

## Piano and Modernity in Korea

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### Introduction

The global prominence of Korean pianists today is an outcome of the history of active take-up of piano and organ from the time of the Korean Empire in the late nineteenth century, associated with missionary activity and the establishment of mission schools. Enthusiasm for the piano and its music continued to grow during the period of Japanese rule, and blossomed in the post-liberation era.

In nineteenth century Europe, the piano developed as an outcome of the industrial revolution and of bourgeois society (Weber 1958 [1921]). The same process occurred in modernizing and industrializing East Asia, where the nascent piano culture coincided with and was further boosted through the establishment of the recording industry and radio and other media.

Although the piano is always duly mentioned in histories of music in modern Korea, it is rarely focused on as an independent phenomenon, perhaps because it is taken for granted, and perceived as an obvious part of musical culture. (Exceptions are Chung 1992; Min 2007; for a comprehensive review of literature on western music in Korea, see Hwang 2001, 58-72.) It is often in the subordinate accompanying role for singers and violinists; the accompanist's name is often not mentioned in newspaper reports. In the colonial period piano remained the domain of a privileged elite, especially missionaries and Japanese: "Western music became the symbol of the prestigious class" (Choi 1999, 52). The organ and accordion were more accessible to most people.

This paper will roughly sketch the history of piano in Korea during the period of Japanese rule (1910 to 1945), and will explore the significance it held for those aspiring to modernity during that time. While focusing on Korea, it will attempt to *deconstruct* a national history of the reception of western music (e.g. Ahn 2005), and see the intra-regional character of piano music culture at the time. The factors behind the growth of western music in Korea, as in other East Asian settings (China, Japan, Taiwan etc), include military bands, churches and mission schools, and the centrality of "school songs" in public music education. The piano was particularly important to the domestic life of expatriate communities and in mission schools. These were the common paths to musical modernity in the region.

Although compared with the postwar period there were relatively few Korean pianists trained from these beginnings before 1945, a number of significant pianists can be noted, many of whom were active well into the postwar era. The mission schools were an anomaly, as an island of western culture in colonial Korea, and were a key factor in the dissemination of keyboard music. But how significant was the role of Japan in the dissemination of western music culture and piano in particular? And how much interaction was there between the Japanese and Korean musical communities? The paper will seek an insight into this issue by examining the pages of the *Keijō Nippō* Japanese language newspaper in the early 1920s. The newspaper reveals the presence of traditional Japanese music and musicians, as well as Japanese western music activity; of music

stores; support of Korean traditional music; music societies and networks; visiting Japanese musicians; school music concerts; the construction of modern facilities; and official patronage of visiting international musicians. Discourse about the importance of western music in modern life can also be followed.

In addition, the musical culture of Korea was fed by a steady stream of visiting musicians from Europe who toured and performed in a circuit of East Asian cities. They included pianists Henri Gil-Marchex (1925), Leonid Kochansky (1930), Leo Sirota (1937) and Leonid Kreutzer (1937). I will look at the coverage of public concerts given by visiting international celebrities, local pianists and visiting Japanese musicians.

The significance of resident foreign musicians and the state of music education will be considered. Mission schools had a near-monopoly over serious music education, especially Sungshil in Pyongyang, and Ewha and Yonhee in Seoul. Those who wanted to become fully professional studied abroad in the conservatories of the US, Europe and Japan.

The paper finishes by introducing the concept of Musical Contact Zones, based on Thornber's model for literary exchanges in pre-1945 East Asia (Thornber 2009). The data will be tentatively compared with similar data from other cosmopolitan centres in East Asia such as Osaka, Kobe and Shanghai where piano also formed a significant part of a vibrant urban culture in the 1920s to 1940s. The paper will argue that East Asia had a common musical modernity through the acceptance of Western classical music informed by intra-regional flows, a shared modernity that was curiously at odds with the political divisions and conflicts of the time. It will demonstrate the role of piano as a symbol of cultural modernity in East Asia, throwing light on an under-researched aspect of Asian modernity (see Tokita 2010).

### **Common paths to musical modernity in East Asia**

As in other East Asian settings, missionaries and mission schools were a major factor in the introduction and diffusion of western music, particularly of keyboard music (organ and piano). The piano was also important to the domestic life of expatriate communities. Resident foreign musicians, whether missionaries, refugees or colonial settlers, held concerts, taught local students privately, and taught in academies. The impact in the 1920s and 1930s of the touring international musicians on a circuit that included Kyeongsong (Keijō, Seoul), Tokyo, Osaka, Shanghai, Harbin and Peking was also highly significant for the growth of western music culture in East Asia. These common paths to musical modernity facilitated intra-regional cultural flows, musical interaction and influence between the centres in which people and musical activity were concentrated, forming "Musical Contact Zones". Whether they were hierarchical colonial interactions or interactions between equals, all existed within the overall hegemony of western music culture. There was also a limited hegemony of Japanese music culture within a restricted sphere, which was balanced by the influential resident foreign musicians in places like Shanghai, where refugee musicians became cultural authorities and leaders.

### **Korean pianists**

Organs were brought into Korea by missionaries for use in worship and in schools; pianos followed. Organ and accordion were the first instruments learned from missionaries by many (Min 2007; Chung 1992). For example, the transcriber of folksongs, Yi Sang-jun (1884-1948), learned first the accordion then organ; he

later published a self teaching manual for organ (Ahn 2005 33). Hong Nam-pa's famous song, "Bongsonhwa", was published in 1920 with piano accompaniment (Ahn 2005 36).

