

**Musical Decolonisation:  
The Reception of Pablo Casals in Japan  
and the Sinophone World**

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## **Abstract**

From the late nineteenth century onwards, Western art music has rooted in Japan and the Sinophone world alongside colonialism. However, postcolonial criticisms of Western art music were not established by scholars from these places in the twentieth century but the twenty-first century. To the present day, Western art music enjoys a privileged status in this region as it receives more financial support from both public funds and private sectors than local genres. This thesis considers the phenomenon that regarding Western art music as a superior musical culture over local genres a colonised status of cultural imagination of music. The core questions explored in this thesis are why Western art music was welcomed despite its association with colonialism; why postcolonial criticisms of Western art music did not gain a foothold in Japan and the Sinophone world in the twentieth century; and what meaning did the consumption of Western art music have in these places?

This thesis argues that the development of postcolonial discourses of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong was held back by the Cold War and consumer capitalism. In order to gain a clearer understanding of how the development of Western art music in these places was mediated by these factors, this thesis presents the reception history of Pablo Casals as a case study. Although Casals only visited Japan once in 1961 and did not have any direct connection with Taiwan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, his name is well-known in the circle of Western art music lovers in these places through written materials and recordings. This thesis illustrates how Casals was introduced into Japan, Taiwan, and China in the first two decades of the Cold War; how his image was utilised to advance the governmental propaganda of Cold War ideologies, including humanitarianism, anti-communism, and leftism; and how his Cold War image was used to promote his CD sales in the post-Cold War era.

Methodologically, by conducting a dialogue with Chen Kuan-Hsing's 'inner Asian referential framework,' this thesis demonstrates how Casals' reception in Japan and the Sinophone world served as the commonality amongst these territories to validate Chen's framework. This thesis also further addresses the role of capitalism in Chen's discussion of the entangled ideologies of colonialism and the Cold War. Drawing further from Chen's framework, which emphasises the importance of finding an alternative point of reference other than Western academia for knowledge production, this thesis raises criticisms of Casals' legacies made by local musicians during his residency from 1957 to 1973 from an indigenous perspective of Puerto Rico. The aim of including the Puerto Rican perspective is to prompt further discussions of musical decolonisation amongst scholars from different regions of the world.

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## **A Brief History of Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong**

Although more details about the evolving political circumstances of Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong are involved in the following chapters, at the risk of over-simplification this section offers a brief history of these places over the past century as a general background for this thesis. From the Meiji Restoration in 1868 onwards, Japan began its project of modernisation and became a hegemony in East Asia. After the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894, Japan acquired Taiwan as its colony and governed the island for more than half a century until the end of the Second World War. In the 1950s, due to the outbreak of the Korean War, Japan was involved in the ‘first island chain’ in the west Pacific, which includes the Kuril Islands, Japanese Archipelago, Ryukyu islands, Taiwan, the northern Philippines, and Borneo, in order to contain the spread of communism. Since then, Japan’s relationship with the US changed from rivalry to partnership and has continued to the present day.

In the late nineteenth century, Taiwan was governed by the Qing empire. After the first Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese empire from 1895 to 1945. The sovereignty of Taiwan then transferred from Japan to the Republic of China after Japan’s surrender in the Second World War. Yet, due to its failure in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the Nationalist government of the Republic of China, including its governing party Kuomintang and its leader Chiang Kaishek, relocated the government to Taiwan and claimed that it is the legal representation of China in international politics. Domestically, in order to stabilise its governance, the Nationalist government implemented a 38-year-long (1949-1987) Martial Law in Taiwan. Meanwhile, during the Cold War, Taiwan was also included in the first island chain and has been strongly supported by the US. The Republic of China then lost its legal representation to the People’s Republic of China in the 1970s at the United Nations. Against this background, Taiwan lost official diplomatic relationships with most countries across the world, including Japan and the US. Yet, the fundamental partnership between Taiwan and the

US was secured by the Taiwan Relations Act implemented by the US. Currently, Taiwan is generally considered one of the partners of the US in East Asia.

In China, the Qing empire was overthrown and replaced by the Republic of China in 1912. After victory in the Second World War in 1945, China retained the jurisdiction of Taiwan. Yet, the Chinese Civil War broke out just a year after in 1946 and ended in 1949 with Mao Zedong's victory. The Chinese Communist Party then established the People's Republic of China. In the early 1950s, China employed a pro-Soviet attitude as its diplomatic policy. Following a series of events, which drove China into chaos, including the 'Sino-Russian Split,' the Great Leap Forward, and the Chinese Cultural Revolution from the late 1950s to mid-1970s, however, China's pro-Soviet attitude was replaced by a pro-American one. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping implemented the 'Opening and Reforming' policy and triggered rapid economic growth in China by adapting capitalism into its economic system. Although the political tension between China and Western states raised again in the 1990s due to the outbreak of the Tiananmen Square protests and massacre in 1989, the economic and cultural exchanges remained very active during this period. From 2010 onwards, China has replaced Japan and has become the second-largest economy in the world.

After the endorsement of the Nanjing Treaty in 1842, Hong Kong became a British colony. Although Hong Kong had been occupied by Japan for nearly four years during the Second World War, the UK retained the jurisdiction of Hong Kong in 1945. During the Cold War, Hong Kong was considered a buffer zone between hegemonies while numerous information services took place in this city. Against this background, propaganda from both capitalist countries and their communist counterparts could be found in Hong Kong. Following the diplomatic normalisation between China and Western states, the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in 1984, which led to the handover of Hong Kong in 1997.

Meanwhile, from the 1970s onwards, Hong Kong became one of the most well-developed cities in East Asia and one of the international financial centres in the world.

*Notes*

Translations from Japanese and Chinese materials are by Wang Min-Erh; original texts are provided in footnotes.

Chinese names are written in the form of surname/given name; Japanese names are written as given name/surname.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

From the late nineteenth century onwards, the musical culture of East Asian countries has been significantly impacted by Western art music. Over the past century, because of their different histories and political contexts, each country developed distinctive ways of adapting Western art music to their own musical culture. Currently, Western art music is widely appreciated in East Asia, and opera houses, concert halls, and symphony orchestras can be found throughout Japan, Taiwan, China, and other East Asian nations. The development of Western art music in these places, however, should not be taken for granted. Over the past century, Western art music has been considered a superior musical culture over other genres as it has received numerous financial supports from both governments as well as private sectors. Meanwhile, Western art music has been integrated into the education system of these countries as the content taught in the Department of Music is mainly Western art music. Why could an imported musical culture occupy such a privileged position in East Asia? This thesis considers the phenomenon that regarding Western art music as a superior musical culture over local genres a colonised status of cultural imagination of music and takes this phenomenon as the point of departure for the discussion of musical decolonisation.

Scholars from both Euro-American and East Asian countries have identified the association between Western art music and colonialism from a postcolonial perspective (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Said 1993; Taylor 2007; M. Yang 2007; H.-L. Yang and Saffle 2017), and discussions about the decolonisation of Western art music have been conducted from various perspectives. This thesis focuses on how Western art music was appreciated in Japan and the Sinophone world, and asks how the discussion of decolonisation could be advanced from the perspective of reception history. Decolonisation here refers to the process of rethinking how and why Western art music has been appreciated in Japan and the Sinophone world over the past century and has been considered the superior musical culture over other

genres. Core questions explored in this thesis are why Western art music was welcomed despite its association with colonialism; why postcolonial criticisms of Western art music did not gain a foothold in Japan and the Sinophone world in the twentieth century; and what meaning did the consumption of Western art music have in these places? By examining the reception of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world with special attention to Casals' reception, this thesis aims to initiate a discussion of how an alternative way of evaluating the legacies of Western art music could be established within/beyond Japan and the Sinophone world as an approach to musical decolonisation. This thesis proposes that musical decolonisation should be progressed by regarding Western art music equally as part of the global musical culture rather than a superior musical culture to other genres. Scholars have previously conducted research on the professional development of East Asian composers (Everett and Lau 2004; Liu 2010), the historiography of musical cultures in East Asian countries (Janz and Yang 2019; Oh 2014), and the appreciation of Western art music in these countries (Galliano 2002; Kraus 1989; Melvin and Cai 2004; 2015; Yoshihara 2007). This thesis focuses on the third aspect, which aims to explore in greater depth the underlying reasons for the appreciation of Western art music.

Over the past two decades, research has been conducted on the development of Western art music in Japan and China respectively. In contrast with the general understanding that the culture of Western art music in Japan was completely dominated by Western states, Galliano explored how the imported musical culture gained a foothold and developed its distinctive features through a process of negotiation with traditional Japanese music. Galliano also contextualised the development of Western art music in Japan within the domestic as well as international politics of the post-war era. One of the compelling examples in Galliano's volume was his illustration of how Japanese musicians and intellectuals were impacted by the defeat of the Second World War (Galliano 2002: ch. 5).

A similar question was raised in *Rhapsody in Red* (Melvin and Cai 2004: 1), which enquires ‘how and why did Western classical music develop such deep roots [in China]?’ Though there is a chapter on the presentation of Western music in the Chinese courts of the Ming and Qing empires, Melvin and Cai answered this question by dedicating most chapters of their book to the development of Western art music in the twentieth century, with each chapter focusing on one or two crucial figures or events. Melvin and Cai were also aware of the Chinese social-political context and its influence on the reception of Western art music. In their next volume, *Beethoven in China*, Melvin and Cai (2015) focused on the reception of Beethoven within the context of domestic and international politics in the twentieth century. The most vivid example was the visit by Henry Kissinger, the US national security adviser, to China during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Initiated by Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing, Western art music was generally rejected, denounced, and humiliated during the Cultural Revolution. However, for Kissinger’s visit in 1972, the premier Zhou Enlai asked the conductor Li Delun to perform a Beethoven symphony as a greeting (Melvin and Cai 2015: 55-57). Jiang Qing and her colleague Yu Huiyong specified the Sixth Symphony, since it was about nature, rather than the Third or Fifth proposed by Li (Melvin and Cai 2015: 55). This example suggests that even during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese political leaders still considered Western art music to be a diplomatic bridge.

Compared with Melvin and Cai’s two volumes, which focus on how political leaders, such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Qing affected the development of Western art music in China, the focal point of *Piano and Politics in China* (Kraus 1989) is the meaning of Western art music, especially the piano, for middle-class Chinese people. The life stories of three Chinese virtuoso pianists in communist China, Fou Ts’ong, Yin Chengzong, and Liu Shikun, are included in this volume. Although all of them were rewarded in prominent international music competitions in the 1950s and early 1960s, they experienced completely

different lives during the Cultural Revolution. Fou decided to leave China and search for political asylum in the UK in the late 1950s. Yin benefitted from the radical politics in the 1960s and 1970s since he had a good relationship with Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's wife and the leader of the Gang of Four. Compared with the previous two pianists, Liu suffered a seven-year imprisonment in the 1970s since he was attacked by the enemies of his father-in-law, Ye Jianying, a Red Army general. Through the biographical studies of these three pianists, Kraus unravels how the piano helped middle-class people to gain a higher social status while making them vulnerable to the ambivalent attitudes to Western culture of Chinese political leaders.

Following these four volumes, which discuss the development of Western art music in Japan and China within an East-West binary framework, this thesis further raises two questions. First, due to the complex relationship between Japan and China in the twentieth century, how could the reception of Western art music in these places be examined within a regional context? Second, in these four volumes, attention is generally given to Japanese or Chinese musicians, or foreign musicians who pursued a career in these two countries, such as Mario Paci. Yet numerous musicians who rarely visited East Asian countries were also widely appreciated by Western art music lovers in these places over the past century. How then could the appreciation of these acclaimed foreign musicians be interpreted within a wider context of the reception of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world?

### **Why Casals?**

In order to develop a more comprehensive criticism of the appreciation of foreign musicians in Japan and the Sinophone world, a specific figure should be identified. The reception

history of Pablo Casals (or Pau Casals, 1876-1973)<sup>1</sup>, the Spanish cellist and humanitarian, is hence the focal point in the following chapters. Before going into the details of Casals' reception, this section offers a brief biographical account of this musical figure and discusses why he can serve as a suitable case study. The information about Casals' life span in the following paragraphs is drawn from his autobiography *Joys and Sorrows* (Casals and Kahn 1970) and the biography *Pablo Casals: A Biography* written by Herbert Kirk (1974).

Pablo Casals was born in 1876 in El Vendrell, a town not far from Barcelona. He learned the piano, organ, violin, and songwriting from his father, Carles Casals i Ribes, during his childhood. Casals' mother, Pilar Defilló de Casals, was born in Puerto Rico and emigrated to Spain in the early 1870s. She was also a musician and strongly supported Casals' studies despite the family's financial difficulties. When Casals was eleven years old, he heard the cello in performance for the first time when he attended a concert by the Spanish virtuoso Josep García. After that encounter, Casals decided to dedicate himself to the cello for the remainder of his life. He then enrolled in the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona to study the cello with García. In 1893, following an introduction from the Spanish composer Isaac Albéniz, Casals met the aristocratic patron Count Guillemo Morphy, who helped him to receive a stipend from the Royal Court of Spain to support his studies in Belgium. Yet, the stipend was cut since Casals decided not to enter the Royal Conservatory of Brussels. Casals instead returned to Barcelona and took up García's position at the Municipal School of Music in 1896. He was also appointed by the Liceu School of Music as a teaching fellow and the orchestra of Liceu Opera Barcelona as principal cellist.

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<sup>1</sup> Although Pablo Casals identified himself as a Catalan, from the perspective of his reception in Japan and the Sinophone world, he was generally introduced as a Spanish cellist. Meanwhile, in most Japanese and Mandarin Chinese materials, the transliteration of his given name derived from 'Pablo' rather than 'Pau.' Therefore, this thesis uses Pablo Casals to refer to this musical figure in the following text.

Casals' international career as a soloist began in 1899. Accompanied by Ernest Walker, Casals performed at the Crystal Palace in London and for Queen Victoria at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight in the summer. In the same year, Casals was referred to Charles Lamoureux by Count Morphy. This proved to be a crucial step in the development of Casals' career. After listening to Casals' perform, Lamoureux invited him to appear as soloist with his orchestra. In the winter of that year, accompanied by the Orchestra Lamoureux under the direction of Lamoureux himself, Casals played Lalo's Cello Concerto in D minor in Paris. The success of that concert earned Casals further concert opportunities that enabled him to continue his professional career as a soloist. In the following years, he toured across continental Europe, North America, as well as Latin America. In 1904, Casals performed his first White House concert for President Theodore Roosevelt. Later in the same year, Casals made his debut at the Carnegie Hall in New York, performing Richard Strauss' *Don Quixote* under the direction of the composer. These performances successfully laid the foundation for his internationally acclaimed reputation as a cellist. In the 1910s, Casals began to record his performances of short pieces for the cello (appendix 1). Meanwhile, while Casals was touring the US in 1904, he met Susan Metcalfe, an American mezzo-soprano; although they did not develop a relationship at that time since Casals was involved with another woman, the Portuguese cellist (and his student), Guilhermina Suggia, he met Metcalfe again after his separation from Suggia in 1912 and they were married in 1914. Their marriage lasted until 1957 though they were separated from the late 1920s onwards.

From 1905 onwards, Casals formed a piano trio with the pianist Alfred Cortot and the violinist Jacques Thibaud. They performed numerous concerts together for three decades until 1937. Their performances as a trio were recorded during the 1920s and 1930s, including works by Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. Casals also continued his career as a soloist across European countries. In the meantime, funded by himself, Casals

established the Orquestra Pau Casals in Barcelona in 1919. By directing this orchestra, Casals began his career as a conductor in the 1920s. The orchestra's performance of Beethoven's First and Fourth Symphonies under Casals' direction was recorded in 1929. In the same year, Casals and Thibaud's performance of Brahms' Double Concerto for violin and cello in A minor with Cortot as the conductor was also recorded.

In 1931, the Republicans won the election and established the Spanish Second Republic after King Alfonso XIII abdicated. Casals was a passionate supporter of the Republic regime. Although he did not directly work for the government, he actively participated in cultural affairs organised in accordance with the governmental protocol. After the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, the activities of the Orquestra Pau Casals ceased. In order to support the Republicans, Casals performed concerts across Euro-American countries to raise funds. Following Franco's victory, aided by fascist Germany and Italy, in 1939, Casals decided to leave Barcelona and settled in Prades, a small town in the Pyrénées-Orientales on the French side of the Catalan border, and he began an artistic boycott of the Franco regime, fascist Germany and Italy. Before leaving Barcelona, he accepted an honorary doctorate from the city's university.

Several prominent recordings of Casals were made during the Spanish Civil War, including Dvořák's Cello Concerto in B minor accompanied by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra under George Szell in 1937. In the following year, his interpretation of Boccherini's Cello Concerto in B flat major with the London Symphony Orchestra under Landon Ronald was also recorded. Most importantly, from 1936 to 1939, Casals recorded the first complete cycle of the Bach cello suites.

From the 1920s onwards, Casals' reputation has been firmly established within and beyond

the music circle. His achievement as a cellist received admiration from Bruno Walter, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Fritz Kreisler, and other prominent musicians. His reputation became known to specialists in other categories, including Dr Albert Schweitzer, Albert Einstein, and Thomas Mann. These connections helped Casals' fund-raising campaign for the refugees during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War.

After the end of Second World War, Casals resumed his international career and gave masterclasses across the world. Yet, when he realised that a democratic regime was not restored in Spain, he claimed that he would not perform a concert in any country that recognised the Franco regime. Casals then decided to organise a music festival featuring Bach's music in Prades in order to commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the composer's death in 1950. In addition to the Prades Festival, Casals regularly participated in the Marlboro Music Festival in Vermont in the 1960s. Most of Casals' recordings as a conductor were made during this period.

In the second Prades Festival in 1951, Casals met Marta Montañez for the first time. Marta was also a cellist and came from Puerto Rico to participate in the Prades Festival. Three years later, Marta visited Prades again to study the cello with Casals. They fell into a relationship though Casals was nearly eighty years old while Marta was only eighteen. In 1957, Casals married Marta and decided to accept the invitation from Luis Muñoz Marín, the governor of Puerto Rico, to move to San Juan, his mother's birthplace. During his residency, Casals established the Casals Festival in San Juan, founded the Puerto Rico Conservatory of Music, and formed the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra.

From the 1950s onwards, his staunch opposition to the Franco regime and his humanitarian efforts on behalf of refugees during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War were

extensively recognised. For example, he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1956 and awarded an US Presidential Medal of Peace from President Kennedy in 1963.<sup>2</sup> Casals also gave several concerts at political occasions. In 1961, he performed at the White House for the second time for President Kennedy. Casals performed at the headquarters of the United Nations three times in 1958, 1963, and 1971 and received a UN Peace Medal in 1971. In these concerts, Casals generally concluded his performance with his own composition based on a Catalan folk tune, *Song of the Birds*.

In his late years, Casals had been suffering from heart disease. In 1973, he passed away in San Juan at the age of ninety-six. After his death, Casals' house in San Salvador, where he had lived from 1911 to 1939, was turned into a museum and opened to the public in 1976. Currently, the museum is managed by the Pau Casals Foundation. In recognition of his contribution to the history of musical performance and the recording industry, Casals was awarded a Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award posthumously in 1989. Most cellists in the twentieth century have been directly or indirectly influenced by Casals.

Casals has been chosen from among other musicians of his generation for three reasons. Firstly, he has a versatile and wide-ranging discography, which distinguishes him from many of his contemporary cellists. His repertoire covered nearly all the masterpieces for the cello from the Baroque to the Romantic period, including concertos by Haydn, Boccherini, Schumann, Dvořák, and Elgar; cello sonatas by Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms; and the first complete cycle of the Bach cello suites. In addition, partnered by Jacques Thibaud and Alfred Cortot, his interpretations of chamber music repertoire and live concerts at the Prades Festival were also recorded. Casals' discography as a conductor clearly represents his preference for Austro-German composers. Nearly all the works he conducted were by Bach, Beethoven,

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<sup>2</sup> The medal was conferred on both Casals and Muñoz Marín.

Brahms, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schubert, and Schumann (Appendix 2). Conducting concertos for other cellists is one of the few exceptions in his discography. All these recordings are re-issued and widely available up to the present day, serving as the basis for audiences from Japan and the Sinophone world to appreciate his performances. Secondly, the final fifteen years of Casals' career in Puerto Rico makes him different to other musicians, who ran careers mainly in Euro-American countries. Further discussion of Puerto Rico and its potential for contributing more generally to research about decolonisation in Japan and the Sinophone world is presented in the conclusion of this thesis. Last but not least, Casals' refusal to perform for the Franco regime and Hitler due to his anti-Fascist stance during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War earned him prestige while Thibaud and Cortot chose to play for Vichy France. This political stance served as the basis for Casals' humanitarian contribution in the post-war political climate. Wilhelm Furtwängler's (1886-1954) career in the post-war era could be contrasted with that of Casals. Although Furtwängler had been generally acknowledged as one of the most significant conductors in the twentieth century, his career was restricted by his relationship with the Third Reich. For example, when he decided to accept the invitation from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra to be its principal conductor in 1949, numerous musicians, including Toscanini, Arthur Rubinstein, George Szell, Vladimir Horowitz, Isaac Stern, and Alexander Brailowsky boycotted this decision (Taubman 1949). Subsequently, Furtwängler was unable to take the position. In contrast with Casals' staunch opposition to fascist Germany, which earned him reputation in the post-war era, Furtwängler's career was stumbled by his ambivalent political stance during the Second World War.

The Polish-American pianist Arthur Rubinstein (1887-1982) is another musical figure who is comparable to Casals. Although Rubinstein acquired citizenship from the US in 1946, he retained Polish and Jewish identity throughout his life (Sachs 1995). After the Second World

War, in order to raise funds for Jewish and Polish musicians, he regularly performed charity concerts in the 1950s and 1960s. In recognition of his charities, Rubinstein was awarded a Presidential Medal of Freedom of the US in 1976. Although both Casals and Rubinstein were pro-American musicians, they were politicised in slightly different ways. Due to his Jewish background, Rubinstein presented his opposition to Furtwängler for political reasons. Yet, in comparison with Casals' artistic boycott, which aimed to restore a democratic regime in Spain, that of Rubinstein was relatively an independent event focusing on Furtwängler's appointment. Musically, Rubinstein's was best known for his interpretation of Chopin's music, which is more associated with patriotism and Polish nationalism. Yet, Casals' performance of Bach was connected with the universality of human rights and liberty. These little yet subtle differences made Casals' image as a musical humanitarian distinguished from Rubinstein and from his contemporaries.

In order to further clarify how Casals' image as a musical humanitarian was constructed, this section proposes that his humanitarian image should be examined within the context of the Cold War. In addition, from the perspective of language, although Casals himself was not a British or American citizen, the English-language literature plays the most important role in the construction of his humanitarian image, which implies a connection between his image and the Cold War ideologies asserted by the US. Westad (2005: 4) pointed out that 'liberty' and 'justice' were the ideologies adopted by the US and Soviet Russia to legitimise their intervention in the Third World<sup>3</sup>:

Locked in conflict over the very concept of European modernity – to which both states regarded themselves as successors – Washington and Moscow needed to change the world in order to prove the universal applicability of their ideologies, and the elites of the newly independent states proved fertile ground for their competition. By helping to expand the domains of freedom or of social justice, both powers saw themselves as

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<sup>3</sup> Although 'Third World' is an outdated term that originated from the Cold War period, this thesis decides to retain the term in order to maintain historical fidelity to the relevant primary source materials.

assisting natural trends in world history and as defending their own security at the same time.

Bricmont (2006: 10) further used the term ‘humanitarian imperialism’ to describe the abuse of human rights under the imperialistic agenda of the West:

when the first Europeans arrived in distant lands, they discovered ‘barbarous customs’ [prompting a] humanitarian imperialism, which uses the denunciation of those customs to legitimise our interventions, wars, and interference.

It should also be noted that the concept of humanitarianism varies depending on who is the enemy of the West. During the Cold War, since the main rival of the US was Soviet Russia, the US’ main opponent of the ideological competition was Russia as discussed by Westad. In the post-Cold War context, the US needed to justify its imperialistic agenda by identifying a new enemy. The September 11 Attacks led the US to decide to shape the Islamic world as its rival (Kincheloe and Steinberg 2004). Humanitarianism was therefore used by the US in order to justify its intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2018, the trade war between the US and China was initiated, which may mark the arrival of a ‘New Cold War.’ Within this context, Humanitarianism may be adopted against authoritarianism in China. Based on these criticisms, this section aims to clarify how Casals’ political image as a musical humanitarian was constructed during the Cold War by reviewing his English biographies, which would lay the foundation stone for further discussion in the following chapters.

There are nearly twenty biographical accounts of Casals published in English (table 1.1), including three significant volumes: *Conversations with Casals* with Jose Maria Corredor; *Joys and Sorrows* with Albert Kahn; and *Pablo Casals: A Biography* by Hebert Kirk. *Joys and Sorrows* and *Pablo Casals: A Biography* were originally written in English while the English version of *Conversations with Casals* appeared just a year after the original version in Catalan. *Conversations with Casals* (Casals and Corredor 1957) takes the form of questions posed by Corredor and answered by Casals. *Pablo Casals: A Biography* (Kirk 1974)

is an ‘authorised biography’ (Lazo 2013: 8) by Casals himself and published posthumously in 1974. *Joys and Sorrows* (Casals and Kahn 1970), the most widely distributed and translated of the three books, is similar to *Conversations with Casals*: it is an oral auto-biography recounted by Casals and written by Kahn. Casals’ active involvement with such accounts inevitably led to a degree of bias since he could provide a ‘sanitised version of his life’ (Lazo 2013: 72). Lazo (2013: 180) further noted that:

[Casals elevated himself] as the world’s greatest cellist and a symbol of musical humanitarianism. Noble as Casals’ causes may have been portrayed, they do not justify his use of lawyers, confidants, family members, and musical peers (sometimes blindsided, sometimes complicit with Casals’ plans) to gain public trust and to build a (contested yet) taken-for-granted heritage based on deception, misdirected beliefs, and deep-seated cultural prejudices.

Nevertheless, such criticisms of Casals’ image did not gain a foothold in Japan and the Sinophone world. The English literature occupies the most crucial role in his reception in Japan and the Sinophone world since most of the materials in Japanese and Mandarin Chinese were translations from English sources (table 1.2). In order to explore the reception of Casals in greater depth, it is necessary to examine how the ideologies of liberty and humanitarianism were embedded in his English biographies. Four key events were usually included: a) his stance in the Spanish Civil War; b) his artistic boycott after the Second World War and the Prades Festival; c) the White House concert in 1961; and d) the performances he gave at the United Nations.

Table 1.1 Biographies of Casals in English

Book Title	Year	Author	Publisher	Note
Pablo Casals	1929 (1949)	Lillian Littlehales	Dent	
Pablo Casals	1956	Bernard Gavoty	Rene Kister	Translated from French
Conversations with Casals	1956	Jose Maria Corredor Translated by Andre Mangeot	E P Dutton & Co.	Translated from Catalan
The Memoirs of Pablo Casals	1959	Thomas Dozier	Time Incorporated	
Heros of Our Time	1961	Paul Moor	Victor Gollancz	Book Chapter
Cellist in Exile: A Portrait of Pablo Casals	1962	Bernard Tapper	McGraw-Hill Book Co	
Pablo Casals: Cellist for Freedom	1965	Aylesa Forsee	Thomas Crowell Co.	
Joys and Sorrows: Reflections	1970	Albert Kahn	Touchstone	
Pablo Casals. A Biography	1974	H. L. Kirk	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	
Casals and The Art of Interpretation	1977	David Blum	University of Berkeley	
Virtuoso: The Life and Art of Niccolo Paganini, Franz Liszt, Anton Rubinstein, Ignace Jan Paderewski, Fritz Kreisler, Pablo Casals, Wanda Landowska, Vladimir Horowitz, Glenn Gould	1982	Harvey Sachs	Thames and Hudson	Book Chapter
History of the Violoncello - Western Violoncello Art of the 19th and 20th Centuries, Excluding Russian and Soviet Schools	1983	Lev Ginsburg, Herbert Axelrod. Translated by Tanya Tchistyakova	Paganiniana Publications	Book Chapter Translated from Russia
Song of the Birds: Sayings, Stories, and Impressions of Pablo Casals	1985	Julian Lloyd Webber	Robson Books	
Pablo Casals: Cellist of Conscience	1991	Jim Hargrove	Children's Press	
Pablo Casals (Hispanics of Achievement)	1993	Hedda Garza	Chelsea House Publishers	
Pablo Casals	1993	Robert Baldock	Gollancz	

Pablo Casals: Cellist for the World	1997	David Goodnough	Enslow Publishers	
The Great Cellists	2004	Margaret Campbell	Robson	Book Chapter
The Cello Suites	2009	Eric Soblin	Grove Press	

Table 1.2 The Translated Materials of Casals

English	Japanese	Taiwan	China
<i>Conversation with Casals</i> , Jose M. Corredor, 1956	パブロ・カザルスとの對話, 1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 論演奏 (Excerpt of Chapter 9, <i>Conversation with Casals</i>), 1973</li> <li>● 卡薩爾斯的一生—大師訪談錄, 1995</li> </ul>	弓弦之王—卡薩爾斯, 2001
<i>Pablo Casals</i> , Bernard Gavoty, 1956		藝術與道德的化身：在普拉德訪問帕布羅·卡薩斯 (The Incarnation of Art and Morality: Interviewing Pablo Casals at Parades), 1973	
<i>Joys and Sorrows</i> , Albert E. Kahn 1970	喜びと悲しみ, 1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 白鳥之歌, 1973</li> <li>● 白鳥之歌, 2013 (revised edition)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Excerpt of <i>Joys and Sorrows</i>, 1979-80</li> <li>● 白鳥之歌, 2017 (Imported from Taiwan's 2013 version)</li> </ul>
A Musician Who Looked Beyond the Printed Note, <i>New York Times</i> , Harold Schonberg, 1973		一位注視於音符上的演奏家, 1974	
Casals, the Master Cellist, Won Wide Acclaim in Career That Spanned 75 Years, <i>New York Times</i> , Alden Whitman, 1973		一代大提琴宗師帕布羅·卡薩爾斯的七十五年演奏生涯, 1974	
<i>Pablo Casals</i> , Hebert Kirk, 1974			Excerpt of <i>Pablo Casals</i> , 1981
<i>Casals and the Art of Interpretation</i> , David Blum, 1977			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 卡札斯與巴赫 (Casals and Bach), 1979</li> <li>● 卡薩爾斯談演奏與旋律的構思 (Casals On Performance and Thoughts on Melody), 1982</li> </ul>
<i>History of the Violoncello</i> , Lev S. Ginzburg, 1983			Excerpt of <i>History of the Violoncello</i> , 1987

<i>Song of the Birds: Sayings, Stories, and Impressions of Pablo Casals</i> , Julian Lloyd Weber, 1985			群鳥之歌—大提琴家帕伯羅·卡薩爾斯印象錄, 2001
<i>Pablo Casals</i> , Robert Baldock, 1993	パブロ・カザルスの生涯, 1994		
<i>The Cello Suites</i> , Eric Soblin, 2009		早安，巴哈先生, 2019	
	パブロ・カザルスの神話 自由と平和と正義を希求した音楽の闘士(The Legend of Pablo Casals: the Music Fighter Pursuing Freedom, Peace, and Justice), 井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue, 1980		Excerpt of 希求自由、和乎和正義的音樂戰士—卡薩爾斯 (The Music Fighter Searching for Freedom, Peace and Justice: Casals), 1980
		現代大提琴演奏法之父，熱愛追求人類和平的偉人—卡薩爾斯 (The Father of Modern Cello Performance and Great Man Who Passionately Pursued Peace - Casals), 彭聖錦 Sheng Jin Peng, 1995	現代大提琴演奏法之父，熱愛追求人類和平的偉人—卡薩爾斯 (The Father of Modern Cello Performance and Great Man Who Passionately Pursued Peace - Casals), 2003

Casals' anti-Franco and anti-Fascism stance during and after the Spanish Civil War laid the foundation stone for his image as a fighter for freedom and peace. In *Joys and Sorrows*, Casals clearly stated his staunch opposition to the Franco regime (Casals and Kahn 1970: 245):

I said, "I am against Franco and what he represents. If there were freedom in Spain, I would go. But if I went now, I would have to say what I believe. People in Spain who say what they believe are put in prison or worse."

Casals then decided to amplify his objection to the Franco regime and to Fascist Germany and Italy by silencing his music (Casals and Corredor 1957: 212):

When I saw that Einstein, Thomas Mann, Bruno Walter and so many illustrious personalities of science and the arts had to expatriate themselves, some persecuted because of their race, others because of their ideas, I thought it was my duty to protest, and I declared I would not go back to Germany until intellectual and artistic liberties were restored. When, later on, Mussolini imitated the Nazis, I adopted the same attitude towards Italy. The only weapons I possess are the cello and the conductor's baton. They are not very deadly, but I have no others, and do not wish to have any. In the circumstances I used what I had to protest against what I considered was disgraceful and ignominious.

After the Second World War, when the Republican regime was not restored in Spain, Casals extended his boycott to include countries that recognised Franco's government. Meanwhile, Casals tried to occupy the moral high ground by stressing that his behaviour was motivated by ethics rather than politics (Casals and Corredor 1957: 212):

I am not a politician. I never have been and do not pretend to be one. I am simply an artist... . Politics do not belong to an artist but, to my mind, he is under an obligation to take sides, whatever sacrifice it means, if human dignity becomes involved.

Another question that arises here is Casals' attitude to communism, since the Republican regime was supported by Soviet Russia during the Civil War. From reading his biographies, no clear answer emerges. The political aspect of Casals' work was not mentioned in his first biography written by Lillian Littlehales in 1929. Yet, in the 1949 edition, there is a vivid sentence that seeks to minimise Casals' susceptibility to leftist tendencies (Littlehales 1949: 205):

[Casals] says he is no politician, though he lives in exile and has taken sides[...] Many people have tried to exploit his ideas and say he represents the extreme left. 'My care is to say constantly that I belong to no party; I do not work for the Republic, but for justice.'

A very similar sentence can also be extracted from another article on Casals (Moor 1961: 33):

It has also been said that since Casals opposed Franco, he supported the Communists—or even *was* a Communist. This is so untrue as to be almost idiotic. [Italics original]

In the biography by Kirk (1974: 404), another sentence suggests that Casals' attitude to communism was more ambivalent:

In late 1936 he was well aware of, and grateful for, the material help the Soviet government gave to the Spanish Republic. Yet he remembered what had happened to the Siloti family and others he had known in the Russia during the Communist revolution in 1917.

