the piece's abrupt, explosive ending. Although the music lacks any noticeable breathing

²⁴ See chapter 3 above.

²⁵ Both Grisey and Murail had been involved with IRCAM since 1980. Chin's association with IRCAM began later, coming to fruition with *Xi* (1998), written to an IRCAM commission, and *Double Bind?* for violin and live electronics (2006-7), written at IRCAM.

point, it is possible to elicit sectional divisions based on the development of texture and the organization of pitches, which are drawn from the harmonic spectra of the note C.

These form-rendering aspects—pitch organization and textual/rhythmic development—operate within the spectralist principle of emphasizing an overtone series. In spectral music, harmonicity is defined by stability of the harmonic series, that is, when all pitch material falls under the harmonic series of the fundamental; inharmonicity occurs in the opposite case, when some pitches do not belong to the harmonic series.²⁶ Julian Anderson extends this idea to rhythm: maximum rhythmic regularity (“periodicity”) is analogous to harmonicity, and the maximum irregularity (“aperiodicity”) to inharmonicity.²⁷ In *Toccata*, music develops with a discernable pattern, namely a movement away from spectral and rhythmic harmonicity toward inharmonicity.



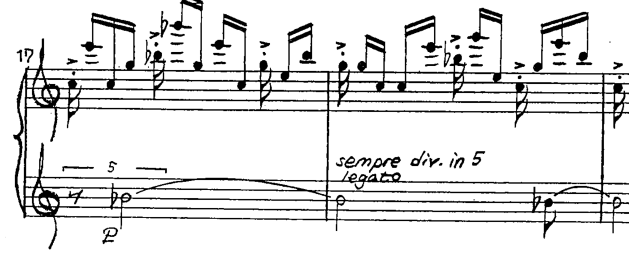

In regard to rhythm, the general development can be characterized as moving from a thin texture to a denser one, and from straightforward sixteenth-note figurations to complex polyrhythms (Table 5.2). Within this broad stroke, local textural events provide information about the structure of the piece, which otherwise appears seamless. For instance, at the exact middle point of the piece (m. 50), the spacing of chords changes from open position to closed position; this change is also preceded by a new kind of

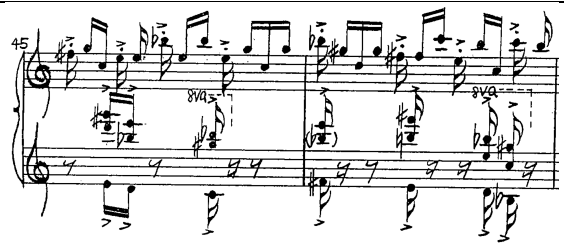


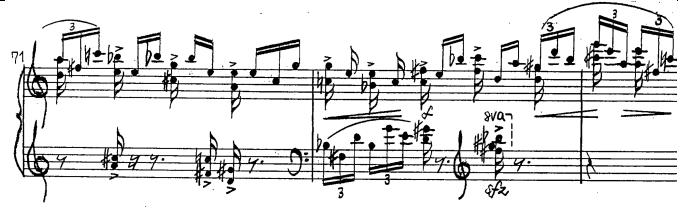
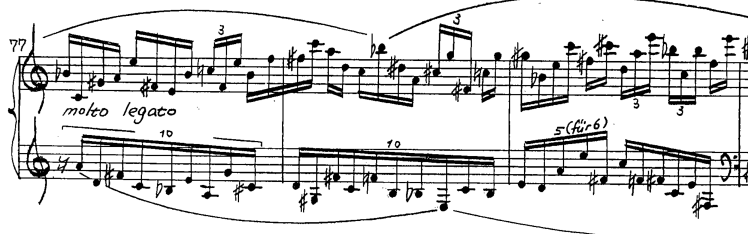
²⁶ François Rose, “Introduction to the Pitch Organization of French Spectral Music,” *Perspectives of New Music* 34/2 (1996): 6-39.

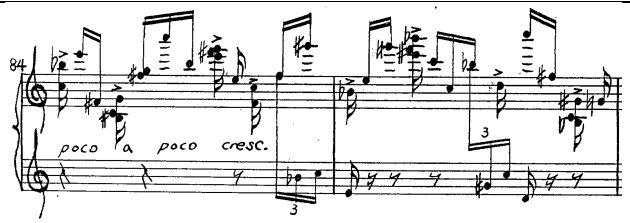

²⁷ Julian Anderson, “Spectral music,” in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50982> (accessed 26 September 2012).

articulation, a five-voice chord marked *sffz*, the loudest and most forceful attack thus far. (Example 5.6). Once marking this middle point, the dynamic level drops (*mp* in the left hand, and *pp* in the right hand), though it soon builds up again toward the final explosive measures.

Table 5.2: Rhythmic ideas explored in *Toccata*

Measure numbers	Texture	Description
1-9	 (mm. 1-3)	Sixteenth-note figurations appear in fragments
10-16	 (mm. 13-14)	Rests are removed; chords are introduced in the left hand
17-26	 (mm. 17-18)	Long notes in legato in the left hand
27-34	 (mm. 29-30)	Another voice is added in the left hand

35-49	 <p>(mm. 45-46)</p>	Sixteenth-note chords in the left hand
50-54	 <p>mm. 53-54</p>	Left-hand chords are now in closed position; rhythmic changes in both parts
55-67	 <p>(mm. 57-58)</p>	Left-hand notes are divided into seven parts per three quarter-note values
68-75	 <p>(mm. 71-73)</p>	Exchanges between triplet eighth-note figurations and sixteenth notes in the left and right hands
76-81	 <p>(mm. 77-79)</p>	“free” rhythm

82-94	 <p>(mm. 84-85)</p>	Sixteenth-note texture, with triplet eighth-note figures mixed in
95-100	 <p>(mm. 97-98; m. 100)</p>	One measure of complete rest (m. 95); triplet eighth notes against septuplet per measure (three quarter notes); one measure of complete rest (m. 100)



Example 5.6: *Toccata*, mm. 49-52; mid-point of the piece marked by the accented chord (m. 49)

Changes in rhythm and texture are matched by those in pitch organization, and these two aspects together determine the structure of the piece. Before examining how the harmonic series is utilized in *Toccata*, it is worthwhile to recall the implication of the sequential nature of a harmonic series. Unlike the twelve-tone series, where the order of

pitch classes does not always match their hierarchy, the harmonic series, by definition, presumes the order of the appearance of pitches: the lower partials are more closely related to the fundamental and thus more stable. In *Toccata*, this pre-determined pitch order provides an important clue about the form.

There are certain points throughout *Toccata* where the pitch contents concentrate around the fundamental C. At these moments, the fundamental and its lower partials appear repeatedly before gradually giving way to the higher partials. First, let us consider the harmonic series of C, the central pitch of *Toccata* (Figure 5.4).

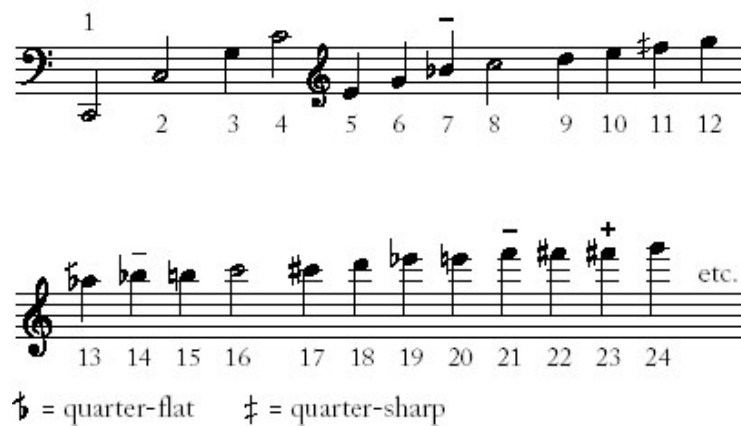


Figure 5.4: The harmonic series of the pitch C

The harmonic series of the C can be reduced to the following, when repeated pitches are eliminated:

C G E B \flat (1/6 flat) D F (1/4 sharp) A \flat (1/4 flat) B C \sharp E \flat F \sharp F \sharp (1/6 flat)

Based on the points where pitch contents coalesce into the fundamental, the following sectional division can be delineated (Table 5.3)

Table 5.3: Formal division of *Toccata* (the fundamental and the three lowest partials marked in bold)

Section I (mm. 1-16)	G C Bb E (mm. 1-8) <u>D</u> F# (m. 9) <u>G</u> # (m. 13) <u>F</u> (in a dyad with G, m. 13) <u>B</u> C# (m. 13) <u>D</u> # <u>A</u> (m. 14)
Section II (mm. 17-34)	C E G Bb (mm. 17-18) <u>F</u> # <u>G</u> # <u>D</u> (m. 19) <u>C</u> # <u>D</u> # (m. 20) <u>F</u> <u>A</u> (m. 22) <u>B</u> (m. 23)
Section III (mm. 35-54)	Bb E C (in one chord) <u>G</u> (m. 35) <u>F</u> # (in a chord with C, Bb, and G, m. 35) <u>C</u> # (in a chord with E and G, m. 35) <u>D</u> (in a chord with E and F#, m. 36) <u>G</u> # (in a chord with E and D, m. 36) <u>B</u> <u>F</u> (in a chord with C#, m. 43) <u>D</u> # (in a chord with F and B, m. 43)
Section IV (mm. 50-76)	C E G Bb (the four notes appear in a chord, m. 50) <u>G</u> # <u>D</u> (appear together with E, B, and C, m. 50) <u>F</u> (in a chord with D, G#, and C, m. 50) <u>B</u> <u>C</u> # <u>F</u> # (B and C# together in a chord with F and Bb, and F# in the right hand, m. 50) <u>G</u> (in a right hand figuration, m. 51) <u>D</u> # (in a chord with G#, Bb, and F#, m. 52)
Section V (m. 68, beat 3 - m. 81)	C Bb G E (C, Bb, and G in a chord and E in the right hand figuration, m. 68) <u>D</u> <u>G</u> (As a chord, m. 68) <u>F</u> # (In a chord with C, m. 68) <u>G</u> # (In a chord with C, m. 69) <u>A</u> (In a chord with D and F#, m. 69) <u>D</u> # (In a chord with D, m. 69) <u>F</u> (In a chord with G and B, m. 69) <u>C</u> # (In a chord with A and F, m. 70)
Section VI (mm. 82-95, See Ex. 11):	C Bb (Together as a chord) G E F# (All in m. 82 and first beat of m. 83) <u>C</u> # <u>G</u> # (In the right hand figurations, m. 83) <u>D</u> (In a chord with F# and G#, m. 86) <u>D</u> # (In cross-rhythm figuration with G, B, C#, E, G, and F, m. 90) <u>A</u> (In a chord with B, C#, and F, m. 90) <u>F</u> (In a chord with C, C#, and B, m. 91)
Section VII (mm. 96-100)	[<i>piu mosso</i> ; does not follow the harmonic series pattern]