The first piano in Korea could have been Franz Eckert's, but Chung points out that there must have been pianos at Sungshil and at Ewha (Chung 1992, 60). After Independence, piano culture developed rapidly, and a piano production industry began in the early 1950s (Chung 1992, 65).

Although compared with the postwar period there were relatively few Korean pianists trained from these beginnings before 1945, we can note a significant number (Ahn 2005, Min 2007, Chung 1992). Kim Yong-whan (1893-1979) was the first Korean pianist with a formal conservatory training. He started by learning organ from Mrs Blair at Sungshil in Pyongyang. He then studied piano in Japan, first at the preparatory school for the Tokyo Music School, and then at the Tokyo Music School (commonly just called "Ueno", after its location). After returning to Korea in 1918, he taught at the Yonhee Men's College (later Yonsei University). His debut recital took place in the YMCA Hall on October 13, 1919 (Ahn 2005 43). He was active as a pianist and as a composer, then did further training at the Kunitachi Conservatory in Tokyo from 1925-1929. As a graduate of the prestigious Tokyo Music School, he was in a position to bridge Japanese and Korean music circles. His contribution to the musical life of Korea was incalculable, including his involvement in organizing concerts by visiting musicians (see below). He served as an advisor to the Japanese language newspaper, *Keijō Nippō* (Ahn 2005 58).

Pak Kyong-ho (1896-1970) graduated from Sungshil, then studied piano at Cincinnati Music Conservatory (Ahn 2005 43). He was recruited by Mary Young to the faculty at Ewha in 1933 (48). He was also a conductor and a critic and took a leading role in the 1940s to establish a fully-fledged orchestra (81).

Kim Won-bok (1908-2002) was representative of the emergence of second-generation musicians, as the daughter of a singing teacher, Kim Hyong-jun (Ahn 2005 126-27). She studied piano at Kunitachi Conservatory, graduating in 1930. At Kunitachi she met and married fellow Korean student, violinist Hong Song-yu. They gave joint recitals and attracted publicity as an idealized love match and musical marriage. Widowed at 29, she continued an active performance and teaching career, becoming professor of Seoul National University in 1948. She was still performing in her eighties.

Kim Ae-shik (Mrs Alice Chung) (1896-1950), who graduated from Ewha in 1914, studied music at Kwassui Methodist Girls' College in Nagasaki, then at the Ellison White Music School in Portland, Oregon. She was appointed to the Ewha Music Department in 1923, the first Korean music teacher there. Other women pianists were all educated at mission schools, mostly Ewha. Pianists of note include Yi Ae-nae (1909- ?, trained in Japan and Germany and married violinist Ahn Byong-so), Yun Song-dok (sister of notorious soprano Yun Shim-dok, 1898-1926, who trained at Ueno), Kim Hap-ra, Han Ki-ju (also Ueno) and Choi Hwak-ran.

### **Japanese and music in Korea**

Like the British and others in Shanghai, the Dutch in Java and the French in Vietnam, the Japanese brought their own music culture with them to Korea, as part of their public and private lives. The following sections will present the information about music in Korea found in the Japanese language newspaper, *Keijō Nippō*, for

1923. (The articles are referred to by date and original page number. M is morning edition, E is evening edition. The following number is the page number of the reprinted edition.) It carries frequent advertisements about learning shakuhachi, koto and other Japanese instruments, and about small concerts for traditional Japanese music, by local and visiting artists or groups. 1923.8.29 (E p. 2) (229) is an article about a charity concert in Pyeongtaek, that involved biwa, koto and the then very popular mandolin. A notice about a shakuhachi performance appeared on 1923.6.20 (E p. 3) (167); and a report of a harmonica concert by Okumura kun (“young Mr Okumura”) in the City Hall (Kōkaidō) 1923.12.25 (p. 4) (190). Advertisements for a number of specialist music shops appear regularly in the pages of the *Keijō Nippō*. The most visible are Seyama Gakki-ten (e.g. 1923.6.16 (M p. 1) (129); and the Kugimoto Yōgakki-ten (1923.6.30 (E p. 3) (247). There was also an advertisement by Okano Gakki-ten in Nihonbashi (Tokyo) for shamisen scores (*bunka-fu*) (1923.7.17 (E p. 2) (390). (Actually, blind koto musician and composer Miyagi Michio (1894-1956) who was born in Kobe, spent many of his formative years as a musician performing, composing and teaching in Incheon and Seoul from the age of 13 to 23 (1907 to 1917), before pursuing his career in Tokyo. He became one of the most prominent and influential modernizers of koto music in the twentieth century.)

#### *Japanese support for Korean music*

The musicologist Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) made an official visit to Korea in 1921 as a consultant on the preservation of Korean traditional music (Atkins 2010, 127-131; Ishida 2005, 363-64). He documented and filmed the court music performances and advocated that this ancient tradition should be preserved at all costs. Tanabe also visited the main training school of kisaeng in Pyongyang, and advocated equally the preservation of kisaeng music (Ishida 2005, 364). His public lecture on Korean a’ak and Japanese gagaku was serialized in the *Keijō Nippō*, who sponsored his trip. This must be the background of the article on 1922.11.8 (p. 5) (41). There is a photo of Korean court musicians and an article announcing their forthcoming concerts in the City Hall on November 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>. An audience of officials and ordinary citizens were to be invited to attend. The purpose of the concerts is to celebrate the revival of traditional court music, and to mark a new era of preserving, training and passing on this music.