Although Casals' attitude to the leftists cannot clearly be identified, his anti-Franco and anti-fascism stance nevertheless served as the basis for his prestige in the post-war era.

The inauguration of the Prades Festival in 1950 marks another stage in the construction of his image. Casals once maintained that participating in a festival would send a false message and that he had broken his boycott. Yet, instead of playing elsewhere, Casals agreed to organise a festival at Prades with musicians from Europe and the US in 'a homage to Bach without obscuring his protest, and possibly strengthening it by the attention the event would attract' (Kirk 1974: 452). Casals' decision of returning to the stage was strengthened by Albert Schweitzer, another humanitarian who is also famous for his interpretation of Bach's music. Both Casals and Schweitzer agreed that it is the artists' obligation to express their desire for peace in a troubled world through music (Baldock 1993: 234). Casals further explained why Bach's music was chosen for the festival (Casals and Corredor 1957: 109):

The miracle of Bach has not appeared in any other art. To strip human nature until its divine attributes are made clear, to inform ordinary activities with spiritual fervour, to give wings of eternity to that which is most ephemeral; to make divine things human and human things divine; such is Bach, the greatest and purest moment in music of all time.

Consequently, featuring numerous renowned musicians, including Clara Haskil, Mieczysław Horszowski, Isaac Stern, Joseph Szigeti, Rudolf Serkin, Paul Tortelier, and Yehudi Menuhin, the Prades Festival ran for seven years from 1950 to 1956. As a result, Casals further combined his political stance with his musical performances of Bach and gained a higher moral profile (Taruskin 2009).

The White House concert in 1961 contributed enormously to Casals' positive image even though Casals broke his boycott. During his presidency, Kennedy created a friendly environment for artists as part of what he promised would be a 'golden age of freethinking art' (Ross 2008: 269). Meanwhile, cultural events also satisfied the general public's need to escape from the shadow of the Cold War (Krenn 2005: 179). Against this background, Casals was invited to perform a chamber music concert, with Alexander Schneider and Mieczysław Horszowski, at the White House. Casals is reported to have decided to accept the invitation because of Kennedy's personality and his commitment to freedom and peace (Kirk 1974: 520). The program included Mendelssohn's trio in D minor, Paul Bazelaire's arrangement of Concert Pieces for Cello and Piano by Couperin, the Adagio and Allegro in A flat major, op.70, by Schumann, and Song of the Birds, a Catalan folk tune which Casals played as a symbol of his aspirations for freedom and peace. Casals, Kennedy, and the US all benefitted in slightly different ways from the event. By sponsoring the concert, Kennedy earned himself a reputation as a lover of high culture even though he did not enjoy the music at all (Binkiewicz 2004: 49). For the US, the significance of the concert was acknowledged by both cultural elites and the general public as the concert was witnessed by numerous musical figures in the US, including Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein, Samuel Barber, Virgil Thompson, Walter Piston, Roy Harris, Howard Hanson, Roger Sessions, William Schumann, Henry Cowell, Alan Hovhaness, Elliott Carter, and Gian Carlo Menotti (Ross 2008: 302), and it received positive feedback from domestic audiences (Binkiewicz 2004: 49). On the

international level, the US affirmed its stance and commitment to freedom and democracy in the Cold War by organising this concert (Binkiewicz 2004: 48). Finally, for Casals, although he broke his boycott by performing for Kennedy, his humanitarian image was strengthened and his political ideal was circulated even more widely since the concert was broadcasted by NBC and ABC and recorded by Columbia (Baldock 1993: 239-42).

Casals' performances at the United Nations were the final stage in affirming his Cold War image as a cultural hero. Casals performed three times at the UN headquarters in 1958, 1963, and 1971. Casals accepted the invitation to perform on United Nations Day in 1958 since he considered the UN to be an extraterritorial and politically neutral venue (Kirk 1974: 506).

Casals also addressed his stance once again in the program when he wrote:

If at my age I have come here today, it is not because anything has changed in my moral attitude or in the restrictions that I have imposed upon myself and my career as an artist for all these years, but because today all else becomes secondary in comparison to the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening all humanity (quoted from Kirk 1974: 506).

In the concert, accompanied by Horszowski, Casals played Bach's Sonata No.2 in D major and *Song of the Birds*. The concert was highly influential as it was broadcast by radio to 75 countries and transmitted on television by CBS (Baldock 1993: 235). The *New York Times* called Casals a 'crusader for peace' and 'passionate friend of liberty' (Casals and the UN 1958). Baldock (1993: 235) has evaluated the effect of the concert by suggesting that 'the United Nations appearance transformed him, virtually instantaneously, into a globally recognizable symbol of peace and, in the uncomfortable but accurate phrase, a 'geriatric superstar'.

Although, in comparison with his achievement in the history of cello performance, Casals' compositions did not receive much attention and critical analysis from scholars, his works performed at the United Nations were usually mentioned in the written materials as part of

his humanitarian contribution. In 1963, Casals conducted his oratorio *El Pessebre* at the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the program, Casals, again, stated his desire to achieve peace through music:

I repeat, music, that wonderful universal language which is understood by everyone should be a source of communication among men. I once again exhort my fellow musicians throughout the world to put the purity of their art at the service of mankind in order to unite all people in fraternal ties (quoted from Kirk 1974: 537).

Casals' last appearance at the United Nations in 1971 was the high note of his career and the culmination of his image as a musical humanitarian. In the concert, Casals premiered his specially commissioned *Hymn of the United Nations*. After the performance, the Secretary-General U Thant conferred a United Nations Peace Medal on Casals. The concert continued with Bach's D minor concerto for two violins, featuring Isaac Stern and Alexander Schneider as soloists, Stravinsky's concerto 'Dumbarton Oaks' and Bach's concerto for three keyboards, with Horowitz, Rudolf Serkin, and Eugene Istomin as the soloists. At the end of the concert, Casals delivered a short talk to introduce the last piece, *Song of the Birds*:

I will play a short piece of the Catalonian folklore, this piece is called 'The Song of the Birds.' The birds in the sky, in the space, cry out when they fly: 'Peace! Peace! Peace!' And the music is music that Bach and Beethoven and all the great would have loved, and it is the soul of my country, Catalonia (quoted from Kirk 1974: 555).

Kirk (1974: 555) reported that 'the great room [was] in absolute silence. Eyes closed, half hunched over the instrument, he played the familiar cradle song through to the fading of a last upward pianissimo note that for an instant made it seem possible the human spirit could achieve peace.'

Following these remarks, although Casals' conception of peace and the universalism of Western art music may have been Euro-centric and problematic, he nevertheless successfully established an archetype for musical humanitarianism, which has been followed by other musicians of Western art music who are considered negotiators for peace. During the Cold

War, Isaac Stern and Mstislav Rostropovich were followed in Casals' image as musical humanitarians. Rostropovich's performance of the Bach cello suites in front of the Berlin Wall in 1989 confirmed his position of inheriting the spirit of Casals that a musical performance is not only a musical behaviour but also a representation of the musician's political stance (Taruskin 2009). In an East Asian context, Stern's visit to China in 1979 validated his contribution to the promulgation of humanitarianism in a non-Western country (Shepard 1981). Currently, the international violin competition hosted by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is named after Isaac Stern. In the twenty-first century, Casals' image is still inherited by world renowned musicians of Western art music, such as the cellist Yo-Yo Ma and the pianist/conductor Daniel Barenboim. In order to facilitate a dialogue between Israel and Palestine, Barenboim established the Barenboim-Said Foundation, whose main objective is to 'promote the spirit of peace, dialogue and reconciliation, primarily through music' (Willson 2013: 243-44). More recently, when the Russian invasion of Ukraine broke out in late February 2022, Yo-Yo Ma clearly expressed his condemnation of the invader by performing the national anthem of Ukraine in front of the Russian Embassy in the US. All these examples over the past five decades demonstrate that Casals' image as a musical humanitarian is influential in the contemporary context.

Yet, although Casals' image as a musical humanitarian has been firmly established in the English language literature, his positive image should not be taken for granted. His reception in Puerto Rico suggests an alternative way for understanding this musical figure from an indigenous perspective.

Following the Spanish-American War in 1898, Puerto Rico has been significantly influenced by the US in terms of politics, economic development, and cultural values (Lazo 2013: ch.2). From the approval of the Constitution of Puerto Rico in 1952 onwards, Puerto Rico has been

an unincorporated territory of the US until the present day. In 1948, Luis Muñoz Marín was elected to be the governor of Puerto Rico. In order to facilitate economic growth, Muñoz Marín initiated the Commonwealth Development Plan. In addition to economic development, Muñoz Marín initiated a cultural political project named Operation Serenity (*Operación Serenidad*), which aimed to ‘conserve and develop the island’s own cultural identity’ (Lazo 2013: 102). Against this background, Casals was invited by Muñoz Marín to move to Puerto Rico. Casals (1970: 271-72) accepted the invitation and praised Muñoz Marín in the following words:

He [Muñoz Marín] reminded me of the scholar-statesmen who had headed the Spanish Republic. He was interested in cultural affairs no less than in politics—he had, in fact, been a poet himself in his youth.

During his residency, he organised the Casals Festival in San Juan, in coordination with the violinist Alexander Schneider, and established the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra in 1957. The Puerto Rico Conservatory was also founded by Casals two years later in 1959. Generally speaking, Casals’ legacy in Puerto Rico was interpreted in a civilising narrative of enculturation, which implies that Western art music was brought to the country by Casals for the betterment of its native population. For example, when Casals suffered a heart attack in 1957 after which he could not conduct the orchestra for the opening concert of the Casals Festival, what troubled him was ‘there was so much at stake in terms of the future of music on the island’ (Casals and Kahn 1970: 275). Casals hence considered both himself and the Casals Festival a way of enlightening the Caribbean island. Baldock further intensified this image by titling the chapter on Casals’ residency in Puerto Rico ‘Epiphany: The *Discovery* of Puerto Rico’ (emphasis added). Baldock (1993: 214-15) evaluated Casals’ presence in Puerto Rico in the following words:

For Puerto Rico, the arrival of a world-famous cultural figure, especially one with genuine local connections, was precisely what it needed. After 450 years of external domination, first by Spain and then by the United States, this 3 million-strong Caribbean community had embarked on a deliberate programme to establish its independent

economic and cultural identity.

By emphasising the fact that Casals' mother was born in Puerto Rico, the arrival of Casals was interpreted as a milestone for the island as it sought to establish its own cultural identity. Yet, Baldock (1993: 221) also noticed that the repertoire and musicians invited for the Casals Festival in San Juan were simply replicating the Prades Festival and the organiser of the Casals Festival reserved more than half of the concert tickets for visitors from the US. How then could an independent cultural identity for Puerto Rico be established by importing foreign musical culture, musicians, and even audiences? A more critical examination of Casals' residency in Puerto Rico should therefore be developed by involving an indigenous Puerto Rican perspective.

Although opinions which maintain that Casals' presence in Puerto Rico was a way to promote the island's image on the international stage can also be found (Jimeno 2002[1957]; Montañez 2002[1957]), more critical remarks should not be neglected. From a postcolonial perspective, Governor Muñoz Marín was considered 'the cornerstone for implementing neo-colonist policies' (Lazo 2013: 91-2). Musically, Francis Schwartz (2002[1973]), a composer and the Dean of Humanities at the University of Puerto Rico, noticed that the concert program of the Casals Festival was dominated by works of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and rarely include contemporary works or those by Puerto Rican composers. Schwartz found that such imbalanced repertoire meant the Casals Festival could hardly integrate itself into the daily musical life of Puerto Rico. Local composers also raised their concerns over the Casals Festival. For example, Héctor Campos-Parsi criticised the monopolisation of musical activities caused by Casals' arrival in Puerto Rico:

With every year from 1951 to 1956 came the development of new resources, not only in music but in all the other arts. And then, [Campos-Parsi] sighs, in 1957, Pablo Casals came to live with us. Religion is always based on the unknown. Casals was a God, he said, repeating himself. A God surrounded by ignorance, suddenly, he spreads his arms

wide, and an enormous cloak of mediocrity covered the nation—in the name of ‘excellence’! It was no longer our job to produce anymore, only to interpret scripture. (quoted from Lazo 2017: 195)

By recalling his childhood memory, another Puerto Rican composer, Roberto Sierra, also expressed his concern that the privileged status of Western art music in the Casals Festival, especially German music, alienated local residents from their motherland:

It was at my home on the north shore of Puerto Rico where, for the first time, through those primitive televised waves—I say this because maybe you are too young to remember what television was like in the 60s but it was totally spectral and phantasmagoric—those fuzzy images of high culture imposed an emblem to which we should aspire, so creating the image of what was great, genial, and noble. Then there were us—the others. It was this moment that generated in me the feeling of being culturally alien in the island where I was born. It forced on us the idea of the universality of German thought. (quoted from Lazo 2017: 195)

However, as Marta-Casals asserted, ‘the musical works executed in all the festivals under the name of Festival Casals of Puerto Rico will be the greatest ever composed by the towering [European] composers of the past, universally recognized and accepted as consecrated masters of their periods’ (quoted from Lazo 2017: 198-99), the concert programmes of the Casals Festival were still largely occupied by the works of classical German composers, while leaving Puerto Rican composers marginalised. In addition to disagreement over the musical works performed in the concerts, Aponte-Ledée (2002[1972]: 103-4) offered a more general criticism of the presence of Casals and of the arrival of Western art music brought to Puerto Rico by Casals:

The [Puerto Rico Symphony] orchestra expanded its field of activity while spreading a false image of Puerto Rico as a prosperous country, a model of progress and felicity thanks to its special condition as a protege of the United States, through lightning tours of neighbouring Caribbean and Central American countries. [...] Therefore, imperialism uses the Casals agency to subtly persecute, marginalise, and neutralize our musicians, thus disparaging our art as part of the empire's intention to divide us.

These critical remarks suggest Western art music was not always considered a higher musical culture than local cultures in other regions of the world.

Taking these critical remarks as a point of departure, the following chapters examine how Casals was perceived in Japan and the Sinophone world with special attention to the tiny but subtle differences between his image in the English literature and that in the Japanese and Chinese texts, and discuss these differences within the context of domestic, regional, and global politics.

### **Archives Visited and ‘Pablo Casals’ in Japanese and Mandarin Chinese and Research Limitations**

Given that Casals visited Japan only once in 1961, while he never performed a concert in Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong throughout his career, this thesis is mainly based on written materials relating to Casals published in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong. The exclusion of the materials in the Korean peninsula is simply due to the language barrier. Although Japan, the Korean Peninsula, China, and Taiwan are geographically adjacent countries, their languages are very different. Despite Japanese contains a lot of Chinese characters (*kanji*), how these Chinese characters are pronounced in Japanese is completely different from that in Mandarin Chinese. The Korean language is another language system that is neither similar to Japanese nor to Mandarin Chinese. One could hardly be able to use these three languages fluently without special training. This thesis therefore could focus on the materials relating to Casals written in Japanese and Mandarin Chinese.

In order to consult primary sources relating to Casals, the following archives and libraries have been visited: the National Diet Library in Japan; the library of National Taiwan University, the National Central Library, and the Performing Arts Library of the National Theatre and Concert Hall in Taiwan; the library of Shanghai Conservatory of Music, the archive of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in China; and the library of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Central Library. These archival trips were all undertaken

before the pandemic. After the global outbreak of COVID-19 in spring 2020, international travel became extremely difficult. This project therefore could not consult as much secondary literature about the general reception of Western art music in East Asia written by local scholars as initially hoped, which is a limitation of this research.

The transliteration of Pablo Casals' name has also posed some more minor challenges. In the Japanese literature, Pablo Casals is consistently transliterated from the late 1920s onwards as パブロ・カザルス (pa-bu-ro ka-za-ru-su). This consistency makes the archival survey much easier and, hopefully, more comprehensive in Japan.

In the Sinophone world, the most common transliteration of Pablo Casals after the 1970s has been 帕布羅·卡薩爾斯 (pà-bù-luó kǎ-sà-ěr-sī). The other transliterations found in the primary materials include: 卡莎爾斯 (kǎ-suō-ěr-sī), 卡薩斯 (kǎ-sà-sī), 帕布羅·卡札 (pà-bù-luó kǎ-zhà), 卡沙斯 (kǎ-shā-sī), 卡莎斯 (kǎ-suō-sī), and 卡沙爾斯 (kǎ-shā-ěr-sī) in Taiwan; 帕勃羅·卡薩爾斯 (pà-bó-luó kǎ-sà-ěr-sī), 巴勃羅·卡薩爾斯 (bā-bó-luó kǎ-sà-ěr-sī), and 卡札斯 (kǎ-zhà-sī) in China; and 卡沙爾斯 (kǎ-shā-ěr-sī) in Hong Kong.<sup>4</sup> If the collection of primary sources on Casals in the Sinophone world is not fully comprehensive, it may be attributable to these diversified transliterations of the name, which should be acknowledged as one of the limitations of this thesis.

During the archival research, attention was paid to the translated books on Casals, articles, and recording reviews published in journals and magazines. The translated books were relatively easy to access in comparison with the written materials published in journals and magazines since most of them are reprinted and circulated in bookstores until the present day while the articles in magazines could only be found in libraries. The following paragraphs offer a brief overview of the context for the primary sources in Japanese and Mandarin

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<sup>4</sup> In some cases, the first name 'Pablo' is omitted in the Mandarin Chinese materials.

Chinese. In Japan, written materials relating to Casals are usually found in music magazines from the 1950s onwards. *音楽之友* (ongaku no tomo) and *レコード芸術* (rekodo geijutsu) are the two magazines that most often publish articles about Casals. *音楽之友* has been one of the most widely circulated musical magazines in Japan since its first issue in 1941. It generally publishes stories of composers, musicians, and the latest news of Western art musicians. *レコード芸術* mainly publishes reviews of recordings of Western art music and occasionally covers discussions of musicians' career. Some Japanese writers, such as Takeichiro Hirai and Yoritoyo Inoue, continuously published their opinions of Casals in the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, Japanese music magazines published in the twentieth century has been digitalised, which is a significant advantage for archive study in Japan.

In Taiwan, there is no music magazine that is as long-lived as *音楽之友*. Most music magazines issued in Taiwan in the second half of the twentieth century ceased within ten to twenty years. During the martial law period, the suspension of magazines was mainly attributable to political reasons, while it was more a result of financial difficulties from the mid-1980s onwards. In the 1950s and 1960s, articles relating to Casals were not usually published in music magazines. For instance, an introductory article of Casals by Wu Xin-Liu was published in *文星雜誌* (*Wen-Xing magazine*), which included articles across the cultural sphere broadly defined. From the 1970s onwards, numerous music magazines were published in Taiwan. These magazines generally included one piece of writing relating to Casals. Yet, it is rare to find more than one article about Casals in the same magazine or by the same author. This fact suggests that although Casals was widely known among Taiwanese music lovers, Taiwanese critics generally did not pay special attention to this musical figure. Therefore, while talking about Casals, Taiwanese critics tended to rely on the existing materials rather than consulting more primary sources.

In China, there were only a few short pieces relating to Casals before the outbreak of the Chinese Cultural Revolution in 1966. Then during the Cultural Revolution, nearly all kinds of publications on music ceased, including 人民音樂 (*People's Music*), the most widely circulated music magazine in China since 1950. Driven by institutions of higher education, music publications in China resumed from the late 1970s onwards. Materials relating to Casals therefore were found in academic journals, though most articles were translations rather than based on original research. For example, 外国音乐参考资料 (*Western Music Reference*) was published by the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing. In comparison with Taiwanese music magazines, these publications have been relatively well-preserved in libraries since they are considered academic journals. In the 1990s, China began to publish music magazines for the public. Yet all kinds of publications in China have been censored by the government until the present day. Meanwhile, information about Casals' life and career may be forged or mistranslated in the Chinese materials, a trend discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

In Hong Kong, from the mid-1950s onwards, numerous music magazines have been published. 樂友 (*Music Companion*) has been published largely continuously since its first issue in 1954, though it was suspended from 1966 to 1970; 音樂生活 (*Hi-Fi Musical Life*) was circulated from 1962 to 1980; *Hi-Fi Review* has published more than four hundred issues from the mid-1980s onwards. Yet, Casals received only a little attention in these music magazines. The reason why Casals was absent in Hong Kong is discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

### **The Analytical Approach to Primary Sources**

As discussed earlier, most discourses on Casals found in Japanese and Chinese materials can be traced back to an English source; therefore, the following chapters draw comparisons between accounts in Japan and the Sinophone world and those in the English language

literature. While reading the primary sources relating to Casals in Japanese and Mandarin Chinese, this thesis considers what is excluded to be as important as what is presented in the written materials. The aim of making such comparisons is not to criticise whether the content of those written materials in Japan and the Sinophone world is ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’. Instead, attention is given to how the image of Casals was shaped differently in these places through those materials. In brief, this thesis is not about Casals *per se* but about the *mediation* of Casals in printed form. From the perspective of reception history, in some cases, Casals’ original intentions may be insignificant. For example, Casals’ attitude toward communism was not clearly presented in his English biographies, yet he could be introduced as an anti-communist in Taiwan and a leftist musician in China, which is further discussed in chapter 4. In this case, whether Casals was a communist or not is not the focal point of discussion since most readers in both Taiwan and China would not consult primary sources in Spanish or Catalan in order to confirm Casals’ political tendencies in the 1930s.

Meanwhile, the discourses on Casals in the English language literature should not be taken for granted. Although most of the information about Casals’ life and career reported in his English biographies is accurate and close to the facts, his image as a musical humanitarian in the English biographies should necessarily be examined within the context of Cold War politics. Therefore, instead of considering Casals’ image in the English language literature as the ‘correct’ or ‘authentic’ one, this thesis relativises Casals’ image constructed in different places and in different languages. In light of the criticisms of reception history made by Mark Everist (1999), this thesis does not intend to identify an objectified image of Casals. On the contrary, by contesting the canonic discourse of Casals in the English language literature and relativising his images found in different languages, these competing interpretations could be a way for gaining a more comprehensive understanding of global music history.

## Structure of Thesis

The thesis chapters are arranged in chronological order rather than according to national boundaries to examine the reception history of Casals as well as Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world. This arrangement attempts to establish a perspective for further discussion within a regional context by seeking a balance between the similarities and differences amongst Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong, in order to avoid the risk of ‘essentialising Asia’ warned against by Spakowski (2018: 230). In other words, by juxtaposing Casals’ reception in Japan and the Sinophone world chronologically, a deeper understanding of the reception of Western art music can be gained by emphasising the regional perspective, in addition to that of domestic and international politics. Meanwhile, for purely pragmatic reasons of scale, the materials presented in this thesis only cover those written in English, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese.

In addition to the introductory chapter, the thesis comprises four principal chapters and a chapter of concluding remarks. Before going into the details of Casals’ reception in Japan and the Sinophone world, the second chapter discusses the concept of ‘Asia as method’ and examines the reception history of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China from the perspective of Chen Kuan-Hsing’s ‘inner Asia referential framework.’ Given that Western art music has been welcomed in the region from the late nineteenth century onwards, chapter 2 explores why postcolonial criticism of Western art music did not gain a foothold in Japan and the Sinophone world during the twentieth century.

Chapter 2 is divided into three stages: the reception of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world before 1950, that during the Cold War, and in the post-Cold War era. Throughout the twentieth century, Western art music was generally considered to be a symbol of European elite culture and of modernisation, which became the underlying reason why it

was welcomed. Before the Second World War, the tension between Japan and China increased significantly. Western art music was then adopted by both governments to advance patriotism. In Japan, it was involved in the propaganda of Japanese militarism and expansionism; while it was used for national salvation in China.

During the Cold War, Western art music was utilised by the US to establish or confirm a partnership with Third World countries by sending musicians to perform concerts or by providing resources for musical education. Japan, Taiwan, and China all benefitted from presenting the US musicians to their local audiences. Assisted by William Strickland, Japanese orchestras were able to perform in the US and issue recordings to gain a worldwide reputation. The concerts of Boston Symphony Orchestra in Taiwan were one of the ways for the Nationalist government to stabilise its authority as it demonstrated to Taiwanese people that there was a strong partnership with the US. The Philadelphia Orchestra's tour to China was a cultural sign of the Sino-US rapprochement and laid the foundation stone for the establishment of a diplomatic relationship between these two countries in the late 1970s. In other words, in order to maintain a partnership with the US, Western art music was further promulgated in all these three countries.

As the market economy grew, the consumption of Western art music became further embedded in the society of Japan, Taiwan, and China in the post-Cold War era as a way of earning cultural capital. Middle-class families therefore were willing to invest in learning Western art music due to its connotation of upward social mobility. On a national level, Western art music was strongly supported by the government in these countries as a way of symbolising them as a cultured country.

Chapter 2 reveals that development of a more critical approach to thinking about Western art

music was held back by the agenda of modernisation and patriotism before the Second World War; by the cultural diplomacy of the US during the Cold War; and by consumer capitalism in the post-Cold War era. Against this background, the following three chapters take the reception of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world in the post-Cold War era as a case study for developing postcolonial criticisms of Western art music from a regional perspective.

Chapter 3 reveals how the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China was mediated by Cold War politics from the 1950s to 1960s. Although Casals was an established musical figure in Euro-American countries in the early twentieth century, he was not well-known in Japan and was hardly known in Taiwan and China before the 1950s. In Japan, Casals' reputation surged in the post-war era, especially after his visit to Japan in 1961. Yet, due to the censorship of all publications, the Japanese readership could only understand Casals through an American prism. Against this background, this chapter discusses how the appreciation of Western art music changed from the process of modernisation and enculturation to a political commitment that Japan shared the same cultural values as the US.

Stemming from his reputation in Euro-American countries, Casals was introduced into Taiwan in the 1950s. Based on this positive image, Taiwanese texts interpreted Casals' anti-Franco stance as evidence of his commitment to freedom, democracy, and anti-communism. Given the fact that both Japan and Taiwan were included in the 'first island chain' during the Cold War, this chapter discusses the similarities and differences in Casals' reception between these two countries so as to develop a deeper understanding of how the US' cultural diplomacy negotiated with the domestic and regional politics in Japan and Taiwan.

The introduction of Casals in the Chinese materials appeared in the late 1950s with special attention to his criticisms of the US. This chapter discusses how and why Casals was

introduced to a Chinese readership at this point in time. By examining and drawing a comparison between the different ways of presenting Casals, chapter 3 unravels how the appreciation of Western art music was mediated on a domestic, regional, and international level in the first two decades of the Cold War.

Chapter 4 considers how the antagonistic ideologies of the Cold War were intensified during the 1970s and 1980s while political tensions between China, Japan, and the US were eased due to diplomatic normalisation between China and Western states in the same period. Casals' reputation in Japan was fully established in the 1970s. Instead of understanding him through translated materials, Japanese critics articulated their own voice to re-evaluate Casals' legacy. Yet, the Cold War ideology of humanitarianism imposed by US writers could be extensively found in Japanese materials. This chapter examines the evolving interpretation of Casals within the context of Japan's domestic as well as global politics.

In Taiwan, Casals' humanitarian image was further interpreted as evidence of his commitment to anti-communism and anti-dictatorship against the backdrop of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. Casals' self-imposed boycott of Russia, Fascist Italy, and Germany, and his staunch opposition to the Franco regime were especially emphasised. This chapter further compares the appreciation of Casals in Taiwan with that in Japan and China to reveal how music was utilised as political propaganda.

In contrast with Taiwanese interpretation of Casals, he was understood as a leftist musician in China through political labels such as 'people's musician,' and 'people's character of art', which were found in his translated biographies. Chapter 4 discusses how the ideological competition between capitalism and communism was further strengthened within the context of a series of diplomatic normalisation in China in the 1970s.

In the same period, the introduction of Casals in Hong Kong was quite superficial in comparison with that in Japan, Taiwan, and China. In the meantime, both interpretations of Casals as a humanitarian and a leftist musician could be found in the materials published in Hong Kong. This chapter also discusses how Casals' reception in Hong Kong offers an alternative perspective for unpacking the politicisation of this musical figure in Japan, Taiwan, and China.

Chapter 5 focuses on Casals' reception in the post-Cold War era. As the Cold War ended in 1991 with the collapse of Soviet Russia, the global order changed from a bipolar system to a monopoly of capitalism. Chapter 5 therefore examines the role of capitalism and its underlying market economy principles in the reception of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world in the post-Cold War era. During this period, although the goal of promoting Casals' CD sales was the same, the strategies chosen by critics from Japan, Taiwan, and China were slightly different. Japanese critics drew a connection between Casals' musical performance and his image as a humanitarian. In other words, Casals' Cold War image was further affirmed in Japan. This chapter reveals that although Japan attempted to challenge US dominance politically and economically during the second half of the twentieth century, from a cultural perspective, Japan has been restricted by the Cold War ideology asserted by the US.

Taiwanese critics advertised Casals' recordings by romanticising and exaggerating his biographical accounts. Yet, Casals' Cold War image and his personality was disconnected from the appreciation of his musical performance. His recording of the Bach cello suites was highly regarded in Taiwan due to its historical value. A similar tendency toward over-stating Casals' biography was also found in the Chinese materials: Chinese critics appreciate his interpretation of the Bach cello suites from a purely musical perspective though they may be aware of its political context. Since Casals' biographical accounts were hardly found in Hong

Kong, his reception in Hong Kong, again, serves as an alternative point of view for discussing a sceptical question: how would Casals' cello performance be evaluated without his image as a humanitarian?

In addition to recapitulating the key findings and concepts in the principal chapters, the conclusion of this thesis offers a general discussion of how the reception history of Western art music and that of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world could contribute more widely to musical decolonisation. Meanwhile, echoing the Puerto Rican perspective discussed in the introduction, the concluding remarks elaborate how such opinions could be another valuable point of reference for Japan and the Sinophone world to rethink how and why Casals' work was presented in the way it was. This process of rethinking Casals' reception should be an opportunity for postcolonial music criticism to gain a deeper root, not only in Japan and the Sinophone world but also across the world.

## **Chapter 2. Patriotism, the Cold War, Capitalism:**

### **A Postcolonial Criticism of the Reception of Western Art Music in Japan, Taiwan, and China**

Responding to the questions raised in the introduction, this chapter discusses why Western art music was welcomed despite its association with colonialism; why postcolonial criticisms of Western art music did not gain a foothold in Japan and the Sinophone world in the twentieth century; and how the appreciation of Western art music was mediated by domestic, regional, and international politics. Postcolonial criticism here refers to the attempt to establish an alternative perspective from which to evaluate Western art music and to challenge its privileged status in Japan and the Sinophone world. By revisiting key musical events in Japan, Taiwan, and China and revealing the power relations of these events, this chapter argues that patriotism, the Cold War, and capitalism are the three factors which explain why such postcolonial discussions were not initiated in Japan and the Sinophone world in the twentieth century. In the meantime, this chapter proposes that a postcolonial perspective for evaluating Western art music could be established by conducting a scholarly dialogue within an Asian context.

#### **Asia as Method and Its Implications for Musicological Scholarship**

Before going into musical details, the concept of ‘Asia as method’ should be clarified in order to support further discussion of the importance of developing a regional perspective and to advance the understanding of decolonisation. The discussion of ‘Asia as method’ was initiated by Japanese scholars during the Cold War. In response to the significant influence imposed by the US in the post-war era (Yoshimi 2003), Japanese scholars began to think about an alternative perspective for understanding the world, different from that defined by Euro-American countries. In a lecture delivered in 1960, Yoshimi Takeuchi (2005) proposed

‘Asia as method’ for the first time. In the early twentieth century, Japan was generally considered a modernised country while China was in chaos. Yet, in order to establish a narrative of ‘Oriental modernisation’, Yoshimi criticised Japan’s full acceptance of European modernity and praised China’s preservation of cultural elements during the process of modernisation. Although Takeuchi’s criticism was not completely accepted, the importance in his approach of initiating a dialogue within an Asian context was generally acknowledged (Chang 2004).

Following Takeuchi, Yūzō Mizoguchi proposed the idea of ‘China as method’ in the 1980s. Stemming from the same spirit, ‘China’ in Mizoguchi’s writing does not only refer to a country or geographical area but also to a way of questioning Japan’s subjectivity: according to Mizoguchi (2016: 514), “‘China’ had been internalized by Japan, [and] interest in ancient or medieval China was rather a concern for Japanese cultural tradition, or else a concern that emerged from that tradition.’ Meanwhile, by criticising Japanese sinology, Mizoguchi (2016: 516) emphasised that China should be considered a method to understand the world as he argued that ‘to take China as a method is to take the world as a goal.’ In order to achieve this goal, the universalisation of Euro-centric standards of evaluating the world should be relativised by identifying an alternative standard from within China. Mizoguchi (2016: 517) further explained that such relativisation did not only apply to China or Japan but should be applied to the whole world.

Following Takeuchi and Mizoguchi, Chen Kuan-Hsing, a Taiwanese postcolonial theorist, drew a deeper connection between ‘Asia as method’ and the discussion of decolonisation. Chen (2010: 3; 112) offered a definition of decolonisation as ‘the attempt of the previously colonised to reflectively work out a historical relation with the former coloniser, culturally, politically, and economically,’ and identified the task of decolonisation as follows: ‘to

deconstruct, decentre, and disarticulate the colonial cultural imaginary, and to reconstruct and rearticulate new imaginations and discover a more democratic future direction' Chen (2010: 4). further argued that due to the Cold War, such discussions did not receive enough attention from scholars, writing that 'the decolonisation and deimperialisation movements in the period immediately after the Second World War were interrupted by the formation of Cold War.' Chen did not present a comparably comprehensive definition of the Cold War. Rather, by arguing that to 'de-Cold War is to de-Americanise,' Chen (2010: 120) generally referred to the fact that during the Cold War the regional order in East Asia was manipulated by the United States through the promotion of capitalism and anti-communism, and he suggested that scholars should pay more attention to criticising Cold War ideologies extensively in order to liberate East Asia from them.

In order to advance the discussion of decolonisation, Chen proposed an 'inner Asian referential framework' as a way for East Asian scholars to develop postcolonial criticism by conducting a dialogue with Mizoguchi's 'China as method'. In order to gain a deeper understanding within Asia, Chen (2010: 252) emphasised the importance of relativising China and Japan by interpreting Mizoguchi's approach as:

not only a way to understand China from the inside out, but a way of mutually relativising both China and Japan through a mediating process of objectification so that both can be understood in different ways. In this way, the narcissistic being can be liberated and transformed into becoming.