As shown in the table above, each section begins by presenting and lingering around the fundamental and progresses by exploring into the higher partials. In other words, in each of these sections, pitch contents appear in approximately the same order as the harmonic series, the lower partials repeating far more frequently than the higher partials.

The overall movement from proximity to remoteness in relation to the fundamental remains quite audible throughout *Toccata*. The beginning of each section is particularly easy to discern because the fundamental C and its lower partials C (C, G, E, Bb) make a familiar chord, the dominant seventh chord on C. Because of this audibility, formal division is communicated more clearly by pitch organization than rhythm as rhythmic texture grows denser. That said, each of these sectional divisions is supported by changes in dynamics and rhythm (Example 5.6, Example 5.7, and Example 5.8).

65

poco - a - poco - cre - scen - do

68

mp

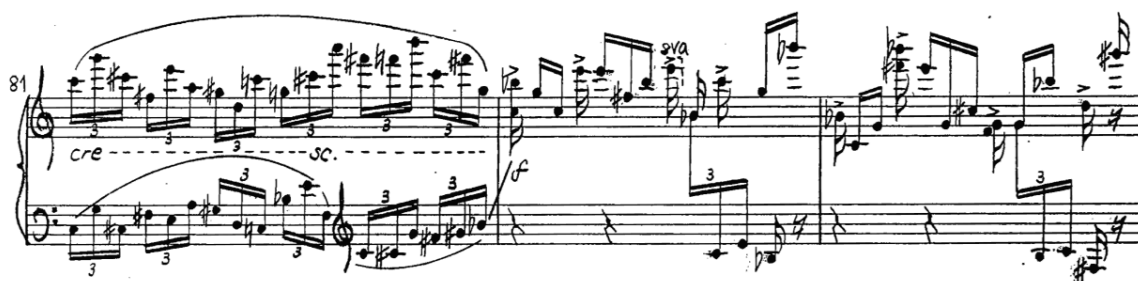
mf

8va-1

3

3

Example 5.7: *Toccata*, mm. 65-70



Example 5.8: *Toccata*, mm. 81-96

It is notable that in Sections I and VI, the first and final episodes of the piece, the inclusion of higher partials happens at a significantly slower pace compared to other sections. This also means that the music lingers on the fundamental C and the lower partials far longer than the other pitches in these first measures of these sections, as though to establish the “tonic.” It is also significant that Chin emphasizes the seventh chord formed by the first four pitch classes of the C harmonic series, C, G, E, and Bb, rather than any single pitch. At the same time, the intervals within the seventh chord, particularly the fifth and the tritone, serve as motive-generating elements. For instance, beginning at measure 55, where the left hand rhythm changes to a division of seven, the fifth and the tritone (often spelled as an augmented fourth) appear frequently: the left-hand melody travels predominantly in diminished fifths. Tellingly, the final chord of the piece is also a fifth (C and G), the intervallic distance between the first two pitch classes of a harmonic series. It is obvious that Chin is thinking more on the level of harmony than that of pitch, though the “development” of that harmony takes place within itself.

In *Toccata*, Chin composes not only *with* the harmonic series, but also *within* it. This is also to say that the sound spectra serve as working material and a structural framework. Both the texture and pitch material in *Toccata* develop by moving from stability to instability, from clarity to ambiguity. Although Ligeti also composed with a keen awareness of the sonic spectrum, Chin's approach in *Toccata* is different from Ligeti's in that she employs the harmonic series in a more literal manner. Amy Bauer shows that, in *Lontano* for Orchestra (1967), Ligeti eliminates the upper harmonics in order to highlight the fundamental frequency by making the instruments enter at a very quiet dynamic level; on the contrary, Chin is interested in the harmonic material created by the overtone series, as well as in the sequential quality of the sonic spectra.²⁸ One might claim that Chin's use of the harmonic series is less conceptual, yet that may be what makes her music accessible to the general audience.

Non-Culture Specificity and Fantastical World

Having examined some of Chin's works closely, it is important to note that these works have little reference to Korean traditional music or culture. This lack of connection to her home culture is true for Chin's overall output. Unlike her Korean predecessors studied in this dissertation, Chin seldom makes her Korean identity apparent in her music (some rare cases of explicit and implicit uses of Korean cultural elements will be discussed

²⁸ Amy Bauer, "'Compounding the Sound Itself': Secondary Parameters and Structure in the Music of Ligeti," *Indiana Theory Review* 22 (2001): 37-64, 99.

below). Instead of displaying her Korean/Asian identity, Chin favors engaging with languages and literary sources from various cultures, as seen in works including *Kalá* (2000), *Miroirs des temps* (2001), *snagS&Snarls* (2004), and *Cantatrix Sopranica* (2005).²⁹ In fact, she has explicitly expressed her wish not to be associated with a single culture or musical style, stating, “I do not belong to any group of composers, and I do not want to write local music.”³⁰ In light of this statement, we can understand that her use of multiple languages in the texts of her vocal works is a manifestation of her pursuit of non-cultural specificity.

The disavowal of cultural specificity seen in Chin’s aesthetics finds an analogous example in Peter Berger’s portrayal of New York City as the quintessentially globalized city. In his anthropological study of global cities, John Nagel further elucidates Berger’s account. Nagel, drawing from Berger’s analyses, calls the metropolis “the literal embodiment of a vital human freedom,” where individual’s national ties have weakened or vanished:

. . . the global city has been framed by theorists as a place which affords an occasion for actors to imagine nascent identities that are not tied to the nation. For instance, Peter Berger (1977) wrote of New York City—an archetypal global city—as a place of ‘transcendence’, a metropolis which represents the literal embodiment of a vital human freedom. This freedom

²⁹ See above.

³⁰ Cited in Martin Wilkening, “Nur der eigenen Fantasie verpflichtet. Die Komponistin Unsuk Chin und ihr Schaffen,” in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, ed. Drees, 116. The original quote is in German (“Ich gehöre nicht in irgendeinen Komponisten-Club, ich möchte keine lokale Musik schreiben”).

is enshrined in the ability of reinvention, in which actors can ‘transcend’ who they are by taking on brand new encapsulations.³¹

As with the actors observed in this quoted passage, who by relegating their national identities to a secondary place attain a *tabula rasa* from which they can reinvent their identities, Chin’s music, by rejecting association with a single cultural quarter, can generate an arena which encompasses multiple cultures.

The simultaneous use of various languages in the texts of her vocal works means that the texts are going to be incomprehensible to listeners most of the time. Yet, it is obviously that unintelligibility is one of her intended outcomes. Before the performance of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* at the Curtis Institute of Music in 2016, Chin announced to the audience, “There are texts and there are words, but you can’t understand [them]. So please do not try to understand anything.”³² The irony in using such texts is the fact that, although the audience might not understand the meanings of the words sung by the singer, they share the common experience of not understanding. In other words, having indecipherable texts may generate a more universal listening experience (that is, when the discussion of the “listening experience” is limited to the cognition of text) than having texts in a language with which not every member of the audience may be familiar.

³¹ John Nagle, *Multiculturalism’s Double Bind* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 29.

³² The performance took place on November 11, 2015 in the “Beyond Darmstadt” concert by Curtis 20/21 Ensemble, of which Chin was composer-in-residence for 2015–2016. A video clip of this performance is available on YouTube: “Alize Rozsnyai, Soprano “*Akrostichon Wortspiel*”—Unsuk Chin,” YouTube video, 21:10, posted by “Alize Rozsnyai,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-aZw6r2-wM> (accessed 12 February 2016).

Recognizing that incomprehensibility is a deliberately created musical effect, Chin's music can be likened to a labyrinth, a space designed to disorient people yet that also boasts logical architecture. Her dismissal of cultural or national representations leads not to an utter chaos, but rather to the creation of an alternative dimension—an imaginary, fantastical sphere where an unlikely blend of seemingly remote elements materializes. The humor often found in Chin's work is certainly linked to this imagination of spheres where expectations of cultural norms are jettisoned.