#### *Japanese discourse on music in family life*

The women’s page on 1923.10.31 (M-E p. 4) (246) carried an article about the value of music in family life, giving advice about buying western musical instruments for children’s education and home use.

Organ is gradually giving way to piano, but organ is still a favorite for general home use and can be purchased for under 100 yen. A reasonable piano on the other hand costs between 600-700 yen and 1000 yen. If purchasing an instrument under 1000 yen, it is advisable to buy a Japanese rather than an imported one; for the same price, the Japanese one has more reliable tone and quality. Second-hand pianos must be inspected first by a specialist to avoid disappointment. Of course, piano is the first choice for most families, but because they are so expensive these days a number of new alternatives are being created, such as the pianette, hybrid piano, half-piano. These can be purchased for between 30 and 100 yen, and are suitable for domestic use. If choosing a Japanese-made violin or mandolin, Suzuki products are recommended. A practice violin is about 5 or 6 yen, and a mandolin

about 12 or 13 yen. If going for an imported instrument, Italian ones are prized. Still simpler instruments are popular, such as the harmonica, desk-top piano and taishō-goto. Recently the mandolin is becoming an extremely popular instrument. Of course, there is nothing to beat singing. We can also mention the xylophone, and accessories such as the mandolin rest and page turner. (Information supplied by Kugimoto Gakki-ten, Honmachi.)

This short article gives an insight into the value placed on teaching children some musical instrument at home guided by the modern mother. While piano is clearly the most desirable, if financial constraints do not permit that, there were many alternatives in the commodified music world at that time.

### *Musical societies*

The era of “Cultural Rule” implemented in 1920 was a response to the upheaval of the March 1<sup>st</sup> resistance movement in 1919. Atkins points to the usage of the word *bunka* (culture) in Japanese modern consumer cultural discourse at that time: it was added to any product to give it the aura of prestige and of cosmopolitan modernity. He suggests that, though a vague and ill-defined term, it softened the image of colonial rule to create the impression of “a new mode of colonial management” (Atkins 2010, 35-37). Whether or not this was the intention, the Government’s Cultural Rule policy included the creation of a society to promote music, the Keijō Gakuyū-kyōkai (Music Association, Gn. Musik Verein), in 1921 (Ishida 2005, 361), whose aim was to promote performances by leading international artists. Pianist Kim Yong-whan was a member (Ko 2004, 52). Chung (1992, 42) also mentions another Japanese musical society, Kyeongsong Eumak-hoe (Keijō Ongaku-kai). Two years later, the formation of a new society by non-governmental musical enthusiasts was reported in the *Keijō Nippō* (1923.10.28 (E p. 4) (226): the Music Lovers’ Society (Ongaku Dōkōkai).

Recently Keijō has seen a remarkable increase in interest in music, and the musical culture has been enriched, notably by the unprecedented success of recitals by Kreisler and others. However, although there is a demand for such concerts, there is a lack of expertise in music promotion, so this society is being formed to fill that gap. The prime movers are Mr Tsubouchi Takashi, Principal of the First Girls’ High School, and Mr Ōba, music teacher at the same school [a violinist, and a graduate of Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō]. Supporting members include the Governor of Kyonggido, Mr Tokizane, Head of the Education Department, Mr Nagano, and the Secretariat, Mr Matsumura, and other dignitaries with an interest in music. On the 31<sup>st</sup>, the inaugural meeting will be held at the Chōsen Hotel. Messrs Tsubouchi and Mr Ōba announced jointly: “There is no need to argue here that music exerts a huge influence on our spiritual lives. In individual families and in the public arena, it softens people’s hearts. However, it is regrettable that visiting international artists tend to pass Korea by when they visit Asia. Therefore, the new Society plans to build up contacts with the music world in Japan and invite artists visiting Japan to include Korea in their itineraries so that the best musicians will be introduced here. We will put on concerts to extend the opportunities already available.” Already the Society has planned the visit of star Russian violinist Jascha Heifetz to Korea next month and his recital will take place in the City Hall.

The paper duly reported on the successful launch of the Society on the Women’s Page on 1923.11.4 (p. 4) (276). This commentary on the event stressed that it was admirable to have the ideal of making Keijō a

place where good music can be enjoyed more cheaply than in Tokyo. However, it is not good enough just to invite international stars; local talent should also be promoted and fostered, and the general populace should be educated about music. The title of the Society was too weak. It should be more than a group of music lovers. Even now it includes many influential people, but it is odd that the joining fee for women is lower...The Society needs women for appearances, but it would be a pity to make the society weaker by having it mainly consisting of women.

So we now turn to the topic of concerts.

### **Public concerts**

At first, there were only “foreigners’ concerts” (Ahn 2005 50), though Koreans were sometimes invited to appear in them. Kim In-shik was asked to play cornet in a “foreigners’ concert” in Seoul in 1907 (Ahn 2005 30). The first concert with only Korean performers was held on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1920, as part of the celebrations of Beethoven’s 150<sup>th</sup> birthday. They were the first generation of professionally trained musicians, the majority of whom had attended music schools in Tokyo; in fact, the concert was sponsored by the Tokyo Music School’s Alumni Association (Ahn 2005 56).