Following Mizoguchi's insight, Chen (2010: 253) then expanded the opinion of relativisation to include Third World countries and elaborated how the understanding of 'self' and 'other' could be redefined by adopting Mizoguchi's model to the world history. Chen (2010: 254) finally concluded by stating the purpose of the 'inner Asian referential framework':

In moving toward the creation of a new world, Asia as method is then an open-ended imagination. In the specific contexts of certain practices, both discursive and nondiscursive, Asia can be a synonym for China, Malaysia, India, Sri Lanka, and

Indonesia; or Seoul, Taipei, and Bangalore; or the third world. [...] Asian inter-referencing is a process of relativization. Its task is not only to understand different parts of Asia but also to enable a renewed understanding of the self. More importantly, the agenda of the transformed self is to transcend existing understandings of Asia and thereby change the world.

There are two fundamental principles in Chen's framework. First, studying Asia is an approach to understanding the world since 'Westernness', imported during colonisation by Western states, has already become an indispensable part of Asian subjectivity; and second, that the West should no longer be taken as a reference point, but rather that a new framework is needed from within an Asian context so as to advance the discussion of decolonisation.

Despite the ambition of his approach, Chen did not successfully establish a narrative based on an 'inner Asian referential framework.' This is because he failed to identify sufficient shared historical ground across East Asian countries during the twentieth century in order to be able to validate his model. In his de-Cold War chapter, for example, Chen explained how the Taiwanese contradiction between *benshengren* (people of the province) and *waishengren* (people from other provinces)<sup>5</sup> is a consequence of the Cold War. Yet, the dichotomy of *benshengren* and *waishengren* has no meaningful counterpart in other Asian countries since neither the Korean nor the Vietnam War caused a scale of migration comparable to that of the Chinese Civil War. In other words, Chen did not clarify the historical process through which Asia became economically, culturally, and politically influenced by the West. Nor did he discuss the legacies of that historical process which remain at work in Asian countries today.

Two more criticisms can be made of Chen's work. First, although Chen argued that the

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<sup>5</sup> People who moved to Taiwan from China during the seventeenth to the nineteenth century is called *benshengren*; while *waishengren* refers to people moved to Taiwan with the Nationalist government after 1949. In chapter 3, Chen noticed that there are two contradictory modes of thinking curated by the Cold War underpinning Taiwanese people's senses of national hierarchy. To *benshengren*, the mode is 'modern Japan' → 'modernizing Taiwan' → 'backwards China'; on the contrary, the mode endorsed by *waishengren* is 'anti-Japan' → 'anticommunism' → 'returning home.'

discussion of decolonisation was suppressed during the Cold War, he did not provide a concrete case study to exemplify how the ideologies of colonialism and the Cold War interacted during the second half of the twentieth century. Second, Chen (2010: 3-4) claimed that capital-driven globalisation created an opportunity for decolonisation to develop in the post-Cold War era, yet he did not explain why the discussion of decolonisation and de-Cold War criticism did not gain a foothold until the 2000s. In brief, Chen's claim about the intertwined ideologies of colonialism and Cold War ideologies should be examined within the post-Cold War context to unravel why such criticisms were not initiated in the 1990s. Meanwhile, in order to develop Chen's criticism, a common ground among East Asian countries should be identified for making further critical comparisons.

Instead of proposing a framework which only focuses on a specific geographical region of the world, however, the proper aim of the inner-Asia referential framework should be the attempt to establish an alternative perspective for understanding the world. This thesis argues that the reception of Western art music could serve as the commonality among East Asian countries to validate Chen's inner-Asia referential framework. In the meantime, the reception of Western art music could be a bridge connecting the history of European music and that of East Asia, which fulfils the purpose of Chen's framework.

Scholars have recently begun to respond to Chen's framework by considering specific musical cases. However, the potential disadvantages of this framework should still be borne in mind. Although Chen's goal is to establish an alternative perspective for understanding the world rather than following the standards defined by Western states, it does not mean that the old centre should simply be replaced by a new one. For example, by examining the discourse of traditional music in Taiwan, including the case study of *Guo Yue* (national music) and folk music, Kam Lap-Kwan (2019: 164-65) questions whether the campaigns of *Guo Yue* and folk

music were simply ‘anti-colonial’ rather than ‘de-colonial’, since the campaigners intended to establish an alternative perspective by over-emphasising an illusionary authenticity of traditional music. The anti-colonial agenda in these two campaigns does not fundamentally challenge the cultural value defined by the colonial power but replace the old centre with new ones. In other words, an alternative does not mean the complete negation of Western influences by inventing an ‘unpolluted traditional music’, which falls into a trap of anticolonialism. Instead, a decolonial discourse of music should focus on the attempt to re-evaluate the legacies of Western music in Taiwan and its influences on traditional music within the Taiwanese political and cultural context. Kam’s article reminds that while working on musical discourses from within a Taiwan/Asian context, the subtle differences between the anti-colonial and de-colonial should be kept in mind.

Attempts to consider Western art music as the way to bridge the gap between Europe and East Asia have often been made by music scholars. In order to discuss the role of Western music in the modern music history of Korea from the perspective of global music history, Jin-Ah Kim (2018), for example, has adopted the concepts of ‘entangled histories’, ‘shared history’, and ‘*histoire croisée*’. ‘Entangled histories’ refers to ‘the inner multiple intertwinings, dependencies, and interferences between ‘European’ and ‘non-European’ societies and cultures, between empires and colonies, as well as between peripheries and centres, and so tend to transcend any Eurocentric perspective’ (Kim 2018: 180). Here, the concept of ‘entangled histories’ emphasises that the history is neither shaped by only the West nor by the non-Western regions alone, but by both. Then ‘shared history’ stresses the evolving interpretation of the colonial history between the centre and peripheries (Kim 2018: 180). In addition to the previous two concepts, *histoire croisée* further highlights the importance of ‘the researchers’ self-reflection in the knowledge processes, so that they see themselves as part of the settings to be examined and as analytical object’ (Kim 2018: 181). Kim then

reassesses the reception of Western music in the Korean peninsula from the early twentieth century to 1950, and in South Korea from 1950 to the 1980s. Following Kim's article, a few questions could be raised in the context of the current study. First, what is the applicability of Kim's framework to Japan and the Sinophone world, since South Korea has not been the only East Asian country which has been significantly influenced by Western art music? Second, what role did the US play in the global dissemination of Western art music in the second half of the twentieth century since the promulgation of European music was not necessarily achieved by Europeans but by Americans, which is further discussed in the following sections? Third, how the development of Western art music after the 1990s could be integrated into Kim's framework, since Kim does not include this issue in her discussion. The following sections of this chapter could be supplements of Kim's framework, which focuses on the reception of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China before the Second World War, that during the Cold War, and that in the post-Cold War era.

Meanwhile, the three concepts raised by Kim could form a meaningful dialogue with Chen's framework while writing a historiography of the development of Western art music in East Asia. The concepts of entangled histories and shared history could extend the scope of 'Asia as method' beyond Asia since the 'inner-Asia referential framework' acknowledges that 'Westernness' has become an indispensable part of the subjectivity of East Asian countries. This thesis therefore considers that the criticism of the development of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world is also an analysis of the global circulation of Western art music and of the power relations behind the global dissemination of Western art music more generally. *Histoire croisée* is a reminder of the risks of adopting Chen's framework uncritically. Chen's framework focuses on criticising the Japanese empire before the Second World War and the hegemonic agenda of the US in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet, Chen did not offer an equally comprehensive criticism of the anti-colonialist agenda of

the People's Republic of China. In other words, by arguing that 'to de-Cold War is to de-Americanise', Chen implicitly attributed the Cold War only to the hegemonic agenda of the United States while neglecting the role of East Asian countries, especially that of the People's Republic of China.

Chen's simplistic understanding of the Cold War may be attributed to his pro-China and anti-America political stance. Throughout the book, Chen rarely included China in his criticism. Instead, by citing Sun Yat-Sen's Pan-Asianism and Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosporous Sphere in the early twentieth century, Chen implicitly suggested that an Asia-centred regional order should be established in order to replace the current order built by the US. In other words, if Chen's argument of the de-Cold War is not contested, it may fall into a trap of anti-colonialism asserted by the People's Republic of China. Yet, Chen's political stance gradually becomes a minority in the public opinion of Taiwanese society. One of the most compelling examples is the 2020 presidential election. The pro-American president Tsai Ing-Wen was re-elected by a landslide victory over the pro-China candidate Han Kuo-Yu. Tsai's triumph exemplifies that although the influences caused by the US from the 1950s onwards should be discussed critically, threats imposed by China over Taiwan are a more concerning issue for the current population. Therefore, instead of following Chen's obscured conception of the Cold War, this thesis attempts to problematise the Cold War in Japan and the Sinophone world from the perspective of ideological competition between humanitarianism, anti-communism, and leftism, which is further discussed in the following chapters.

Taking these critical remarks as the point of departure, the following sections attempt to re-evaluate the development of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world by revisiting key musical events in these places in the twentieth century through the lens of patriotism, the Cold War, and capitalism from the perspective of Asia as method. During the

process of writing music historiography, the following two points are highlighted. First, finding a balance between the domestic, regional, and international context of the reception of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China. Second, in avoiding the risk of forming a new centre within an Asian context, the reception of Western art music in these three countries is relativised so as to form the point of reference for each other.

### **Modernisation and Patriotism: Western Art Music in Japan and China in the Early Twentieth Century**

As Jürgen Osterhammel (2009; quoted from Mehl 2013: 212) pointed out, ‘no one forced the Egyptians to found newspapers, and the Japanese to listen to Gounod or Verdi’. The reason why Western art music was welcomed in Japan and China and how it was understood should be discussed from the perspective of the domestic context of the receivers. Instead of being receiving passively, Western art music was actively introduced into Japan and China from the late nineteenth century onwards, despite its association with colonialism. The connection between Western art music and European elite culture, considered to be symbols of modernisation, were the underlying reasons why Western art music was welcomed (Galliano 2002: ch.1; Yoshihara 2007). Meanwhile, after being adapted into Japan and China, Western art music developed a close relationship with Japanese and Chinese patriotism in the 1930s.

Western art music was imported into Japan and China primarily through the military, missionaries, and schools (Melvin and Cai 2004; Yoshihara 2007). From the Meiji Restoration in 1868 onwards, the introduction of Western art music was considered an indispensable part of the overall modernisation agenda in Japan (Galliano 2002; Yoshihara 2007). In addition to the military brass bands found in the Japanese army, Western music was taught in Japanese schools. In order to train their own musicians, the Meiji government also founded the Music Investigation Committee, which later became the Tokyo Music School

and currently the Music Department of the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music (Yoshihara 2007: 18). Meanwhile, Japanese youths were sent abroad to study composition, instrumental performance, and musicology while foreigners, mostly German, were invited to teach music in Japan (Galliano 2002: 32-51). As the result, Japan had cultivated quite a few representative musical figures by the 1930s, including the composer Yamada Kōsaku and the musicologist Hisao Tanabe. Meanwhile, publications on Western art music, including *Monthly Score* (月刊楽譜, *Gekkangakufu*), *Records* (レコード, *Rekōdo*), and *Music Circle* (音楽界, *Ongakukai*) became available in Japanese society in the early twentieth century. In the post-war era, magazines on Western art music, such as *Musical Friends* (音楽の友, *Ongakunotomo*), *The Art of Records* (レコード芸術, *Recordgeijutsu*), and *Modern Music* (音楽現代, *Ongakugendai*), were circulated.

In the official narrative of both the Nationalist government and the People's Republic of China, China was generally understood as a victim of Western imperialism over the past century. Anti-imperialism was adopted by both governments as one of the core values in the country's development. However, instead of receiving Western art music and its colonial associations critically, both Chinese political leaders and middle-class intellectuals considered it to be a superior musical culture to traditional Chinese music (Liu 2010: ch.2). Western music was included in the curricula of primary schools in the early twentieth century while conservatories of music were established to provide advanced training in Western art music technique and repertoire as the first institution of higher education in music, the National Conservatory of Music (currently known as Shanghai Conservatory of Music), was established in 1927 in Shanghai (Yoshihara 2007: 17-8). Western art music was not only introduced to intellectuals but also to the Chinese general public. Western art music magazines such as *New Music Tide* (新樂潮), *Art of Music* (樂藝), and *Music Magazine* (音

樂雜誌) were issued in the 1920s. *Ta Kung Pao* (大公報), the most widely issued newspaper in China before 1949, also included articles on Western art music. Despite a ten-year interruption during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, *People's Music* (人民音樂), the most influential music magazine in the People's Republic of China, and other publications of this kind have been issued continuously since the 1950s.

The case of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (SMO, currently known as Shanghai Symphony Orchestra) could further exemplify how Western art music was evaluated by Chinese intellectuals and musicians. Founded in 1922, the SMO was regarded by Hisao Tanabe as the best orchestra in East Asia in the 1920s (Yang 2017: 50). Although the SMO regularly performed in Shanghai, its concerts did not open to Chinese audiences before 1925 and Chinese musicians were rarely hired by the orchestra before 1938 (Yang 2017: 50; 59). Yet, performing as a member of the orchestra was considered prestigious for Chinese musicians even with a lower salary than foreign musicians (Yang 2017: 58). Meanwhile, although the SMO's concerts were appreciated by only a limited number of Chinese audiences, it was highly regarded by Xiao Youmei (1990[1927]: 241), who founded the National Conservatory of Music, who praised it as 'Shanghai's only treasure.' Obviously, SMO was regarded more as a symbol of modernisation rather than colonialism by Chinese intellectuals and musicians.

In addition to its associations with European elite culture, the introduction of Western Art Music in East Asia was also inevitably a process of translation. Translation involves both re-writing the same content in another language and negotiating cultural values between different languages. Huang Hao (2012) has demonstrated how Western art music was adapted in China by identifying the point of conjunction between the philosophy of music in ancient Greece and in Confucianism. According to Confucianism, an intellectual should be able to

master the 'six arts,' namely ceremony, music, shooting, driving, writing, and mathematics (Huang 2012: 169). Music is ranked second in importance among the 'six arts' since, as Kaufmann (1976: 33) notes, the man who understands music is considered to be a virtuous man, is able to understand ceremonies, and is able to run a state:

One has to know the melodies in order to comprehend music, and music in order to discern and guide the nature of government . . . He who understands music will know the rules and secrets of ceremony. He who understands ceremony and music can be called virtuous. Virtue manifests the realization of the perfect in one's self. (quoted from Huang 2012: 169)

Huang (2012: 169-73) then identified the similarities between the Confucian philosophy of music and that of Pythagoras and Plato to illustrate how good music could cultivate positive personalities and to explain why Western art music was accepted by the Chinese people.

Following this discussion of cultural translation, the next question is what was the function of Western art music in the context of Sino-Japan conflict in the early twentieth century? Both Japan and China are considered 'Confucian states' (Huntington 1993), which acknowledge that music is an effective way for motivating people, and Western art music was utilised by both countries to act as propaganda for governmental policy. The reception of Beethoven in China, for example, shows how Western art music was adopted as a symbol for national salvation. Yang Chien-Chang (2003) has discussed how Beethoven's image as a European cultural hero was adapted in China as a Confucian saint and intellectual in order to arouse Chinese nationalism. Due to the limited availability of audio equipment such as gramophone and vinyl records, Beethoven was as highly regarded in China as a moral figure rather than simply a musical one (Yang 2003: 128). Yet, being a hero is not necessarily the most admired position in Confucianism since heroes in Chinese history were generally associated with tragedies (Yang 2003: 128). Beethoven was therefore introduced as a saint and intellectual since his supposed virtues, namely suffering and transcendence, were comparable with those

of the Confucian philosopher Mencius (Yang 2003: 129). Following this interpretation of Beethoven as Confucian intellectual, his image as a symbol of German nationalism was then emphasised within the context of the confrontational relationship between China and Japan in the 1930s in order to evoke ‘the sleeping and depraved soul of Chinese people’ (Yang 2003: 131).

Fu Lei’s<sup>6</sup> translation of *Vie de Beethoven* (Life of Beethoven) by Roman Rolland played a crucial role in the introduction of this representative figure of Western art music in China before 1950. In the first translation of *Vie de Beethoven*, Fu Lei tended to focus more on how he was comforted and encouraged by reading Rolland’s work (Huang 2021: 180). Yet, in the preface of his re-translation published in 1946, Fu Lei further considered Beethoven’s spirit could be a way for evoking youth Chinese to save the nation as he wrote:

Only by fighting through real hardship can we overcome our imagined romantic hardship; only by seeing the heroic trauma when conquering the hardship can we undertake our cruel fate; only by embracing the spirit of ‘If I am not entering hell, who will?’ can we save our selfish and dispirited nation.... Passing his gift to the younger generation by writing this book is the best method to express my appreciation to Beethoven. (quoted from Huang 2021: 180)

Fu Lei’s translation of *Vie de Beethoven* was also available in Taiwan in the 1950s. Yet, due to political concerns across the Taiwan Strait, the nationalist government attempted to confuse the Taiwanese readership by using the pseudonym ‘Zhong-Kan (宗侃)’ to replace Fu Lei’s name. Nevertheless, the introduction of Beethoven was not only an independent event but established an archetype that a representative figure of Western art music could serve and service the governmental protocols in the Sinophone world.

In Japan, Western art music was also used to promote patriotism in the 1930s. Composers

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<sup>6</sup> Fu Lei (1908-1966) was the pianist Fu T’song’s father and one of the most influential translators in Republican China. Numerous French literary works, including those by Honoré de Balzac, Voltaire, and Roman Rolland were translated by Fu Lei.

were encouraged to write symphonic works with musical elements from traditional Japanese court music, although most of these pieces were considered worthless afterwards (Galliano 2002: 116). In addition, music that did not advance patriotism was banned while songs about negative thoughts, such as death and nostalgia, were prohibited since they may have a demoralising effect (Galliano 2002: 116; Herd 2008: 371). Furthermore, during the same period, Western art music was used to reinforce a growing antagonistic relationship with the UK and the US and to strengthen Japan's alignment with Germany; an article titled 'The War with the United States and Britain in Musical Culture' reads (Morita 1966 [1943]: 554-56):

The horrifying American and British music, including religious music, especially hymns of Christian Protestantism, and film music, have invaded and caused corruption of [the Japanese musical culture]. ... This has hindered and distorted the proper and healthy development of the musical culture in Japan. ... We should deeply regret that we have allowed, even if unconsciously, the infiltration of half-hearted and crude American and British music, especially that of the decaying American music. We must remember that the only way to defeat American and British music is to establish and strengthen a healthy musical culture in modern Japan, which is comparable to that of Germany, where Bach, Mozart and Beethoven were born.

By asserting the superiority of German composers while condemning British and American music, Western art music became part of the Japanese agenda of militarism and expansionism.

In both Japan and China, Western art music was welcomed due to its association with European high culture. At the same time, Western art music was also adopted by both countries to promote patriotism. In Japan, Western art music was used to distinguish partners from enemies as foreign music was extensively banned with a few exceptions for events between Japan, Germany, and Italy during the Second World War (Galliano 2002: 117; Herd 2008: 371). Yet numerous anti-Japanese songs were composed by using Western harmony and staff-notation to strengthen the fighting resolve against Japan in China (Liu 2010: ch.4). Within this context, although the ways of promulgating Western art music were slightly different, its association with colonialism did not attract attention from intellectuals and

musicians in Japan and China in the early twentieth century.

### **Western Art Music and Cold War Cultural Diplomacy**

Following the end of the Second World War, the advent of the Cold War completely reconstituted the global order, a situation which was sustained for nearly forty years. Japan and (West) Germany became partners with the US, while the relationship between the US and Soviet Russia changed from alliance to rivalry. From the perspective of the Japan-Taiwan-China triangular relationship, the sovereignty of Taiwan transferred from Japan to the Republic of China in 1945 after Japan's surrender. The Chinese Civil War between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party broke out in 1946. After their defeat three years later, Chiang Kaishek and the Kuomintang relocated the Nationalist government to Taiwan while the Chinese Communist Party established the People's Republic of China on the Chinese mainland. The Korean War then broke out in 1950, which prompted the US to intervene in the regional politics of East Asia and included Taiwan and Japan in the 'first island chain' in order to contain the spread of communism. In other words, the Cold War confrontation between pro-American Japan and Taiwan and communist China was consolidated in the 1950s.

Cold War confrontation between the US and Soviet Russia not only included military forces, economic systems, international politics, but also cultural networks. Music was one of the battlegrounds on which the two superpowers sought to compete with each other (Fosler-Lussier 2015; Tomoff 2015). Tomoff (2015: 7) discusses how music served as the agent of cultural exchange and competition between the two states during the Cold War, and identifies the non-text-based nature of music as one of the reasons why it became such a potent political medium during the Cold War:

music was understood on both sides of the imperial [US and Soviet Russia] divide to

constitute a universal language, intelligible to audiences all over the world in a way that text-based cultural forms—including literature, theatre, and even film—simply were not. Tomoff then presents Van Cliburn as one of his case studies in order to illustrate how music can serve as the agent for fulfilling this political mission. On the one hand, his triumph in the first Tchaikovsky Piano Competition in 1958 was acknowledged as an ‘American Sputnik’ and was used to spread patriotism in the US during the Cold War (Tomoff 2015: 82). On the other hand, Soviet Russia also benefitted from Van Cliburn’s victory. By celebrating Cliburn’s achievement, the US acknowledged that Soviet Russia had the power to reward US musicians; as Tomoff (2015: 83) writes, ‘the Tchaikovsky Competition was the culmination of a process that placed Moscow at the centre of a competitive global musical culture system.’ Against this background, the questions addressed here are how Western art music was utilised in the US’s Cold War cultural diplomacy to establish an unofficial relationship, in addition to the diplomatic one, with Japan, Taiwan, and China; how the appreciation of Western art music in these three countries was influenced by the US within the context of domestic and global politics; and how an alternative perspective for understanding the four-corner relationship between Japan, Taiwan, China, and the US can be developed through examining the reception of Western art music.

Danielle Fosler-Lussier highlights the role of Western art music in America’s Cold War diplomacy. Although Western art music was not necessarily originally American and was appreciated by only a limited number of people in East Asia in the mid-twentieth century, with the possible exception of Japan, the US chose it as one of the genres for cultural diplomacy because of its association with European elite culture and to demonstrate 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’ (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 23). The strategy was three-fold, including a) sending top musicians and orchestras to perform in Third

World countries; b) giving lecture concerts to educate the audiences; and c) mediating the prestige of musicians through media, such as radio, newspaper, and other kinds of publications. For example, in 1959, before the three concerts in Vietnam featuring the Jack Teagarden Sextet, the Golden Gate Quartet, and the Little Orchestra Society, one hundred thousand copies of a booklet were released in Vietnamese by the United States Information Service to introduce these three groups to the local audience (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 43).

For Third World countries, receiving Western art music from the US meant they were not forgotten and '[were] taken seriously as part of a global music scene' (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 25). Fosler-Lussier further adopts the concept of 'gift' developed by anthropologists to explain the power relations at work in the dissemination of Western art music between the US and the other countries. On the one hand, the receiver reserved the power to determine the value of the gift, Western art music in this case. On the other, however, the US as the giver mediated the perception of the gift through offering education and background knowledge in order to persuade the receivers that Western art music was of greater value than other musical cultures.

During the Cold War, both the US and Soviet Russia tried to win the cultural battle in Japan by sending their best performers. For example, both the Bolshoi Ballet and the Moscow Art Theatre were sent to Japan, increasing pressure on the US if they could not send equally prestigious artists (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 28). Japanese concert organisers could hence negotiate with the US embassy over which orchestra should appear at its music festivals:

Japanese regard Philadelphia only slightly below Boston but with New York definitely one of three great American orchestras. Possibility Boston visit widely known, and anything other than Philadelphia would be pronounced anti-climax. If Boston fails [to] come, Osaka festival management will be most unhappy. Without consulting them, embassy predicts they would happily settle for Philadelphia. Rather [than] Cleveland or

Chicago, however, predict festival would go back to Belgian orchestra they have on string. Japanese do not consider Cleveland or Chicago as top orchestras. New Orleans definitely not acceptable.<sup>7</sup> (quoted from Fosler-Lussier 2015: 27-8)

The burden of winning the cultural battle in Japan can also be found in a letter to the United States Information Agency (USIA) from William Strickland, an American conductor running his career in East Asia and Scandinavia during the Cold War, which requested greater investment from the government as Japanese intellectuals tended to be more attracted by Russian artists (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 53).

Within the domestic politics of Japan from the late 1960s onwards, the Japanese government decided to use culture and the arts to serve the nation (Tomooka et al. 2016: 53). The Japanese government therefore promoted Western art music in order to signal that Japan was a 'cultured country'. The assistance from Strickland and US foundations played a crucial role in the development of Western art music in Japan (Fosler-Lussier 2015: 51-4). Strickland participated in the reform of the Asahi Broadcasting Company Symphony Orchestra in Tokyo, and trained student orchestras in provincial cities, such as the Kyushu University Orchestra. Meanwhile, with the support of the Alice Ditson Fund for New Music and other foundations, Strickland launched his recording projects and conducted Japanese orchestras to perform contemporary compositions by American composers. These recordings and performances not only presented American music to the Japanese audience but also earned Japanese orchestras worldwide reputation. Last but not the least, in order to facilitate the bilateral cultural exchange between the US and Japan, Strickland was involved in the Japan Philharmonic's tour in Washington, DC, in 1964. Strickland's efforts in Japan suggest that by receiving assistance from the US, appreciating Western art music was a way for promoting Japan's image in the Western states.

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<sup>7</sup> The content is in a letter sent from the American Embassy in Tokyo to the Department of State, US.

The reception of Western art music in China saw a transition from a pro-Russian attitude to one of pro-Americanisation during the Cold War. In the first half of the twentieth century, the culture of Western art music in China was significantly influenced by the Russian tradition. Yet, due to political disputes, Soviet Russia decided to withdraw all forms of assistance, including professional musicians, from China in the late 1950s (Tso 2017; Wang 2007). The development of Western art music in China was then significantly interrupted when the Chinese Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966 and lasted for ten years. Concurrently, in order to weaken the power of Soviet Russia further, the US attempted to involve China in its alignment in the 1970s. The visits of Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State and National Security Advisor, and President Nixon in the early 1970s were the most crucial events within this context. In brief, the 1970s was the decade in which the international status of the People's Republic of China was formally acknowledged by most countries in the world, including the US and Japan, following the opening of official diplomatic relations. Against this background, the culture of Western art music in China turned to 'face the West' (Tso 2017: 341) as evidenced by two key events: the visit of the Philadelphia Orchestra under Eugene Ormandy in 1973 and Isaac Stern's tour in 1979. Stern's visit was filmed as a documentary *From Mao to Mozart*, which received the prize for best documentary feature at the Academy Awards in 1981.

The Philadelphia visit was part of the exchange of cultural delegations agreed during the previous visit by President Nixon. Although the first appearance of an American orchestra in China did not fully fill the concert hall, Li De-Lun, the musical director of the Central Philharmonic, still considered the concert a 'big success' due to the passionate response from the audience (Schonberg 1973). The orchestra not only performed five concerts in China but also visited the Central Philharmonic in Beijing. In an informal rehearsal, the Central Philharmonic played the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony under Li De-Lun,

then Ormandy took over the baton and directed the second movement (Melvin and Cai 2015: 57-62). The achievement of the Philadelphia Orchestra's tour in China could be summarised by a toast from maestro Ormandy: 'to friendship with China' (Schonberg 1973). The Philadelphia Orchestra's visit was not only a musical event but also a prelude for the establishment of an official diplomatic relationship between China and the US. In the following decades, the Philadelphia Orchestra became the best-known American orchestra in China and toured China eight times, including a concert to celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Sino-US diplomatic relationship in 2009 (Qin 2013).

After his defeat in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, Chiang Kaishek, the leader of the Kuomintang, retreated with the Nationalist government to Taiwan. Within this context, the reception of Western art music in Taiwan was highly influenced by US cultural diplomacy. The concerts by Gregor Piatigorsky in 1956 and the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1960 were the most representative events in this period. At that time, Taiwan did not have a suitable venue for Western art music concerts, and Piatigorsky performed in the International House of Taipei (國際學舍). The cellist recalled this experience in a humorous tone stating that 'eventually, I performed in a warehouse' (Journalist 1983: 74). Originally, the Boston Symphony Orchestra had planned to perform in Japan and Korea but not Taiwan. Yet, due to the Korean War, the orchestra changed itinerary and chose to perform in Taiwan for security reasons. In order to provide a suitable venue, the National Assembly was suspended for two days since Zhongshan Hall (中山堂), their regular meeting site, was the only place that could accommodate the whole orchestra (Huang 2012: 50). Although the concerts were neither well-organised nor attracted attention from the US, since relevant reports could not be found in major newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, the Nationalist regime was able to demonstrate that it was not culturally and politically marginal by presenting these American musicians to a Taiwanese audience. When the Boston Symphony

Orchestra planned to visit Taiwan again in 2020, the journalist Lee Hsin-Tien (2019) introduced this concert by reminding their readership of Boston Symphony Orchestra's previous tour in 1960 and emphasized that Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé Suite No.2* in the program was also performed in the previous concert. Although that tour was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the memory that the Boston Symphony Orchestra was the first world-class orchestra performed in Taiwan perpetuates in the Taiwanese society.

Obviously, Western art music was used by the US to establish or strengthen a partnership with Japan, Taiwan, and China. From the perspective of those audiences, receiving Western art music from the US was a way for those countries to demonstrate to their people that they were involved in the cultural scene of the US. However, from the perspective of regional politics, although Japan, Taiwan, and China were all more or less involved in the US alignment against Soviet Russia in the 1970s, tensions within the region were not mollified as the confrontational relationship across the Taiwan Strait continued. While China was in chaos due to the Chinese Cultural Revolution, Chiang Kaishek planned to stage a military operation, the 'Kuo-Kuang project,' to recover mainland China, which was eventually unsuccessful (Lin 2015: ch.5). Nevertheless, in order to maintain a relationship with the US through the appreciation of Western art music, its association with colonialism did not attract attention from scholars, critics, and musicians in Japan, Taiwan, and China during the Cold War.

### **Consumer Capitalism and the Appreciation of Western Art Music**

From the mid-1980s onwards, the economic structure of the Cold War was mollified by capitalist goods (Rosenberg 2010). As the Cold War ended in 1991,<sup>8</sup> the global order changed

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<sup>8</sup> Since this thesis discusses how the reception of Western art music has been mediated by the wider political context, the Cold War is periodised to 1991, as the most significant political transformation, the collapse of Soviet Russia happened in this year.

from a bipolar system to a capitalist monopoly.<sup>9</sup> In the East Asian context, Japan became the second-largest economy in the late 1970s and became China's largest trading partner in the mid-1980s. After the implementation of the Reforming and Opening policy, China's economy began to grow rapidly by adapting capitalism into its economic system. Concurrently, the confrontational relationship across the Taiwan Strait was softened by the Reforming and Opening policy in China and the lifting of the 38-year-long Martial Law in Taiwan in 1987. Meanwhile, Taiwan's economy grew rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, a phenomenon which is generally described as the 'Taiwan Miracle.' Against this background, the role of Western art music changed from being a political agent during the Cold War to a form of cultural goods in the post-Cold War era. In other words, as the market economy grew, the reason why postcolonial criticisms of Western art music did not gain a foothold in Japan, Taiwan, and China should be examined from patterns of consumption in the post-Cold War era.

The question raised here is why Western art music was so widely appreciated in these countries in the post-Cold War era? Regarding Western art music as a form of cultural capital was one of the underlying reasons for this phenomenon. As defined by Pierre Bourdieu (2002 [1986]: 202), cultural capital could exist in three forms, namely:

in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalised* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (italic original)

Cultural capital could refer to psychological status and daily behaviour; an ability to consume cultural goods; and rely on the education system to differentiate those ones who own this type

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<sup>9</sup> The conception of capitalism in this thesis generally refers to the economic system based on private ownership of properties and run by decisions of individuals under the principle of market economy, which mainly depends on the supply and demand of goods.

of capital from others. Bourdieu (1984) has further pointed out that the distribution of cultural capital is related to social classes and has identified that people from upper classes usually have wider knowledge of Western art music than those from lower classes. Meanwhile, the ability to perform a musical instrument has been considered a form of cultural capital.

Following Bourdieu's criticism, then, what is the relationship between social classes and the consumption of Western art music in the capitalist era? Timothy Taylor offers valuable insights into the relationship between consumer capitalism and music more widely. Taylor (2016: 6) argues that capitalism is not only an economic system but also a cultural one, which emphasises that capitalism 'shapes culture as it is shaped by culture.' How, then, does the cultural system of capitalism affect daily musical life? Instead of focusing on the production of music, Taylor (2016: 15) sheds light on listeners' reception by arguing that consuming music is a way for one to 'display status or one's belonging in a particular social group rather than another.' Taylor's model demonstrates how the consumption of music is connected with the identity of social classes.

Two further questions are addressed here. In chapter 1 of his study, Taylor reviews the history of the commodification of Western art music in the nineteenth century. Yet, the focal point of his research in later chapters shifts to popular music, since contemporary Western art music compositions are economically insignificant by comparison and can hardly be analysed according to the theoretical model of neoliberal capitalism. However, although it is true that avant-garde works are appreciated by only a limited audience, it does not follow that the industry of Western art music cannot be analysed according to his model since sound recordings of musical works from the Baroque to the Romantic period generated a remarkable profit in the twentieth century. The further questions here are what is the applicability of Taylor's framework to the consumption of Western art music in Japan,

Taiwan, and China and what social identity would the consumers in these three countries assume by appreciating Western art music?

As noted above, since Western art music is generally consumed by people from upper/middle classes, its consumption became a way of pursuing upward social mobility for the lower middle class. This pattern of consumption could be evidenced by several facts in East Asia. From the perspective of recording industry, sales numbers soared in the 1990s as the availability of sonic recordings increased significantly in Japan, Taiwan, and China (Lee 2003; Jin 2011: 194-95; Shigeru 1991). In addition, the number of concerts featuring world-renowned soloists or orchestras grew fast as international transportation became much easier than before. In order to promote tickets and CD sales for forthcoming events, numerous advertising articles from critics were published. Against this background, Western art music became even more widely appreciated in these countries.

The increasing consumption of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China can be seen on both national and personal levels. In the 1980s and 1990s, class differentiation was compounded by the principles of neoliberalism and the market economy in Japan (Kohso 2006: 416-17). Against this background, the appreciation of Western art music became a way for confirming and displaying one's social status. In 1989, 3,723 new recordings of Western art music were issued in Japan (Shigeru 1991: 331). Review articles about these new titles were extensively found in music magazines as the Japanese publishing industry played a significant role in prompting the consumption of Western art music (Shigeru 1991: 341-2). Meanwhile, although Western art music lovers accounted for only 7.3 percent of the whole population in Japan, nearly 40 percent of the concertgoers were middle-class workers, such as professionals, clerical workers, and managerial workers (Kurabayashi and Ito 1992: 276; 280). Obviously, consumption of Western art music became deeply associated with the

middle-class in Japan in the 1990s.