This quality leads to another obvious fascination of Chin's, namely surreal worlds. Works such *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* and the opera *Alice in Wonderland* (2007) reflect her fondness for the realm of fantasy. In a fantastical world, as in *Alice in Wonderland*, common notions of morality, sense, or decency defined by a society are warped. At the same time, in a fantasy world, the very absence of the social conventions reduces the fantasy world into something primordial; it is stripped down to elements that can be understood within universal principles. The cultural critic Patricia Garcia notes the common thread running through postmodern fantastic literature, namely de-emphasizing cultural markers:

A fundamental factor in deciding on a comparative angle was the realization that the phenomenon of spatial transgression relegated the cultural markers of each literary tradition to a secondary position. Paradoxically, it was of little importance whether a text belonged to the

French, Spanish, Peruvian or Belgian Fantastic, as many texts showed thematic and structural parallels beyond their national origin.³³

Like the literary works categorized as postmodern fantastic literature, Chin's music which engages with fantastical worlds does not need a reference to a national identity. The uncanniness of the invented sphere incapacitates social conventions, calling instead for alternative rules and languages that carry wider, more universal appeal. Transcending cultural or national boundaries, therefore, may seem to be a practice of uprooting a certain cultural continuum, yet it is also a way toward universality. For Chin, engaging with a fantastical world or multiple cultures simultaneously has allowed her to circumvent conventional stereotypes of Asian composers and achieve cultural neutrality, and consequently, universality.

Recontextualizing the Familiar

Having discussed the non-culture specificity in Chin's music, it is meaningful to note occasions where she uses elements that could be identified as inspired by Korean or Asian music, some of which Chin has identified explicitly as so. It is important to examine how she uses such elements, not to highlight cultural connections any more than the composer intends to, but to observe how she disengages from conventional cultural themes in using such materials.

³³ Patricia Garcia, *Space and the Postmodern Fantastic in Contemporary Literature: The Architectural Void* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 8.

The first example comes from the seventh movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, titled, “Aus der alten Zeit” [“From the Old Time”]. Chin describes this movement as “an ironic commentary on the traditional Korean court music,” although she does not specify exactly which musical features are adopted from traditional music.³⁴ One possible element is the clamorous, conspicuously out-of-tune unison on B, played by all members of the ensemble throughout the movement. In traditional Korean music, whose texture is predominantly monophonic, instrumental ensembles typically play in unison; yet timbral differences between instruments, as well as an old tuning system, often cause the whole ensemble to sound out of tune from the perspective of Western music. In this movement, the piccolo, violin, and double bass are asked to be tuned sharp; this microtuning recreates the idiosyncratic sound of a traditional ensemble.

Although it is only in the last movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* that Chin makes an explicit reference to Korean traditional music, the general vocal writing of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* very much resembles that of the Korean traditional vocal music *p’ansori*. *P’ansori* is a narrative song genre typically performed by one or two singers and a percussionist. In *p’ansori*, an epic story is told through song, narration (and sometimes dialogue), and dramatic action, all performed by the singer. Keith Howard describes the ideal vocal color for *p’ansori* as “harsh and thick, strikingly different from European opera,” and singers are expected to mix voices types that are called “iron

³⁴ Unsuk Chin, “*Akrostichon-Wortspiel*. Sieben Szenen aus Mürchen für Sopran und Ensemble (1991–1993)” [*Acrostic Wordplay*, “Seven scenes from fairy-tales for soprano and ensemble (1991–1993)”], in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, in Drees, 60.

voice,” “bright voice,” and “tough voice.”³⁵ Vocal techniques frequently observed in *p’ansori* singing (or in many other vocal genres in Korean traditional music) include “tones with complex microtonal shadings,” “widely vibrating tones,” and “non-vibrating tones.”³⁶ *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* requires the soprano to use these vocal qualities and techniques. For example, the vocal part of the second movement of *Akrostichon-Wortspiel* is marked “möglichst ohne Vibrato (mit roher Stimme)” (“without vibrato if possible (with raw voice)”); the third movement is to be sung “lebhaft u. witzig mit einer kindlichen Stimme” (“lively and humorously with a child-like voice”). Other performance practices used in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel*, such as an ornate mix of falsetto voice, slides, leaps, and exclamations without vibrato, are also reminiscent of the *p’ansori* style, although their connection to modern European vocal music should also be noted.

The final case of Chin referencing Asian traditional music can be found in *Šu* for *sheng* and orchestra (2009). This work holds a special place in her body of works: it is the first work she wrote for a non-Western instrument. She has been cautious about integrating Asian instruments into Western art music, stating that Asian music and Western music do not blend naturally because they belong to two distinctive cultural

³⁵ On *p’ansori*, see Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 1: 60-67.

³⁶ On the vocal techniques of traditional Korean music, see Oh-sung Kwon, *Essays on Korean Traditional Music Culture* (Seoul, Minsokwon: 2008), 16-17.

traditions.³⁷ Yet she changed her mind after hearing the virtuoso *sheng* player and composer Wu Wei, who has developed new techniques for the ancient Chinese reed instrument and premiered numerous works including Toshio Hosokawa's *Landscape V* for Shô (Sheng) and String Quartet (1993) and Tan Dun's *C-A-G-E* for Sheng and Zheng (2004). In *Šu*, Chin conjures up the sound of *saenghwang* (the Korean equivalent of the sheng) coming from a distant mountain, an image she had experienced as a child in Korea.³⁸ However, even though there are musical features inspired by traditional Korean music in *Šu*, the work is far from a translation of the sound of traditional Asian music into Western music. Chin's primary inspiration for writing the work is the newly discovered sonic possibilities of the instrument, and *Šu* presents an abstract sound world where a textural evolution is one of the main modes of musical development.

Scholars and critics have observed that in *Šu*, the orchestra often echoes the sound produced by the *sheng* and is thus used as an extension of the *sheng*.³⁹ Chin's use of the instrument presents a significant contrast to Isang Yun's approach to traditional instruments in his *Réak* for orchestra (1966). In *Réak*, Yun approximates the sound of

³⁷ Unsuk Chin in a conversation with David Allenby. Published in "<Cello hyŏpjukok> kwa <saenghwang hyŏpjukok> e daehayŏ" [About Concerto for Cello and Concerto for Sheng], in *Chin Ŭn-suk*, eds. Drees and Yi, 256.

³⁸ Maris Gothóni, "Programme Note," Chin, Unsuk: *Šu* (2009), *Boosey and Hawes*. <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-u/52419> (accessed 13 January 2017).

³⁹ See the following commentaries or studies: Maris Gothóni, "Programme Note," Chin, Unsuk: *Šu* (2009), Boosey and Hawks, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-u/52419> (accessed 13 January 2017); Jeong Eun Seo, "Unsuk Chin's Musical Language, Abstraction, and Recontextualization," in *Contemporary Music in East Asia*, ed. Hee Sook Oh (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2014), 89-119; Habakuk Traber, "Unsuk Chins *Šu* für Sheng und Orchester (2009, rev. 2010)," in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, ed. Drees, 169-171.

Korean traditional ensemble music and instruments, such as the traditional mouth organ, *shengwhang*.⁴⁰ Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer, the German scholar of Yun's music, observes that the frequently appearing intervals of the fourth, third, and second in *Réak* are drawn from the sound of *saenghwang*, which can create multiple pitches at once, usually three pitches that are separated by an octave and a fourth or a fifth.⁴¹ Also, the sharp signaling in the percussion of the beginning and end of Yun's *Réak* is a transcription of the percussive marking of Korean clappers, *pak*, as played in Korean royal ancestral shrine music, *Chongmyo cheryeak*. Finally, the clear division between instrument groups and the gradual build-up of sound layers are prominent features of another traditional orchestral genre, *Sujech'on*.⁴²

If *Réak* is an experiment in transliterating the formal structure and sound of traditional Asian music into Western music, Chin's *Sŭ* explores the technical and sound possibilities of the *sheng*, without necessarily following its conventional performance practice. Yun, by translating the sound and form of traditional music, strives to maintain the original cultural meanings and nuances; after all, the title *Réak* is taken from the name of the eponymous traditional genre. Chin, by using the traditional instrument in unfamiliar ways, goes beyond transcribing existing genres or sounds of Asian music. In

⁴⁰ Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer, "Über das Werk," Yun, Isang: *Réak* (1966), Boosey & Hawkes, http://www.boosey.com/shop/catalogue/work_info.asp?site-lang=de&musicid=1795&langid=2 (accessed 13 January 2017).

⁴¹ Sparrer, "Über das Werk."

⁴² Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 2: 131.

other words, Chin removes the *sheng* from its cultural context.⁴³ Because the cultural framework is rendered unimportant, differences between Western music and Asian music are less conspicuous and disparate elements can be integrated without much conflict. On the contrary, in Yun's approach, while two different musical traditions are conjoined by the translation of one to other, the very need for translation accentuates the underlying barriers.

From Nationalism to Universalism

Juxtaposing Yun's and Chin's engagement with traditional Korean/Asian music reveals the stark differences in their approaches to the music of their home culture. This comparison underscores Chin's detachment from the sense of obligation to convey a sense of Korean national identity through music shared by previous generations of composers seen in this dissertation. Chin's aesthetic framework is clearly more individualistic compared to that of older Korean composers. This final section will briefly revisit the ideas of previously discussed composers to trace the shift in the nationalist discourse long associated with Western art music in the Korean music community.

As shown in this study, the extent to which Korean composers adapted Western musical modernism and asserted their national identity has been wide-ranging. For instance, Byung-dong Paik, who studied Western art music all his life in Korea and

⁴³ A similar claim has been made by Korean musicologist Jeong Eun Seo, who suggests that Chin's interest lies in the sound material itself, rather than in its cultural context. "Unsuik Chin's Musical Language, Abstraction, and Recontextualization," in *Contemporary Music in East Asia*, 102-104.

studied in Germany for two years, considers traditional Asian music to be the foundation of his music. Even though his music could well be described as rooted in the modernist language of Western art music, he claims that his music is best understood by Asian performers.⁴⁴ With an emphasis on the importance of “authenticity” in understanding and expressing cultural sentiments, his remarks seem to claim that cross-cultural dialogue in the truest sense is difficult to attain.