The early concerts were held in churches and school halls. The YMCA Hall became a major venue after it opened in 1908, and when the City Hall (Hasegawa Kōkaidō) was built in 1922 international artists started to appear in Keijō. The *Keijō Nippō* indicates that large hotels such as the Chōsen Hotel were also used as concert venues. It also reports on the construction of a modern state of the art theatre, the Chōsen Gekijō. An article on 1922.11.8 (p. 5) (41) describes the opening night which featured a performance of a play based on Hugo’s *Les Misérables* by a local Korean drama company. The programme also included a Kisaeng celebratory dance, and a film screening. It was a western style theatre building, with four floors, equipped with an elevator and modern stage lighting. The creation of such facilities ushered in the era of visiting international musicians.

### *Visits of international musicians*

Between 1923 and 1925, six recitals by European musicians were held at City Hall (Ahn 2005 57). Chung (1992, 42) says that pianist Kim Yong-whan, who had trained in Japan, was responsible for inviting most of these musicians to Korea. Ahn documents Kim’s involvement in the visits of Kreisler and Zimbalist. However, the *Keijō Nippō* reports suggest that the visits were arranged not only by Kim and the newspaper, but by a variety of bodies and associations. The collaboration of Kim and Japanese groups in music promotion needs to be researched further, to clarify the degree of interaction between Japanese and Korean music circles.

### *Kreisler – May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1923*

After the construction of the City Hall in Hasegawa-chō in 1922 made it possible to have concerts by major international artists, the first to visit was violinist Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) in May 1923. This followed his tour in Japan. Kreisler had performed in Shanghai in April and June 1923, according to the *North China*

*Herald* write-ups (April 28 and June 9, 1923). The reporting of Kreisler's visit in the *Keijō Nippō* gives insight into the musical culture in Keijō at that time.

On May 19 (1923.5.19 (M p. 3) [403]) there was an article and photo announcing the forthcoming recital of Fritz Kreisler on May 23<sup>rd</sup> in the Kōkaidō at 8:30 pm.

A Great Concert will be held, supported by Dōseikai [the Tokyo School of Music Alumni Association] Keijō Branch, and Ōfūkai [the Alumni Association of the Japan Women's University] Keijō Branch, and *Keijo Nippō*. Earlier this year we welcomed [Canadian violinist] Miss Parlow [no article about her visit was located], and now Mr Kreisler. We are really lucky to have him in Korea; one now doesn't have to go overseas to hear these great artists. One after another these world famous musicians have come to Keijō, so we are exposed to their performances... Tickets cost 3 yen, and are selling fast, so please hurry. They can be bought at Kugimoto, Yamaguchi and Sugino music shops... Mr Kreisler will leave Keijō the same night as the concert, on the train departing at 10:50, going north. He is charging 3,000 yen for this one night.

This extraordinary "drop-in" performance must have been because he had commitments in China immediately after. The *North China Herald* (June 9) passenger lists note that Mr and Mrs Kreisler left for Vancouver on the Empress of Canada on June 4<sup>th</sup> after two concerts in Shanghai. His Peking recitals were probably just before that.

On the day of the concert, Kreisler's programme is published 1923.5.23 (M p. 3) (439). It is noted that he is to arrive on the train (from Japan) that evening at 7:50, will go straight to the concert hall for an 8:30 start, and will leave for the train after the concert. In attendance will be the International Friendship Society (Kokusai Shinwa-kai), Governor-General Saitō, the Inspector-General, and Mr Ōba of the First Girls' High School. The programme notes are very detailed, explaining for example the meaning of "sonata" and "absolute music".

On the next day there is an article and photos of Kreisler's recital 1923.5.24 (M p. 3) (449). The concert was attended by over 1000. The dignitaries in attendance, including diplomatic representatives of various countries, are again listed. Kreisler was introduced by Mr Niwa on behalf of the International Friendship Society, one of the organizers. The audience was hushed, "intoxicated by divine art of musical genius". After a deep silence, thunderous applause broke out. The pianist's name is not given, but it most likely was Michael Raucheisen (1889-1984), who accompanied Kreisler in Shanghai (*North China Herald*, April 28 and June 9).

#### *Ronconi – July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

The next international recital was by the Italian baritone Giulio Ronconi in July 1923. The *Keijō Nippō* on 1923.7.15 (E p. 2) (380) carries an article and photo of the singer, and a notice of his forthcoming recital on the 17<sup>th</sup> in the YMCA Hall and the programme. "He comes in from Japan, from where he will go on to the United States where he has a 3-year recording contract with Victor." (He seems to have made a recording in Japan released in 1924, now re-released by the Rohm Music Foundation, as part of their project to re-master archival recordings made in Japan 1912-1952. ANOC 6077A, 7 CDs, 2007.) Tickets are two yen; 1 yen for

students. The programme is a mixture of operatic arias and lieder. The name of the accompanist is not mentioned.

On 1923.7.17 (E p. 2) (390) there is a notice about Ronconi's "Recital of operatic arias" that evening 8 pm in the City Hall (Hasegawa-machi Kōkaidō). [Presumably the previous information about the YMCA Hall was mistaken.] "He comes to us with an even greater reputation than Kreisler and Parlow... We have received many appreciative letters from foreign concert goers about the visiting artists." The article goes on to introduce the various composers whose works will be featured.