In Taiwan, the National Theatre and Concert Hall began to host concerts in 1987. Against this background, mass media such as music magazines, newspapers, and radio stations actively participated in the process of commercialising musicians (Hu 2002: 96-107). The establishment of the Philharmonic Radio Taipei in 1995 was one of the most representative events alongside this trend. The Philharmonic Radio Taipei was the first radio station of Western art music for commercial purposes in Taiwan, and accessible to more than six million people (Lee 2003: 47). In order to run the radio station, on the one hand, the Philharmonic Radio Taipei made profits by inserting advertisements for different kinds of commodities during breaks of its programs. On the other hand, enterprises were willing to pay for a slot since they believed that the image of their commodities could be ameliorated by Western art music (Lee 2003: 99-111). In addition to prompting sales for other goods, the image of Western art music as a symbol of European high culture was also commodified to attract middle-class workers in Taiwan, which was an indispensable part of the Philharmonic Radio Taipei's business model (Lee 2003: 111-9).

From the 1980s onwards, a 'piano fever' grew in China: a piano was purchased not only for musical reasons but also as a way to demonstrate wealth and social status since buyers without good social connections may need to wait for years to obtain an instrument (Melvin and Cai 2004: 308). The successful stories of Lang Lang and Li Yundi also fostered this trend to make parents in China believe that learning Western art music could change their children's social status. As a result, 38 million children in China were learning piano in the early 2000s (Melvin and Cai 2004: 307). On a national scale, Western art music was extremely welcomed by the Chinese government as a way to demonstrate that China had become a 'cultured country.' In order to win the right to host the 2008 Olympics, the Chinese

government invited the ‘three tenors’ – Pavarotti, Domingo, and Carreras – to perform a concert in Beijing in 2001. Jiang Zemin, the national leader, and other political leaders as well as 100,000 citizens attended the concert even though a ticket cost from 200 to 2000 USD (Melvin and Cai 2004: 310). Another compelling example was the 15 million USD production of Puccini’s *Turandot* in the Forbidden City in 1998. The cast featured the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino under conductor Zubin Mehta and the performance was produced by the renowned Chinese film director Zhang Yimou (Melvin and Cai 2004: 310).

On a personal level, Yoshihara (2007: 138) noted that most musicians of East Asian background in North America who were trained in the second half of twentieth century came from a certain social class, one whose father usually has a professional or managerial job while their mother generally holds a bachelor degree. Although these musicians may not talk directly about which social class they belong to, they are aware that it is a privilege to be able to perform Western art music, and that it may promote their social status (Yoshihara 2007: 137). Yoshihara (2007: 138-39) also interviewed a few musicians who came from working-class families. In these cases, their parents generally poured resources into their training as musicians in the hope that their social status could be promoted by learning Western art music. In other words, for both upper and lower social classes in East Asia, Western art music was considered a form of cultural capital and implied the possibility of upward social mobility.

During the second half of the twentieth century, in addition to the intervention of the US, Western art music was widely promulgated by the governments of Japan, Taiwan, and China in order to symbolise that they were a ‘cultured country’. As the market economy matured, the association between Western art music and middle-class identity was further consolidated in these countries. Consuming Western art music by going to a concert, listening to a radio station, or purchasing a CD was therefore a way for concertgoers to display taste and middle-

class identity. With this context, consuming Western art music as a cultural product outweighed criticising its association with colonialism, as Kraus (1989: 200-01) noted:

sales of consumer goods are more important to the profits of multinational corporations, which depend upon the diffusion of "global" culture to stimulate global demand. Old-fashioned political and economic domination has been replaced by subtler patterns of neocolonialism in which openness to Western culture appears to have commercial significance.

In other words, in the era of globalisation, the consumption of Western art music was not only a musical behaviour but also became part of the agenda of cultural domination. Here, echoing the criticism of Chen's work earlier, which asks why the discussion of decolonisation and de-Cold War did not gain a foothold in Japan, Taiwan, and China in the 1990s, from a musical perspective, the preceding section suggests that the role of consumer capitalism should also be taken into consideration.

## **Conclusion**

By focusing on its reception in Japan, Taiwan, and China, this chapter attempts to clarify how Western art music was imported and adapted, and to answer why the privileged status of Western art music was taken for granted in these countries in the twentieth century. Throughout the twentieth century, Western art music was generally considered a symbol of European elite culture and of modernisation, which became the underlying reason why it was welcomed. Meanwhile, this chapter has further demonstrated how Western art music was perceived and functioned differently in these three countries in accordance with domestic, regional, and global politics. Before the Second World War, the tension between Japan and China increased significantly, and Western art music was adopted by both governments to advance patriotism. In Japan, it was involved in the promotion of militarism and expansionism while in China it was used to inspire national salvation.

During the Cold War, Western art music was utilised by the US to establish or confirm a partnership with Japan, Taiwan, and China by sending musicians to perform concerts or offering resources for musical education. Japan, Taiwan, and China all benefitted from presenting US musicians to their local audiences. Assisted by William Strickland, Japanese orchestras were able to perform in the US and to issue recordings to gain a worldwide reputation. The concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Taiwan were one of the ways for the Nationalist government to stabilise its governance as it demonstrated to Taiwanese people that there was a strong partnership with the US. The promulgation of Western art music in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s was an effective way for the Nationalist government to persuade Taiwanese people that the Kuomintang outweighed the Chinese Communist Party since Western art music was severely denounced during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Yet, Chinese political leaders, although they had been involved in the instigation of the Cultural Revolution, also considered Western art music to be a significant form of diplomatic agency. The Philadelphia Orchestra's tour to China was a cultural sign of the Sino-US rapprochement and laid the foundation stone for the establishment of a formal diplomatic relationship between these two countries in the late 1970s. From the perspective of regional politics, the reason why Western art music became further rooted in these three countries during the Cold War is better explained by examining how the appreciation of Western art music was used as a cultural tool in Japan, Taiwan, and China in order to compete with each other.

As the market economy grew, the consumption of Western art music became further embedded in the society of Japan, Taiwan, and China in the post-Cold War era since learning to perform a musical instrument, attending a concert, or purchasing a CD could be a way to earn cultural capital. Middle-class families therefore were willing to invest in learning Western art music due to its connotations of upward social mobility. On a national level,

Western art music also received numerous governmental supports in these countries in order to symbolise that they were a cultured country.

By revisiting the reception history of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China in the twentieth century, it is evident that the privileged status of Western art music in these three countries was not only driven by Western states. Within an Asian context, Japan, Taiwan, and China also actively promulgated Western art music uncritically, albeit for different reasons. In the early twentieth century, Western art music was considered a symbol of modernisation and was used to promote patriotism. During the Cold War, confirming a partnership with the US through receiving musical resources was prioritised. In the post-Cold War era, the opportunity to promote the consumption of Western art music, including the sales of concert tickets, recordings, and so on, became the major concern of the market economy. At the same time, middle-class families attempted to acquire cultural capital through consuming Western art music. Within this context, critical thinking about Western art music could hardly gain a foothold.

Stemming from the spirit of 'Asia as method,' the following chapters focus on the reception of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world within the local, regional, and international context of the Cold War and the post-Cold War era. Several points are addressed in the following chapters. First, theoretically, how the case study of Casals could be an example to demonstrate the validity of Chen Kuan-Hsing's claim that the development of postcolonial criticisms was suppressed by the Cold War, since Casals' image as a musical humanitarian, constructed during the Cold War, served as the basis for his reception in Japan and the Sinophone world without challenge. Second, Chen's claim could be further elaborated to include capitalism by examining Casals' reception in the post-Cold War era since his Cold War image was consolidated by the capitalist principle of market economics in Japan and the

Sinophone world after the 1990s. Third, musically, in order to gain a clearer understanding of how Western art music was imported into Japan and the Sinophone and was mediated by the Cold War and capitalism, attention is given to the following questions: a) why Casals was introduced at a certain point in time; b) how Casals was presented and for what purposes; and c) who owned the right to introduce Casals to a Japanese, Taiwanese, or Chinese readership and how these cultural elites benefitted from introducing Western art music to a local readership. By concentrating on these aspects, the following chapters intend to unravel the power relations behind Casals' reception and the agency of its recipients in the second half of the twentieth century.

### **Chapter 3. Music as Political Commitment: The Reception of Casals before the 1970s**

This chapter examines the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China before the 1970s in parallel with the domestic politics of each country and the regional context of East Asia during the Cold War. This chapter argues that the appreciation of Casals reflected the political attitude of these three countries in the first two decades of the Cold War and explores the role of Americanism in Japan and the Sinophone world. As discussed in the previous chapter, Western art music was utilised by the US during the Cold War as a diplomatic tool to establish an alignment of capitalistic countries. Casals was one of the musicians who were supported by the US—the Prades Festival was largely funded by the Fulbright Foundation (Hosoda 2013: 80)—and he was adopted as a cultural figure to disseminate US influence over Third World countries (Lazo 2013: Ch 2). Against this background, how and why Casals was appreciated in East Asian countries was closely related to Cold War politics since his reputation was not well-known in Japan and hardly known in Taiwan and China in the pre-war era. By examining the reception history of Casals in these three countries, this chapter reveals the evolving meaning of Western art music appreciation in Japan and the Sinophone world before and after the Second World War.

The role of the US was the most crucial factor in the post-war period. Shunya Yoshimi (2003: 434) uses ‘Americanism’ to describe how Japan was culturally influenced by the US:

the postwar phenomenon of ‘Americanism’ in Japan was seen not just as the result of American military and political imposition, but as a process of deep structural change involving the emotions and desires of Japanese people. ‘America’ provided a convincing answer to the void left in the collective consciousness by war defeat. During the course of postwar history, Japanese people reconstructed their own sense of national identity through the medium of desire and antipathy towards ‘America’.

Yoshimi further explains that “‘America’ became a symbol of wealth and freedom onto which Japanese people themselves pinned their hopes.’ Although Yoshimi’s criticism focuses on

Americanism in Japan, his opinion is also valid for Taiwan and, to some extent, for China, albeit with some modifications.

Similar to Japan, Taiwan was politically, economically, and culturally influenced by the US in the 1950s. Huang Chun-Ming's novel *The Taste of Apples*, published in 1972, reflected how did Taiwanese people yearn for the US in the post-war era. The synopsis is a Taiwanese working-class man was hit by an American driver. The Taiwanese worker's family were anxious since the worker is the only income source of the household, as well as exciting because they were invited to visit a hospital established by Americans. In addition to the compensation in cash, the perpetrator offered American apples to treat the family members. Although those apples were not tasty, the family enjoyed enormously since they were told the price of an American apple can buy 4 tw-catties (2.4 kilograms) of rice. Through her analysis of Huang Chun-Ming's novel *The Taste of Apples*, Shih Shu-Mei (2016: 82) further argues:

Although the novel is titled *The Taste of Apples*, it does not refer to the taste of apples as a fruit in the real world. It refers to a kind of Americanism represented by the apples. The apples represented wealth and hierarchy; the car and the hospital referred to modern technologies. The American who caused the car accident was turned into a benefactor for the family through a twisted logic. The real taste of the apples is not important as the taste comes from the symbolical meaning.

Shih's analysis suggests that Americanism has become embedded in Taiwanese society and is considered a desirable object.

There were two differences between Taiwan and Japan. First, although the national security of Taiwan heavily relied on US military force since it was involved in the Korean War in the early 1950s and the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1958, Taiwan was not directly governed by the US government. Second, Japan's economy recovered rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s due to its infrastructure, while the economy only began to grow in Taiwan in the 1970s. By comparing the reception of Casals, this chapter examines how Americanism functioned

differently in Taiwan and Japan in the 1950s and 1960s.

The role of (anti-)Americanism in China is more complicated than that in Japan and Taiwan. Both Chen and Yoshimi did not interrogate the meaning of the US for China since they consider anti-communism the most important trait of Americanism. However, it is incorrect to suggest that China could be exempted from scrutiny since Americanism is not equivalent to anti-communism. Westad (2012: 365) precisely points out the intricate relationship between China and the US in the twentieth century:

Throughout the twentieth century, Chinese have had a complicated but almost obsessive relationship with the United States. It is a place many Chinese would like to go to, in order to visit, to sojourn, or to settle. But it is also a threatening and confusing zone, where politics, values, friendships and even the landscape itself are in constant flux....there is also the endless fascination with things American, with American wealth, and with American ideas.

Although Westad does not use the term ‘Americanism’, this text suggests that the US occupied a significant role in Chinese society, sometimes as an enemy notwithstanding. Meanwhile, China’s diplomatic relationship was strongly affected by political disputes between the Chinese Communist Party and Soviet Russia in the 1950s. Against this background, this chapter revisits the introduction of Casals, as well as the appreciation of Western art music, within the context of China’s ambivalent attitude toward the two superpowers in the first two decades of the Cold War.

### **The Japanese Reception of Casals before the 1970s**

As discussed in the previous chapter, appreciating Western art music was part of the modernisation agenda in Japan in the early twentieth century. Against this background, numerous virtuoso musicians were introduced to a Japanese audience from the early twentieth century onwards, including Casals. Table 3.1 lists Japanese publications on Casals prior to the 1950s. In the pre-war period, Casals was simply introduced as a highly talented

musician by offering biographical details of his childhood and early career in the Japanese materials. The earliest documentation of Casals in Japan was a picture of the Thibaud-Cortot-Casals trio found in a musical magazine, *Gekkan Gakufu* (月刊楽譜), in 1932. The biographical account of Casals (Hara 1933) reported Casals' musicality in his childhood as well as some recordings of his early career, including the solo performance of Bach's Toccata (BWV564), piano trios by Haydn, Schubert, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann partnered with Thibaud and Cortot, and orchestral works performed by the Orquestra Pau Casals under his direction.



Figure 3.1 The earliest documentation of Casals in Japan.

Table 3.1 Publications on Casals in Japan before the 1950s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine	Note
1932			月刊楽譜	Picture Only
1933	若き日の思ひ出—(大チェリストの思ひ出話) (Recalling His Young Days — (The Story of a Great Cellist))	Pablo Casals/ 桂近乎 Kinya Katsura	レコード	
1933	現代世界的音楽家列伝 (Collected Biographies of Contemporary	原 Hara	東京 (Tokyo): 音楽世界社 (Ongakunosekaisha)	Book Section

	Musicians)			
1940	名匠パブロ・カザルス (The Master Pablo Casals)	Howard Taubman/ Anonymous	スタア	
1949	カザルスとの短話 (Short Stories with Casals)	鈴木聰 Satoshi Suzuki	音楽芸術	

After the Second World War, Japan was occupied by the US for seven years (1945-1952). Since then, Japan has been regarded as a significant part of the west Pacific ‘first island chain’ intended to contain the spread of communism (Best 2013). Concurrently, all the political, economic, and cultural aspects of Japan were highly influenced by the US. Politically, Japan was considered to be a US military partner following the ratification of the Japan-US security treaty in 1960 (Schaller 2010: 158-59). The US still operates a military base in Okinawa to the present day. Economically, Japan was presented by the US as a demonstration that the ‘Western-style liberal-capitalist model of modernisation’ can be achieved in a non-Western country (Best 2013: 288). And in order to present itself as an ‘overwhelming source of authority, against which it was very difficult to mount any challenge’ (Yoshimi 2003: 436) the Japanese publishing industry, including books, newspapers, and magazines, was censored by the American authorities.

Within this context, Japanese readers could only understand Casals through an American prism in the 1950s. Therefore, the reception of Casals changed from a process of modernisation and enculturation to a political commitment in which Japan shared the same cultural values as the US. The number of written materials about Casals surged in the 1950s (Table 3.2) while the recording industry also played a significant role in the perception of Casals. For instance, the article *カザルス讃* (Praising Casals, Suzuki et al. 1952) discussed the live recordings from the 1950 Prades Festival, and Takeichiro Hirai (1958), Casals’ pupil, immediately reported on the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico. These materials revealed Japan’s

position in the Cold War politic sphere as well as its acceptance of the cultural value of Western art music as defined by the First World.

Table 3.2 Publications on Casals in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Magazine/Publisher
1951	カザルスとピアティゴルスキー (Casals and Piatigorsky)	牧定忠 Sadanori Maki	音楽之友
1952	カザルス讃 (Praising Casals)	鈴木聰 Satoshi Suzuki あらえびす Araebisu 野村光一 Nomura Koichi 寺島宏 Hirochi Terajima 村田武雄 Takeo Murata	レコード芸術
1953	パブロ・カザルス (Pablo Casals)	鈴木聰 Satoshi Suzuki	音楽之友
1953	チェロ名曲の夕 (The Night of Masterpieces for Cello)	鈴木聰 Satoshi Suzuki	音楽之友
1955	巨匠カザルスの熱演 (The Passionate Performance of Master Casals)	中村善吉 Zenkichiro Nakamura	レコード芸術
1956	パブロ・カザルスとの対話 (Conversation with Casals)	Jose M. Corredor/佐藤良雄 Yoshio Sato	東京 (Tokyo): 読売新聞社 (Yomiuri Shinbunsha)
1958	ロストポーヴィチ、カザルス (Rostropovich, Casals)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	レコード芸術
1958	カザルス先生 (My Teacher Casals)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	音楽之友
1961	平井丈一朗とカザルス (Takeichiro Hirai and Casals)	Anonymous	音楽之友
1961	パブロ・カザルス物語 (The Story of Pablo Casals)	三浦淳史 Atsushi Miura	音楽之友
1961	楽聖カザルス先生—日本の音楽ファンにおくる (Master Casals, the Saint of Music, Coming for the Japanese Fans)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	中央公論
1961	楽聖カザルスに同行して (Accompanying Casals, the Saint of Music)	平井康三郎 Kozaburo Hirai	音楽之友
1961	カザルスの講習を受けて (A Lesson from Casals)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	音楽之友
1962	カザルス先生と感激の対面 (An Inspiring Meeting with Master Casals)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	音楽之友
1963	世界を代表する演奏家 10 人 (10 World-Class Musicians)	杉浦繁 Shigeru Sugiura	音楽之友

Through reading the articles on Casals' visit to Japan in 1961, it is evident that Casals' image as a musical humanitarian in the English literature was accepted, rather than contested. Casals' presence was a tremendous cultural event in Japan with a reception held by the Crown Prince (Kirk 1974: 525). Casals visited Tokyo and Kyoto, gave masterclasses, listened to Japanese children playing the violin trained by the Suzuki Method, participated in a shamisen (a Japanese traditional instrument) concert, and conducted the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra in performances of cello concertos by Boccherini and Dvořák with Takeichiro Hirai as the soloist. Hirai then published an article titled '楽聖カザルス先生—日本の音楽ファンにおくる (Master Casals, the Saint of Music, Coming for Japanese Fans)' in *中央公論 (Chuokoron)*, one of the most widely distributed right-wing pro-American magazines in Japan, to introduce Casals to the general public. In the text, Casals was not only appreciated as a musician but sanctified as 'the saint of music,' suggested by the article's title (楽聖カザルス先生). The opening paragraph reads (Hirai 1961: 268):

A good artist does not always have a noble personality. In the world of art, the interest paid to the art is greater than that of a person. Nearly all great composers of the classical era were great men without exception, while, undeniably, the focus of interest of modern and contemporary composers, from my perspective, is gradually being replaced by the compositional techniques and the techniques of performance. This tendency violates master Casals' belief that music is the most valuable treasure created by human beings as a tribute to God and arouses the soul of all people in the world, transcending languages and national borders.<sup>10</sup>

In Hirai's words, the existence of Casals' music was 'a tribute to God by human beings,' implying the confirmation of Casals' image as a musical humanitarian. The acceptance of

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<sup>10</sup> The Japanese text reads: すぐれた芸術家が常に必ずしも高潔な人格の持ち主であるとはいえない。それは芸術の世界においては、その人についてよりもその芸術に対して払われる関心のほうが、ずっと大きいからである。こうして古典時代の大作作曲家といわれた人々は、ほとんど例外なく偉大なる人間性の持ち主であったにもかかわらず、近代から現代にかけては、次第に作品の上に、現われた手法とか演奏上のテクニックに、興味の中心が置きかえられていることは否定できないと思う。こうした傾向は、音楽が本来神への捧げ物として人間の造り出した最高の宝物であり、また音楽は言語や国境を超えて世界中のあらゆる人々の魂に呼びかけるものである、というカザルス先生の信条に甚だしく違背するものであるといえよう。

Casals' image that was constructed by the English literature should not be considered a warranty. On an international level, by appreciating Casals in a way that complied with his image in the English literature, Japan committed to its role as part of the alignment of capitalist countries during the Cold War.

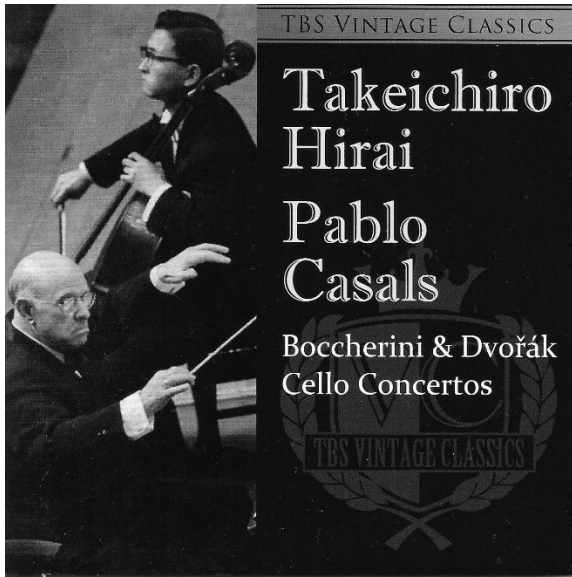


Figure 3.2 CD cover of Casals' performance with Takeichiro Hirai in Japan in 1961.<sup>11</sup>

The performance with Casals in 1961 laid a solid foundation stone for Takeichiro Hirai's career, who was only a twenty-four-year-old cellist at that time. Takeichiro Hirai comes from a musical family, and his father Kozaburo Hirai had been a composer. During Casals' Japanese visit, Kozaburo Hirai was a member of the reception group. Taking advantage of this duty, Kozaburo Hirai (1961) published articles in the Japanese music magazine not only to introduce Casals to Japanese Western art music lovers but also to introduce his son. For instance, in the article 'Reflections on Takeichiro's Music Education' (丈一朗の音楽教育をふりかえって), Kozaburo Hirai (1962) wrote about how Takeichiro was trained as a musician in his childhood and how he received the opportunity to study with Casals. In the meantime, Takeichiro was able to present himself to Japanese audiences by sharing his experience of studying the cello with Casals in an article in *中央公論* (*Chuokoron*). In other words, both

<sup>11</sup> TBS Vintage Classics, catalogue number: TYGE-60021.

Kozaburo and Takeichiro Hirai significantly benefitted from Casals' Japanese visit. Since then, Takeichiro Hirai has established a successful career as a soloist spanning several decades until the present day.

Domestically, however, although the latest information about Casals was accurately reported, Japanese writers tended to blur Casals' political stance between 1936 and 1945 (that is, between the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the end of Second World War), while recounting his biography. Atsushi Miura (1961: 78), for example, presented Casals' life from the mid-1930s to mid-1940s in the following way:

During the Spanish Civil War, he [Casals] was a fervent royalist. When the [Civil] War ended, he exiled himself to Prades, a village of 5400 residences in Southern France. He dedicated everything to rescue the refugees from Spain under Franco. Within these ten years, the world could not hear Casals' noble music. In 1947, he announced that as long as Spain is ruled by Franco, he would never perform in the public. When Sir Stafford Cripps invited Casals to the UK and wanted to explain why the UK recognised the Franco regime, Casals refused the meeting with the remark 'he would be speaking about politics and I about morality.'<sup>12</sup>

In this text, numerous crucial pieces of information were omitted. The reason why Casals undertook a self-imposed exile was not clearly stated. Meanwhile, the fact that the Franco regime in Spain was supported by fascist Germany and Italy was also neglected. Yet, it is incorrect to suggest that Japanese critics did not know about Casals' anti-Franco and anti-fascist stance during the decade, since the whole of *Conversation with Casals* was faithfully translated and published in Japan in 1956. Although appreciating Casals was a way for the Japanese audience to demonstrate their political attitude toward the US, Japanese writers

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<sup>12</sup> The Japanese text reads: スペイン内乱中彼は熱烈な王党だつた。終戦とともに彼は南フランスの人口五千四百のプラードの村に亡命した。彼はフランコ・スペインからの難民の救済にすべてを捧げた。その間、十年間というものは世界はパブロ・カザルスの高貴な音楽を聴くことができなかつた。一九四七年、フランコがスペインを支配している限り公演には決して出演しまいという響いを立てたのだつた。スタフォード・クリップス卿がカザルスをイギリスに招いて何故イギリスがフランコを承認したかを説明したいと申し出たとき、カザルスは「彼は政治を語るつもりだろうが、私にはモラルが大切なのだ」と言つて会見を拒絶した。

avoided reminding their readership of the memory of their recent war-time defeat by recounting Casals' biographical details selectively.

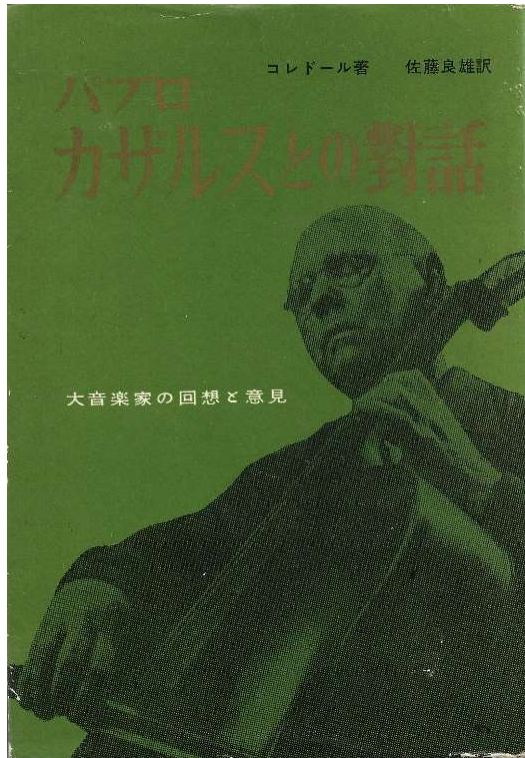


Figure 3.3 Cover of the Japanese translation of *Conversation with Casals*, 1956.

In the previous chapter, Western art music has been identified as a way for the US to negotiate a relationship with Japan, Taiwan, and China in the Cold War. Yet, Fosler-Lussier's analysis focused on the US perspective. By revealing the evolving understanding of Casals in Japan from the 1930s to the 1960s, this section offers a perspective from the receiver in order to demonstrate how Japan perceived and responded to the political message carried by Western art music and how this was used to confirm their partnership with the First World. Meanwhile, from the perspective of Japan's domestic political and cultural contexts, by introducing Casals, the Japanese war-time memory was erased while cultural elites were able to further promote themselves.

### **The Taiwanese Reception of Casals before the 1970s**

Following its defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war in 1894, the Qing empire ceded Taiwan to Japan as a colony. Japan laid the foundation stone of modernisation in Taiwan during the 51-year colonial period, including the infrastructure of the Western railway line, the introduction of modern medical services, the establishment of Taihoku Imperial University (currently known as the National Taiwan University), and so on. Within this context, Western music was also included in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools (Lu 2003: 129-31). Yet, due to the shortage of music teachers, Western art music was not widely appreciated in Taiwan. The Japanese publications on Casals before the 1950s could not be found in Taiwan.

When the Second World War ended in 1945, Taiwanese sovereignty transferred from Japan to the Republic of China. Several years later, Chiang Kaishek, the leader of Koumintang, lost the Chinese Civil War and relocated the Nationalist government to Taiwan in 1949. During the Korean War, Taiwan was included in the ‘first island chain’ and was strongly supported by the US. Since then, Taiwan has been generally considered part of the Euro-American alignment. As an exiled government, the Nationalist regime implemented martial law from 1949 to 1987 to stabilise its authority in Taiwan. During this period, also known as the ‘white terror’, all kinds of publications were censored by the government.

Within the regional context of Japan and the Sinophone world, although the importation of Japanese publications was banned during this period for political reasons (Clough 1991: 858), Casals was appreciated in a similar manner in Taiwan and Japan. This similarity is attributable to the Cold War since both countries were strongly supported and influenced by the US. Despite similarities between Taiwan and Japan, including pro-Americanisation and censorship, differences between these two countries in the early Cold War period should also be emphasised. First, publications in Taiwan were censored by the Koumintang regime rather

than directly by the American authorities. Second, compared with Japan, Taiwan's economy was weak since most resources were poured into the military in the 1950s. Against this background, the introduction of Casals in Taiwan was not as comprehensive as that in Japan since Taiwanese readers could only rely on written materials to perceive this musical figure as the accessibility of Casals' recordings was presumably quite limited. Yet, the appreciation of Casals is a valid example of how Taiwan utilised Western art music to demonstrate its pro-American stance in international politics.

Table 3.3 Publications on Casals in Taiwan in the 1950s

Year	Title of Article	Author/Translator	Magazine
1954	大提琴聖手卡莎爾斯 (The Saint of the Cello, Casals)	樂人 Yue Ren	拾穗
1956	為勞工奮鬥的當代樂聖卡薩斯 (Casals, Contemporary Maestro Fighting for the Labors)	郭嘉 Guo Jia	中國勞工
1958	大提琴聖手帕布羅·卡札 (The Saint of the Cello, Pablo Casals)	曾協 Tseng Hsieh	音樂雜誌
1959	以音樂伸張人權的大提琴家卡沙斯 (Promoting Human Rights through Music, the Cellist Casals)	吳心柳 Wu Xin Liu	文星



Figure 3.4 Casals' photo on the cover of the 文星 (Wen-Hsing) magazine, 1959.

Presenting Casals to a Taiwanese readership was therefore as much a political process as a musical one. The appreciation of Casals in Taiwan relied on written materials rather than his musical performances. The understanding of Casals' musicality was also superficial, since critical discussions of his musical achievements were hardly found in these articles. The earliest Taiwanese documentation on Casals appeared in the 1950s (see Table 3.3). A similar pattern of presentation can be identified in all four articles. They tend to begin with his reputation in the Western world. For instance, Guo Jia (1956: 14) introduced Casals in this way:

When he gave his last recital in London, the audience spontaneously stood up out of respect and remained standing until the end of the performance... The British people may not do so for a politician's speech. However, they gave this honour to Casals. Evidently, this cellist holds a certain sublime status amongst the British people.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Chinese text reads: 他在倫敦作退休前的最後一次演奏時，全場聽眾自動恭立靜聽，直至演奏完畢。...英國人對一個政治家的演說未必肯恭立靜聽，但他們把這份光榮給予了卡氏，可見這位大提琴家在英國人心目中的地位是何等崇高。

Parallel attitudes can be found in the opening paragraph of another article on Casals from the 1950s (Tseng 1958: 16):

On April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1957, an orchestra consisting of elite American musicians was on stage at the auditorium of Puerto Rico University, silently waiting for their conductor. These musicians travelled more than ten thousand miles in order to have the opportunity to perform under this conductor's direction. An old man in plain garments stepped onto the stage. Out of respect, the orchestra waited in deafening silence. The man standing in front of them was the great and legendary cellist, Pablo Casals.<sup>14</sup>

Tseng's introduction of Casals contained incorrect information: he did not, in fact, conduct a concert in the first Casals Festival in 1957 since he was suffering from a heart disease (Casals and Kahn 1970: 274-75; Kirk 1974: 493-94). Nevertheless, it is obvious that Taiwanese writers attempted to establish a positive image for Casals through highlighting his reputation in the West. In order to reinforce Casals' image as a musician of artistic dignity, the same episode from his youth was recounted in all these four articles. The story was about his experience at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels. Édouard Jacobs frivolously asked Casals to play Adrien-François Servais' virtuoso piece *Souvenir de Spa* and was amazed by his performance. Yet, Casals was irritated by Jacobs disrespectful attitude and decided to leave Brussels even though he knew he would lose the stipend from the Spanish royal court. Stemming from this image, the following texts emphasised his commitment to freedom, democracy, and anti-communism. However, Taiwanese writers misinterpreted Casals' political stance by connecting his anti-Franco attitude with anti-communism. For instance, Guo (1956: 20) wrote:

Originally, Casals enjoyed a high reputation and made a considerable fortune by giving concerts in Russia. When the Bolsheviks came into power, slaughtered dissidents, and enslaved labourers, he began to resent Russia as he resolutely refused concert invitations. Casals said 'the cello is the only weapon I own. It may not be powerful but it fights for freedom.' When Hitler began to suppress the labour union and the Jews, he announced

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<sup>14</sup> The Chinese text reads: 一九五七年四月六日上午，一隊由全美國音樂界精華所組成的交響樂隊，排列在波多黎各大學禮堂的音樂台上，靜候他們指揮的出現。這些音樂家們都不遠千里而來，以獲得在這位指揮領導下演奏的機會。不久，一位矮胖而衣著樸素的老者步入音樂台，頃刻間，整個樂隊鴉雀無聲，肅然起敬。因為在他們面前的，是偉大而富於傳奇性的大提琴家帕布羅·卡札。

that he would adopt the same approach to boycott fascist Germany as he had to communist Russia.<sup>15</sup>

A parallel discourse can be found in Tseng's article (1958: 16-7):

The sacrificial fire caused by the First World War, the bloody terror of the Russian revolution, and the vicious assassination of its objectors in Germany all make Casals heartbroken. How could the great arts continue in such uncertain world? He decided to use the only weapon in his hand – his personal prestige and the music played on his cello – as a wordless protest. He put down the cello, and refused all generous rewards and invitations for performing publicly.<sup>16</sup>

These texts may originate from Littlehales' biography of Casals (Littlehales 1949: 205), which did not mention Russia or communism:

Someone has rightly said that though the cello of Casals is of wood, it has more weight than if it were of iron. He uses the only long-range instrument in his power, his popularity in the world of music, as a bludgeon for Franco's back.

Despite the fact that Casals had not performed a concert in Russia since 1917, his attitude towards communism was ambivalent (see the introduction). However, the partial and selective information in the Taiwanese materials presented Casals as an anti-communist.