Paek’s contemporary Sukhi Kang, on the contrary, refuses to be bound by the image of a “Korean” composer. Despite using elements from Korean traditional music by employing programmatic ideas or traditional forms or rhythms and despite claiming that he “cannot forget [his] roots as Korean,” Kang has always been internationally oriented. Kang’s ideas on universality and reciprocal influences among different cultures have most likely been shaped by the theories of the Jesuit priest Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1995); Kang has stated that Chardin’s concept of the Omega point—the final state in the evolution of the matters in the universe where everything coalesces into a supreme consciousness—as the main inspiration for his chamber piece *Catena* (1975).⁴⁵ Chardin’s famous affirmation, “the age of nations is past,” is clearly echoed in Kang’s various statements about moving beyond the bounds of nationalistic expressions in music.⁴⁶ When asked what he thought of the arguments surrounding the notion of Korean music,

⁴⁴ See chapter 4 above.

⁴⁵ Yi Hŭi-kyŏng, *Chakkokka Kang Sŏk-hŭi waŭi taehwa* [Conversations with Composer Sukhi Kang], (Seoul: Yesol, 2004), 45, 109–110.

⁴⁶ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Building the Earth* (New York: Dimension Books, 1965), 7.

he shrugged, saying, “What is Korean music, anyway? The question has existed all along, but I just write my own music.”⁴⁷

It would not be far-fetched to presume that the way Kang distanced himself from the discourse on nationalist music had an impact on Chin, who studied with Kang in Seoul before she moved to Germany. The following statement provides insight into her own cultural positioning:

Living in a foreign country, it is natural to think about the self and where the self comes from. It is only natural. I have also gone through such a phase. However, I do not believe that it is too important for my music. What I consider important is to focus on different musical cultures. Cultures evolve through the process of exchanges and interlaces. I think that no society has an absolutely pure, uninfluenced cultural root. For that reason, it is not very meaningful to categorize various artistic phenomena according to cultural ideas, which exist only nominally. “Asian music” is as obscure as “German music.” . . . The problem is, when there are firm expectations, you must fulfill such expectations in order to be accepted. I refuse the concept of “Die Identitätsfalle” (“the identity trap”) just like Amartya Sen.⁴⁸

Chin’s universalist thinking stems from questioning the feasibility of the expression of a cultural or national identity through music, an idea based on the belief that a cultural or national identity itself is a nebulous concept. Further, she has embraced Amartya Sen’s

⁴⁷ Author’s interview with Sukhi Kang, March 24, 2015.

⁴⁸ Unsuik Chin and Patrick Hahn, “Honjae doen jŏnchesung kwa ŏnŏ yuhhŭl” [Mixed Identity and Wordplay], in *Chin Ŭn-suk*, ed. Drees, 58-59.

argument that defining an individual or a group by a single identity type may be dangerous because such categorization eventually leads to conflicts and violence.⁴⁹

Chin's perspective draws a sharp contrast to the voices expressed within the Korean music community regarding national music in the second half of the twentieth century. As shown in earlier chapters, the presence of "foreign" musical cultures in Korea was met with various degrees of resistance and confusion. One of the reactions highlighted repeatedly in this study was the opinion of many Korean composers and critics that it was necessary to find "our" musical style with conspicuous cultural expressions. This line of thinking led to active differentiation between domestic and foreign musical cultures, sometimes engendering an impression that the other culture was a threatening force to the indigenous music.

At the same time, for composers such as Chin and Kang, the emphasis on their national identity in musical discourse was perceived as a restraint.⁵⁰ Similar to Kang's experience, Chin confesses that both Korean and European music communities expected her to compose with elements of Korean/Asian culture because of her cultural origin.⁵¹ She recalls that it almost seemed like an "obligation" in the 1980s, and that although she tried writing such music, she felt that it was not her language.

⁴⁹ See Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006).

⁵⁰ Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, 2: 163.

⁵¹ See the following: Chin and Drees, "Faszination und Neugier. Unsuk Chin im Gespräch mit Stefan Drees über ihre musikalischen Kindheits- und Jugenderinnerungen," in *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, ed. Drees, 25-26.

In discussing Chin's rejection of writing music that has overt cultural elements, it is important to clarify that her detachment from a cultural identity is not specifically about Asian or Korean identity. On many occasions she has emphasized the importance of being able to communicate with the audience and of finding a sound world that is modern, yet does not estrange the listener.⁵² In this light, her distancing from cultural or national associations should be understood as a pursuit for a wider, universal appeal. As in Berger's analysis of a globalized city, eschewing the display of a specific national identity has allowed Chin the freedom to imbue her music with a voice of her own. Her universalist and individualist approach to composition is a break from the historical continuum in Western art music in Korea, as much as it is a reflection of Korea's growing cosmopolitanism.

⁵² See the following: Chin and Yi, "Jakkokgaro sŏui samgwa hankuk ūmakgye e daehayŏ [Life as a composer and about the Korean compositional world], in *Chin Ŭn-suk*, eds. Drees and Yi, 114-115.

Conclusion: Reading Historically Modern Art Music by Korean Composers

This dissertation has explored the notion of national identity as expressed in the music of Korean composers during the post-World War II decades. The investigation is placed in the context of the reception, dissemination, and creation of music in the modernist tradition in Korea. Modern Western art music in Korea was regarded as an antidote to the idea of “tradition” in multiple senses: lacking in conventional melody and harmony, it embodied another layer of foreignness compared to Western tonal music of the “classical” and Romantic era, which had become a familiar sound, arguably even more so than indigenous music in Korea, from the late 1950s to the 1980s. As a result, Western contemporary art music, being non-traditional and non-tonal, presented a twofold problem for the Korean music community, whose primary concern in the postcolonial years was to establish a musical style that was demonstrably “Korean.”

Against this backdrop, my study has shown that, in its early years of dissemination, contemporary Western art music signified a measure of cultural sophistication or advancement for some composers. This view was more prominent among the older generation of composers, who had an idealized notion of the Western—in particular, German—musical world because of relatively limited information about it. Also, these composers, whose musical careers took place during the time when the question of national or cultural identity took precedence over any other artistic concerns, struggled to achieve a balance between asserting their nationality through music and

catching up with Western modern music. This conflict gradually diminished through the decades after 1945, as the memory of colonial history grew less immediate and as the expression of national identity receded from being the central concern in music.

In order to highlight this general progression, I have chosen composers who form a lineage of proponents of contemporary Western music in Korea. Isang Yun, one of the first Korean composers to engage with modern European music, began to establish a career in West Germany in the 1960s. He then taught Sukhi Kang and Byung-dong Paik, who came to Hanover to study with him in the early 1970s; Kang and Paik subsequently returned to Korea and served as the main figures in disseminating the contemporary art music of Europe in Korea throughout the 1970s. Unsuk Chin studied with Kang in Seoul in the early 1980s before moving to Germany in 1985. Nam June Paik is not part of this lineage, but he and Yun were in contact with the same group of composers in West Germany in the late 1950s. As we have seen, Yun and Paik sympathized with different schools of music there, Paik with the American experimentalists and Yun with the serialists, resulting in two radically different musical trajectories; however, juxtaposing these two contemporary composers offers a perspective of the diverse reactions to their home country's postcolonial cultural position.

In addition to the musical lineage just summarized, these composers have shared experiences of dislocation: living in a postcolonial society and moving to another country, in particular West Germany, to study or to live. For Yun, Kang, and Byung-dong Paik, though to varying extent, the distance from their home country engendered a sense

of nationalist obligation to continue their indigenous culture. Above all else, colonial experience, paired with the rapid post-colonial westernization and modernization processes that followed, enhanced a collective sense of national identity and intensified an awareness of the country's relationship with the West. Recovering a historical continuity of Korea's cultural tradition, which had been cut off during the 1930s and '40s while Korea was under Japanese rule and continued to be "threatened" by an influx of Western culture in the decades after 1945, was a general concern across the Korean society in the decades following World War II. This concern extended into the music world, surfacing as a call for establishing a distinct musical style that was demonstrably "Korean."

What this "Koreanness" meant or how it could be expressed through Western art music was difficult to define, however, even for Korean composers. What made the task of establishing "Korean" music even more complicated was the fact that Western art music, especially tonal music, had become a well-established musical tradition in itself in the Korean music world by the end of World War II. In addition to the popularity of the classical and Romantic repertoire of Western art music, a growing number of Korean musicians regarded Western systems of musical notation, functional harmony, and melody as effective tools for transcribing existing melodies or recreating familiar sounds of traditional Korean music. A large body of music by Isang Yun, one of the first composers to engage with the language of European modernist music, can be said to have been created under this principle of transcribing the sound of traditional music.

The various voices on how achieve this “Koreanness” that surfaced in the Korean music community from the mid-1950s through the 1980s have been introduced throughout this study. To some, contemporary music, lacking familiar harmony and melody, was viewed as an inappropriate medium for delivering a national spirit. Apart from such categorical rejection, varying opinions regarding “Korean” music is revealing in terms of which qualities of Western art music Korean composers considered to be commonly shared with traditional Korean music; these included the flexible notion of time (or additive rhythm), microtones, and the extreme use of embellishments. Many of these features can be encapsulated in the notion of a pitch as a self-sufficient, complete musical element, an idea most explicitly explored by Yun and Paik.