The paper on 1923.7.18 (M p. 3) (397) reports on Ronconi's recital. "In attendance were State Secretary Ariyoshi and Mrs Ariyoshi, the French Consul M. and Mme. Gallois and other dignitaries. Ronconi will next travel to Kyushu for two or three recitals, and will leave from Yokohama for the US." The piano accompaniment is mentioned but again the pianist is not named. However, on 1923.7.19 (E p. 4) (412) the paper carries a photo of Ronconi singing with a (seemingly local Japanese or Korean) woman accompanist in western dress, seated modestly at a piano with her back to the camera.

#### *Heifetz – November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

The next major international musician's visit was that of Jascha Heifetz (1901-1987). His visit was first announced on 1923.7.29 (E p. 2) (502) as he was expected to arrive in Yokohama on September 10<sup>th</sup>. However, it was clearly postponed because of the earthquake that decimated Tokyo and Yokohama on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1923. The next article about Heifetz was 1923.9.29 (E p. 4) (490) with a photo. Following this on 1923.10.28 (M p. 3) (221) another article with photo announces that he is coming at the invitation of the Music Lovers' Society, and will perform on November 5<sup>th</sup>. It mentions that he learned from Miss Parlow in Petrograd, but most likely they were fellow-students there.

On 1923.10.31 (M-E p. 4) (246) Heifetz' detailed biography is carried, mentioning especially the influence of his mother on his development as a musician. A further article on 1923.11.2 (M-W p. 4) (256) claims Heifetz is such a genius that his playing makes Mischa Elman break out in a cold sweat. The article of 1923.11.3 (p. 3) (267) announces his recital programme, and informs readers that he comes to Keijō from Shanghai, before going to Japan.

1923.11.6 (p. 3) (291) carries a photo of Heifetz and his pianist Mr (Isidor) Achron, eating with chopsticks, as they enjoyed Japanese cuisine at the Kyōkiku restaurant, where he tried playing shamisen. Mr Takahashi, Schools Inspector, Mr Tsubouchi and Mr Ōba Yūnosuke hosted them. Two kisaeng were there to entertain them. They then visited Governor Saito's residence and did some sightseeing. The article on 1923.11.7 (p. 2) (304) informs the readers that the young violinist signed his name in katakana, and a photo of this achievement is included. A further article on Heifetz appeared in 1923.11.10 (p. 4) (330). This same issue has a letter from a reader, K.S.: "How wonderful that we could hear three world famous violinists in Keijō this year. Because of modern recordings, we are in a position to evaluate the performance. Kreisler's live playing is quite different from his recordings; Parlow is the same; as for Heifetz, after hearing him on the 5<sup>th</sup>, I realized he was not just a technician, especially playing Wieniawski [comments on his technical skill and expressiveness]. When I greeted him later, I felt his honest warm personality."



### *Pianists*

Not till 1925 did an international pianist visit Keijō: Henri Gil-Marchex. Later visiting pianists (as listed in Ahn 2005) were all resident in Japan at the time of their recitals in Keijō: Leonid Kochansky (1930), Leo Sirota (1937) and Leonid Kreutzer (1937).

Leonid Kochansky (1893-1980) was a Russian pianist born in Poland, the younger brother of violinist Paul Kochansky. In 1910 he graduated from the Leipzig Conservatory, where he studied under Leonid Kreutzer. He was active in Germany, and also travelled widely as accompanist for his brother. Between 1925 and 1931 he was a teacher at Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō (Ueno), then after an interval in Paris, he came back to Japan in 1953 and taught at Musashino Ongaku Daigaku until 1966, where he taught many who would become prominent Japanese pianists (*Ongaku Daijiten* 2, 933b, 1982). Leonid Kreutzer (1884-1953) was born in St Petersburg to a German-Jewish family. He taught at the Berlin Academy of Music, and first visited Japan in 1933. He then toured and taught in the US but was invited back to Japan by Konoe Fumimaro in 1935, and lived there for the rest of his life. In 1953 he married the pianist Toyoko Orita, a professor at Kunitachi Ongaku Daigaku (Yamamoto 2006). Leo Sirota (1885-1965) was born in Russian Ukraine, and trained at the Imperial Conservatory in St Petersburg, and then Vienna. He made a performance tour of Japan in 1928, and was offered a position at the Tokyo Music School. He and his family then settled and lived in Japan from 1929 to 1946 (Yamamoto 2004).

### **Visits of Japanese musicians**

If we look at visiting artists from Japan, pianists feature more, especially women artists. The Keijō tour of Ogura Sueko (1891-1944) in 1916 has been documented from the pages of the *Keijō Nippō* in Tsugami (2009). In 1923, the visits of two Japanese pianists and three Japanese singers are written up in the *Keijō Nippō*.

#### *Ebina Michiko and Yaoi Fumiko – April 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

The issue of 1923.4.12 (M p. 3) (87) carries the photo of two female musicians, pianist Ebina Michiko and singer Yaoi Fumiko and Ebina's mother. A lot of attention is given to describing their fashionable western dress. On 1923.4.14 (M p. 3) (107), we can read an article about their concert, which reports with some embarrassment that the "problem of the piano" was fixed at the last minute by the Kugimoto Gakki-ten specialist. They did two concerts, the second even better than the first, and to a full house. What is more, all the audience were seated on time! They were joined in the programme by the local violinist Mr Ōba, who played the challenging Zigeunerweisen with ease. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, they did a tour of the Palace, and inspected old Korean instruments. They have another concert in Taegu on the 15<sup>th</sup>. On the same page, there was a discreet note of apology about the piano problem by the Kugino Gakki-ten.