This disinformation should be examined within the context of the domestic politics of the Nationalist regime. On the one hand, in order to legitimise its authority in Taiwan and its fight against the Chinese Communist Party, the Koumintang promoted anti-communism by organising literary awards in the early 1950s (Clough 1991: 857). Although the introductory writings on Casals were not literary works, the authors would need to comply with the government protocols due to censorship on publications. On the other hand, during the

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<sup>15</sup> The Chinese text reads: 本來，卡氏在俄國的聲譽和在那裡舉行音樂演奏會的收益是相當可觀的，但在布爾什維克黨徒攫奪政權大肆屠殺異己和奴役勞工之後，他就開始對俄國深惡痛絕了，曾幾次被邀請前往演奏，他都斷然拒絕。卡薩斯說：「我的唯一武器是提琴。它也許並不怎樣厲害，但以一種武器來說，它是為自由而作戰的。」在希特勒發動迫害自由工會和猶太人時，他宣佈以抵制共產俄國的同樣方法去抵制納粹德國。

<sup>16</sup> The Chinese text reads: 第一次世界大戰引起的漫天烽火，蘇俄革命的流血恐怖，德意志對反對者的陰毒暗殺—所發生的一切都使卡扎疾首痛心。偉大的藝術怎能在這樣動蕩[sic. 盪]不安的世局中存留呢？他決定由他唯一可用的武器—他個人的聲望與自他大提琴上所奏出的音樂—作為無言的抵抗。他放下了大提琴，拒絕一切優厚的條件，而謝絕了一切請他作公開演奏的邀請。

martial law period, while Taiwan was completely controlled and ruled under the dictatorship of Chiang Kaishek,<sup>17</sup> the Koumintang regime claimed it was a democratic country and a partner of the free world. Yet, Taiwan was neither a democratic country nor a nation where the rule of law prevailed in the 1950s. Freedom of speech and human rights were not protected either. From 1945 onwards, social movements in Taiwan were considered riots by the Nationalist government and were suppressed by military forces. The most representative event was the February 28th Massacre in 1947, which has remained a focus of discussion in Taiwanese society to date (Hartnett et al. 2020). In the meantime, during the martial law period, Taiwanese people could hardly be involved in politics since forming a party was prohibited by the government. In addition, in order to stabilise its governance, the Nationalist government used anti-communism as an excuse to persecute Taiwanese intellectuals. These facts make the Taiwanese materials, which emphasise Casals' commitment to democracy, liberty, human rights, satirical. Finally, both Chiang Kaishek and Franco were far-right dictators supported by the US as the frontier of anti-communism (Morillas 2018). Although Casals' anti-Franco stance was also presented in the articles, the similarities between General Franco and Chiang Kaishek did not attract attention from Taiwanese readers. The introduction of Casals therefore was a way for the Koumintang to cover its democratic failure and its military defeat in the Chinese Civil War at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party.

### **The Chinese Reception of Casals before the 1970s**

Casals was hardly known in China before the 1950s. Russian influences could be the most important explanation for this phenomenon. Following the Russian Revolution in 1917, a significant number of Russian people, including some musicians, emigrated to major cities in China, such as Harbin and Shanghai (Tso: 2017). The most compelling example can be seen in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra. Nearly 60% of musicians of the orchestra were from

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<sup>17</sup> Chiang Kaishek's presidency of the Republic of China (Taiwan) started from 1948 till his death in 1975.

Russia (Wang 2007: 27). Most cellists perceived in that time came from Russia, including G. Andreev, Mischa Bakaleinikov, Y. M. Shiller, I. M. Stuper, I. Ulshtein, and Igor Shevtsov (Tso 2017: 152-155). Shevtsov was the most influential cellist in Shanghai. He moved to the city in order to become the principal cellist of the orchestra in 1923 and would be hired as Dean of the cello department by the Shanghai Conservatory of Music<sup>18</sup> in 1928 (Tso 2017: 146; Wang 2007: 58). He also published several materials on cello pedagogy, including *A Foundation of Cello Playing* (Tso 2017: 146). Shevtsov trained numerous Chinese cellists, such as Lee De-Lun<sup>19</sup>, Chang Zhen-Fu<sup>20</sup>, and Qian Yi-Shan<sup>21</sup>.

In the 1930s, internationally renowned musicians had visited China to perform either a solo recital or concerto repertoire. According to the *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper (大公報), the most widely issued newspaper in China before 1949, cellists who performed in China included Riskin (1934a), Emanuel Feuermann (1934b; 1934c), N. N. Sajin (1936a), E. Will (1936b), Gregor Piatigorsky (1936c), Maurice Maréchal (1937a, 1937b), and Joseph Schuster (Shi 1937).

Meanwhile, Chinese intellectuals began to spread musical knowledge through magazines, and in this way several European cellists were introduced to a Chinese readership. In the *New Music Tide* (新樂潮), Ke Zheng-He organised a column: ‘A Translation Table of Musicians’ Name’ (漢譯音樂家名表) in order to introduce notable musical figures. Several cellists were included, including Max Bohrer (Ke 2015[1927]: 256); Gaetano Braga (Ke 2015[1927]: 256);

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<sup>18</sup> The Shanghai Conservatory of Music is the first institution of higher musical education in China. It was established in 1927 by Yuan Pei Cai and You Mei Xiao and named National Conservatory of Music. It had several different names during the first half of the twentieth century. Yet, in avoiding confusion, this thesis only uses ‘Shanghai Conservatory of Music.’

<sup>19</sup> Lee Delun (李德倫 1917-2001) graduated from the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1943. He had become the conductor of several prominent orchestras in China and the vice president of Chinese Musicians’ Association.

<sup>20</sup> Chang Zhenfu (張貞黻 1905-1948) graduated from the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1935 and become one of the first Chinese musicians in Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra in the same year.

<sup>21</sup> Qian Yishan (錢挹珊) was the only Chinese cellist who had studied with Casals. She was a professor of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music.

and Hugo Becker (Ke 2015[1927]). In another publication, *Music Magazine*(音樂雜誌) (2015[1933]), the German cellist Julius Klengel received an obituary. Yet, in these publications, Casals' name cannot be found.

The earliest documented appearance of Casals' name in China in fact appeared on a concert program in 1930 (Figure 3.2). Regina Feldman played Casals' arrangement of Fauré's *Après un rêve* in a concert held by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra at which Casals' name was misspelled 'Cazals.' Although Shanghai Municipal Orchestra's concerts opened to Chinese audiences from 1925 onwards, the majority of concertgoers were not Chinese listeners. By 1931, Chinese audience accounted for only one-fifth of the total audience of Shanghai Municipal Orchestra's indoor concerts (Yang 2017: 52). The understanding of Casals in China therefore was presumably limited in the early twentieth century.

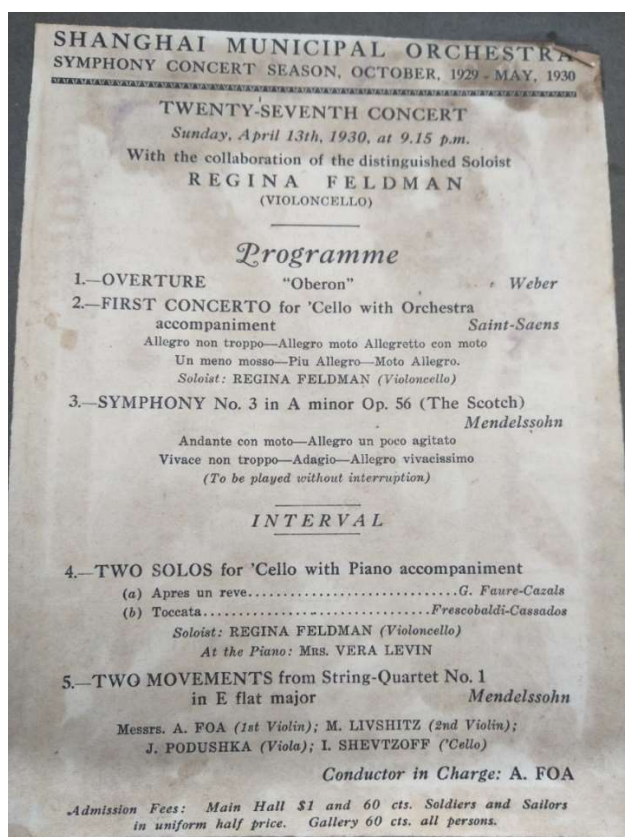


Figure 3.5 The earliest documentation of Casals in China<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Provided by the Archive Room of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, uncatalogued.

The Chinese reception of Casals began to gain a foothold in the late 1950s. The reason why Casals was introduced at this moment can be explained within the political and cultural context of China. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chinese leaders had decided to adopt Soviet Russia as a model in order to develop the country (Teiwes 1987: 63). Culturally, following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Chinese cultural policy was guided by the 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art' (在延安文藝座談會上的講話), delivered by Mao Zedong in 1942, which insisted that culture should serve political demands (Liu and Mason 2010). However, the Great Leap Forward and the Sino-Soviet Split marked the end of direct Russian influence in China (Pepper 1987; Whiting 1987).

The 'Sino-Soviet Split' in 1958-64 was initiated by a series of political disputes. During this period, Russia withdrew all kinds of assistance from China, including music specialists. Meanwhile, China began to expand its relations with Western states (Tso 2017; Whiting 1987). From the Chinese perspective, the 'Sino-Russia Split' represented China's attempt to establish its own narrative and to become the 'third leg' in the Cold War (Mitter 2013). Yet, the Sino-US rapprochement in 1972 suggests that Mao Zedong's attempt of becoming the third leg in the Cold War was not successful (Mitter 2013). From the perspective of musical culture, Tso (2017) argues that the reception of Western art music in China turned to 'face the West' after famous US musicians, such as Isaac Stern, Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra visited China in the 1970s. However, the introduction of Casals suggests that China had already begun to turn toward the West by presenting a musical figure related to US political alignment in the late 1950s, before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution.

Table 3.4 Publications on Casals in China in the 1950s

Year	Title of Article	Author/Translator	Magazine
1957	帕勃羅·卡薩爾斯近況 (Recent Situation of Pablo Casals)	江吟 Jiang Yin	音樂譯文
1957	帕勃羅·卡薩爾斯(西班牙) (Pablo Casals (Spain))	竹漪 Zhu Yi	音樂譯文
1959	為醉心於這種音樂的人發愁 (Concerns for People Obsessed with this Genre)	Anonymous	人民音樂

Compared with the materials in Japan and Taiwan, the introduction of Casals in China was quite superficial with only three short articles (Table 3.4). Although these materials were not comprehensive, Casals was introduced in a way which sharply contrasted to his reception in Taiwan and Japan. Through examining these materials within the wider context of China's cultural politics, it can be reasonably argue that the introduction of Casals was significantly driven by political reasons, which complied with Mao's claim that the arts must serve political demands.

The absence of Qian Yi-Shan in Casals' Chinese reception exemplifies how Casals' introduction was for political purposes rather than musical ones. None of the three short articles found in China were by Qian, who studied the cello with Casals for three years in the mid-1950s. Although Qian was the only Chinese cellist who studied with Casals, she did not attract attention from Chinese musicians of her generation in the 1950s (Li and Qu 2008: 51). Her biographical accounts were included in her husband's biography, Cao Shi-Jun, while details of her life and career were rarely found in Chinese materials. Her struggle to maintain a professional career after the Cultural Revolution was not smooth either. Originally nominated for a fellowship at the Central Conservatory of Music by Li De-Lun, she eventually moved to Shanghai and received a position at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music with help from He Lu-Ting, the Chinese composer and Dean of the Conservatory at that time

(Li and Qu 2008: 51). Meanwhile, Qian's name was only mentioned a few times in the volume *A History of the Development of Cello Artistry in China* (Liu and Liu 2009: 49, 144, 227). The reason why Qian was marginalised in Chinese music circles may be attributable to the fact that neither Qian nor Cao joined the Chinese Communist Party until 1959 (Li and Qu 2008: 51). Yet, it may also have been caused by the dynamics within Chinese music circles, which is further addressed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, introducing Casals while neglecting Qian's opinion suggests that Casals' musical legacies were not considered seriously by the journal editors. They were instead concerned more with how Casals' image could serve the political demands of the Chinese Communist Party.

The written materials about Casals published in the late 1950s should be examined within the context discussed above. In an article entitled 'Concerns for People Obsessed with this Genre,' (Anonymous 1959), Casals' supposed criticisms of the US were introduced to China. Although this article claims that Casals' remarks on swing music, capitalism, and the US are quoted from an American newspaper, it does not provide any details about the original source. Meanwhile, Casals offered very few comments on either swing music or the US in other secondary materials. Hence, this article is highly likely to have been based on forged material in order to serve political demands in China at that time, which sought to promote hostile attitudes towards the US and capitalism. In this short column on *人民音樂* (*People's Music*), the most widely circulated musical magazine in China from its first issue in 1950 onwards, Casals' opinion on swing music and the US was reported as follows:

Do you want to know my point of view about something disgusting? I think it is a sin and a poison in tones. I feel worried when I hear it. I am not worrying about this genre, but about the people who are obsessed with it. Meanwhile, it is a regret to the US because such a huge nation failed to contribute something more to satisfy the curiosity of human ears.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The Chinese text reads: 你們想知道我對於一種令人作嘔的東西的看法嗎？我認為，這是一種恥辱，是

In this text, where Casals appeared to offer some criticisms of swing music, special emphasis was placed on his negative attitude towards the US. In the following text, the criticism extended to include capitalism as a whole: (Anonymous 1959: 26)

Today, there are half a million well decorated gramophones in the United States; yet, in fact, what are they? They are frauds, chopping machines, incomplete tunes, awful melodies and soured songs. These people without talent for themselves, produce millions dollars of profit for record companies....<sup>24</sup>

Obviously, Casals' attitude towards the US and its musical culture appeared to be negative in these comments. Yet, a more complicated relationship between China and the US could be uncovered through reading this short and most likely forged column.

Seen through the lens of Casals' reception, China's attitude towards the US was quite ambivalent. Although the other two articles found in the late 1950s were short pieces, they both introduced Casals through reading materials published in the US. Meanwhile, most articles published in the journal 音樂譯文 (*Musical Translation*) focused on presenting Western art musicians to the Chinese readership by translating English language materials. This suggests that Chinese writers began to turn to English sources rather than other languages while the Chinese Communist Party wanted Chinese readers to retain a hostile attitude towards the US by forging Casals' remarks. China's attitude towards the US was paradoxical in that, on the one hand, China admired the US due for its wealth and influence in international politics. On the other hand, as a communist country, China regarded the US as its enemy, especially after the Korean War. The reception of Casals during this period therefore reflected China's internal conflict regarding its attitude to the US.

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包含在聲調裡的毒素。當我聽到它的時候，我覺得很擔憂。我不是為這種音樂發愁，我是為醉心於這種音樂的人發愁。我同時為美國惋惜，因為這麼一個大國不能夠對於人類的求知的耳朵有比這更好一點的貢獻。

<sup>24</sup> The Chinese text reads: 今天美國有五十萬個裝潢的很漂亮的點唱電唱機，可是它們是些什麼東西呢？它們是騙錢的傢伙、切肉的機器、支離破碎的音調、亂七八糟的旋律和腐爛發臭的歌曲。當這些沒有天才的和專門使人開心的人們為了自己，為了唱片公司一夜裡製造出千百萬美元的利潤...

## **Conclusion**

The conclusion of this chapter offers a general discussion of why, how, and by whom Casals was introduced to readerships in Japan, Taiwan, and China. As discussed above, Cold War politics was the underlying reason why Casals' reputation gained a firm foothold in these three countries in the 1950s. Although there are huge differences in the levels of appreciation, a similar stereotype of Americanism can be identified through revisiting the reception of this musical figure. The secondary literature points out that the US was a symbol of wealth and progressiveness, and a desirable object. By examining how Casals was presented, this chapter further unravels how discourses of Western art music in these three countries were mediated by Americanism.

In the post-war era, the regional politics of East Asia was reconstituted by the Cold War in just a few years. Japan turned from being an empire into a nation highly influenced by the US; the Nationalist regime lost its authority to the Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War; Taiwan changed from being a colony of the Japanese empire to an island governed by the Nationalist party which claimed to be the legal representative of China, supported by the US. Within the tide of radical change, none of these three countries developed their own perspectives to challenge the discourses of Casals constructed in the English sources. Instead, they actively imported this musical figure to serve their domestic political demands.

In order to confirm its partnership with the US, Japanese critics followed the narratives of Casals in the English materials to introduce this musical figure to demonstrate the mutual agreement of cultural values between Japan and the US. Meanwhile, Casals' war-time political stance was blurred in the Japanese materials since Japanese writers did not want to remind their readers of the defeat in the Second World War. The introduction of Casals complied with the protocol of the Koumintang regime, which sought to legitimise its

governance in Taiwan, its campaign of anti-communism against the Chinese Communist Party, and to cover its democratic failure during the martial law period. From the perspective of the regional context, the similarities between Casals' reception in Taiwan and Japan, which generally follows an American-centred perspective to introduce this musical figure, should be further examined. For example, Hirai's (1958) report of the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico was presented as an important cultural event for the Caribbean island country patronised with Western art music. A parallel discourse on the Festival can also be found in the Taiwanese materials (Wu 1959), notwithstanding the fact that there was no evidence to suggest that the two writers knew each other. This similarity reflects how both these two nations were influenced by the US in the post-war era by being included in the US' first-island chain in the west Pacific. In other words, although the reception of Casals in Taiwan and Japan was slightly different from each other due to their domestic politics, the presentation of this musical figure was a way of verifying their relationship with the US in international politics.

On a personal level, by drawing a comparison between Casals' intermediaries in Japan, Taiwan, and China, the reason why Casals was introduced in these three countries could be further uncovered. Both Kozaburo and Takeichiro Hirai benefitted from Casals' Japanese visit since they could present themselves more effectively to Japanese audiences of Western art music by taking advantage of their personal relationship with Casals. The reception of Casals in Japan therefore was not only driven by political concerns and musical reasons but also by professional benefits for the intermediaries. In comparison with the Japanese reception of Casals, that in Taiwan was more attributable to political reasons since the profits generated by the introduction of Casals for Taiwanese writers may be not have been as much as those for the Japanese musicians, given that Taiwan's economy was much weaker than that of Japan in the 1950s. Casals' reception in China can be attributed to political reasons to a greater extent. His Chinese student Qian Yi-Shan's voice was not articulated in the Chinese materials while

his forged criticisms of the US were reported anonymously in the *People's Music*. It is fair to argue that the introduction of Casals was largely a political issue since it did not generate economic profits for any individual.

Responding to Chen and Yoshimi's criticisms of Americanism in East Asia, the introduction of Casals suggests China should also be examined with their framework. Despite the Chinese government's desire to shape its Cold War narrative, the case of Casals' reception indicates that writers in China failed to develop an alternative perspective to introduce this musical figure. Although the way of presenting Casals in China was sharply contrast to that in Japan and Taiwan, the choice of this music figure as the medium to carry anti-American remarks illustrates China's acknowledgement of Casals' image as a prominent musician constructed in the English literature. In brief, Americanism has become an integral part of the Chinese society from the 1950s onwards.

Following the discussion in the previous chapter, this chapter illustrates how the development of postcolonial criticism of Western art music was held back due to the Cold War by revisiting Casals' reception in Japan, Taiwan, and China. The next chapter demonstrates how Cold War ideologies were further intensified in the reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s alongside the trend of diplomatic normalisation between China, Japan, and Western states.

## **Chapter 4.**

### **Music as Cold War Propaganda: The Reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s**

This chapter discusses how Casals was utilised as a form of political propaganda in Japan, Taiwan, and China within the Cold War context in the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, Casals' reception in Hong Kong offers another perspective for illustrating the political manipulation of his Cold War image in East Asia. The decade from the 1970s to the 1980s was a critical turning point in East Asia. In order to weaken the power of Soviet Russia further, the US attempted to involve China in its alignment in the 1970s. The visits of Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State and National Security Advisor, and President Nixon in the early 1970s were the most crucial events within this context. Subsequently, the US established a formal diplomatic relationship with the People's Republic of China in 1979.

The regional politics in East Asia were significantly impacted by the Sino-US rapprochement. The Japanese government as well as the general public were quite anxious since they were deeply disappointed by Kissinger's visit to China in 1971 (McGregor 2017: Ch.2). However, after reassurances that the Sino-US rapprochement would not change the fundamental Japan-US partnership, Japan decided to establish an official diplomatic relationship with China in 1972 (Yoshihide 2002). For China, diplomatic normalisation with the US and Japan marked a 'golden age' in the regional politics of East Asia until 1989, the date of the Tiananmen Square incident (Vogel et al. 2002). Alongside this trend, numerous countries began to recognise the People's Republic of China formally as the legal representation of China. Domestically, after the Chinese Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping implemented the 'Reforming and Opening Policy' in 1978. 'Opening to America' (Pollack 1991) has been the principal of the People's Republic of China government in dealing with international relationships. The establishment of Sino-US diplomatic relations is the most influential transition point within this trend. After the Nationalist government in Taiwan lost its Chinese legal representation in the United

Nations to the government of the People’s Republic of China in 1971, Taiwan also lost its official relationships with many countries across the world, including Japan and the US. Yet, the US enacted the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979, which secured Taiwan’s political and economic relations with the US (Myers 1989). Within the context of these radical changes in the 1970s, this chapter argues that in contrast with such political rapprochement, scrutinising the reception history of Casals indicates that the ideologies of the Cold War were further strengthened in Japan and the Sinophone world.

### The Japanese Reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s

Domestically, from the late 1960s onwards, the Japanese government decided to use culture and the arts to serve the nation (Tomooka et al. 2016: 53). Western art music was therefore further promoted by the government to symbolise that Japan was a ‘cultured country.’ However, how could such cultural policy be supported by an empirical case study and promoted beyond the cultural sphere other than within the context of regional and international politics? Through revisiting the reception of Casals, this section examines how the appreciation of Western art music fulfilled the mission of presenting Japan as a cultured country meanwhile developing a deeper engagement with Japan’s commitment to global Cold War politics.

Table 4.1 Magazine articles on Casals in Japan from the 1970s to the mid-1980s

Year	Title of Article	Author/Translator	Magazine	Note
1971	パブロ・カザルス - 音楽王、現神、その芸術 (The King of Music, The Living God – Pablo Casals and His Art)	小石忠男 Tadao Koisi	音楽之友	
1973	パブロ・カザルス 喜びと悲しみ (Pablo Casals Joys and Sorrows)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	音楽之友	Book Review

1973	カザルスの死 - 人間性への信頼 (The Trust in Humanity - The Death of Casals)	村田武雄 Takeo Murata	音楽之友	Obituary
1973	チェリストとして平和主義者として カザルスの歩んだ道 (The Cellist and Pacifist: The Path that Casals Took)	馬場健 Ken Baba	音楽之友	Obituary
1973	レコードにみるチェロの芸術--ディスコグラフィ (The Art of Cello in Records--A Discography)	出谷啓 Kei Detani	音楽之友	Obituary
1973	パブロ・カザルス - その一世紀に及ぶ音楽への貢献 (A Century Long Contribution to Music - Pablo Casals)	J. M. Corredor/青井明 Akira Aoi	音楽之友	Obituary
1974	カザルス先生との出会い (Encounter with My Teacher Casals)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	音楽之友	
1974	人類の幸せに役立つ演奏を念じつつ (Remembering the Performance which Serves Human Happiness)	平井丈一朗 Takeichiro Hirai	音楽之友	
1975	バッハの演奏論 カザルスの功罪 (On Bach's Performance: Merits and Demerits of Casals)	松本勝男 Katsuo Matsumoto	音楽現代	
1976	回想のパブロ・カザルス (Remembering Pablo Casals)	三浦淳史 Atsushi Miura	レコード芸術	
1980	パブロ・カザルスの神話 自由と平和と正義を希求した音楽の闘士 (The Legend of Pablo Casals: the Music Fighter Pursuing Freedom, Peace, and Justice)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	音楽之友	
1983	スペインの旅 - カザルスのふるさとにて (A Journey to Spain - Casals' Hometown)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	音楽の世界	

The appreciation of Casals in Japan was comprehensive in the 1970s (Table 4.1). Instead of understanding him through translated materials, Japanese critics established their own voices to re-evaluate Casals' legacy as a way to demonstrate that Japan was a 'cultured country', capable of appreciating Western art music. As discussed in chapter 1, liberty and humanitarianism were the ideologies asserted by the US during the Cold War. In the Japanese materials, Casals' staunch opposition to the Franco regime was therefore emphasized and understood as desire for peace and democracy. For example, Tadao Koisi (1971: 244) wrote:

As a democrat, [Casals] decided to take a position in the Franco regime when Spain was in chaos. After the victory of General Franco in 1939, he retired and exiled himself to Prades and never returned to Spain. However, in order to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Bach's birth, he held the Prades Festival in 1950.<sup>25</sup>

A very similar sentence can be extracted from another article, as a part of his obituary, written by Ken Baba (1973: 153):

In 1939, Casals decided to settle in Prades, a small town in the French Pyrénées bordered by Catalonia, due to his resentment against the Franco regime [...] The more Casals missed his hometown, the more he hated to be alienated from it and the more he hankered for peace. After the Second World War, Casals saw that countries recognized the Franco government privately. He therefore announced that he refused to perform a concert in all these countries.<sup>26</sup>

On the one hand, as with the accounts from the previous decade, the close relationship between the Franco regime and fascist Germany and Italy was overlooked in these texts. On the other hand, Yoritoyo Inoue (1980: 132) attributed Casals' boycott of Germany and Italy to his belief that artistic freedom was threatened in these two countries. In brief, Casals' war-time political stance was further obscured in the Japanese materials.

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<sup>25</sup> The Japanese text reads: このような彼の民主主義は、スペイン動乱に際してはフランコ政権の立場をとることになり、一九三九年にフランコ軍が勝利を取ってから、二度とスペインに戻らず、自発的亡命者としてプラードに引退することになった。しかし一九五〇年、バッハの没後二〇〇年を記念してプラード音楽祭を開いたことから、…

<sup>26</sup> The Japanese text reads: 一九三九年に、フランコ政権を嫌って、カタロニアと境を接したフランスのピレネー県の小さな町プラードに居を定めたのも、(…)その望郷の念が強ければ強いほど、カザルスは、自分を故郷から切り離している状況への嫌悪と平和への願いを強めていったのだと思う。第二次大戦後、連合国側もフランコ政権を暗黙裡に承認するのを見て、以後あらゆる国での演奏をも一切拒否するという宣言を行なったことにも、…

In addition to recounting his political stance during the Spanish Civil War, Japanese critics asserted Casals' commitment to humanitarianism by reinterpreting his 1961 Japanese visit. Japan had established an official diplomatic relationship with Spain in 1952, and Japanese critics attempted to justify Casals' presence, which contradicted his vow to boycott all countries that recognized the Franco regime. Takeo Murata (1973: 150) wrote:

Casals always hankers for peace, pursues freedom, and performs for conscience. He opposes fascism, refuses to recognize the Franco regime, and disagrees with Japan's policy during the war even though he has close friends and pupils from Japan. Therefore, when he visited Japan in 1961, instead of performing by himself, he provided tuition and conducting. It faithfully presents Casals' humanity.<sup>27</sup>

In another article, Takeichiro Hirai (1974: 148) emphasized that Casals visited Japan not for himself but simply because he wanted to present Hirai in a debut. Following the argument in these remarks, Casals had not broken his vow since, a) he did not visit Japan for himself but for his Japanese pupil; and b) he did not perform on the cello during his stay. Furthermore, Casals' presence in Japan was regarded as a validation of his humanitarian stance.

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<sup>27</sup> The Japanese text reads: カザルスは一徹なほどに平和を望み、自由を求めて生活するとともに演奏を行なった良心の人であった。かれがファシズムに反対して祖国スペインのフランコ政権を認めず、ひいてはかつてのそれに荷担して戦争に走った日本の政策にもなっとくせず、親愛な弟子よと呼びかけるにたる日本人の弟子や知人を持ちながらも、一九六一年の来日おりには自らは演奏せず、指導と指揮のみを行なった一事は、カザルスの人間性をありのままに示したものであった。

## ハプロ・カザルス

### — レコードにみるチェロの芸術 —

### デイスコグラフィ

#### 出版啓



●チェロ奏者としてのレコード

ソナタ  
カザルスチェロ協奏曲集  
(1939年録音)  
チェロ・ソナタ集  
9・ソナタ第1番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
7・ソナタ第2番 (P)  
(RCA RED2010)  
ソナタ第3番 (P)  
カザルスチェロ協奏曲集  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第4番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第5番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第6番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第7番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第8番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第9番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第10番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第11番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第12番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)

●チェロ以外の楽器

チェロ・ソナタ集  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第1番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第2番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第3番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第4番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第5番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第6番 (P)  
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ソナタ第9番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第10番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第11番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第12番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)

●チェロと他の楽器

チェロ・ソナタ集  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第1番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第2番 (P)  
(CBS 300211)  
ソナタ第3番 (P)  
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ソナタ第4番 (P)  
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ソナタ第1番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第2番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第3番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第4番 (P) (CBS 300211)
ソナタ第5番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第6番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第7番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第8番 (P) (CBS 300211)
ソナタ第9番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第10番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第11番 (P) (CBS 300211)	ソナタ第12番 (P) (CBS 300211)

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Figure 4.1 Casals' discography in Japan, 1973.

Based on these interpretations of Casals' humanitarian contribution, Japanese critics also integrated his musical legacies in the construction of his positive image. Casals' recordings were available in Japan as a discography of Casals was provided as a part of his obituary in 1973 (Detani 1973). The discography lists 48 titles of Casals' recordings as both a solo cellist and a chamber music performer, and 24 titles conducted by him. In contrast with the remarks in the English literature which considered Casals' cello playing to be indicative of a 'pre-modern' style rooted in the nineteenth century (Schonberg 1973; Taruskin 1995: 301-5), Japanese critics thought Casals laid the foundations for the modern style of cello performance. Meanwhile, Casals' performance of Bach was connected to his political stance in the Japanese materials. Katsuo Matsumoto (1975: 67), for example, began his essay with a brief review of Casals' post-war career, including the Prades Festival and the UN concert in 1971 to establish the connection between his political stance and his performance of Bach's

music:

Organised by Schneider and Horszowski, the Bach Festival in Prades in June 1950 was not only to commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bach's death but also to bring Casals, who refused to perform on stage until then, back to the public sphere in order to confirm that he maintained his political opposition [to the Franco regime].<sup>28</sup>

In Matsumoto's words, performing Bach at the Prades Festival was a way for Casals to sustain his artistic boycott rather than to break his vow. Matsumoto further strengthened the legitimacy of the Prades Festival by emphasising that the revenue of the festival was for the refugees. Through these words, Casals' performance of Bach's music successfully occupied the moral high ground. Following this positive image, Matsumoto then focused on Casals' style of performance and presented Casals as the most influential musician in the early twentieth century since he re-excavated the Bach cello suites and wrote:

The light [brought by Casals' re-excavation of the Bach cello suites] became a source of energy for Szigeti, Landowska, Fisher and others in the first half of the twentieth century. Arguably, Casals changed how the prewar musicians perceived Bach. Casals set the starting point for modern Bach performance, but that is not the entirety of his contribution. In terms of age, Landowska, Szigeti, and Fischer are all younger than Casals but died one after another before him. Casals, the only master, continued to live and play until October 22, 1973. His legacies of performing Bach may be the history of Bach performance in the twentieth century. It has recently become commonly accepted that Casals' performance style is the paradigm of Bach performance after the Second World War. The performance of Karl Richter, Henryk Szeryng, and Helmut Walcha are all derived from Casals' paradigm without disagreements.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Japanese text reads: バッハ死後二〇〇年を記念して、シュナイダーと、ホルショフスキーの発案により、ブレードでその年の六月に催されたバッハ音楽祭は、政治的抵抗を貫くという姿勢を守り抜くために、それまでステージで演奏することをかたくなに拒否し続けたカザルスも、もう一度、公衆の前に連れもどすことも、重要な目的としていた。

<sup>29</sup> The Japanese text reads: その光はまた、二十世紀の前半においては、シゲティ、ランドフスカ、フィッシャーらを育てるエネルギー供給源になった。カザルスは戦前の多くの音楽家たちのバッハを見る目を一変させたといつてよい。カザルスはこうして現代のバッハの演奏様式の出発点を明らかにしたのだが、しかも、それだけではない。年齢からすると、カザルスより若いランドフスカやシゲティ、フィッシャーが、つぎつぎに死去していくなかで、巨匠一人が一九七三年十月二十二日まで生き続け、演奏し続けることが出来たために、その歩

In this text, Casals' influence on the style of Bach performance was exaggerated to include the category of Historically Informed Performance. It is hardly agreed that performers who dedicated themselves to Historically Informed Performance were influenced by Casals given that a famous quotation from Landowska reads: 'You [Casals] play Bach your way and I will play him his way' (Watson 1994: 110). Yet, the connection between morality and Bach's music had become the underlying reason for Matsumoto's appreciation of Casals' performance, which could explain more clearly why Casals' musical contribution was overly praised in Matsumoto's article. Although Matsumoto's evaluation of Casals' musical legacies contradicts the general understanding of the performance approach to Bach's music, his article suggests that the appreciation of Casals' performance was connected with his political stance in Japan.

### **The Taiwanese Reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s**

During the diplomatic crises of the 1970s, the Koumintang regime strengthened their political propaganda by delivering several slogans in Taiwan, such as 'strengthen yourself with magnanimity (莊敬自強)', and 'stay calm and composed during the radical changes (處變不驚)'. In order to establish an oppositional ideology to the Cultural Revolution in China, the Taiwanese government implemented the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in the late 1960s (Mittler 1997), whose principal target was 'crusading against Mao and rejecting communism (討毛反共)' (Lin 2005). Music education also played a part, since Chiang Kaishek claimed that music could serve as an effective approach for the promotion of social norms and anti-communist ideals (Committee of the Year of Music 1969: 4):

In the stance against communism, the opposition of the Russia war and the vocation of establishing a state via revolution, [we] must cultivate righteousness and the heartened

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みは、そのまま二〇世紀のバッハ演奏の様式史であり得るのだ。それはバッハ演奏の戦後様式の母胎となつたというのが、最近では常識となりつつある、カール・リヒター、ヘンリック・シェリング、ヘルムート・ヴァルヒャは、カザルスの延長線上を歩んでいるといっても、異論はあるまい。

fighting spirit of our ethnicity. [We] pour the mettle of resolution and the demeanor of honesty into music and songs to rectify depraved music and those obscene songs.

Against this background, this section examines the reception of Casals in Taiwan to reveal how the appreciation of Western art music complied with the government protocol and was utilised as political propaganda.



Figure 4.2 Cover of the Chinese translation of *Joys and Sorrows*, Taiwan, 1973.