While these specific musical signatures are significant, it also important to note that the discussions on how to achieve “Koreanness” in music persisted throughout the postcolonial decades in Korea. The debates surfaced repeatedly during times of political turmoil, including changes in regime. Internal social instability, wedded to noticeable foreign (especially U.S.) involvement in Korean politics, led Koreans to reassert notions such as collective national identity, selfhood, and traditional culture. Government policies also focused on promoting native music and native musicians, who were often performers. Under these circumstances, the dissemination of contemporary art music depended on personal exchanges. Such exchanges were most noticeable during the 1970s, when the Korean musical community’s exchanges with the Western contemporary music scene increased markedly, as composers who studied in Europe, such as Kang and

Paik, returned home. Information about new music in America also came in through Korean composers who were studying the U.S.; interpersonal information exchanges were more effective tools in introducing new music of the West than any state-sponsored events.

Another notable aspect regarding the reception of contemporary music in Korea is that, through the years, the question of negotiating the old and the new evolved into mediating between “Koreanized” Western music and Western modern music. The pursuit of an established style that could be identifiable as “ours” and the continued inflow of unfamiliar musical styles pushed composers to find ways to incorporate the two. For instance, while both Kang and Byung-dong Paik were advocates of contemporary music, they each engaged with Korean musical elements in their music, reflecting their awareness of these debates surrounding the expression of “Koreanness” in music. Paik considered his music, which seemingly resembled the sound of modern European music, to be rooted in the sound and ideals of traditional Korean music, and therefore showed a possibility of integrating these two musical traditions at a more conceptual level than Yun’s way of transcribing them. Kang, who was more internationally oriented, gradually rejected the idea of national identity expression in his music. His use of elements of Korean traditional music was motivated not only by the domestic concern for a revival of traditional culture, but also the European musical community’s expectation that an Asian composer should express his native culture through music.

By the 1980s, contemporary Western music had become more familiar in Korea, although the discussion of “Korean” music carried on during this decade. Yet, the ideology of nationalism took on a new tone: those composers who were concerned about national identity advocated that Korea’s position as a Third World country should be reflected in music. This perspective draws a contrast to the view of older generations of composers, who strove to emulate Western standards of musical modernism. At the other end of the spectrum, composers such as Unsuk Chin jettisoned the idea of cultural expression through music. Continuing a universalist approach to music suggested by her Korean teacher Kang, who, however, still composed in a style that carried elements of Korean traditional music, Chin consciously dissociated her music from her Asian identity by engaging with multiple cultures or drawing from surreal subject matter.

At various points in this dissertation, I have also underlined the inevitable fissure between the image of the “other” as conceived by Korean composers and the reality. The rift was most conspicuous in the cases of Yun or Nam-June Paik, both of whom went to Germany to learn the “most recent” compositional style, namely Schoenberg’s serialism. Discovering that the European musical scene had long since moved beyond Schoenberg, each turned to a different musical style, Yun to traditional Korean music, Paik to the radical avant-garde music of the American experimentalists. In discussing such belatedness in the image of the “other,” I have turned to Homi Bhabha’s notions of mimicry and ambivalence, which explain the inevitable disparity between the colonizer’s

culture and that of the colonized, which is a hybrid of the indigenous culture and the culture of the colonizing “other.”

Bhabha’s notion of the Third Space also aptly explains the intersection of two different musical cultures and the rise of a musical style that embraces both. The Third Space highlights the generative aspect of colonial influences, which had been conventionally associated with adversity and equality. Beneath this notion is the premise that culture is neither static nor one-directional, but rather always influencing and being influenced by other cultures. Composers whose idea of national identity had been destabilized by the colonial experience did not immediately see the possibility of Korean culture being able to influence Western culture; we see in the case of Yun that he did not think of the possibility of engaging with his own culture until he moved to Europe. A later-generation composer such as Chin has embraced this notion of cultural fluidity, rejecting altogether the expectation of expressing one’s cultural identity.

As we have seen, the progression of Western art music in Korea has shifted from a dominant preoccupation with establishing nationalistic music toward a diminished influence of nationalist ideologies on music. This does not mean that the practice of expressing Korean national identity with music has ceased; Korean composers today still use materials which evoke national culture, by employing folk tunes or writing programmatic music, but such uses are not necessarily motivated by an explicit goal to establish “Korean” music. However, as the memory of colonialism fades in Korea, the ideological valence of either composing Western art music or engaging with traditional

Korean elements is rendered less immediately clear. The evolution surrounding the issue of national identity expression has been from a multiculturalist, essentialist approach to an interculturalist, universalist one.

Scholarship on Korean musicians' embrace of Western music is gaining momentum as I am finishing this dissertation. More works by the composers mentioned in this dissertation still remain to be examined, and there are many other composers who are not given attention in this work but deserve study.¹ Further, investigation of some Korean composers is limited by Korea's political situation: for instance, a more comprehensive study of Yun's life and work will be possible when information on Yun's musical career and his reception in North Korea becomes accessible.²

Another topic deserving of inquiry is the influence of Korean composers on Western composers. As discussed at various points in this dissertation, many Western composers, including Cage, Stockhausen, and Ligeti, were inspired by the sounds of Asian music or Asian philosophies in the post-World War II era. When the impact of Eastern music and composers on such Western composers is investigated, a more

¹ Some of such composers include Yonghi Pagh-Paan (b. 1945), a prolific composer who moved to Germany in 1974 and still resides there, and Tai-bong Chung (b. 1952), who studied in Seoul, Korea, and Karlsruhe, Germany, and is now a Professor of Music at Seoul National University.

² Yun earned much respect in North Korea and was praised by the first leader of North Korea, Kim Il-Sung, as the country's most successful composer. The Kim regime invested a great deal in the performance of and research about Yun's music. The Isang Yun Music Institute, founded in 1984, and the Isang Yun Orchestra, a chamber orchestra founded in 1990, are both located in Pyongyang, North Korea. The Isang Yun Music Institute, which researches Western-style art music by other North Korean composers and contemporary music of foreign composers, holds regular concerts in honor of Isang Yun. "Buk 'Yun I-sang ūmak yŏ nguso' ōddŏn gosin'ga" [What is North Korea's Isang Yun Music Institute], *Hankyoreh*, 29 October 1998, 14. In addition, one of the first recordings of Isang Yun's works was the performance of his Symphony No. 1 and *Loyang* by the North Korea State Symphony Orchestra (Tokyo, Camerata, 1987).

comprehensive picture of musical crossings between the East and the West will be produced. This study will realize the intercultural ideal of non-static, mutually influencing cultures.

Works Cited

Archival Sources

Arko Arts Archive, Seoul, South Korea
Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt Archiv, Darmstadt, Germany
Isang Yun House, Tongyeong, South Korea
The Library of Congress, Washington, DC
National Archives, College Park, MD
The National Library of Korea, Seoul, South Korea
Unyong La Archive, Seoul, South Korea

Journal Sources

Chosun Ilbo, Seoul, South Korea, 1920–present
Dong-a Ilbo, Seoul, South Korea, 1920–present
Hankyoreh, Seoul, South Korea, 1988–present
Kyung-hyang Shinmun, Seoul, South Korea, 1946–present
Ŭmak chunchu, Seoul, South Korea, 1990–present
Wolgan Ŭmak [Monthly Music], Seoul, South Korea, 1970–1993

Personal Interviews

Author's interview with Sukhi Kang, 7 and 24 March 2015.

Print Sources

- Ahn, Choong-Sik. *The Story of Western Music in Korea: A Social History, 1885–1950*. Morgan Hill, CA: eBookstand Books, 2005.
- Allenby, David, and Unsuk Chin. “<Cello hyŏpjukok> kwa <saenghwang hyŏpjukok> e daehayŏ” [About Concerto for Cello and Concerto for Sheng]. In *Chin Ŭn-suk, miraeŭi akporŭl kŭrita*, edited by Stefan Drees and Hŭi-kyŏng Yi, 252-259. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Anderson, Julian. “Spectral music.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50982> (accessed 26 September 2012).

- Andraschke, Peter. "Avantgarde und Tradition: Isang Yun, ein Vermittler zwischen Asien und Europa." In *Multikulturelle und internationale Konzepte in der Neuen Musik*, edited by Hartmut Krones, 515-530. Vienna: Böhlau, 2008.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Armstrong, Charles K. *The Koreas*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Attinello, Paul G. "Postmodern or Modern: A Different Approach Darmstadt." *Contemporary Music Review* 26 (2007): 25-37.
- Attinello, Paul G., Christopher Fox, and Martin Iddon, eds. *Other Darmstadts*. Vol. 26, Pt. 1 *Contemporary Music Review*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2007.
- Austin, Larry, and Douglas Kahn, eds. *Source: Music of the Avant-garde, 1966-1973*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Babcock, David. "Korean Composers in Profile." *Tempo* 192 (1995): 15-21.
- Baldwin, Frank. "America's Rented Troops: South Koreans in Vietnam." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 7 no. 4 (1975): 33-40.
- Barnhisel, Greg. *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Bartók, Béla. "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music." In *Béla Bartók Essays*, translated and edited by Benjamin Suchoff, 340-344. London: Faber & Faber, 1976.
- Bauer, Amy. "'Compounding the Sound Itself': Secondary Parameters and Structure in the Music of Ligeti." *Indiana Theory Review* 22 (2001): 37-64, 99.
- Bauermeister, Mary. "Cage minus Stockhausen oder Stockhausen minus Cage." In *Nam June Paik: There is No Rewind Button for Life*, edited by Herzogenrath and Kreul, 36-47. Cologne: DuMont, 2007.