#### *Tatsumi Seijirō – April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

1923.4.27 (M p. 3) (205) carried an article and photos about the concert to be held that evening in the Methodist Church in Asahimachi at 8 pm, by tenor Tatsumi Seijirō with pianist Mr Seymour. The concert is supported by the *Keijō Nippō*, and sponsored by the Methodist Church Choir.

He visited our office with Mr Seymour at 3pm on the 26<sup>th</sup> and had a pleasant talk with the office head, then went to church to check out the piano and the acoustic of the church. Accompanied by Mr Seymour, Tatsumi sang some Scottish folksongs, demonstrating his beautiful voice such as has never been experienced by the people of Keijō. He shifted with delicacy to another key, and the church resonated with his voice, which together with the piano accompaniment produced wonderful harmony, amazing those present. When Mr Seymour said Tatsumi has a great future we could well understand it hearing him sing. Tatsumi is well-known to all and his mentor Mr Seymour is a top-class American pianist. Tonight's programme will include classical songs and operatic arias, some songs by Yamada Kōsaku, and a song written for Tatsumi by Seymour.

### *Kuno Hisa – May 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

The *Keijō Nippō* coverage of the forthcoming visit in May and two recitals by Kuno Hisa (1886-1925) was on the same scale as the coverage of Kreisler (in the same month) and Heifetz. The paper on 1923.5.1 (E p. 2) (234) announced in an article with photo the forthcoming recitals to be held on May 7<sup>th</sup> in the Kōkaidō and the 8<sup>th</sup> at the Chōsen Hotel. It notes that this is a busy season for music in Keijō, following on the heels of Ebina and Tatsumi. Now again, at the invitation of the Manchurian Railway Company (Mantetsu), the doyen of Japanese pianists, Kuno Hisako, will hold concerts. Kuno is recognized both inside and outside Japan as the most passionate piano genius Japan has ever produced. No-one can resist the fascination of her exquisite art once they have seen her perform, especially the deep understanding of her Beethoven; she cannot be distinguished from Beethoven. She seems to become Beethoven when she plays.

In the near future, Miss Kuno plans to go overseas to further deepen her art. This concert on May 7<sup>th</sup> at the Kōdaidō was organized by Mantetsu, and the concert on the 8<sup>th</sup> at the Chōsen hotel was organized by Keijō branch of the Ōfūkai, and the Keijō branch of the Dōseikai, and is supported by *Keijō Nippō*. The concerts commemorate her going abroad and will raise some funds to support her trip. Kuno currently teaches at Japan Women's University, so the Ōfūkai and the Dōseikai, the Alumni group of her alma mater, both want to show their gratitude with sincerity by raising funds to help her, even if it is only enough to purchase printed music.

In an article about Kuno's recitals on 1923.5.3 (M p. 3) (251) the programme for the 7<sup>th</sup> is announced. It will consist of two Beethoven sonatas (Les Adieux, and the Moonlight), Grieg's The Last Spring, Chopin, a piano rendition of Rigoletto arias, and will finish with the Beethoven's last sonata op. 118, no. 32. The entrance fee will be one, two and three yen. For the recital on the 8<sup>th</sup> all places will be three yen.

On 1923.5.5 (M p. 3) (265) is an article about Kuno's performance style: the time she spends adjusting the piano stool, her intense attitude, the way her hair comb sometimes falls out causing her hair to become disheveled. It is noted that the Kugimoto gakki-ten will donate commemorative programmes with a photo.

The issue on the day after the first concert, 1923.5.8 (M p. 3) (289), features a big gushing write-up about her recital on the 7<sup>th</sup> at 8.30 pm, with two separate articles on one page with a photo of her on stage in

kimono showing the audience in the background. The hall was full before starting time. The concert began with a greeting from the Mantetsu representative, Mr Takagi. To the audience's applause, Kuno sat down and started to play the sonata op. 110, making its sound, tone and tension fill the hall. The audience had not expected such a sound and pleasant tension. The brilliance of the piano had a grandness that greeted Keijō audiences for the first time. They were fully attentive, listening intently and hardly moving. After the Chopin Fantasie impromptu, the concert finished with the Beethoven no. 111 at 10:00 pm.

The second article is about her art and personality, asserting that her strong character is suited to Beethoven. It was reported that there was a small welcome party for her on the 6<sup>th</sup>. The contents of an informal interview with her were reported, and the opinions of Mr Ōba who spoke about her.

An article and photo on 1923.5.8 (E p. 2) (294) reported on a reception held in her honour on May 8<sup>th</sup> at the Shikairou restaurant in Honmachi. Present were Mr Ōba Yūnosuke, Mrs Fukao, Mrs Sekiguchi, and other graduates of Japan Women's University (the only women's university in the prewar period). On 1923.5.9 (M p. 3) (299) the paper carried an article about Kuno's second recital on 8<sup>th</sup>. It's brevity perhaps reflects the fact that the paper was not the sponsor, and that it was a more private occasion. Held at the Chōsen Hotel from 8:30-10:30, it was called an Evening of Appreciation (Kanshō no Yū), and was packed with music lovers, according to the article.