In the 1970s and 80s, the introduction of Casals still largely relied on translating English materials and occasionally from Japanese sources (Table 4.2). For example, *Joys and Sorrows* was translated and published in instalments in a Taiwanese music magazine *Philharmonic* (愛樂) between 1971 and 1973. It was later published as a complete book by the Zhi-wen Press, the most influential publisher introducing Western literature and philosophy to Taiwan during the Cold War, in 1973 and reprinted several times. Meanwhile, Casals received a few paragraphs in introductory books on Western classical music written by Japanese writers. These books were translated and published in Taiwan in the 1980s.

Table 4.2 Publications on Casals in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine	Note
1970	老而彌堅的卡莎斯 (The Old but Strong Casals)	卡茲 Ka Zi	愛樂音樂月刊 (Philharmonic Magazine)	
1971-73	當代大提琴泰斗帕 布洛·卡薩爾斯口 中的悲歡歲月 (Joys and Sorrows)	Albert E. Kahn/ 卡茲 Ka Zi	愛樂 (Philharmonics)	
1973	白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	Albert E. Kahn/ 林宜勝 Lin Yisheng	台北 (Taipei): 志文 出版社 (Zhi-wen Press)	
1973	論樂曲詮釋 (On Musical Interpretation)	J. M. Corredor/ 金千寇 Jin Gankou	音樂與音響 (Music & audiophile)	
1973	藝術與道德的化 身：在普拉德訪問 帕布羅·卡薩斯 (The Incarnation of Art and Morality: Interviewing Pablo Casals at Parades)	Bernard Gavoty/ 希果 Xi Guo	音樂與音響 (Music & audiophile)	
1973	以音樂伸張人權的 大提琴家卡沙斯 (Promoting Human Rights through Music, the Cellist Casals)	吳心柳 Wu Xinliu	音樂與音響 (Music & audiophile)	
1974	一代大提琴宗師帕 布洛·卡薩爾斯的 七十五年演奏生涯 (Casals, the Master Cellist, Won Wide Acclaim in Career That Spanned 75 Years)	Alden Whitman/ 花憐人 Hua Lianren	愛樂音樂月刊 (Philharmonic Magazine)	Obituary
1974	一位注視於音符上 的演奏家 (A Performer Concentrating on the Notes)	Harold Schönberg/ Jin Mu 衿穆	愛樂音樂月刊 (Philharmonic Magazine)	Obituary
1974	白鳥之歌—譯序 (translator's Preface for Joys and Sorrows)	林宜勝 Lin Yisheng	愛樂音樂月刊 (Philharmonic Magazine)	
1975	卡沙爾斯珍貴錄音： 莫札特第四十、四	Anonymous	海頓音樂雜誌 (Haydn Music Library Bulletin)	

	十一號交響曲；海頓第九十四、九十五號交響曲 (Precious Recordings by Casals: Mozart Symphony No.40, 41; Haydn Symphony No.94, 95)			
1975	卡沙爾斯珍貴錄音：舒伯特 C 大調弦樂四 [sic. 五] 重奏 (Precious Recordings by Casals: Schubert String Quartet[sic. Quintet] in C Major)	Anonymous	海頓音樂雜誌 (Haydn Music Library Bulletin)	
1978	指揮家名錄—卡沙爾斯 (Celebrated Conductors – Pablo Casals)	翔文 Xiang Wen	青蓓雜誌 (CHIN PEI BULLETIN)	
1985	大提琴泰斗—卡沙爾斯 (The Authority of the Cello: Casals)	Anonymous	樂典音樂雜誌 (Archiv Musical Magazine)	
1985 [1979]	古典音樂欣賞入門 (A Guide to Classical Music)	結城亨 Toru Yiku/ 張淑懿 Chang Shuyi	台北 (Taipei): 志文出版社 (Zhi-wen Press)	Book Section
1985	名曲鑑賞入門 (An Introduction to Classical Music)	野宮勳 Isao Nomiya/ 張淑懿 Chang Shuyi	台北 (Taipei): 志文出版社 (Zhi-wen Press)	Book Section

Against this background, Casals' image as a musical humanitarian in the English and Japanese literature was accepted by Taiwanese writers and publishers without reservation. In 1974, for example, the obituary written by Whitman was published in Taiwan, and in this text, Casals' opposition to the Franco regime earned him the reputation as a humanitarian. Whitman (1973: 52) wrote that:

Casals won much admiration and acclaim as a man of probity and principle for his humanitarianism, his personal 'crusade for peace' and his one-man stand against the regime of Francisco Franco in his native Spain.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The Chinese text reads: 他性格的剛直誠正，他的人道主義的原則，他個人的音樂「和平十字軍」，以及

In another article written by Wu (1973), the author summarizes Casals' life with the title 'Promoting Human Rights through Music, the Cellist Casals (以音樂伸張人權的大提琴家卡薩斯)'. Instead of articulating their own voice to evaluate Casals, the understanding of his Cold War image as a great cellist and musical humanitarian was simply replicated uncritically in these texts.

Meanwhile, within the context of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, Casals' self-imposed boycott of Russia, Fascist Italy, and Germany as well as his staunch opposition to the Franco regime were heralded as anti-communist in nature and aligned with democratic regimes. Such opinions could be found in the special issue on Casals in the magazine *Music & Audiophile* (音樂與音響)<sup>31</sup> published in December 1973 as his obituary. Gavoty's article,<sup>32</sup> which was translated and included in the special issue in 1973, confirms this point (Gavoty and Xi 1973: 33):

Have not some hinted that Casals had communist sympathies? Him a communist? What a misunderstanding of his convictions and his horror of absolutist [sic. absolutist] governments! He is no Marxist and loathes dictatorships.<sup>33</sup>

Even though the Chinese translation strictly follows the English source, the translator still sought to shape Casals' image by renaming the article and adding subtitles to the text. The title of the article was 'The Incarnation of Art and Morality: Interviewing Pablo Casals at

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獨自對抗他西班牙家鄉佛朗哥政權，贏得世人對他的敬慕，讚頌。

<sup>31</sup> The magazine was established by Chang Ji-Gao (penname: Wu Xin-Liu), who played a crucial role in the Taiwanese reception of Western art music, in July 1973. Although Chang was a journalist, he dedicated himself to the promulgation of Western art music in Taiwan. Born in 1926, Chang came from a middle-class family whose father was able to study abroad in Germany in the early twentieth century (Huang 2012: 53). Chang was therefore able to become acquainted with Western art music when he was a youth. In 1949, Chang moved to Taiwan with the Nationalist government. In the 1950s, he began to publish articles on Western art music in Taiwanese newspapers. In 1965, Chang took over the Far East Music Company (遠東音樂社), the first professional management company for Western art music in Taiwan under special permission of the Nationalist government (Huang 2012: 41). In the early 1970s, as Taiwan's economy gradually improved, Chang attempted to initiate a radio program of Western art music at the Central Broadcast Station and attracted a significant number of audience. Against this backdrop, Chang decided to issue the magazine *Music & Audiophile*, which includes both musical content and information about audio devices.

<sup>32</sup> In this article, Gavoty's name was spelled wrongly as 'Govaty'.

<sup>33</sup> The Chinese text reads: 不是有人說卡薩斯是共產黨的同情者嗎？他是一個共產黨徒嗎？這對他的信念以及他對獨裁政權的痛恨是何等的誤解！他不是馬克斯信徒，尤其反對獨裁。

Parades (藝術與道德的化身：在普拉德訪問帕布羅·卡薩斯)’. However, the English text was simply titled ‘Pablo Casals’. The content was not an ‘interview’, consisting of a series of questions and answers, but an essay written by Gavoty. The Chinese title endows Casals’ behaviour with an ethical aura, which captures the readers’ imagination before they even read the content. Meanwhile, the term ‘interview’ also suggests that all of the remarks were delivered by Casals himself, which for Taiwanese readers makes the article more persuasive. The subtitle ‘Anti-communist Party • Anti-dictatorship (反共黨 • 反獨裁)’ inserted by the translator further enhanced the ideologies supported by the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan.

In addition to discussion of his political stance, appreciation of his musicality also began in the 1970s. After his death in 1973, several articles focusing on his musical achievements were published in Taiwan, including ‘On Musical Interpretation’ (Corredor and Jin 1973), and an obituary by Harold Schonberg (Schonberg and Jin 1974). Yet, initial understanding of his musicality was limited due to insufficient knowledge of Western art music practice. For example, the title of Schonberg’s article ‘A Musician Who Looked *Beyond* the Printed Note’ was translated incorrectly as ‘A Performer Concentrating *on* the Notes’ (emphasis added, the Chinese title reads: 一位注視於音符之上的演奏家). Meanwhile, Casals’ recordings became available to the general public. Yet, compared with the comprehensive discography in Japan, the imported titles in Taiwan covered only a small number of Casals’ recordings. There are three promotional articles which were printed in Taiwan’s musical magazines: ‘Precious Recordings by Casals: Mozart Symphony No.40, 41; Haydn Symphony No.94, 95’, ‘Precious Recordings by Casals: Schubert String Quartet [sic. Quintet] in C Major’, and ‘Celebrated Conductors – Pablo Casals’ (Xiang 1978). In these texts, commentators attempted to connect Casals’ musical interpretation with his humanitarian efforts. The author concluded his account of Casals’ interpretation of Mozart’s and Haydn’s symphonies in the following words:

One can hardly describe his/her emotion after listening to these four symphonies. The

music is unadorned but contains a strong sense of life. To conduct peaceful music like this, one should acquire calmness and sublimation through experiencing ages, various affairs, wars and pains like him [Casals]!<sup>34</sup>

In another review of Schubert's string quintet, the reviewer emphasized that: 'the piece is performed by the most fantastic ensemble, Casals, the cellist who asserts human rights and morality [...]'<sup>35</sup> However, reviews or promotion articles of Casals' recordings as a soloist were not found in the music magazines. Obviously, the musical appreciation of Casals' performance was hardly comprehensive in Taiwan during this period.

In comparison with Casals' reception in the previous decade, a greater number of materials about Casals were translated and imported into Taiwan. In the meantime, the introduction of Casals in Taiwan was not completely driven by political reasons. For instance, although the articles in *Music and Audiophiles* needed to comply with the governmental propaganda by presenting Casals as an anti-communist, the introduction of this musical figure was also related to economic reasons since the magazine itself was issued for commercial purposes. These facts suggest that the reception of Casals in Taiwan combined political, economic, and musical factors.

### **The Chinese Reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s**

Against the background of diplomatic normalization between China, Western states and Japan, several pieces of existing literature, including both Casals' life and his musical thoughts, were translated into Chinese, including some sections of *Joys and Sorrows* (Kahn and Su 1979; Kahn and Liao 1980), and Kirk's biographical account (Kirk and Lao 1981). However, although most of the materials were translated from English (Table 4.3), in China

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<sup>34</sup> The Chinese text reads: 當聽完這四首樂曲，心情是難以形容的，這些粗糙而包含強烈生命感的音樂，這一切大概都要經歷過像他這麼大年紀、那麼多事物、及如許的戰亂與創痛後所得到的平靜與昇華，才能指揮出如此平和的音樂吧！

<sup>35</sup> The Chinese text reads: 本曲經由維護人權和道德的大提琴家卡沙爾斯擔任演奏，是最神奇不過的配合…

the understanding of his legacies sharply contrasted with that in Taiwan and Japan.

Table 4.3 Publications on Casals in China in the 1970s and 1980s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine
1979	卡札斯回憶錄：《歡樂與悲傷》(Casals Memoirs: Joys and Sorrows)	Albert E. Kahn/ 蘇碧顏 Su Pi-Yan	外國音樂參考資料 (Western Music Reference)
1979	卡札斯與巴赫 (Casals and Bach)	David Blum/ 汪鵬 Wang Peng, 馬思琚 Ma Si-Ju	外國音樂參考資料 (Western Music Reference)
1980	卡札斯回憶錄補譯 (Complementary Translation of Casals' Memoirs)	Albert E. Kahn/ 廖輔叔 Liao Fu-Shu	外國音樂參考資料 (Western Music Reference)
1980	希求自由、和平和正義的音樂戰士—卡扎爾斯 (Casals: the Music Fighter Pursuing Freedom, Peace, and Justice)	井上賴豐 Yoritoyo Inoue/ Translator Unspecified	國外音樂資料 (Foreign Music Reference)
1981	回憶卡薩爾斯 (Remembering Casals)	Herbert Kirk/ 勞桑 Lao Sang	音樂譯文 (Music Translation)
1982	卡薩爾斯談演奏與旋律的構思 (Casals On Performance and Thoughts on Melody)	David Blum/ 葉薇薇 Yeh Wei-Wei 鄭其行 Zheng Qi-Xing 志華 Zhi Hua	音樂譯文 (Music Translation)
1983	懷念敬愛的導師：音樂聖哲—帕布羅·卡薩爾斯大師 (10th Anniversary of My Teacher Pablo Casals' Death)	錢挹珊 Qian Yi-Shan	音樂藝術 (The Art of Music)
1983	戴維·布盧姆論作為教師的卡扎爾斯 (David Blum on Casals as a Teacher)	Francis Seldon/ 韋郁珮 Wei Yu-Pei	外國音樂參考資料 (Western Music Reference)
1984	卡扎爾斯與音準 (Casals and Intonation)	Pamela Hind O'Malley / 史大正 Shih Ta-Cheng	外國音樂參考資料 (Western Music Reference)
1987	世界著名大提琴家帕勃洛·卡薩爾斯 (The	Lev Ginzburg/ 蔡銘璞 Cai Ming-Pu	上海 (Shanghai): 上海音樂出版社 (Shanghai Music Publishing

	World Famous Cellist Pablo Casals)		House)
1987	帕勃洛·卡薩爾斯大師的演奏藝術和教學點滴—與錢挹珊老師的談話 (The Art of Performance and Teaching of Master Pablo Casals: A Conversation with Qian Yi-Shan)	錢挹珊 Qian Yi-Shan 鄧旭平 Deng Xu-Ping 黃甦 Huang Su	上海 (Shanghai): 上海音樂出版社 (Shanghai Music Publishing House)

In the materials found in China, Casals' image was completely positive and he was understood as a musician of artistic dignity while more equivocal discussions of his legacies were neglected. One particular episode from his biography illustrates this tendency: just a few years before the First World War, Casals and Gabriel Pierné agreed to perform Dvořák's Cello Concerto in a dress rehearsal. Yet Casals was irritated by Pierné's disrespectful attitude toward the concerto and refused to play with him: Casals was therefore fined 3000 francs because he did not fulfil the terms of his contract (Casals and Kahn 1970: 134-36; Kirk 1974: 285-87). Several decades later, Casals recalled this quarrel and stated (Casals and Kahn 1970: 136):

I must confess that – court verdict or not – I would act the same way today. Either you believe in what you are doing or you do not. Music is something to be approached with integrity, not something to be turned on or off like tap water.

The quarrel between Casals and Pierné over the Dvořák concerto was translated by both Liao (1980: 110-11) and Lao (1981: 111-12). It is understandable that Liao's translation only repeated Casals' own perspective since *Joys and Sorrows* is an autobiography. However, in Kirk's book, a paragraph providing more background information about the event, ignored by the Chinese translator, reads (Kirk 1974: 286-87):

No one knows the basis for what were, at the least, ill-advised and undiplomatic words on Pierné's part. Later Casals speculated that things may have gone badly with the orchestra before his arrival. The question remains whether the incident had been planned. The musical community knew about Casals' bringing to issue in Brussels the presence

of paid audiences at final rehearsal without additional compensation to the performers – a protest that did not go down well with managements or all resident conductors. Casals would quite possibly have ignored a personal affront, but it would have been safe to predict that he would react as he did to an insult to music he respected. The administration of the Concerts Colonne may possibly have thought the resulting publicity would help fill its houses.

Through this biased lens, Casals was presented as a pure artist who refused to compromise with Pierné's disrespectful attitude. This prejudiced lens can be found elsewhere in the text. Starting from the bottom of page 192 of Kirk's book, paragraphs related to Casals' teaching skills were selected and translated into Chinese. Yet, the translator skipped the sentence containing criticisms of Casals; just a paragraph above the translated ones, the neglected sentence reads (Kirk 1974: 192):

César Thomson, for instance, a violin colleague of Edouard Jacobs at the Brussels Conservatory, began a prolonged barrage of criticism of Casals' cello technique, and the eminent German violoncellist Hugo Becker was outraged at Casals' interpretation of Bach.

Through the selective translation of these texts, Casals' positive image was perpetuated in a Chinese readership and served as the basis of his reception in China.

Instead of being understood as a musical humanitarian, Casals was introduced as a leftist. The section on Casals in Lev Ginsburg's book, *History of the Violoncello - Western Violoncello Art of the 19th and 20th Centuries* was translated and published in China in 1987. By using terms and phrases such as 'Casals had recourse to sociology and Marxism when religion failed to answer the question that worried him [...]' in the English text, Ginsburg (1983: 146) demonstrated a vivid tendency to interpret Casals as a leftist musician, which suited the communist ideology of the government of the People's Republic of China. However, some terms were mistranslated and whole paragraphs were omitted in the Chinese translation. The tendency to paint Casals as a pro-communist figure is enhanced through the word choices of the Chinese texts. For example, the introduction of the English version reads (Ginsburg 1983:

143-4):

His art, founded on artistic truth, humaneness and democratism, on a deep understanding of music's esthetic and ethic purpose ... His role can be estimated at its true worth only if one grasps the Spanish musician's views on his art, which are inseparably linked with his democratic and cultural ideas, with his progressive stand as a citizen who never shut himself up in 'an ivory tower' [...]

However, the terms 'humaneness' and 'stand as a citizen' used in English were translated to 'people's character of art (藝術的人民性)' and 'people's artist (人民的藝術家)' in the Chinese (Ginsburg 1987: 3-4).<sup>36</sup> The term 'people's character (人民性)' was commonly adopted in Chinese translations in place of the word 'humanity' found in English texts. As was the case with the following (Ginsburg 1983: 154; Ginsburg 1987: 11):

I am against art that is devoid of humanity, against the striving for originality which is taken to absurdity, against music that is clear to no one...<sup>37</sup>

More cases can be raised throughout the Chinese text. Through these choices of vocabulary, the proclivity for presenting Casals as a proletarian musician found in Ginsburg's essay is further strengthened and secured in Communist China.

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<sup>36</sup> The Chinese text reads: 建立在藝術的真實性、人民性，建立在對音樂所含美學和倫理學宗旨的深刻理解的基礎上的卡薩爾斯的演奏藝術...他的美學觀點是跟他的民主與教育傾向不可分割地聯繫在一起的，是跟他做為一個人民藝術家，從不把自己關在‘象牙之塔’裡...

<sup>37</sup> The Chinese text reads: 我反對缺乏人民性的藝術，反對拼命追求標新立異，反對無人理解的音樂。



Figure 4.3 Cover of *The Art of Violoncello Playing*, China, 1987.

In addition to the translated materials, Qian Yi-Shan, published an article before the tenth anniversary of Casals' death in 1983. In this essay, she also tried to paint Casals as a leftist (Qian 1983: 85):

I studied not only the cello with Casals, but also how to be a human being. *Casals was one of the people*. He had a vivid political stance and strong sense of justice. During and after WWII, he was a brave anti-fascist fighter who *contributed enormously to the people*. He refused to perform for Hitler-Nazi-Fascism as well as opposed to the governance of the Franco-Fascism.<sup>38</sup> (emphasis added)

Through her words, although the first sentence may hint that Casals was also a humanitarian,

<sup>38</sup> The Chinese text reads: 我不僅跟卡薩斯學習大提琴，還向他學習如何做人。卡薩斯是人民中的一員，他有非常鮮明的政治立場和強烈的正義感。在第二次世界大戰期間和戰後，他是一名勇敢的反法西斯戰士，為人民做出了巨大貢獻。他拒絕為希特勒納粹法西斯演出，並反對佛朗哥法西斯統治。

the following text interpreted his efforts from a left-wing perspective. In other words, ‘how to be a human being’ in the quotation does not refer to humanitarianism, which emphasises human rights and the individuality of human beings, but rather the leftist thought of focusing on the collective nature of human beings. Moreover, Qian (1987: 30) attempted to connect Casals’ performance of Bach with leftism by saying that ‘Casals’ performance of Bach is neither of the miraculous nor of mysterious religion. Bach’s music belongs to the people.’<sup>39</sup>Casals’ political stance was therefore understood as being aligned with socialism, which contradicted efforts by his English biographers to minimize his susceptibility to leftist tendencies as discussed in the introduction. In addition to introducing Casals, Qian (1987: 29) presented herself to a Chinese readership:

It is all coming back to me that Casals kindly taught me the passion and liveliness of music even though he was nearly eighty years old, which makes me feel even more responsible for what I have to do. Looking back on that time, I can see that he had given a lot of thought to my studies and had made such arrangements with the best of intentions. I think I should be the bridge to bring Casals’ art of performance to music lovers in our homeland who sincerely love and aspire to Casals’ music.<sup>40</sup>

Yet, Qian’s connection with Casals was not sufficient to extend her influence in China since she was excluded from most major Chinese musical events, such as being a jury at national music competitions or performing at international occasions as a Chinese delegate (Liu and Liu 2009: 306-82). Qian’s insignificance in China implicitly suggests that the importance of Casals was not comprehensively acknowledged in Chinese music circles. This may be attributable to the fact that most Chinese cellists of her generation, such as Si-Tu Zhi-Wen and Lin Ying-Rong, studied in Russia and had been appointed by Chinese music conservatories.

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<sup>39</sup> The Chinese text reads: 巴赫的音樂在卡薩爾斯的演奏中並不是給人一種神乎奇神的感覺，也並不是那麼宗教式的神祕莫測，巴赫的音樂是人民的。

<sup>40</sup> The Chinese text reads: 卡薩爾斯在年近八十高齡的情況下，仍如此有心地對我進行培養，把富有感情、充滿生氣的音樂教授給我，這一切都重現在我的眼前，使我更加感到我所擔負的責任的重大。回憶當時，從各方面看，他對我的學習是經過深思熟慮的，是有心這麼安排的。我要起到應起的橋樑作用，把卡薩爾斯的演奏藝術盡可能地轉達到我們祖國真正愛好和嚮往卡薩爾斯音樂藝術的同行者們手中。

At the same time, although numerous musicians received their training in Russia, the Chinese government tended to minimise Russian influences in China since the Sino-Soviet relationship grew more intense from the late 1960s onwards (Pollack 1991). Passages on Casals' relationship with Russia in Ginsburg's book were completely omitted in the Chinese translation to avoid reminding the Chinese readership of the alignment between China and Soviet Russia in the early Cold War. A paragraph from Ginsburg's text reads (Ginsburg 1983: 146):

As outstanding interpreter of Bach's suites, Beethoven's and Brahms' sonatas, and concertos by Haydn and Boccherini, Saint-Saëns and Lalo, Schumann and Dvořák, Casals ennobled the cello repertoire as Karl Davydov, a Russian cellist, had done before him. In a short time the name of Pablo Casals became world famous. He spent considerable time on concert tours in Europe and America. Almost every year from 1905 to 1913 he played in symphonic and chamber concerts in Russia.

Yet, in the Chinese texts, Davydov's name and the final sentence on Casals' concerts in Russia cannot be found, while another sentence which reads 'by playing these pieces, the cello repertoire was freed from the interest of court and salon and elevated' was inserted instead (Ginsburg 1987: 7).<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the Chinese version stops at Carl Flesch's praise for Casals on page 163 of the English text. From the bottom of page 163 to 173, an eleven-page-long text on Casals' relationship with Russia before his artistic boycott which came into practice in 1917 was completely skipped. From a musical perspective, the trend of 'facing the West' may also be another contributing factor for removing contents relating to Russia from Chinese texts since Chinese musicians began to consider Western musicians to be better than Russians during this period (Tso 2017: 338). In brief, in accordance with this trend, the Russian influence on China was erased in the Chinese materials.

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<sup>41</sup> The Chinese text reads: 卡薩爾斯是巴赫的組曲、貝多芬和勃拉姆斯的奏鳴曲、海頓和博克里尼、聖-桑和拉羅、舒曼和德沃夏克的協奏曲的最有天才的闡釋者；他由此而促使大提琴的演出節目擺脫宮廷和沙龍的趣味而日趨高尚。在較短的時間裡，卡薩爾斯已享有很高的聲譽。在歐美各國的演出中度過了他一生大部分時間。

Casals' musical achievement was also introduced in China during this period. Articles on his cello playing were published in Chinese translation, such as 'Casals and Bach' (Blum et al. 1979), and 'Casals on Performance and Thoughts of Melody' (Blum et al. 1982). Qian Yi-Shan also shared her experience of how she was trained by Casals. Qian (1987: 32) said Casals taught her that the left-hand fingers must press steadily, precisely, and resolutely on the string and leave the string nimbly after playing the note in order to ensure correct intonation. In these words, Casals did not talk about the 'glissando' technique since he did not mention anything like a slide motion while pressing on the string. However, the influence of these publications on Chinese cellists is questionable. In an article discussing cello fingering written by Cao Ling (1990), the 'glissando' technique, which is opposed by Casals, still occupies a number of paragraphs. Cao (1990: 69) identified four kinds of 'glissando' technique: 1) playing glissando with the same finger, 2) playing glissando while changing to another finger, 3) playing glissando while playing harmonics, and 4) expressing Chinese musical characters by glissando. The origin of the previous three kinds of glissando can be traced back to a textbook on string instruments performance written by Jin Wen-Da (1952: 63-6) in the early 1950s. Meanwhile, the availability of Casals' recordings in China was presumably very limited since there was no discussion of his performances by Chinese critics. In brief, although Casals' thoughts on music were translated into Chinese, the appreciation of his musicality was hardly established. The reception of Casals in China was therefore more related to Cold War propaganda than to the appreciation of his musical legacy during this period.

### **The Reception of Casals in Hong Kong in the 1970s and 1980s**

During the Cold War period, Hong Kong was the buffer zone between rival hegemonic systems of government and political ideology. By maintaining the jurisdiction of Hong Kong, the UK retained its political and economic influence in East Asia. China used Hong Kong as

the site to provoke tensions between the US-UK alignment, while the US accessed information about China through Hong Kong (Mark 2004). Competing ideologies were therefore introduced to readers in Hong Kong through publications supported by different powers. Left-wing ideology was spread by the pro-communist media, such as *Wen Wei Po* (文匯報). Whereas, publications patronised by capitalist countries, *Today's World* (今日世界) for instance, were used as a tool for promoting the ideology of the free world in Hong Kong (Shan 2013[2009]).

Culturally, even though the audience for Western art music increased in the latter half of the twentieth century, the colonial government had not paid much attention to cultural policies until the completion of Hong Kong City Hall in 1962 (Liu 2014: 2-3). From the 1970s onwards, the Hong Kong government began to invest in cultural affairs. The establishment of the Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra in 1973, the foundation of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts in 1984, and the completion of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre in 1989 are the most prominent examples of this trend. Yet, although Western art music was arguably widely appreciated, compared with the perception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China, Casals' reputation, especially his political stance was not extensively known in Hong Kong in the 1970s (Table 4.4). For example, the writer of an article published in February 1973 seems unfamiliar with Casals. The first sentence reads (Wong 1973: 2): '[...]if [Casals] is still alive, he is 96 years old'. In the following texts, examples of incorrect information about Casals' life can easily be found, such as the claim that 'Casals wrote a lot of compositions. The most representative one is the cantata *El Pessebre*. It was performed for the first time in 1958 at the United Nations and achieved a great success', and that 'He performed at the White House for the second time in 1964. Kennedy was the president.'<sup>42</sup> In fact, *El Pessebre* was premiered in

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<sup>42</sup> The Chinese text reads: …如果健在，今年已是九十六歲高齡。卡沙爾斯寫過許多作品，一個清唱劇「馬槽」可能是他代表作，該曲於一九五八年在聯合國首演，極為成功…一九六四年，第二次到白宮，

1960 in Mexico while Casals' second performance at the White House was in 1961.

Table 4.4 Publications on Casals in Hong Kong in the 1970s and 1980s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine	Note
1971	弦樂四重奏的樂器 (Instruments of the String Quartet)	馮翰高 Fung Hongou	香港 (Hong Kong): 馮翰高 Fung Hongou	Book Section
1973	西班牙音樂家卡沙 爾斯 (The Spanish Musician, Casals)	汪洋海 Wong Yeunghoi	樂友 (Music Companion)	
1975	西班牙人力掙鎖鏈 (Spanish People Shaking off the Chain)	高嘉 Gou Ga	文匯報 (Wen Wei Pao)	Newspaper
1974	巴布羅卡薩爾斯的 故事 (The Story of Pablo Casals)	謝婉華 Tse Yuenwah	音樂生活 (HiFi Musical Life)	

'The Story of Pablo Casals' found in the magazine *Hi-Fi Musical Life* is the most comprehensive material on Casals in the 1970s in Hong Kong. This article took a pro-American perspective to introduce Casals since some sentences obviously derived from *Conversation with Casals*, such as 'the cello was my only weapon [...] I would not perform in countries which recognize the Franco regime' (Tse 1974: 38). Yet, numerous paragraphs used an indirect tone to present Casals. Instead of directly describing Casals' musical talent, Tse chose to cite Julius Katchen's words to confirm his significance:

Performing with Casals touches my heart more than other experiences. Every passage from him, which he has played for more than a thousand times, makes me intoxicated with ecstasy. He plays the pieces repeatedly, with which he is thoroughly familiar, with freshness and richness like a youngster who listens to the music for the first time. He immerses himself in the music.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, the introduction of Casals' political stance was also enhanced by remarks from

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當時總統是甘迺迪...

<sup>43</sup> The Chinese text reads: 和卡薩爾斯的合奏，比什麼都更深扣我的心絃，就是在他演奏了不知道幾千次的每一樂句中，都能感受到一種令人陶醉的狂喜。他能把瞭如指掌的任何樂曲，以年輕人初次聆聽時那種豐富感與新鮮感，不厭其煩地反覆演奏，而且把整個身心都浸潤在裡面。

Ernest Ansermet and Issac Stern (Tse 1974: 38):

Casals' stubborn 'anti-Franco' attitude can hardly be understood by one who is not a Catalanian like Casals. The CBS once interviewed Casals, Ernest Ansermet, and Issac Stern to discuss Casals' vow [...] Stern replied: 'As Casals stated, I would never perform my beloved music in an inhuman country which tramples upon people like grass. Yet, I do not mean to condemn all the people in these countries [...]' Ansermet expressed his opinion: 'I avoid traveling to countries which judge music from a political point of view.'<sup>44</sup>

Although the way in which Casals was presented was obscure, through these utterances from other musicians, Casals was gently aligned with the Western states in Hong Kong in the 1970s.

Yet, a parallel tendency to promote leftist ideology through Casals' biography can be found in *Wen Wei Pao*. In a column article, Casals' boycott of the Franco regime is interpreted as evidence of his anti-right wing attitude. The reporter wrote (Gou 1976: 6):

Spanish society has changed since the death of General Franco [...] The creativity of the arts has recovered. In the past, artistic creativity was suppressed in Spain due to the strictest censorship in Western Europe. The old regime was envious of intellectuals. Artists such as the painter Picasso, the bassist Casals, the poet Alberti, and the director Luis Buñuel were exiled because of their resentment against the Franco regime. Now those artists who are still alive return to Spain one after another.<sup>45</sup>

Casals was only mentioned once in the brief column while the reporter did not provide any information on those artists. Furthermore, because of the reporter's insufficient understanding of music, Casals was described as a bassist. The readers therefore can only superficially

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<sup>44</sup> The Chinese text reads: 卡薩爾斯那已經到了頑固不化的「反佛朗哥政權」的意識，如果不是和卡薩爾斯同樣是卡達羅尼亞人時，是無法完全了解的。美國 CBS 電視台曾邀請了卡薩爾斯、安塞美和史坦做了一次訪問，一起討論過卡薩爾斯的誓言。...史坦回答說：「和卡薩爾斯現在所說的理由一樣，最近對於草菅人命的，非人道的國家，我絕對不會去演奏我心愛的音樂。只是我無意要譴責這些國家中的所有人民...」安塞美說出他的意見：「我是避免前往以政治的觀點，去批判音樂的國家。」

<sup>45</sup> 高嘉 Ga Gou, '西班牙人力掙鎖鏈 (Spanish People Shaking Off the Chain)', 文匯報 (*Wen Wei Pao*), 20 December 1976. The Chinese text reads: 佛朗哥去世後一年，西班牙的社會上，已經起了不少變化。...藝術創作已顯示有所復興。以前，西班牙擁有了西歐最嚴厲的檢查制度，文藝創作長期以來受到箝制。舊政權對知識分子滿懷猜忌。因厭惡佛朗哥政權而在海外流亡的藝術人士，包括油畫家畢加索、低音提琴演奏家卡薩爾斯、詩人艾爾伯第、電影導演路易士·布柳爾等人。現在，那些仍然健在的西班牙藝術人士，已經紛紛回國。

perceive that Casals' boycott of Franco was due to the right-wing censorship of the arts in Spain.

The unfamiliarity of Hong Kong readership with Casals could be described as 'reverse hallucination' (Abbas 1997: 6), which means the neglect of the existence of something. This phenomenon may be attributable to the complicated contexts of Hong Kong as it was a colony but the most modernised city in China; it was an international city with remarkable economic achievements but with no political freedom; and most importantly, Hong Kong would never be considered an independent country. Abbas therefore proposed that attention to studying Hong Kong culture should be paid to the discussion of the 'politics of disappearance.' The ambivalent introduction of Casals in Hong Kong could be a musical example to support Abbas' claim while elaborating how Western art music was mediated by different political powers during the Cold War. The next chapter further discusses how would Casals' be perceived differently in Hong Kong in the post-Cold War era based on the insufficient biographical accounts in the 1970s and 1980s.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the discussion above, a further comparison between the reception of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world is made in this section. The 1970s saw a crucial transition: following the Sino-US and Sino-Japan normalization, the 1970s and 1980s were regarded as a 'golden age' in the Sino-Japan-US triangular relationship. However, the role of Taiwan in international politics was completely overlooked. Meanwhile, instead of being reconciled, the ideological competition between capitalism and communism was further strengthened as the reception of Casals suggests.

The understanding of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China was restricted by the English

language literature in different ways. Stemming from the image constructed in the previous decade, Japanese critics attempted to articulate their own way of appreciating Casals' legacies by evaluating his cello performance and re-interpreting his presence in Japan. Yet, these remarks did not successfully establish an alternative narrative of Casals since his image as a humanitarian was simply replicated and re-confirmed. The ideology of humanitarianism was also imported into Taiwan. Yet, within the context of a series of diplomatic failures, Casals' humanitarian efforts were interpreted as a validation of his anti-communist stance to comply with government propaganda against communist China.