- Bauermeister, Mary, and Karlheinz Stockhausen. *Manifestatie Mary Bauermeister en Karlheinz Stockhausen: schilderijen, elektronische muziek: Catalogus van een tentoonstellingen, Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1/2–24/2 1963*. Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum, 1963.
- Beal, Amy C. "A Place to Ply Their Wares with Dignity: American Composer-Performers in West Germany, 1972." *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2002): 329-348.
- _____. "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956." *American Musicological Society* 53 (2000): 105-139.
- _____. *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- _____. "Time Canvasses: Morton Feldman and the Painters of the New York School." In *Music and Modern Art*, edited by James Leggio, 227-245. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- _____. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Bloechi, Olivia Ashley. *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Borio, Gianmario, and Hermann Danuser, eds. *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946-1966: Geschichte und Dokumentation in vier Bänden*. Vol. 3 of *Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Musicae*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997.
- Botstein, Leon. "Modernism." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40625> (accessed 16 December 2016).
- Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-garde*. Translated by Michael Shaw. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Burt, Peter. *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Buzo, Adrian. *The Making of Modern Korea*. London: Routledge, 2002.

- Cahill, James. "49. Music in Korea," *James Cahill—Professor Emeritus, History of Art—UC Berkeley*. <http://jamescahill.info/the-writings-of-james-cahill/responses-a-reminiscences/171-49-music-in-korea> (accessed 15 June 2016).
- Chae, Hyun-kyung. "Ch'angjak Kugak: Han'gukchögin han'guk ūmak ūi ch'angjo" [Newly Composed Korean Traditional Music: Making Korean Music Korean]. *Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute* 20 (1998): 289-316.
- Chen, Kuan-Hsing. *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Cheong, Sung-wha. *The Politics of Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Korea: Japanese-South Korean Relations under American Occupation, 1945-1952*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Chin, Daryl. "Multiculturalism and Its Masks: The Art of Identity Politics." *Performing Arts Journal* 14/1 (1992): 1-15.
- Chin, Unsuk, and Hŭi-kyöng Yi, "Jakkokgaro söüi samgwa hankuk ūmakgye e daehayö [Life as a composer and about the Korean compositional world]. In *Chin Ŭn-suk, miraeüi akporül kŭrita*, edited by Stefan Drees and Hŭi-kyöng Yi, 114-115. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Chin, Unsuk, and Patrick Hahn, "Honjae doen jöncesung kwa önö yuhhŭl" [Mixed identity and wordplay]. In *Chin Ŭn-suk, miraeüi akporül kŭrita*, edited by Stefan Drees and Hŭi-kyöng Yi, 56-69. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Chin, Unsuk. Composer's Note in *Akrostichon-Wortspiel: Seven Scenes from Fairy-Tales for Soprano and Ensemble*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1996.
- "Chin, Unsuk: *Cantatrix Sopranica*," Boosey & Hawkes, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-Cantatrix-Sopranica/45367> (accessed 3 February 2017).
- "Chin, Unsuk: *Miroirs des temps*," Boosey & Hawkes, <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-Miroirs-des-temps/5584> (accessed 3 February 2017).
- Ching, Leo. "Japan in Asia." In *A Companion to Japanese History*, edited by William M. Tsutsui, 407-423. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 2007.
- Chöng, Han-suk. *Han'guk ūi munhwa chöngch'aek* [Korea's cultural policy], edited by Yöng-dong Chön. Seoul: Korea Arts and Culture Foundation, 1992.

- Chǒng, Sǒng-hwa, comp. *Park Chǒng-hŭi sidae wa p'adok Hanindŭl* [Park Chung-Hee era and Koreans in Germany]. Seoul: Sǒnin, 2013.
- Chou, Wen-chung. "Asian Concepts and Twentieth-Century Western Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 57 no. 2 (1971): 211-229.
- Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, ed. *Lost Victory: An Overview of the Korean People's Struggle for Democracy in 1987*. Seoul: Minjungsa, 1988.
- Chung, Tai-Bong. "Paek Pyǒng-dong kwa kŭ ui ŭmak" [Byung-dong Paik and His Music], *Nangman ŭmak* [Romantic Music] 7 no. 4 (1995): 5-44.
- Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1988.
- Cohen, Brigid M. "Migrant Cosmopolitan Modern: Cultural Reconstruction in Stefan Wolpe's Musical Thought, 1919-1972." PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007.
- Craig, Albert M. *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Cumings, Bruce. *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.
- Dörstel, Wilfried, Rainer Steinberg, and Robert von Zahn. "The Bauermeister Studio: Proto-Fluxus in Cologne, 1960-62." In *Fluxus Virus*, edited by Ken Friedman, 48-62. Cologne: Galerie Schüppenhauer, 1992.
- Drees, Stefan. "Faszination und Neugier. Unsuk Chin im Gespräch mit Stefan Drees über ihre musikalischen Kindheits- und Jugenderinnerungen." In *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, edited by Stefan Drees, 13-26. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Drees, Stefan, ed. *Im Spiegel der Zeit: Die Komponistin Unsuk Chin*. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Drees, Stefan, and Hŭi-kyǒng Yi. *Chin Ŭn-suk, miraeŭi akporŭl kŭrit: 'Arŭsŭ noba' Chin Ŭn-suk, hyŏndaeumakŭl 'ŭmak' ŭro mandŭlda* [Unsuk Chin, drawing the score of the future: 'Ars Nova' Unsuk Chin turns contemporary music into "music"]. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Education Center for Unification, Ministry of Unification.
http://pyungdong.ca/bbs/table/board_3/upload/20130731150218.pdf (accessed 11 December 2015).

- Eikemeier, Dieter. "Ist Yun Isangs Musik koreanisch?" In *Der Komponist Isang Yun*, edited by Hanns-Werner Heister und Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer, 29-39. Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1987.
- Emmerson, Simon. *Living Electronic Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Everett, Yayoi Uno, and Frederick Lau, eds. *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2004.
- Everett, Yayoi Uno. "Intercultural Synthesis in Postwar Western Art Music: Historical Contexts, Perspectives, and Taxonomy." In *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, edited by Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, 1-21. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2004.
- _____. "Scream Against the Sky." In *Sound Commitment: Avant-garde Music and the Sixties*, edited by Robert Adlington, 187-208. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Fausser, Annegret. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Fosler-Lussier, Danielle, and Eric Fosler-Lussier. "Database of Cultural Presentations: Accompaniment to *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*." Version 1.1. <http://musicdiplomacy.org/database.html>, last modified 1 April 2015.
- Fosler-Lussier, Danielle. *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
- Garcia, Patricia. *Space and the Postmodern Fantastic in Contemporary Literature: The Architectural Void*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Gardner, Paul. "Tuning in to Nam June Paik." *Art News* 81 (May 1982): 67.
- Gennep, Arnold van. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- "Good Morning, Mr. Orwell." Media Art Net. <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/goog-morning> (accessed 6 August 2014).
- Gothóni, Maris. "Programme Note," Chin, Unsuk: *Šu* (2009). Boosey and Hawks. <http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Unsuk-Chin-u/52419> (accessed 13 January 2017).
- Griffis, William Elliot. *A Modern Pioneer in Korea*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912.

- Guilbaut, Gerge. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Hall, Stuart. "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power." In *Formations of Modernity*. Edited by Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben. Cambridge: Polity, 1992.
- Han, Rae-Suk. "Kang Sök Hee ŭi kayak ŭm ŭl wuihan tasöt kaeüi chöngkyöng punsök yönku" [Analytical Study of Sukhi Kang's *Five Scenes for Kayagŭm*]. Master's Thesis, Seoul National University, 2006.
- Hanhardt, John G., ed. *Nam June Paik: Global Visionary*. New York: Norton, 1982.
- Hansen, Miriam Bratu. "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism." *Modernism/Modernity* 6 (1999): 59-77.
- Han'guk Ŭmakhak Hakhoe [Korean Musicological Society] and Yun I-sang P'yöngghwa Chaedan [Isang Yun Peace Foundation], eds. *Yun I-sang ŭi ch'angjak segye wa Tong Asia munhwa* [Isang Yun's musical world and the East-Asian culture]. Seoul: Yesol, 2006.
- Han'guk Yesul Yön'guso [Korean National Research Center for the Arts], comp. *Han'guk hyöndae yesulsa taegye* [The history of Korean contemporary arts]. Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999.
- Harris, Sarah Miller. *The CIA and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the Early Cold War: The Limits of Making Common Cause*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Herzogenrath, Wulf, and Andreas Kreul, eds. *Nam June Paik: There is No Rewind Button for Life*. Cologne: DuMont, 2007.
- "History." *Contemporary Music Society in Seoul*. <https://changak.com/history> (accessed 22 December 2016).
- Higgings, Hannah. *Fluxus Experience*. Berkeley: California University Press, 2002.
- Hö, Ŭn. *Miguk ŭi hegemoni wa Han'guk minjokchuüi: naengjön sidae, 1945-1965: munhwajök kyönggye ŭi kuch'uk kwa kyunyöl ŭi tongban* [The U.S. hegemony and Korea's nationalism: The Cold War period, 1945-1965, constructing cultural boundaries and accompanying rupture]. Seoul: Koryö Taehakkyo Minjok Munhwa Yön'guwön, 2008.

- Höhn, Maria, and Seungsook Moon, eds. *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Howard, Keith. *Creating Korean Music: Tradition, Innovation and the Discourse of Identity*. Vol. 2 of *Perspectives on Korean Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- _____. *Korean Kayagŭm Sanjo: A Traditional Instrumental Genre*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- _____. *Preserving Korean Music: Intangible Cultural Properties as Icons of Identity*. Vol. 1 of *Perspectives on Korean Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Hŭi-kyŏng, Yi. *Chakkokka Kang Sŏk-hŭi waŭi taehwa* [Conversations with composer Sukhi Kang]. Seoul: Yesol, 2004.
- Hulbert, Homer B. *The Passing of Korea*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906.
- Irino, Yoshirō. *Jūnion no ongaku: shēnberuku to sono gihō* [Twelve sounds of music: Schönberg and his technique]. Tokyo: Hayakawashobō, 1953.
- Jager, Sheila Miyoshi. *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Joachim, Heinz. "Gefährdet durch Willkür und Spielerei. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik enthüllen bedrohliche Tendenzen," *Die Welt*, 11 September, 1959. In *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946-1966*, edited by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser. Vol. 3 of *Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Musicae*, 430-434. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997.
- Kagel, Mauricio. "Neuer Raum—Neue Musik. Gedanken zum Instrumentalen Theater (1966)." In *Im Zenit der Moderne*, edited by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser. Vol. 3, 245–253. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997.
- Kanazawa, Masakata. "Mayuzumi, Toshirō." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18186> (accessed 1 March 2017).