#### *Yanagi Kaneko – November 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, 1923*

An article on 1923.11.7 (p. 5) (301) heralded forthcoming recitals by contralto Yanagi Kaneko (1892-1984) on November 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> in the Cheongdong Church. The wife of aesthete and Koreaphile Yanagi Sōetsu, Kaneko was a pioneering contralto in Japan. She studied singing at the Tokyo Music School with Hanka Schjelderup Petzold (1862–1937), and is credited with laying the foundations of lieder singing in Japan. Described in the article as a “bright star of the musical world, she is accompanied by her husband. All proceeds of the concerts are to go to Korean victims of the recent Tokyo earthquake”. This was actually the second time Kaneko had given recitals in Korea. Ko (2004) writes about her seven concert tours of Korea between 1920 and 1928, using the Korean language newspaper, Dong-A Ilbo, which sponsored the visits..

#### **Resident foreign musicians**

At least one foreign music advisor was invited by the Imperial Korean government, Franz Eckert (1852-1916), who arrived in 1900 to set up the Imperial Military Band (Ahn 2005 19-27). Eckert's daughter Amalie lived in Korea till 1945 and taught piano privately (Ahn 2005 27). Then there were the many amateur and professional musicians who worked as missionaries and as teachers in mission schools. Violinist Ahn Byong-so (1910-) learned first from an American violinist Huss and an American pianist (Ahn 2005 115-16).

Mrs F E Boots, wife of an American dentist living in Seoul, was a violinist and conductor trained at the University of Pittsburgh, who organized the Chung-ang Akwuhuei (Central Association of Music Friends) comprising professional and amateur players in 1926 (Ahn 2005 78). She seems to have had connections with musicians in Japan (see below). Mary E. Young was a missionary who came to Korea in 1920 to teach music

theory at Ewha (Ahn 2005 46). She expanded the music department and recruited talented musicians to the staff.

Violinist Ueno Hisako, class-mate of Kaneko and graduate of Tokyo Music School, lived in Keijō as the wife of Ueno Naoteru (1882-1973), professor of aesthetics and philosophy at the Keijō Imperial University, established in 1924. She played violin in some of Kaneko's concerts, and took a leading role in setting up the university orchestra in 1926 (Ko 2004, 53). Mr Ōba Yūnosuke, music teacher at the First Girls' High School, was a violinist and a graduate of the Tokyo Music School. He played in Ebina Michiko's concert (see above).

I have yet to find evidence for an enclave of resident Jewish and other European refugee musicians, such as were prominent in China (Shanghai, Harbin etc), and on a smaller scale in Japan. However, there were at least one or two individuals: the *Keijō Nippō* on 1923.4.25 (M p.3) (191) has a small article about a concert to be held in the Chōsen Hotel on April 28<sup>th</sup> by the hotel's music department in order to highlight the hidden talent of their in-house musicians: a Russian pianist and a Russian violinist, and a Japanese violinist.

### Music education

The principal and most obvious influence of Japan on the development of music in colonial Korea was the formal school music education, which consisted mainly singing (shōka, changga) until the 1930s (Min 2000; Yi et al. 2001). The 1906 public school system included music, but it was hard to implement the policy for lack of resources. Few public schools had access to an organ by 1909 (Ahn 2005 42). However, by the 1920s, the pages of the *Keijō Nippō* featured many reports of school concerts. 1922.11.3 (p. 4) (12) shows a photo of a concert (*gakugeikai*) at Keijō Girls' High School, with two pianos on stage, and 10 girls singing. In 1922.11.5 (p. 4) (20) a concert of the Tongdaemun Elementary School is reported: the 24 items on programme, featuring singing and drama, "delighted the parents in attendance". The article in 1923.5.8 (E p. 2) (294) reports about the performance of a children's play, "Three butterflies", at the Hinode Elementary School, which must have had musical accompaniment, most likely piano. The 1923.5.23 (M p. 3) (439) shows a photo of a concert in the City Hall (Kōkaidō) on May 22<sup>nd</sup> by the Shokugō Girls' School, with 11 or 12 girls singing on stage. In 1923.8.29 (E p. 2) (229) there is a photo of a splendid new girls' high school built in Wonsan. The paper on 1923.10.8 (E p. 2) (52) gives a brief report of a ceremony in the Frei Hall at Ewha School to pay tribute to the late Mr Frei who established the hall, when the Governor-General Saitō made a speech. On 1923.11.27 (p. 4) (460) there is a photo and brief report about a concert at the First Girls' High School.

Mission schools dominated music education (Ahn 2005 41), the most important ones being Sungshil (in Pyongyang, up to secondary), Ewha (college level from 1910), and Yonhee Men's College, from 1915. In addition, various specialist music schools were established: Choyong Kurabu, 1909-11; Chong'ak Chonsupso 1911-16, Kyongsong Umak Hakwon (Seoul Music Academy) in 1936 by Kim Jae-hun using his private funds, after studying in Germany for 15 years. The Kyeongsong Umak Hakkyo (Seoul Music School), established in 1946, was incorporated into Seoul National University in 1948.

### Study abroad

While women could be professionally trained in music at Ewha, men had to study abroad. Japan was the most common destination because of proximity and relative affordability, despite “drawbacks” (Ahn 2005 44). Missionaries often facilitated study in America. Europe was a destination only the very rich could afford.