After the Cultural Revolution, Western art music was welcomed again in China from the late 1970s onwards. Numerous existing materials about Casals were translated from English and published in China. Yet, in contrast with his reception in Japan and Taiwan, the image of Casals' humanitarianism was not found in China. Instead, against the background of diplomatic normalization, his political stance was adopted as pro-leftist propaganda since Western art music had developed a deeper relationship with Chinese patriotism and nationalism after the implementation of the 'Reforming and Opening' policy under Deng Xiaoping (Geiger 2013: 80). However, although the reception of Casals appeared to be different from that in the English literature, Chinese writers did not offer a new way of understanding Casals since the perception of the cellist still relied on translating English materials. In brief, the Euro-centric perspective of appreciating Casals remained unchallenged. In the meantime, despite the fact that Qian Yi-Shan had returned to China and reported her experience of studying with Casals, she did not extensively change cello performance in China since Russian influences could still be identified in discussions about cello technique. In brief, the Chinese reception of Casals in the 1970s and 1980s was still largely driven by political concerns since the appreciation of his musicality was not extensively acknowledged by Chinese cellists.

The reception of Casals in Hong Kong offers another point of reference to reveal how the introduction of Casals was politicized in Japan, Taiwan, and China. Compared with those three countries, the perception of Casals was quite superficial since the Hong Kong government avoided promoting a certain ideology through music. The case of Hong Kong therefore is counterevidence that the introduction of Casals in East Asia was attributable to political rather than musical reasons.

Although the tensions between the US, Japan, and China eased alongside the trend of diplomatic normalisation, from the regional perspective, the antagonistic relationship across the Taiwan Strait remained unresolved in the 1970s. Taiwan was still governed by the Koumintang regime rather than the Chinese Communist Party. This fact is the reason why the propaganda of Cold War ideologies, such as humanitarianism, anti-communism, and communism was intensified as Casals' reception in Japan and the Sinophone world suggests. Within this context, writers from Japan, Taiwan, and China adapted Casals' image in the English literature in accordance with their domestic politics. Echoing Chen Kuan-Hsing's claim, the case of Casals' reception exemplifies how the discussion of decolonisation was suppressed by the Cold War in Japan and the Sinophone world since writers from these places did not establish an alternative point of view to evaluate this musical figure. Based on the criticism in this chapter, the next chapter illustrates how Cold War ideologies became further intertwined with capitalism by examining Casals' reception in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong in the post-Cold War era.

## **Chapter 5. Music as Commodity: The Reception of Casals in the Post-Cold War Era**

This chapter discusses the role of capitalism in the reception of Casals in the post-Cold War era. From the 1980s onwards, capitalist commodities began to mollify the economic system of the Cold War (Rosenberg 2010). In the East Asian context, several facts also suggest that the Cold War was approaching its end. After forming an official diplomatic relationship in 1972, Japan had become China's largest trading partner by the mid-1980s (Schaller 2010: 176). Meanwhile, the antagonistic relationship across the Taiwan Strait was softened by a series of policies implemented by both governments, including the 'Opening and Reforming' policy in China and the lifting of Martial Law in Taiwan. The Sino-British Joint Declaration signed in 1984, which led to the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, symbolised the diplomatic normalisation between China and the UK (Mark 2017).

As the Cold War ended in 1991, the global order changed from a bipolar system to a monopoly of capitalism. From the perspective of the music industry, the most widely spread commodity in this period was the compact disc (CD). Since the invention of the CD in the early 1980s, the circulation of music in the global market was enhanced by this format (Patmore 2009: 133). Compared to sales figures in 1981, consumption saw a growth of 86% in the US, 106% in Japan, 57% in the UK, and 25% in Germany in 1995 (Patmore 2009: 133). Against this background, the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China saw a similar transition, which adopted his Cold War image to promote CD sales. By examining the written materials on Casals, including his biographical accounts and CD reviews in Japan, Taiwan, and China, this chapter argues that Cold War ideologies have not been extensively criticised and rejected but are further consolidated by capitalism in the post-Cold War era. Meanwhile, the reception of Casals in Hong Kong offers an alternative perspective from which to discuss the role of Casals' humanitarian image in the promotion of his CD sales, suggesting that

without his positive Cold War image, Casals' musical performance may not have been valued as highly as the current reputation he enjoys.

### The Japanese Reception of Casals from the mid-1980s Onwards

From the late 1970s to 2010, Japan was the second-largest economy in the world. Within this context, Japan attempted to challenge the US dominance politically and economically in the 1980s and 1990s (See McGregor 2017: ch.5; ch.6). Yet, by examining the Japanese reception of Casals, this section demonstrates that how Japan was restricted by the Cold War ideology imposed by the US in the cultural sphere. The introduction of Casals' biographical account was quite comprehensive in Japan. Following this, most articles of Casals from the mid-1980s onwards were reviews of his recording of the Bach cello suites (Table 5.1). By reviewing his cello performance as well as his career, Japanese critics drew connections between his humanitarian contribution and his musical performance.

Table 5.1 Magazine Articles on Casals in Japan from the mid-1980s to 2000

Year	Title of Article	Author	Magazine
1985	無伴奏チェロ組曲：すべての演奏家がカザルスの影響をうける(The Unaccompanied Cello Suites: Influences from Casals on All Musicians)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	レコード芸術
1988	巨人カザルスの全てが凝縮されている〈無伴奏チェロ組曲〉(Summarised by the Gigantic Casals: The Interpretations of the Unaccompanied Cello Suites)	岡本稔 Minoru Okamoto	音楽現代
1988	瞬間たじろぐメッセージの過激さ、激烈さ (The Momentary Message of Excitement and Intensity)	松本勝男 Katsuo Matsumoto	音楽現代
1992	バッハ＝無伴奏チェロ組曲/パブロ・カザルス (Bach: The Unaccompanied Cello Suites/Pablo Casals)	菅野浩和 Hirokazu Sugano	音楽現代

1994	彼が音楽ひくバッハ（＝音楽の究極・すべて）と一生涯 つらぬいた政治姿勢を結ぶ一本の線－音楽であり、音楽以上のもの (The Connection between His Lifelong Politics and His Bach Performance (The Ultimate in Music): Music and Beyond)	井上頼豊 Yoritoyo Inoue	レコード芸術
1996	パブロ・カザルスーカザルスと本居宣長～“発見”と“創造”(Pablo Casals and Norinaga Motoori: ‘Discovery’ and ‘Creation’)	新保祐司 Yuji Shimpo	音楽現代
1998	没後 25 年カザルス晩年の録音をきく－きき手の魂の根底を揺り動かす強烈な感動 (Moved from Deepest Bottom of Heart — Listening to Recordings of Casals’ Late Career after 25 Years of His Death)	柴田龍一 Ryuichi Shibata	レコード芸術
1999	パブロ・カザルス～過去の音楽の解釈の時代を築いた稀有の音楽家～ (Pablo Casals: The Rare Musician who Created an Era of Interpreting Music of the Past)	中村孝義 Takayoshi Nakamura	音楽現代

Instead of focusing on Casals’ performance only, reviews tended to draw a comparison between his work and recordings by different cellists. In these articles, Casals’ recording of the Bach cello suites was generally the best-regarded interpretation due to its historical importance. For example, Inoue (1985) reviewed 24 cellists<sup>46</sup> recordings of the Bach cello suites and identified Casals’ version as the paradigm since it was the only performance recorded before the Second World War. Inoue (1985: 138) evaluated Casals’ recording in the following words:

Casals’ recording goes beyond time. Its vitality, technical perfection, profound and

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<sup>46</sup> They are Casals, Janos Starker, Antonio Janigro, Rolf Losser, Pierre Fournier, Paul Tortelier, Jean-Max Clement, Enrico Mainardi, Maurice Gendron, Reine Flachot, Renaud Fontanarosa, Henri Honegger, Daniil Shafran, Andre Navarra, Miklós Perényi, Yo-Yo Ma, Jörg Baumann, Mstislav Rostropovich, Ester Nyffenegger, Anner Bylsma, Tsuyoshi Tsutsumi, Kenichiro Yasuda, Ramari Fujiwara, and Henrich Schiff. Listed by the order in the article.

intrinsic unity, and the impressive connection between logic and improvisation make it incomparable in all respects.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the milestone established by Casals in the history of performing the Bach cello suites, at least as claimed by Japanese critics such as Inoue, his musical legacies were connected with his Cold War image as a humanitarian. By focusing on the concerts Casals gave in the post-war era, Hirokazu Sugano, a Japanese composer and critic, demonstrated how Casals' political stance was integrated with his musical performance. Sugano (1992: 74) wrote:

The only exception among the performances that followed [his declaration of refusing to perform until a democratic regime was established in Spain] was the Bach concert in Veracruz (Mexico) in 1956 to thank Mexico for providing asylum for exiles during the Spanish civil war. Therefore, the performance, praying for peace, at the United Nations (October 24, 1958) was also of Bach.... On October 10, 1966, at the concert celebrating his eightieth birthday at the University of Sorbonne, Paris, Casals conducted a cello orchestra of a hundred cellists to perform his own work. After the performance, the great master was impressed by the endless applause. To express his gratitude, [Casals] borrowed a cello from a member [of the orchestra] and performed the 'Sarabande' from the Bach 'Suite' No.5.<sup>48</sup>

By way of conclusion, Sugano (1992: 75) drew a close relationship between the morality of Bach's work and Casals' performance:

[which] cannot be simplified as the beauty of music existing apart from the perspective of humanitarianism. Casals' political attitude is the indispensable and underlying principle of his performance of Bach. What a precious, tremendous and eternal performance of Bach by Casals! The greatness of its essence cannot be explained even

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<sup>47</sup> The Japanese text reads: カザルス盤は録音の新旧をこえて、生命力と技術的完べき性、内的な統一の高さと深さ、論理性と即興性が見事な結びつきなど、あらゆる点で比類がない。

<sup>48</sup> The Japanese text reads: もっともその後の例外的に行なわれた演奏の記録として、スペイン内戦による亡命者を引き受けたメキシコへの感謝のための一九五六年ヴェラクルス(メキシコ)でのバッハ演奏があるし、平和祈願の場ゆえの、国連での演奏(一九五八年十月二十四日)もバッハだった。…一九五六年十月十日にパリのソルボンヌ大学で行なわれたカザルス生誕八十年記念コンサートでのこと、彼が予定通りに指揮をしたのに次いでカザルスの作品が百二人のチェロ合奏団によって演奏きれ、終わっての拍手がいつ果てるか分からないくらいに続いたのに感激した巨匠が、メンバーの一人のチェロ借りてバッハの「組曲」第五番中の「サラバンド」を弾いている。

by the praise ‘a great performance beyond the great performances.’<sup>49</sup>

Here, Casals’ Cold War image as a musical humanitarian became the foundation of appreciating his musical performance.

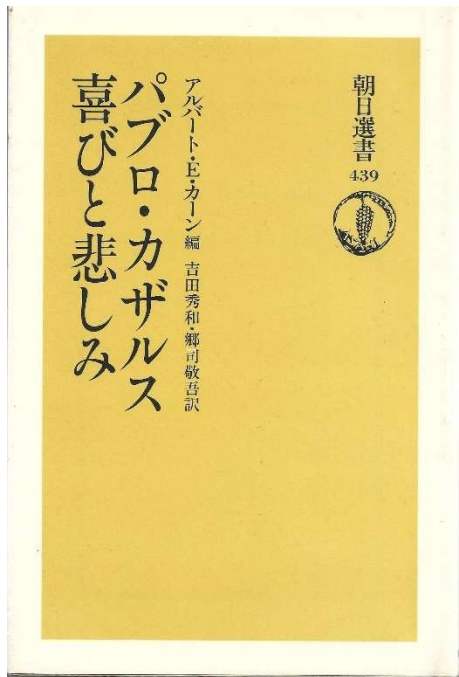


Figure 5.1 Cover of the Japanese translation of *Joys and Sorrows*, reprint version in 1991.

Following Sugano’s remark, Casals’ image as a musical humanitarian became a compelling narrative which distinguished his recording of the Bach cello suites from other cellists’ interpretations. In another CD review article, Inoue appreciated Casals’ recording of the Bach cello suites from a political perspective. Entitled ‘The Connection between His Lifelong Politics and His Bach Performance (the Ultimate in Music): Music and Beyond’, Inoue’s review covered interpretations of the Bach cello suites from Casals, Janos Starker, Pierre Fournier, Paul Tortelier, Maurice Gendron, Andre Navarra, Anner Bylsma, Yo Yo Ma, Mischa

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<sup>49</sup> The Japanese text reads: するとカザルスの奏でるバッハは、人道観と切り離して、単に美しい音楽として存在できるものではどうていあり得ないことも分かる。カザルスの政治的姿勢と、その奏でるバッハ演奏の低辺に、太い、とても大切なバイブが見えてくる。なんと貴重で、大きくて、永遠のものをカザルスの弾くバッハは持っていることだろう。「名演以上の名演」という言葉をのってもその本質のとてつもない偉大きは、どうてい説明しきれない。

Maisky, Tsuyoshi Tsutsumi, Ramari Fujiwara, and Noboru Kamimura. In addition to stating again the historical value of Casals' recording, Inoue (1994: 217) emphasised his political stance in the concluding remarks of his article:

Casals considered Bach the ultimate in music beyond everything else as he said that Bach's music deeply touched upon humanity. Bearing this in mind, I think we can see the connection between his political stance, which he asserted throughout his life, and his performance of Bach. It is music and beyond music. It is the essence of Casals' complete cycle of the Bach cello suites, and the source of the endless vitality of this recording.<sup>50</sup>

Although the Japanese critics adopted Casals' humanitarian image as the basis for appreciating his musical performance, his political stance was not clearly recapitulated in these articles. Similar to the discourses found in the previous decades, Japanese critics did not attempt to clarify why Casals undertook an artistic boycott of fascist Germany and Italy and to mention the close relationship between these two countries and the Franco regime in Spain.

Inoue's opinion of Casals' performance of the Bach cello suites repays further discussion in this context. Inoue (1912-1996) was a fervent admirer of Casals and received a master class from Casals during his Japanese visit (Inoue 1961), though Inoue was a professional cellist and nearly fifty years old in 1961. After that encounter, Inoue published several articles in magazines and two books: *カザルスの心 平和をチェロにのせて* (*The Heart of Casals: Hankering for Peace through the Cello*, 1991) and *回想のカザルス* (*Casals in Remembrance*, 1996) to share his admiration for Casals. Yet Inoue's views on the performances of the Bach cello suites may have been limited by his admiration for Casals. For instance, in the two reviews on the recordings of the Bach cello suites written by Inoue, he overly praised Casals'

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<sup>50</sup> The Japanese text reads: カザルスは、バッハを音楽の究極とも、すべとも考えていた。それが人間性の極限で深くふれあうものでもあったことは、カザルス自身も発言している。そう考えると、彼がその信念を生涯かけてつらぬいた政治姿勢と、彼のひくバッハとを結ぶ一本の線がみえてくるのではなかろうか。それは音楽であり、音楽以上のものでもあるのだ。それがカザルスのバッハ全曲盤の本質であり、この盤の長い生命力の根源もそこにあるといえるだろう。

interpretation as the only origin for the other performances since he failed to discuss the differences between the interpretation of Bylsma, who had established an alternative paradigm for the performance of the Bach cello suites (Taruskin 2009), and that of Casals. Meanwhile, Bylsma's recording received only a few descriptive sentences in his reviews. The origin of this biased perspective can be traced back to Matsumoto's evaluation of Casals discussed in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, from the perspective of reception history, the connection between Casals' musical performances and his humanitarian contribution was firmly secured in Inoue's writings.

From the perspective of consumer capitalism discussed in chapter 2, the reception of Casals in Japan is a vivid example which illustrates how far the claim that the consumption of music is a way of displaying one's social identity is also tenable on an inter-/national level. By examining the appreciation of Casals' performance of the Bach cello suites, an argument can be made that Japan did not culturally challenge US dominance in the 1990s. Instead, the Cold War ideology of humanitarianism was further consolidated in Japan in the post-Cold War era.

### **The Taiwanese Reception of Casals in the Post-Cold War Era**

Since Taiwan's economy grew rapidly in the 1980s, the Taiwanese government generously invested in promulgating Western art music. The establishment of the National Theatre and Concert Hall in 1987 was the most representative event alongside this trend. Meanwhile, as the economy grew, consuming Western art music became a way for displaying one's taste in Taiwan as CDs were widely available in the 1990s (Lee 2003). The role of Western art music therefore changed from a political agent to a commodity (Lee 2003). Against this background, Casals' image was romanticised and exaggerated in order to promote his CD sales.

Table 5.2 lists the publications on Casals in Taiwan after the 1990s. Instead of understanding Casals through translated materials, Taiwanese critics attempted to establish their perspective to evaluate this musical figure by offering originally written works about Casals. Yet, it is evident that Casals' image constructed in the English literature had already preoccupied the mind of the Taiwanese critics. A consistent structure and perspective can be found in most of the biographical accounts of Casals written by Taiwanese critics. Casals' life was stated by following Casals' own autobiographical claims rather than evaluating his life independently, presupposing that all of his behaviour had been guided by a spirit of social justice. The biographical articles generally included several events from Casals' life: a) his extraordinary musical talent during his childhood; b) his excavation of the Bach cello suites at the age of thirteen; c) the establishment of the Orquestra Pau Casals in Barcelona in the 1920s; d) his staunch opposition to the Franco regime and fascism during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War; e) his artistic boycott and the Prades Festival after the Second World War; f) the concerts he performed at the headquarters of the United Nations and the White House; g) his marriage with Marta Montanez, his residency and the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico.

Table 5.2 Publications on Casals in Taiwan after the 1990s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine
1990	懷念大師——卡薩爾斯 (Memorizing the Master - Pablo Casals)	Charles Passy/ 鄭明哲 Zheng Ming-Zhe	音樂與音響 (Music & audiophile)
1995	卡薩爾斯的一生——大師訪談錄 (Pablo Casals Cuenla Su Vida: Conversaciones con el Maestro)	Jose M. Corredor/ 梅玫 Mei Mei	台北 (Taipei): 世界文物出版社 (Mercury Publishing House)
1995	現代大提琴演奏法之父，熱愛追求人類和平的偉人——卡薩爾斯 (The Father of Modern Cello Performance and Great Man Who Passionately Pursued Peace - Casals)	彭聖錦 Peng Sheng-Jin	古典音樂 (CLASSICAL MUSIC MAGAZINE)
1996	「有規律的自由」：卡薩爾斯 (Freedom with Order)/ 不朽的大	Margaret Campbell/	台北 (Taipei): 世界文物出版社

	提琴家 (The Great Cellists)	張世祥 Chang Shi-Xiang	(Mercury Publishing House)
1996	直趨卡薩爾斯音樂心靈的重要 管道—評《卡薩爾斯的一生— 大師訪談錄》(An Approach Towards Casals' Musical Heart - Comment on <i>Conversation with Casals</i> )	徐淑鈴 Xu Shu-Ling	音樂時代 (All Music Magazine)
1997	卡沙爾斯 (Pablo Casals)/ 古典名 曲欣賞導聆 5—器樂曲 (A Guide to Classical Music 5 - Instrumental Music)	林勝儀 Lin Sheng-Yi	台北 (Taipei): 美 樂出版社 (Melody Publisher)
1997	人生豐富閱歷的真摯告白—德 弗乍克的大提琴協奏曲 (Sincere Confessions of a Rich Life Experience - Dvořák's Cello Concerto)	蔡建誠 Tsai Jian-Cheng	音樂時代 (ALL Music Magazine)
1998	古典唱片收藏入門 BWV1007- 1012 (Building A Basic Library BWV1007-1012)	黃德仁 Huang De-Ren	音樂月刊 (MUSIC & MUSICIANS MONTHLY)
2000	愛國的西班牙大提琴家—卡薩 爾斯 (The Patriotic Spanish Cellist - Pablo Casals)	邱昱宏 Chiu Yu-Hong	認 識 歐 洲 (Understanding Europe)
2000	巴赫：六首大提琴無伴奏組曲 (Bach: The Six Unaccompanied Cello Suites)	田中凡 Tian Zhong-Fan	古 典 音 樂 (CLASSICAL MUSIC MAGAZINE)
2001	世紀豐碑—卡薩爾斯、費爾 曼、皮亞悌哥斯基 (Century Monumentalities - Casals, Feuermann, Piatigorsky)/ 世界著 名弦樂藝術家 (World Famous String Artists)	王玉桓 Wang Yu-Huan	台北 (Taipei): 揚智 文化事業股份有限 公司 (Yang-Chih Book Co., Ltd.)
2003	用音樂刻劃人生—卡薩爾斯 (Sculpture His Life with Music - Pablo Casals)	曾智寧 Tseng Zhi-Ning	樂覽 (Music Browser)
2008	大提琴家的人生必修課—巴赫 《無伴奏大提琴組曲》錄音選 介 (The Obligatory Course of Life to Cellists - A Selective Introduction to Recordings of Bach's <i>Unaccompanied Cello Suites</i> )	焦元溥 Jiao Yuan-Pu	表 演 藝 術 (Performing Arts Review)
2009	眾裡尋它千百度—巴赫無伴奏 大提琴組曲唱片錄音 (Having Searched for it Hundreds and	劉聖文 Liu Sheng-Wen	謬斯克·古典樂刊 (MUZIK)

	Thousands of Times in the Crowd - Recordings of Bach's <i>Unaccompanied Cello Suites</i> )		
2013	音樂界的大提琴代名詞—卡薩爾斯 (The Representative of the Cello in the Musical World: Casals)/ 白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	張正傑 Chang Cheng-Chieh	台北 (Taipei): 木馬文化 (Ecus Publishing House)
2013	卡薩爾斯的巴哈隨想 (Casals' Capriccio on Bach) / 白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	焦元溥 Jiao Yuan-Pu	台北 (Taipei): 木馬文化 (Ecus Publishing House)
2013	一位充滿「愛」的藝術哲學家 (An Artistic Philosopher Filled with 'Love') / 白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	楊忠衡 Yang Zhong-Heng	台北 (Taipei): 木馬文化 (Ecus Publishing House)
2013	白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	Albert E. Kahn/ 姬健梅 Ji Jian-Mei	台北 (Taipei): 木馬文化 (Ecus Publishing House)
2015	拉著人間最巨大的弓—帕布洛·卡薩爾斯 (Playing the Largest Bow in the World - Pablo Casals)/ 歷史名琴與名家—提琴篇 (下冊) : 妖魔提琴與死神之弓的傳奇 (Historical Instruments and Performers(Vol.2): Legends on Devil's Fiddle and Azrael's Bow)	陳義雄 Chen Yi-Hsiung	台北 (Taipei): 草根出版事業有限公司 (Grass Roots Publishing Company)
2019	早安，巴哈先生：無伴奏大提琴組曲、卡薩爾斯與我的音樂奇幻之旅 (Good Morning, Mr Bach: The Cello Suites, J.S. Bach, Casals, and the Search of a Baroque Masterpiece)	Eric Soblin/ 吳家恆 Wu Chia-Heng	台北 (Taipei): 早安財經 (Good Morning Press)

Peng Sheng-Jin's (1995) article was the most comprehensive and original published in Taiwan in the 1990s, which exemplifies how the Taiwanese reception of Casals was restricted by the English materials. In the twenty-page long article, Peng covered Casals' whole life and his aesthetic of cello performance. Peng (1995: 110-14) relied on the English version of *Joys and Sorrows* and its Chinese translation published in Taiwan in 1973 to introduce Casals' childhood and his early career. Peng then (1995: 115-20) introduced Casals' career through his discography to help readers understand Casals through the music he played rather than

from reading the biographical text alone. The discography included not only Casals' performances of the cello solo works but also his chamber music performance with Jacques Thibaud and Alfred Cortot, the recording of Beethoven's Symphonies no.1 and 4 performed by the Orquestra Pau Casals under his direction, and the recordings from the Prades Festival.

Peng (1995: 117) also interpreted Casals' political stance as 'anti-communist and anti-dictatorship' through introducing the recording of the White House concert in 1961. The last part of Peng's (1995: 121-26) article focused on Casals' aesthetics of cello performance. Evidently, Peng's text derived from the 1973 translation (Corredor and Jin 1973) of chapter nine, 'On Interpretation', in the *Conversation with Casals*. Stemming from the existing materials of Casals, Peng (1995: 125) further added his own opinion by reviewing Casals' discography and concluded:

Casals' greatness is neither due to the new technique he established for the cello nor the revival of the Bach cello suites but due to the connection between these concrete techniques and his wider ideal. His musical ideals, just like the human rights and freedom he promoted, helped every performer who contacted him to unleash their own potential.... 'What is a grandmaster? A grandmaster must have one's own originality, philosophy, and the ability to express the philosophy!' Casals is absolutely a grandmaster in the history of musical performance!<sup>51</sup>

Yet, although Peng's article covered both Casals' musical and extra-musical aspects, the connection was not established between these two spheres. In contrast with the Japanese perspective, which appreciated Casals' performance from a political perspective, Taiwanese critics promoted Casals by emphasising his personality.

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<sup>51</sup> The Chinese text reads: 卡薩爾斯之所以偉大，不只是他創建新的大提琴演奏技巧體系，也不是他使巴赫無伴奏組曲復活，而是他把具體技巧和他的偉大理想聯繫在一起。他的音樂理念就和他所提倡的人權自由思想一樣，讓每一位願意誠心接觸他的演奏者，發揮自身的潛能。...「什麼是一代宗師？一代宗師須有創建、有思想、更能夠傳達思想！」卡薩爾斯絕對是音樂演奏史上的一代宗師！

More examples focusing on his marriage can be raised from the other written works to validate how Casals' personality was justified by Taiwanese critics. Tseng Zhi-Ning (2003: 26) wrote:

Casals had two marriages, both of which ended in divorce, in 1906 and 1914. That was until the second Prades Festival [1951], when he met Marta, a Puerto Rican cellist, who became his wife later on. Although the age gap was huge, they had a commonality of spirits.<sup>52</sup>

However, Tseng ignored the fact that Casals and Metcalfe divorced in 1957 (Kirk 1974: 498), after he had met Marta Montanez. In another essay, Wang Yu-Huan<sup>53</sup> (2001: 61) wrote:

In 1957, after sustaining a marriage, which had seemingly been harmonious but had actually been at variance for years, Casals and Metcalfe divorced. Then, an innocent and kind girl came to the old master and brought him comfort in his late years. She was Marta who accompanied Casals' last journey of his life.<sup>54</sup>

The text implies incorrectly that Casals met Marta after his divorce from Metcalfe. Nevertheless, these two texts exemplify that materials found in Taiwan tried to advance Casals' positive image by claiming his marriage fidelity. In the meantime, the image of Montanez was overly idealised as an 'innocent girl', who decided to dedicate herself to Casals' late years. In addition, while talking about Casals' marriage, his relationship with the Portuguese cellist Guilhermina Suggia was usually obscured in the Taiwanese materials. For example, in Tseng's writing quoted above, Suggia was completely neglected while in Wang's (2001: 58-9) article, Casals' relationship with Suggia only received a short sentence: 'In 1906, Casals met the Portuguese cellist Suggia. Suggia was born a beauty and studied with Casals.'

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<sup>52</sup> The Chinese text reads: 卡薩爾斯在 1906 與 1914 曾有兩段婚姻，皆以離婚收場。直到第二屆普拉德音樂節，卡薩爾斯遇到了一位波多黎各的大提琴家瑪妲，這位瑪妲後來成為卡薩爾斯的妻子。雖然年齡相差甚距，兩人卻有著非常相通的心靈。

<sup>53</sup> Wang's book was firstly published in China in 1997 and then in Taiwan in 2001.

<sup>54</sup> The Chinese text reads: 一九五七年，在維持了多年貌合神離的婚姻關係後，卡薩爾斯與梅特卡夫辦理了離婚手續。這時候，一個天真可愛、活潑善良的女孩來到老人身邊，給老人的晚年帶來了安慰。她就是陪伴卡薩爾斯度過生命最後旅程的瑪蒂塔。

Although they were heart to heart, they were not a couple.<sup>55</sup> Yet, these texts ignored the fact that Casals developed a close relationship with Suggia between 1906 and 1912. Although there was no legal marriage between them, Suggia preferred to use ‘Suggia-Casals’ in concert programs and her letters to friends (Lazo 2013: 30). Moreover, the fact that both Suggia and Montanez were Casals’ students was blurred in these texts since teacher-student affairs severely contradict social norms in Taiwan. Although Wang’s writing mentioned that Suggia studied with Casals, his text then justified Casals by saying that they were not a couple. In other words, whether intentional or unintentional, Taiwanese materials asserted Casals’ personality by ignoring critical pieces of information about his affairs.



Figure 5.2 Cover of the Chinese translation of *Conversation with Casals*, Taiwan, 1995.

<sup>55</sup> The Chinese Text reads: 一九〇六年，卡薩爾斯與葡萄牙女大提琴家蘇吉亞相識。蘇吉亞天生麗質，曾是卡薩爾斯的學生，兩人心有靈犀，卻最終未成眷屬。

These discourses laid the foundation stone for the promotion of Casals' CD sales, especially his complete cycle of the Bach cello suites. In order to introduce this recording to the audience, articles usually begin by recounting how Casals found the score of this work when he was a thirteen-year-old boy. Derived from the account circulated by Casals himself, Taiwanese critics further romanticised his excavation of the Bach cello suites by adding passages according to their imagination. In *Joys and Sorrows*, Casals (Casals and Kahn 1970: 46) recalled how he discovered the works:

We stopped at an old music shop near the harbour. I began browsing through a bundle of musical scores. Suddenly I came upon a sheaf of pages, crumbled and discoloured with age. They were unaccompanied suites by Johann Sebastian Bach—for the cello only! I looked at them with wonder: Six Suites for Violoncello Solo. What magic and mystery, I thought, were hidden in those words? I had never heard of the existence of the suites; nobody—not even my teachers—had ever mentioned them to me.

The Chinese translation of *Joys and Sorrows* was widely circulated in Taiwan as discussed in the previous chapter. Influenced by Casals' remarks, Wang (2001: 56) wrote:

That day was an unforgettable one in Casals' life. He was wandering along the Promenade with his father. *Guided by the goddess of destiny*, they entered a second-hand store. Inadvertently, Casals saw a volume of Beethoven cello sonatas. Then, surprisingly, [he saw] a score titled 'Six Unaccompanied Cello Suites—Bach' laid on a rack covered by dust. Casals rubbed his eyes. *His heart beat passionately and almost jumped into his throat*. 'I did not even know the existence of these works, and no one had ever told me about them...' <sup>56</sup> (emphasis added)

And another excerpt from Tseng (2003: 23) reads:

These six pieces of music were composed by Bach when he served as the Kapellmeister in Köthen. *No one knew the whereabouts of these works after Bach's death, nor even that Bach had composed such music for cello*. When Casals was 13 years old, in order to find some music to perform in a café with partners, [he] and his father looked for scores

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<sup>56</sup> The Chinese text reads: 那一天，對卡薩爾斯來說真是終生難忘。他和父親一起沿著海濱大道漫無目的地閒逛，一定是命運女神的指引，他們爺倆撞進了一間寄賣店，不經意中卡薩爾斯看到一本貝多芬的大提琴奏鳴曲集，緊跟著，叫他大吃一驚的是，在一個佈滿塵埃的架子上，刺目地躺著一本樂譜，上面寫著：六首大提琴無伴奏組曲—巴哈作。卡薩爾斯揉了揉眼睛，激動得心都要跳到了嗓子眼裡。「我那時甚至都不知道這些作品的存在，也從來沒有人對我提起過它們。…」

in an ancient music shop near the harbour in Barcelona. Casals flipped around and noticed an old and shabby bundle of music. It was Bach's Unaccompanied Cello Suites.<sup>57</sup> (emphasis added)

In addition, Casals' statement in *Joys and Sorrows* that he had liberated the bowing arm for all cellists was also recounted in both Wang and Tseng's article. Casals (Casals and Kahn 1970: 40-41) stated that:

While I was at the school in Barcelona, I began making certain changes in the then accepted technique of playing the cello. It is true I was only twelve or so at the time, but certain things are obvious even to children. And it was clear to me that there was something very awkward and unnatural in playing with a stiff arm and with one's elbow close to one's sides, as cellists were taught in those days—as a matter of fact, we had to hold a book under the armpit of our bowing arm while we were learning! That all seemed foolish to me. So at home, while I was practicing, I began to devise a method of playing which would free the arms and get rid of that very cramped and artificial position. [...] Anyway, today nobody learns the cello with a book under his armpit.

Obviously, both Wang and Tseng fell into the myth curated by Casals himself without consulting other primary sources. It is incorrect, furthermore, to suggest that the Bach cello suites were unknown in the nineteenth century. The first print edition of the cello suites was published by Janet et Cotelle in Paris around 1824. Since then, various cellists had published their own editions in the nineteenth century. What Casals found in the second-hand music shop was Grützmacher's edition published in 1867 (Kirk 1974: 60). With regards to Casals' revolutionary contribution to the bowing arm, George Kennaway (2013: 51) has offered a more equivocal explanation: 'no cellist in the nineteenth century advocated a stiff arm, even if there was a general view that the left elbow should be kept low, so Casals' teacher may have adopted an extreme version of this posture.' Yet, through reading these texts, the image of Casals, guided by the 'goddess of destiny' to enlighten the history of cello performance by

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<sup>57</sup> The Chinese text reads: 這六首巴哈柯登擔任宮廷樂長時所創作的音樂，從巴哈過世後就再也沒有人知道它們的下落，甚至不曉得巴哈曾創作過這樣的大提琴樂曲。卡薩爾斯 13 歲那年，為了尋找與同伴們在咖啡館演奏的音樂，與父親到巴塞隆納港口邊一間很古老的樂譜店找譜。卡薩爾斯四處翻閱，注意到了一網非常破舊的樂譜，就是巴哈所寫的《無伴奏大提琴組曲》...

discovering the lost Bach cello suites and liberating the right arm, were perpetuated in the Taiwanese literature and became the basis for promoting his CDs.