- _____. “Moroi, Makoto.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19157> (accessed 1 March 2017).
- _____. “Moroi, Saburō.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19158> (accessed 1 March 2017).
- Kang, Hildi. *Under the Black Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Kang, Suk-Nam. “Studies on the Reception of Western Music: Its beginning and F. Eckert.” Master’s Thesis, Yonsei University, 1989.
- Kang, Sukhi. *Na nŭn ūmak ūl sŏlgye hanŭn chakkokka: hyŏndae ūmakka Kang Sŏk-hŭi ūi salm kwa kkum kŭrigo ūmak* [I am a composer who designs sound: Contemporary composer Sukhi Kang’s life, dream, and music]. Seoul: Salm kwa Kkum, 1998.
- _____. *Sekye Ūmak ūi Hyunchang ūl Ch’ajasŏ* [Visiting World’s Musical Scenes]. Seoul: Koryŏwŏn, 1979.
- Kang, Taehee. “Nam June Paik: Early Years (1958-1973)” PhD diss., The Florida State University, 1988.
- Kellein, Thomas. “Homage to Nam June Paik.” In *Nam June Paik: There is No Rewind Button for Life*, edited by Herzogenrath and Kreul, 52-55. Cologne: DuMont, 2007.
- Kim, Bo-yŏng. “Chayu shinmun” [Freedom News]. http://db.history.go.kr/download.do?levelId=npfp&fileName=intro_npfp.pdf (accessed 2 March 2017).
- Kim, Byung-Kook, and Ezra F. Vogel, eds. *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Kim, Ch’un-mi, Ūn-hee Park, and Byung-dong Paik. “Dedahm: Paek Pyŏng-dong Paek kwa kŭ ūi piano ch’akpumŭro tokch’uhoerŭl kach’in Park Ūn-hee waŭi daedam” [Colloquy: Conversations with Byung-dong Paik and Park Ūn-hee, who gave a recital with Paik’s piano works]. *Nangman Quarterly* (1990): 87-108.
- Kim, Ch’un-mi. *Paek Pyŏng-dong yŏn’gu* [Studies on Byung-dong Paik]. Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000.

- Kim, Hyung-A and Clark W. Sorensen, eds. *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961-1979: Development, Political Thought, Democracy, and Cultural Influence*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011.
- Kim, Jeongmee. "Musical Syncretism in Isang Yun's *Gasa*." In *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, edited by Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, 168-192. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2004.
- _____. "The Diasporic Composer: The Fusion of Korean and German Musical Culture in the Works of Isang Yun." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999.
- Kim, Mun-hwan. *Mirae rül sanŭn munhwa chŏngch'aek* [Cultural policies for the future]. Seoul: Nanam, 1996.
- Kim, Yong-gu. *Segyegwan ch'ungdol kwa Hanmal oegyosa, 1866-1882* [Conflicts of worldview and the history of foreign relations at the end of Chosŏn Korea]. Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 2001.
- Krenek, Ernst. "Extents and Limits of Serial Techniques." In *Problems of Modern Music: The Princeton Seminar in Advanced Musical Studies*, edited by Paul Henry Lang, 72-94. New York: Norton, 1962.
- Kwon, Donna Lee. *Music in Korea: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Kwon, Min-Kyung. *A Country's Progression into a Century of Promise: Contemporary Piano Music by Korean Composers: Including a Historical Survey of Western Music in Korea & a Catalogue of Piano Repertoire*. DMA diss., The Juilliard School, 2000.
- Kwon, Ohsung. *Essays on Korean Traditional Music Culture*. Seoul: Minsokwon, 2008.
- La, Un-yung. *Béla Bartók Studies, Contemporary Music Pamphlet 1*. Seoul: Korean Contemporary Music Society, 1953.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Norton, 1978.
- Lee, Bong-Beom. "Culture Policy and Film Censorship in 1950s." *Korean Cultural Studies* 37 (2009): 410-467.
- Lee, Gyosuk. "Hankukjjök iranŭn gut" [What it Means for Music to be "Korean"]. *Monthly Music*, February 1975, 51-53.

- Lee, Hee Kyung. *Conversations with Sukhi Kang*. Seoul: Yesol, 2002.
- Lee, Jai-eui, Kap Su Seol, and Nick Mamatas, eds., *Kwangju Diary: Beyond Death, Beyond the Darkness of the Age*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 1999.
- Lee, Jisun, and Hanako Yamamoto. "A Study of Yiwangjik's Organization based on Jikwonrok." Under "Jisun Lee's Traditional Japanese Culture."
<http://www.leejisun.com/article-jikwonrok.htm> (accessed 6 December 2013).
- Lee, Kee-Kyung. "Ŭmak" [Music]. In *Han'guk hyöndae yesulsa taegye IV: Ch'ön gubaek ch'ilship nyöndae* [The History of Korean Contemporary Arts IV: 1970s], compiled by Han'guk Yesul Yön'guso, 297-345. Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999.
- Lee, Sang-Dawn. *Big Brother, Little Brother: The American Influence on Korean Culture in the Lyndon B. Johnson Years*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002.
- Lee, Sohyun, Sooyoung Lee, and Chaeyoung Lee, eds. *x_sound: John Cage, Nam June Paik and After*. Seoul: Nam June Paik Art Center, 2012. Exhibition catalog.
- Lee, Yoon-Sun. *One Hundred Years of Western Music in Korea*. Seoul: Eumag Choonchu Publisher, 1985.
- Leong, Russell, ed. *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Visual Communications, Southern California Asian American Studies Central, 1991.
- Liem, Wol-san. "Telling the 'Truth' to Koreans: U.S. Cultural Policy in South Korea During the early Cold War, 1947-1967." PhD diss., New York University, 2010.
- Matsudaira, Yoritsune. "Neue Musik in Japan [1959]." In *Im Zenit der Moderne*, edited by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser. Vol. 3, 218-223. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997.
- Mersmann, Hans. *Die Moderne Musik seit der Romantik*. Wildpark-Postdam: Akademische Verlagsanstalt Athenaion, 1929.
- Metzger, Heinz-Klaus and Rainer Riehn, eds. *Darmstadt-Dokumente*. Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1999.
- Miller, Leta E. and Charles Hanson. "Harrison, Lou." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46517>
(accessed 10 December 2015).

- Monson, Ingrid, ed. *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.
- Munroe, Alexandra. *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky*. New York: J.N. Abrams, 1994.
- Myers, B. R. *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves—And Why It Matters*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2010.
- Na, Woon-Yong [Un-yung La]. *Theme and Variations [Chuje wa pyŏnju]* Seoul: SeKwang Publisher, 1964.
- Nagle, John. *Multiculturalism's Double Bind*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2009.
- Naipaul, V. S. *The Mimic Men*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
- Neidhöfer, Christoph. "'Blues' Through the Serial Lens; Transformational Process in a Fragment by Bruno Maderna." *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung* 18 (2005): 14-20.
- Nicolas Slonimsky, "Mikuk gyohyang akdan americŏnizm" ["Americanism in American Symphony Music"]. *Monthly Music*, May 1974, 98-99.
- No, Tong-ŭn. *Kim Sun-Nam ŭi sam kwa yesul* [The life and art of Sun-Nam Kim]. Seoul: Nangman Ŭmaksa, 1992.
- No, Tong-ŭn, and Kŏnyong Yi, *Minjok ŭmak ron* [Theories of national music] Seoul, Hangil-sa: 1991.
- Nyman, Michael. *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1974].
- _____. "Nam June Paik, Composer." In *Michael Nyman: Collected Writings*, edited by Pwyll ap Siŏn, 348-357. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013.
- _____. "Nam June Paik, Composer." In *Nam June Paik: Global Visionary*, edited by John G. Hanhardt, 79-90. New York: Norton, 1982.
- Oberdorfer, Don and Robert Carlin. *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
- Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Pai, Hyung-il. *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.
- Paik, Byung-dong. "Na ŭi ūmak ul malhada" [On my music]. *Nangman Quarterly* (1990): 7-46.
- Paik, Nam June. "My Symphonies." In *Source: Music of the Avant-Garde, 1966-1973*, edited by Larry Austin and Douglas Kahn, 363-364. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- _____. "New Ontology of Music." In *Source: Music of the Avant-Garde, 1966-1973*, edited by Larry Austin and Douglas Kahn, 365. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- _____. *Nam June Paik: Exposition of Music, Electronic Television: Revisited*. Cologne: Walther König, 2009.
- _____. *Nam June Paik Works 1958.1979*. Sub Rosa SR178 EFA, 2001, compact disc.
- Paik, Nam June (interview conducted by Jason Weiss). "Nam June Paik Interview." *Ear* 9/10 (Fall 1985), 11.
- Paik, Nam June, and Wolfgang Steinecke. "Ich schreibe 'Amusik.'" In *Darmstadt-Dokumente*, edited by Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, 110-134. Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1999.
- Pak, Yong-gu. *Ūmak kwa hyŏnsil* [Music and Reality]. Seoul: Yesol, 1998.
- Park, Junghu. "20segi ūmake issŏsŏui dongyangjŏkin soje" [Asian Motives in 20th-century Music]. *Monthly Music*, November 1974, 40-43.
- Park, Sang Mi. "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965–Present." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 15 no. 1 (2010): 67-94.
- Park, Sun-Wook. *Isang Yun*. Seoul: Jahk-eun Ssi-aht, 2010.
- Paul Griffiths. "Ligeti, György." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16642>
 (accessed 8 January 2017).