In 1923.7.11 (M p. 3) (343) *Keijō Nippō* carries an article about Kye Jeong-sik (1904-1974), then a young student in Tokyo about to go and study in Germany. The son of a pastor from Pyongyang, he was currently studying in Kanda, Tokyo. The article tells that at age nine, he sang a solo at a foreigners’ concert in Pyongyang. He learned violin for 7-8 years from a German-born American teacher at Sungshil. He went to Tokyo to study music and German and was learning violin from a musician from the Imperial Household, Ō no Tadasuke. He was staying in the Chinese YMCA dormitory. On July 30<sup>th</sup>, he was to go back to Korea and then on to Germany in the autumn. Before that, “friends in Tokyo are organizing a farewell concert for me. Iguchi Aiko will accompany me, and she will perform a solo Beethoven sonata... My favourite pieces are Zigeuner weisen and Beethoven minuets”. It seems he was studying at the Tōyō Music School where Ō no Tadasuke (1895-1929) was a professor, and in Germany at the Würzburg Conservatory, returning to Korea in 1934, after which he was active in the development of orchestral and chamber music (Chung 1992, 39).

Tokyo Music School’s Alumni Association (Dōseikai) in Keijō played an important role in uniting Japanese and Korean returnees such as Kim Yong-whan (Ahn 2005, 56). However, according to Min Kyeong-ch’an (personal communication, 2009.2.21), only a handful of Koreans studied at the Tokyo Music School; most went to Kunitachi, and others to Musashino and Tōyō Music Schools.

### **Japan’s contribution to the development of western music in Korea**

Robinson says that Japan imposed modernity on Korea in the form of western modern institutions, including music education. Atkins sees this as a calculated cultural control. Min believes that Japanese piano education had a deleterious effect on postwar piano education; it was difficult to shake of the pattern of rigorous training through Beyer and Czerny. Chung’s study (1992) demonstrates the ongoing influence of Beyer in Korea; he also blames the infrastructure vacuum left in musical life after the Japanese withdrew. It is possible to see both negative and positive aspects in the Japanese influence on music in the colonial period. However, we can also see that Korea was not completely isolated musically, but formed one link in the regional contact networks that characterized East Asia in the period.

### **Musical Contact Zones: links between China, Japan and Korea**

The concert circuit was facilitated by the Trans-Siberian Railway and by intra-regional transport developments in rail and ferry. Students who crossed to Japan found it was not only a place for study, but also an environment in which to create political linkages, romantic liaisons, and to absorb new ideas and fashions. Hong Nan-pa and many others were politically radicalized in Japan. Yun Shim-deok and Kim Bon-wok both met their partners while studying in Tokyo, Shim-deok with tragic consequences. Some students became active in the new western style drama in Tokyo, as Chinese students had done earlier.

Exile was another way of activating regional contacts, such as for tenor Ahn Ki-yong (1900-80), who spent four years in Nanjing 1919-1924, where the provisional Korean government in exile was based. He

attended the missionary-founded Kinling University there, and majored in English literature (Ahn 2005, 46-47). Later he took his lover to Harbin, Shanghai and Tokyo on a kind of moral exile (129-31). The Manchurian connection appears also in Yun Shim-deok's life; she was sent to Harbin by her family in 1926 to put her back on a straight path, but shortly afterwards she went again to Japan and made a historic recording for Nittō in Osaka with her pianist sister, just before her suicide with her lover in August 1926. Composer Kim Song-tae (1909-2012) (studied at Kunitachi) got a position in the Changchun Symphony Orchestra in Manchuria, and composer and violinist Kim Dong-jin (1913-2009) (studied in Japan) had his violin concerto premiered by the same orchestra in 1941. Musicians such as these after Liberation returned to Korea and put to use the valuable experience gained in Japan, Manchuria, Shenyang, Harbin and Shanghai (Ahn 2005, 134).

#### *Foreign musicians' networks and missionary networks*

Ewha professor Mrs F E Boots was able to send violinist Ahn Byong-so (1910- ?) to her friend, violinist Eugen Klein in Kobe, in 1930. Klein waived lesson fees, got Ahn a job teaching violin at a school for foreign students, and arranged a string quartet to raise money for him to study in the US. Eli Mowry had sheltered Ahn Ik-tae from police in 1919, and sent him secretly to Japan. Ahn stayed there for 10 years supported by his brother, as he studied cello and composition at Kunitachi. Later active in America and Europe, he composed a new tune for the national anthem in California, and premiered his symphonic poem about Korea's modern era in Dublin with the Irish Symphony Orchestra in 1936 (Ahn 2005, 95-97).

#### **Conclusion**

Western musical culture was transplanted to Korea by missionaries, military bands and school songs, taking a very similar trajectory to that in China, Taiwan and Japan. The whole region was modernizing and westernizing in response to western colonial encroachment, and subsequently Japanese imperialist expansion. The above examples support the claim that each country did not receive and foster this western musical culture in isolation, but that it was fed by the cross-regional interactions between particularly active zones of contact, and by personal interactions between the foreign musicians and locals, between educators and students, and between colonial administrators and colonized peoples in these zones. The rapidly developing transport networks created for the purpose of transporting materials and goods functioned also to carry musicians between these zones, with the result that western music was performed and heard, taught and studied in and between these centres. Although postwar political circumstances cut off these communication channels, the high status of western music in all these areas shows a common and shared musical modernity, developed in differential time phases, but essentially following the same trajectory. There has been virtually no backlash against this hegemonic culture of western classical music in the colonial era.

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