- Review of *Hommage à John Cage*, “Mutter, der Man mit dem Schrein ist da . . . Zurücktreten, bitte—Musik!” from a Düsseldorf Newspaper, mid-November 1959, reprinted in Nam June Paik, *Nam June Paik: Werke 1946-1976: Musik, Fluxus, Video*, 42. Köln, Der Kunstverein: 1976.
- Rinser, Luise, and Isang Yun, *Yun Isang sangch'ŏ ibŭn yong: Yun Isang, Luije Rinjŏ ŭi taehwa* [Isang Yun, the wounded dragon: Conversations between Isang Yun and Louise Rinser]. Translated by Yun Isang Pyonghwa Chaedan [Isang Yun Peace Foundation]. Seoul: Random House Joongang, 2005.
- Rose, François. “Introduction to the Pitch Organization of French Spectral Music,” *Perspectives of New Music* 34/2 (1996): 6-39.
- Rozsnyai, Alize. “Akrostichon Wortspiel”—Un Suk Chin.” YouTube video, 21:10. Posted 12 February 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-aZw6r2-wM>.
- Rufer, Josef. *12on ni yoru sakkyoku gihō* [Composition technique by twelve sounds]. Translated by Yoshirō Irino. Tokyo: Ongaku No Tomosha, 1957.
- Ryou, Dae-Young. *Kaehwagi Chosŏn kwa Miguk sŏn'gyosa: chegukchuŭi ch'imnyak, kaehwa chagang, kŭrigo Miguk sŏn'gyosa* [Early Modern Korea and American Missionaries: Imperial Expansion, Self-strengthening Reform, and American Missionaries]. Seoul: Korean Institute of Christian History, 2004.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Random House, 1993.
- _____. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- _____. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New York: The New Press, 2000 [1999].
- Schmelz, Peter. *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music During the Thaw*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Schmid, Andre. “Rediscovering Manchuria: Sin Ch'aeho and the Politics of Territorial History in Korea.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 56 no. 1 (1997): 26-47.
- Schwartz, Elliott and Barney Childs, eds. *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1998.

- Scott-Smith, Giles and Hans Krabberndam, eds. *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*. London: F. Cass, 2003.
- Sen, Amartya. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006.
- Seo, Jeong Eun. "Unsuik Chin's Musical Language, Abstraction, and Recontextualization." In *Contemporary Music in East Asia*, edited by Hee Sook Oh, 89-119. Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2014.
- Sheng, Bright. "Batuoque yu xiandai zhongguo yinyue" [Bartók and Modern Chinese Music]. *The Art of Music* 75 (1998): 55-56.
- Shin, Gi-Wook, and Kyung Moon Hwang, eds. *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Shin, Gi-Wook, and Michael Robinson, eds. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Shin, Gi-Wook. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Sin, Ch'ae-ho. *Tanjae Sin Ch'ae-ho chŏnjip* [The complete works of Tanjae Sin Ch'ae-ho]. Ch'ungnam Ch'ŏnan-si: Tongnip Kinyŏmgwan Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso [Institute of Korean Independence Movement Studies], 2007.
- Smith, Anthony D. *State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Song, Bang-song. *Korean Music: Historical and Other Aspects*. Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000.
- Sŏng, Kyungrin. "Dongsŏ ūmak ūi tŭkjing" [Characteristics of Eastern and Western music], *Monthly Music*, November 1974, 44-47.
- Sparrer, Walter-Wolfgang. "Über das Werk." Yun, Isang: *Réak* (1966), Boosey & Hawkes. http://www.boosey.com/shop/catalogue/work_info.asp?site-lang=de&musicid=1795&langid=2 (accessed 13 January 2017).
- Starck, Kathleen, ed. *Between Fear and Freedom: Cultural Representations of the Cold War*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010.

- Stephen, Ilja. "Isang Yun—im Spannungsfeld der Kulturen und politischen Systeme." In *Komponisten im Exil: 16 Künstlerschicksale des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Ferdinand Zehentleiter, 243-258. Berlin: Henschel, 2008.
- Stephan, Ilja. "Kontinuität als Schaffensprinzip: Über zyklische Zusammenhänge im Werk von Isang Yun." Ilja Stephan, <http://www.iljastephan.de/publikationen/aufsaeetze/62.html> (accessed 22 February 2017).
- Stockhausen-Stiftung f. Musik, ed. *Karlheinz Stockhausen bei den Internationalen Ferienkursen für Neue Musik in Darmstadt 1951–1996: Dokumente und Briefe*. Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2001.
- Suh, Woo-Suk. *Studies on Reception and Development of Western music*. Seoul: Moon-Wha, 1988.
- Takeuchi, Yoshimi. *What is Modernity?: Writings of Takeuchi Yoshimi*. Edited and translated by Richard. F. Calichman. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Taruskin, Richard. *The Late Twentieth Century*. Vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of Western Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre. *Building the Earth*. New York: Dimension Books, 1965.
- Tiampo, Ming, and Alexandra Munroe. *Gutai: Splendid Playground*. New York: Guggenheim, 2013.
- Todd, Henry A. *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Tomkins, Calvin. "Profiles: Video Visionary," *New Yorker*, 5 May 1975, 46.
- Toop, Richard. *György Ligeti*. London: Phaidon Press, 1999.
- Traber, Habakuk. "Unsuk Chins *Šu* für Sheng und Orchester (2009, revidiert 2010)." In *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, edited by Stefan Drees, 169-171. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Turner, Victor W. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995.
- Waterman, Richard A. "'Hot' Rhythm in Negro Music." *Journal of American Musicological Society* 1 (1948): 24-37.

- Weisenfeld, Gennifer S. *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905–1931*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Westergaard, Peter. “The State of Mind of Darmstadt.” Lecture given at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 17 February 2012.
- Wilkening, Martin. “Nur der eigenen Fantasie verpflichtet. Die Komponistin Unsuk Chin und ihr Schaffen.” In *Im Spiegel der Zeit*, edited by Stefan Drees, 115-121. Mainz: Schott, 2011.
- Winckel, Fritz. *Music, Sound and Sensation: A Modern Exposition*. Translated by Thomas Binkley. New York: Dover Publications, 1967.
- Wong, Hoi-Yan. “Bartók’s Influence on Chinese New Music.” *Studia Musicologica* 48 (2007): 237-243.
- Woo-Cumings, Meredith. *Race to the Swift*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Wulf, Andrew James. *U.S. International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds Through Cultural Diplomacy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.
- Yi, Kang-suk, Ch’un-mi Kim, and Kyöng-ch’an Min. *Uri yangak 100-yöŋ* [One hundred years of our Western music]. Seoul: Hyönama, 2001.
- Yi, Kyu-ho. “Chuch’esöng.” *Kitokkyo Sasang* [Christian Ideology] 9 no. 8 (1965): 59.
- Yi, So-yöng, and Jiyöng Jön, “Music.” In *Han’guk hyöndae yesulsa taegye V: Ch’ön gubaek palship nyöndae* [The History of Korean contemporary arts V: 1980s], compiled by Han’guk Yesul Yöŋ’guso, 313-365. Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999.
- Yi, So-yöng. *Han’guk ümak üi naemyönhwa toen orient’allijüm ül nömöösö* [Overcoming internalized orientalism in Korean music]. Seoul: Minsogwön, 2005.
- Yi, Su-ja. *Nae Namp’yöŋ Yun I-sang* [My husband Isang Yun]. Seoul: Ch’angjak kwa Pip’yöngsa, 1998.
- Yi, Tök-chu. *Chosön ün wae Ilbon üi singminji ka toeönnün’ga* [Why did Chosön become Japan’s colony]. Seoul: Edit’ö, 2002.
- Yi, Yöng-mi. *Han’guk taejung kayosa* [History of Korean popular music]. Seoul: Minsogwön, 2006.

- Yi, Yong-u. *Paek Nam-jun kŭ chi 'iy ōrhan sam kwa yesul* [Nam June Paik, his fierce life and arts]. Seoul: Yŏrŭmsa, 2000.
- Yoo, Duk-Hee. *History of Music Education*. Seoul: SeKwang Publishing, 1985.
- Yoshimoto, Midori. *Into Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- _____. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.
- Yun, Shin-hyang. *Yun I-sang: kyŏnggyesŏn sang ŭi ŭmak* [*Isang Yun: Between two musical worlds*]. Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si: Han'gilsa, 2005.
- Zheng, Su. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Biography

Jung-Min Mina Lee was born in Seoul, Korea. She earned a B.A. in Economics and Music from Northwestern University (2005) and a M.M. in Piano Performance from the Manhattan School of Music (2007). She holds a M.A. in Musicology from Duke University (2011) and graduated with a Ph.D. in Musicology from Duke in 2017. Her essay “The Necessity and Limits of National Framework: Understanding Music of Jung Taebong” will be published in *The Musical World of Jung Taebong* by the Seoul National University Press in 2017. Her dissertation work was supported by Duke University’s Graduate School Summer Research Fellowship, Dissertation Research Travel Fellowship, International Research Travel Fellowship, and Duke University’s Asian/Pacific Studies Institute Summer Research Fellowship. These grants and fellowships were used to complete archival research at the Darmstadt Archive in Germany, the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, the National Archives II in College Park, MD, and national libraries and archives in Seoul, Korea.