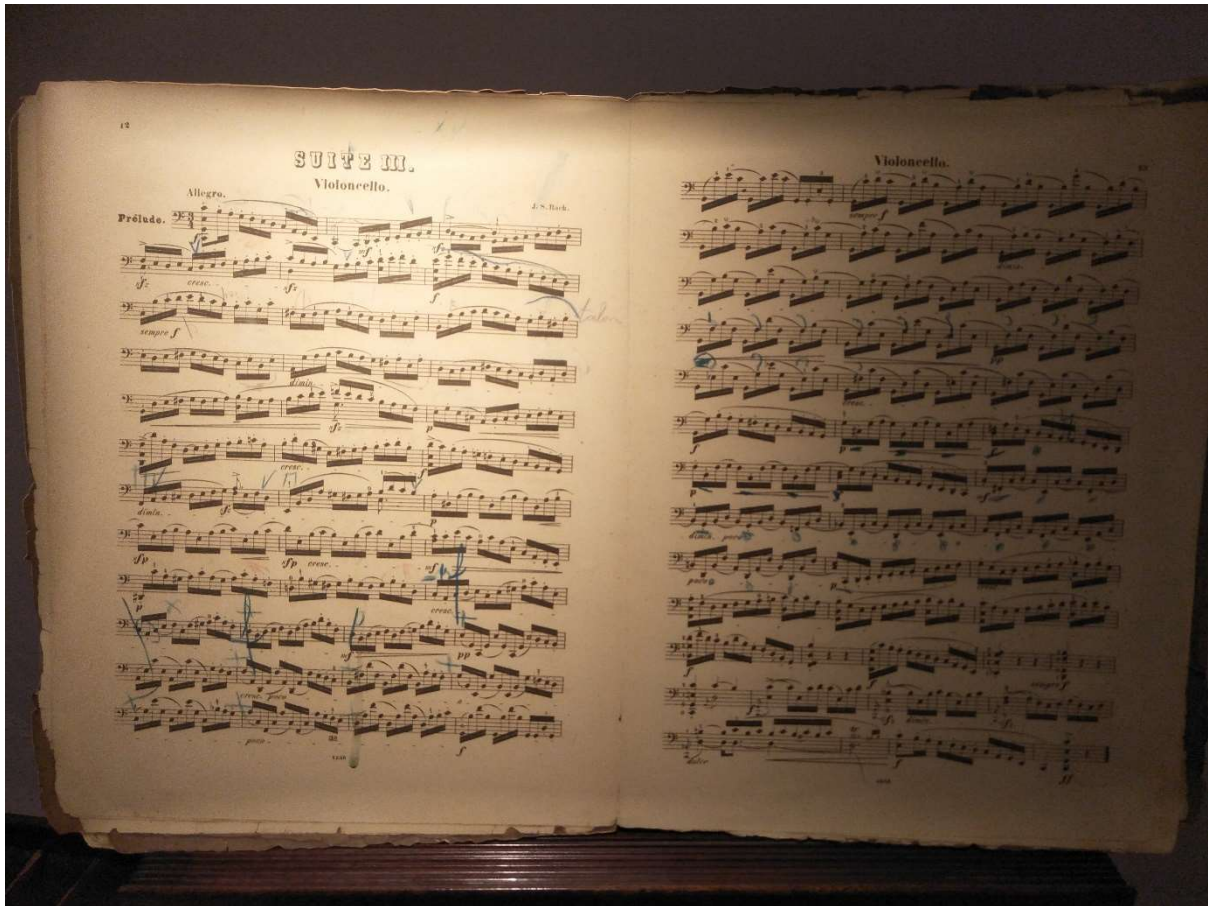


Figure 5.3 Casals' copy of the Bach Cello Suites displayed in the Pau Casals Museum, San Salvador, Spain.<sup>58</sup>

Although Taiwanese critics attempted to promote Casals' CD sales by recounting his biographies through a biased lens, his cello performance was not highly regarded in the Taiwanese CD reviews. Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites was recommended due to its historical significance and its established reputation in the English language reviews. Huang De-Ren (1998: 70) reviewed Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites in the following words:

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<sup>58</sup> Photo taken by the author.

Although Casals' performance was not extraordinary, it was the prototype of most outstanding contemporary performances and the paradigm for the musicians of the next generation. Meanwhile, he was the first interpreter who explored deeply and led the performance of these works to an inward world. Even though the quality of recording was not perfect, this recording was selected by the British magazine, *Gramophone* as the Top 100 Greatest Classical Recording... due to its exceptional historical significance. To the music lovers who adore this work, this recording is a requisite one.<sup>59</sup>

Although Huang acknowledged the importance of Casals' recording historically, he did not appreciate Casals' performance aesthetically. Hence, for Huang, the reason why Casals' recording could be selected among the Top 100 Greatest Classical Recordings was simply because of its historical value. The similar attitude can be found in Jiao Yu-Pu's (2008: 84) article:

To the Bach cello suites, Casals, the authority of the cello, did not only 'discover' this great work but also make a polished recording (EMI), the classic of classics, half-a-century later. Every generation cultivates its own masters, who also make great interpretations [of the Bach cello suites]. Casals' technique is no longer unsurpassable. However, the unique historical significance of his version and the songful harmony between Casals and the music make his performance of the Bach cello suites an exceptional paradigm—which is the origin of contemporary performances and the interpretation studied by all cellists. One can dislike it, even disagree with it, but one must listen at least once to Casals' Bach.<sup>60</sup>

Jiao neither liked Casals' recording nor agreed with it, but he still recommended it because of its historical importance. Compared with the previous two reviews, Tian Zhong-Fan (2000: 76-77) completely failed to discuss Casals' recording:

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<sup>59</sup> The Chinese text reads: 儘管卡薩爾斯的演奏並沒有什麼超凡的特殊詮釋，但它卻是當今許多傑出演奏的雛形，以及後世演奏家學習的典範，而且他也應該是將此曲的演奏導引向內心世界，作深入探求的第一位詮釋者。錄音音效雖然不甚完美，但是這個錄音還是因為具有非凡的歷史意義...而被英國留聲機雜誌推選為史上 100 大唱片之一。對於喜愛這首樂曲的樂迷，這個版本的錄音必然是不可少的錄音。

<sup>60</sup> The Chinese text reads: 就巴赫《無伴奏大提琴組曲》而言，大提琴泰斗卡薩爾斯不但「發現」這部巨作，其琢磨半世紀後的錄音(EMI)更成為經典中的經典。雖然江山代有名家出，卡薩爾斯的技巧已非無法超越，在見解上後輩也不乏偉大之作，但此版獨一無二的歷史意義，以及卡薩爾斯已將人曲而一的悠然歌唱，在在讓他的巴赫無伴奏成為不得不聽的典範—那是今日此曲所有演奏的來源，也是所有大提琴家皆曾用心研習的詮釋。你可以不喜歡，甚至不同意，卻該親自欣賞一次卡薩爾斯的巴赫。

There must be a lot of readers who connect the ‘master’ mentioned in the previous text with Casals. Yet, Casals was only the pioneer of these masters and the most dazzling one to me. Some masters also dedicated their lives to the research of these works, such as the French cellists Pierre Fournier, Maurice Gendron (not so famous in Taiwan), and Paul Tortelier. Some of them are still alive, like Mstislav Rostropovich and Janos Starker.<sup>61</sup>

In the following text, Tian reviewed the recordings of Fournier, Starker, and Rostropovich but not that of Casals. It seems that Tian did not know how to judge Casals’ recording despite its historical value.

In contrast with the Japanese reception, which drew a close relationship between Casals’ humanitarian contribution and his musical performance, Taiwanese critics recommended his interpretation of the Bach cello suites due to its historical significance and its established reputation in the English reviews. Meanwhile, in order to promote Casals’ CD sales, Taiwanese critics relied on existing materials to recount his career. Within this context, Casals’ Cold War image was replicated and consolidated rather than being contested. In other words, the discussion of Casals’ legacies from a local perspective was hardly established in post-Cold War Taiwan.

### **The Chinese Reception of Casals in the Post-Cold War Era**

From the 1990s onwards, cities across China began to promulgate Western art music as a symbol of progressiveness (Melvin and Cai 2004: 301). Within this context, the reception of Casals in the post-Cold War era saw a transition from socialism to the adaptation of capitalism in China. Table 5.3 offers an overview of the publications on Casals in China after the 1990s.

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<sup>61</sup> The Chinese text reads: 一定有許多讀者直接把文中提到的「大師」，跟卡薩爾斯劃上等號。不過就筆者而言，卡薩爾斯只是這群大師裡面的先驅者，同時也是光芒最耀眼的一人。但是和他一樣，窮畢生之力來研究這套曲目的，還有好幾位大師，像是法國的傅尼葉、詹德隆(他在國內比較不有名)、托泰里耶，以及仍然健在的羅斯卓波維奇與史塔克等。

Table 5.3 Publications on Casals in China after the 1990s

Year	Title of Article/Book	Author/Translator	Publisher/Magazine
1991	大提琴家卡薩爾斯的演奏風格及其藝術、教學觀 (The Performance Style, Perspective of Art and Teaching of Casals, the Cellist)	Lev Ginzburg/ 唐建 Tang Chien	音樂學習與研究 (Journal of Tianjin Conservatory of Music)
1995	巴勃羅·卡薩爾斯生涯 (The Life of Pablo Casals)	藍強 Lan Qiang	愛樂音樂與音響 (Philharmonic)
1995	不朽的卡薩爾斯 (The Immortal Casals)	司徒志文 Si-Tu Zhi-Wen	愛樂音樂與音響 (Philharmonic)
1996	似綿延起伏的群山—巴赫的《大提琴無伴奏組曲六首》名版比較 (The Stretching Mountains - Recordings Review on Bach's <i>Six Unaccompanied Cello Suites</i> )	翟佳 Di Jia	音樂愛好者 (Music Lover)
1996	卡薩爾斯—西班牙的人民音樂家 (Casals - People's Musician of Spain)	余秉全 Yu Bing-Quan	音樂生活 (Musical Life)
1997	西方弦樂藝術史話 (History of Western String Arts)	司徒華城 Si-Tu Hua-Cheng and 楊寶智 Yang Bao-Zhi	音樂愛好者 (Music Lover)
1997	世紀豐碑—卡薩爾斯、費爾曼、皮亞梯哥斯基 (The Century Monumentalities - Casals, Feuermann, Piatigorsky)/世界著名弦樂藝術家 (World Famous String Artists)	王玉桓 Wang Yu-Huan	北京 (Beijing): 文化藝術出版社 (Cultural & Art Publishing House)
2001	弓弦之王：卡薩爾斯 (Conversation with Casals)	Jose M. Corredor/ 居一杰 Ju Yi-Jie	上海 (Shanghai): 上海音樂出版社 (Shanghai Music Publishing House)
2001	群鳥之歌—大提琴家帕伯羅·卡薩爾斯印象錄 (Song of the Birds: Sayings, Stories, and Impressions of Pablo Casals)	Julian Lloyd Webber/ 李劍 Li Jian	北京 (Beijing): 人民音樂出版社 (People's Music Publishing House)
2003	卡薩爾斯論演奏藝術 (Casals and the Art of Interpretation)	David Blum	北京 (Beijing): 人民音樂出版社 (People's Music Publishing House)
2003	卡薩爾斯：音樂的一生 (Casals: A Musical Life)	周輝榮 Chou Hui-Rong	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)
2003	現代大提琴演奏法之父，熱愛追求人類和平的偉人—卡薩爾	彭聖錦 Peng Sheng-Jin	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)

	斯 (The Father of Modern Cello Performance and Great Man Who Passionately Pursued Peace - Casals)		
2004	20 世紀世界著名弦樂藝術家 (Famous String Artists in the 20th Century)/ 弦樂藝術史 (A History of String Art)	張蓓荔 Chang Bei-Li and 楊寶智 Yang Bao-Zhi	北京 (Beijing): 高等教育出版社 (Chinese High Education Press)
2007	弓弦之王：帕伯羅·卡薩爾斯 (King of the Bow and String: Pablo Casals)	金揚 Jin Yang	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)
2008	一輩子年輕，只對世界說真話—紀念鮑·卡薩爾斯，真正的加泰隆尼亞人 (Always Young and Always Telling the Truth to the World—Commemoration of Pau Casals, the True Catalan)	王立彬 Wang Li-Bin	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)
2009	20 世紀的大提琴巨匠 (Masters of the 20th Century)/ 大提琴 (The Cambridge Companion to the Cello)	Margaret Cambell/張蓓荔 Chang Bei-Li and 孔維鋒 Kong Wei-Feng	北京 (Beijing): 人民音樂出版社 (People's Music Publishing House)
2010	《勃蘭登堡協奏曲》與《無伴奏大提琴組曲》版本略談 (On Recordings of <i>Brandenburg Concerto</i> and <i>Unaccompanied Cello Suite</i> )	可駒 Ju Ke	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)
2010	他帶我到生命的青草地上—巴赫《大提琴無伴奏組曲》門外談 (It Brings me to the pasture of Life—On Bach's <i>Unaccompanied Cello Suite</i> )	王立彬 Wang Li-Bin	愛樂 (PHILHARMONIC)
2015	「有規律的自由」：卡薩爾斯 (Freedom with Order)/ 不朽的大提琴家 (The Great Cellists)	Margaret Cambell/張世祥 Chang Shi-Xiang and 陳珂謹 Chen Ke-Jin	桂林 (Guilin): 廣西師範大學出版社 (Guangxi Normal University Press)
2018	白鳥之歌 (Joys and Sorrows)	Albert E. Kahn/ 姬健梅 Ji Jian-Mei	南京 (Nanjing): 江蘇鳳凰文藝出版社 (Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House)

Similar to the Taiwanese manner of introducing Casals, the materials published in China often over-stated details of Casals' life. Lan Qiang (1995: 11-12), for example, depicted Casals' encounter with the Bach cello suites in a highly lyrical way:

One summer evening in Barcelona, in 1899, Pablo Casals was gazing on a thick pile of yellowing and page-missing music scores in dimming light. Many people have experienced such a great moment like this. *Casals felt he was being held tightly by a great, invisible hand. He could not calm himself down, nor could he resist or free himself. He could only obey it with bliss and tremble...* It was Bach's six cello suites. At that time, no one yet knew the importance of the work — only a few people were aware of its existence. Casals was deeply attracted to it. Ever since that remote afternoon, Casals' astonishing long life was changed completely up until he died in 1974 [sic].<sup>62</sup> [emphasis added]

Although the way Casals was presented in China gradually became similar to that in Taiwan, fundamental differences could still be identified as censorship on publications and political labels could be extensively found in the Chinese materials. In Peng's article, which was published in China in 2003, the sentence stating that Casals' White House concert symbolised Casals' admiration for Kennedy's anti-communist and anti-dictatorship attitude was deleted (Peng 2003: 15). In the translated book, *Song of the Birds: Sayings, Stories, and Impressions of Pablo Casals*, the chapter on communism was completely omitted (Casals and Lloyd Webber 1985; 2001). Meanwhile, politicised explanations of Casals could also be found in China. Yu Bing-Quan (1996) titled his introductory article 'Casals - People's Musician of Spain.' The same approach was adopted in the preface of *King of the Bow and String: Casals*,<sup>63</sup> written by the translator, Ju Yi-Jie. Here Casals is likened to Lu Xun, the iconic leftist novelist. Ju (2001: 3-4) writes:

He [Casals] never bows his head before a strong and brutal devil such as Hitler. In this

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<sup>62</sup> The Chinese text reads: 1899年夏天的一個傍晚。巴塞隆納。巴勃羅·卡薩爾斯在漸漸黯淡的光線下久久凝視著那厚厚一疊泛黃脫頁的樂譜。很多人在生活中都曾經歷過這樣重大的時刻。卡薩爾斯感到自己被一雙偉大的無形之手緊緊握住，他無法使自己平靜下來，甚至無從抗拒或掙脫，只好在幸福與顫慄中服從。…這是巴哈的六首無伴奏大提琴組曲。直到當時，沒有人知道這些作品的偉大，甚至沒有多少人知道它們的存在。卡薩爾斯被深深吸引住了。從這時起，直到1974 [sic]年他逝世，卡薩爾斯驚人漫長的一生，就這樣被那個遙遠的下午徹底改變了。

<sup>63</sup> *King of the Bow and String* is translated from *Conversation with Casals*.

sense, he is similar to our Lu Xun.<sup>64</sup>

These materials show that in the first decade of the post-Cold War era, Cold War ideology still extensively existed in Chinese publications within the context of adapting capitalism into Chinese society. Although the way of politicising Casals was different from that in the capitalist countries, his positive image nevertheless gained a deeper foothold in China.



Figure 5.4 Cover of the Chinese translation of *Song of the Birds*, China, 2001.

<sup>64</sup> The Chinese text reads: 在強大、殘暴如同希特勒的惡魔面前，則從不低頭。在這方面，他很像我們的魯迅。

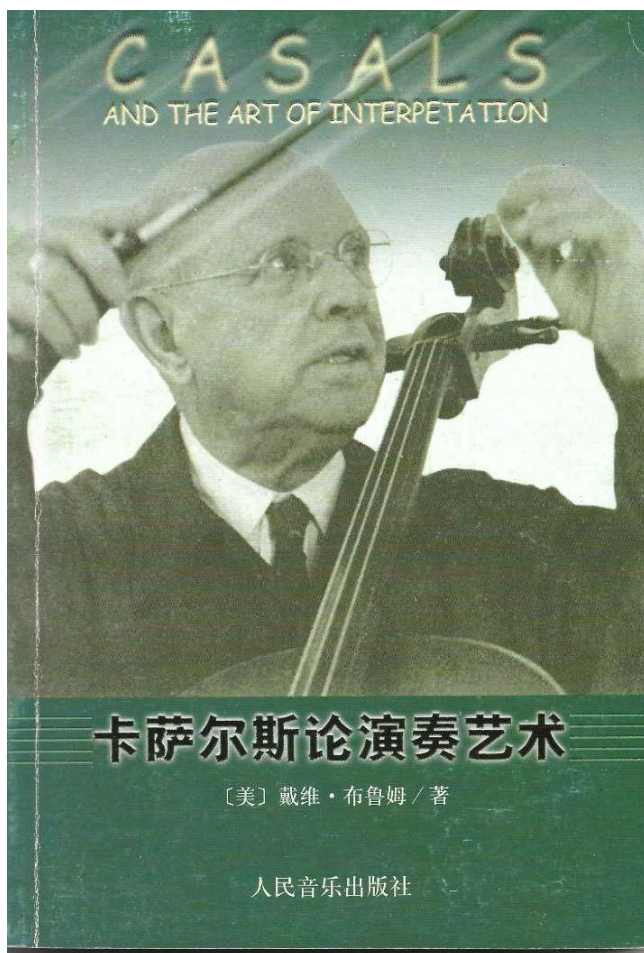


Figure 5.5 Cover of the Chinese translation of *Casals and the Art of Interpretation*, China, 2003.

In contrast with the political labels found in the biographical account of Casals, Chinese critics avoided interpreting his musical performance from a political perspective though Casals' career was covered in the review articles. Di Jia (1996: 34) laid the foundation stone for appreciating Casals' recording a-politically:

Then, I acquired the reputable edition of Casals, which I adored for a long time. After my listening, it is indeed better than the previous two cellists [Yo Yo Ma, Paul Tortelier]. The tempo of the Bourrée from the third suite was moderate with a noble deportment. The sixth Prelude was slightly too slow with a few intonation slips in the high pitch passages. But it was passionate. The best example of the embellished Bach...was the Bourrée from the fourth suite, played with marvellous vitality. The other movements were also satisfying.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> The Chinese text reads: 后来又搞到了心仪已久的大名版卡薩爾斯的珍貴錄音，聽後認為的確勝出前兩

The other CD reviews published in China also followed this manner of describing Casals' recording. Ke Ju (2010) used his recording of the Bach cello suites to illustrate Casals' idea of 'expressive intonation' and his adoption of tempo rubato, described as 'freedom with order'<sup>66</sup> in the article. Shao Lu's writing is the most vivid example to tell how Casals' musical performance was appreciated a-politically. In his writing, Shao (2013: 206) provided a detailed timetable for Casals' recordings of the C major and D minor suites in November 1936, London; the G major and D major suites in June 1938, Paris; the E-flat major and C minor suites in June 1939, Paris. This manner of contextualising Casals' Bach cycle within the Spanish Civil War is derived from Siblin's *The Cello Suites* (2010: 108-14), in which Siblin drew a closer relationship between Casals' Bach performance and his anti-Franco stance. Siblin (2010: 115) evaluated Casals' Bach recording as follows:

Casals' recordings of the Cello Suites were the first-ever complete studio accounts of the music, and destined to be the most famous and far and away the most influential...The recording experience itself, forged in the crucible of the Spanish Civil War, took its toll on Casals.... However painful the process, the results were spectacular.

Yet, in contrast with Siblin's interpretation, Shao did not discuss Casals' performance from a political or historical perspective. Instead, Shao (2013: 206) just described Casals' musicality demonstrated in the recording:

After a forty-year honing, these touching notes reached high perfection through Casals' performance without a trace of preciousness. If one can listen to this master performance thoroughly, it makes one forget the unsatisfying quality of the recording...<sup>67</sup>

Although Shao may have been aware that the Spanish Civil War and Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites happened at the same time (2013: 204), he nevertheless decided to approach

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人[馬友友、托特里埃]一籌，第三“布列”拉的速度適中，儀態尊貴，第六“前奏曲”速度雖略嫌慢了點，幾處高音區的音準也略有閃失，但更有激情，尤其是第四組曲的“布列”拉得神采奕奕，奇妙無比...是為美化了的巴赫的最好例子，其他各段感覺也都很滿意。

<sup>66</sup> The term 'freedom with order' is obviously taken from the title of Casals' chapter in *the Great Cellists* written by Margaret Campbell.

<sup>67</sup> The Chinese text reads: 經過四十多年的磨煉，這些動人的音符在卡薩爾斯的手裡已經達到爐火純青的程度，絲毫沒有雕琢的痕跡。如果深入聆聽這些精湛的演奏，可以使你完全忘記效果的不佳...

Casals' performance a-politically. Similar discourses could also be found in Ke Ju's (2010) review of Casals' recording of the Brandenburg Concertos. Ke Ju clearly stated that Casals' recording of the Concertos was made at the Prades Festival and extensively discussed Casals' performance in detail, including listing the musicians who were involved in the orchestra, the tempo Casals chose, and the quality of the recording technology at that time. However, Ke Ju did not mention the wider context of the Prades Festival. Crucial pieces of information, such as why Casals decided to organise the festival and why Bach's music was chosen were not included in his review. In other words, the connection between Casals' musical and extra-musical legacies was not established in China.

As China opened to the market economy after the implementation of Reforming and Opening policy, its economy has been growing rapidly to the present day. Yet, in contrast with his reception in Japan and Taiwan, the musical appreciation of Casals in China was disconnected to his political stance or personality. The consumption of Casals in China was more attributable to the association between Western art music and European high culture. Yet, Casals' positive image may still contribute to the musical appreciation of his recording of the Bach cello suites. The reception of Casals in Hong Kong offers an alternative perspective for examining how his musical performance would be evaluated if Casals was understood only as a cellist.

### **The Hong Kong Reception of Casals in the Post-Cold War Era**

In contrast with the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China, which covered his image as a humanitarian as well as a cellist, Casals was simply understood as a cellist in Hong Kong. David Clive Wilson, the former Governor of Hong Kong (1987-91), stated that cultural activities should not rely on government funding but the participation of citizens (Liu 2014: 5). This remark confirmed that the market economy was the underlying principle of the

cultural industry in Hong Kong in the 1990s. Against this background, all the materials on Casals in Hong Kong were about his recordings rather than biographical accounts. Table 5.4 lists the three CD review articles of Casals published in Hong Kong.

Table 5.4 Publications on Casals in Hong Kong after the 1990s

Year	Title of Article	Author	Magazine
1992	古典音樂 CD 評介 (Classical Music CD Review)	沙維奧 Wai O Sha	Hi Fi Review
1999	談巴赫的無伴奏大提琴組曲 (On Bach's Unaccompanied Cello Suites)	譚一生 Yat Sang Tam	Hi Fi Review
2001	大提琴之神—卡薩爾斯 (The God of Cello: Casals)	蔡健威 Kin Wai Chua	Hi Fi Review

Chua Kin-Wai's article was the longest written material found in this period. Chua (2001) introduced a series of Casals' solo recordings issued by the Japanese branch of EMI. In the article, Chua reviewed the series disc by disc without providing biographical details or forming a narrative of Casals' life or career. Since the EMI series did not include Casals' recordings at the Prades Festival, Chua did not even mention the festival and its political context in his writing. Moreover, while talking about Casals' performance of the Bach cello suites, Chua focused on Casals' musicality and the high quality of reproducing the recording into a CD format. A wider context for Casals' performance of Bach's music was not mentioned. After reading Chua's article, a reader can only grasp some fragmented ideas about Casals rather than forming a comprehensive picture of the musician. In other words, the image of Casals was understood solely in terms of a cellist who made some valuable recordings in the early twentieth century.

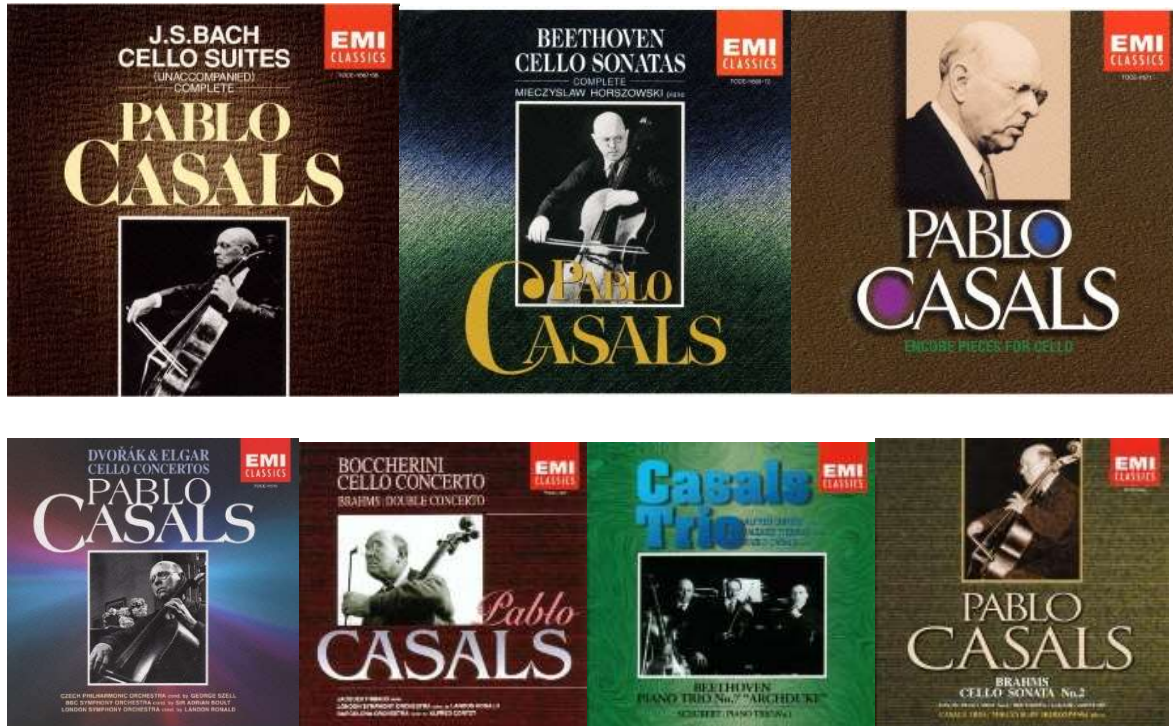


Figure 5.6 The EMI series of Casals' recordings.<sup>68</sup>

A similar tendency to appreciate Casals without any wider political context can be found in the CD review by Tam Yat-Sang (1999). Tam's article was the summary of a discussion between four music critics in Hong Kong: Lau Ji-Gong, Eric Li, Wu Wing, and Tam himself. They compared ten editions of Bach cello suites recorded by Casals, Gaspar Cassado, Pierre Fournier, Janos Starker, Maurice Gendron, Lynn Harrell, Mstislav Rostropovich, Yo Yo Ma, Anner Bylsma, and Pieter Wispelwey. They (Tam 1999: 32) praised Casals' recording as follows:

His performance was powerful with a flexible tempo. He followed his own inclinations while playing every note affirmatively; he played carelessly but confidently. His performance sounds free and at ease since he did not have a norm established by his seniors to obey. He had a wide range of emotional expression, abstract conceptions, and passages with a romantic atmosphere.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> EMI, catalogue number: TOCE 11567-68, TOCE 11569-70, TOCE 11571, TOCE 11576, TOCE 11577, TOCE 11578, TOCE 11580.

<sup>69</sup> The Chinese text reads: 他的演奏很富力量，節奏也很有伸縮性，雖似隨心所欲但對每個音符都非常肯定，算是粗枝大葉卻又充滿信心。他沒有前人演奏的包袱，自然份外灑脫。情緒上他很富變化，意境抽象，句法等均有充分的浪漫情懷。

At the end of the article, each of them picked three of their favourite interpretations out of the ten editions. Yet, Casals received only two votes while Starker won all the four votes due to his perfect technique.

The reasons for ranking Starker's recording of the Bach cello suites slightly higher than Casals' can be read in Sha Wai-O's review. Sha complimented Casals on the elegance and liveliness in the recording while admiring Starker's technical perfection. Yet, Starker's version was regarded as being better than that of Casals in the article as Sha (1992: 332) wrote:

Modern cellists are, more or less, directly or indirectly, influenced by Casals. Interestingly, some of them, including Starker, love and hate Casals at the same time. Casals was Starker's idol when he was young. But Starker once said affirmatively that: 'the technique and interpretation of cello performance improve continuously. Casals has been transcended. In a certain period, I played Bach like Casals. But I learnt to be better afterwards. Nowadays, cello learners must learn modern techniques and methods of cello performance.' From the perspective of technique, everyone would agree that Starker is better than Casals...<sup>70</sup>

Compared with the Taiwanese and Chinese critics, who based their opinions on both Casals' musical performance and his image as a humanitarian, Hong Kong critics paid more attention to the virtuosity displayed by the cellists. The evaluation of Casals in Hong Kong was therefore not as high as his reputation in Japan, Taiwan, and China. After gaining a picture of Casals' reception in Hong Kong, further discussion about the reception of Casals in East Asia in the post-Cold War era is presented in the conclusion to this chapter below.

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<sup>70</sup> The Chinese text reads: 現代的大提琴家們，或多或少、或直接或間接，都受過卡薩斯的恩澤。有趣的是，他們中不少人對卡薩斯既愛且恨；史達卡也是其中之一。Casals 是 Starker 年青時的偶像，但 Starker 肯定地說：「大提琴演奏技術和演譯這些年來不斷改進，Casals 已被超越。有段時期，我像 Casals 那樣拉巴赫，但後來我學會了拉個更好。今日學大提琴的人必須學習現代演奏技術和方法。」若純粹從技術層面出發，人人都會同意史達卡比卡薩斯更好。...

## **Conclusion**

Although the Cold War ended in 1991, its ideologies can still be identified in the reception of Casals during the post-Cold War era. Instead of being criticized, Cold War ideologies were re-enforced by capitalism as the priority during this period was the promotion of CD sales. Although Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites was highly regarded in Japan, Taiwan, and China, the way in which this recording was appreciated was quite different in these three countries.

While reviewing and comparing versions of the Bach cello suites, Casals' career as well as his humanitarian contribution were recounted by Japanese critics, which serves as the underlying reason for distinguishing Casals' interpretation from that of other cellists, even though Casals' political stance was still presented vaguely. Stemming from his affirmed reputation in the English materials, Taiwanese critics promoted Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites by over-stating his biographical accounts, advancing his personality, and emphasising the historical significance of his interpretation. In China, Casals' recording was appreciated from a musical perspective without connecting his Bach performance to his political stance though Casals' life was frequently covered in these reviews. Although Casals was appreciated in slightly different ways in Japan, Taiwan, and China, the positive image constructed during the Cold War was not only replicated but strengthened and consolidated by capitalism in all three countries.

By revisiting Casals' reception in these three countries in the post-Cold War era, it is clear that the appreciation of Casals as a form of political commitment had permeated from the national level to the personal level. In Japan, Casals' recording was highly evaluated since the appreciation of his musical performance was also an acknowledgement of his political stance as well as his image as a humanitarian. In Taiwan, even though Casals' musicality was not

extensively admitted by critics, they passionately promoted Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites due to its established reputation in the English materials. In other words, the recommendation of Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites became a way for the Taiwanese critics to earn cultural capital though they may not sincerely enjoy Casals' performance. In China, given that Casals' political stance and his personality was not directly connected with his musical performance due to political censorship, Chinese critics still advertised Casals' recordings since the capability of appreciating Western art musicians was highly praised in China.

Compared with his reception in Taiwan and China, biographical accounts of Casals were hardly found in Hong Kong. In other words, Casals' humanitarian image did not gain a foothold in the territory. Against this background, Hong Kong critics focused only on musical aspects to evaluate Casals' performance. Yet, although Casals' interpretation of the Bach cello suites was regarded fairly highly, it was not considered the best performance of that work: Hong Kong critics tended to rank Starker's performance ahead of Casals due to Starker's virtuosity. It suggests that without his image as a humanitarian, Casals' musical performance may not be valued as highly as the current reputation he enjoys. The reception of Casals in Hong Kong is counterevidence that Casals' Cold War image played a crucial in the promotion of his CD sales in the post-Cold War era.

By way of conclusion, in the post-Cold War era, Casals' Cold War image was reinforced rather than criticised in Japan and the Sinophone world. Echoing the criticism made in chapter 2, which asks why the discussion of decolonisation and de-Cold War did not gain a foothold in the 1990s, the reception of Casals from a musical perspective suggests that these discussions were suppressed by capitalism as Cold War ideologies were further intertwined with the rules of the market economy in the post-Cold War era. Based on the criticisms made

in chapters 3 to 5, the last chapter of this thesis discusses how could the Puerto Rican perspective be another point of reference for Japan and the Sinophone world to establish an alternative perspective of evaluating Casals' legacies and to advance the development of postcolonial criticisms.

## **Conclusion**

In the previous chapters, this thesis has discussed the core questions raised in the introduction, which inquire why Western art music has been welcomed in Japan and the Sinophone world; why postcolonial criticisms of Western art music did not gain a foothold over the twentieth century in Japanese and Chinese academia; and what meaning did the consumption of Western art music have in these places by examining the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong through the lens of the Cold War and consumer capitalism. The Conclusion of this thesis reflects upon the key findings in the preceding chapters and conducts a dialogue with Chen Kuan-Hsing's 'inner Asian referential framework' by introducing an indigenous perspective from Puerto Rico in order to advance criticism of the reception of Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world.

### **Western Art Music and Pablo Casals in Japan and the Sinophone World**

Throughout the twentieth century, Western art music was generally considered a symbol of European elite culture and of modernisation, which became the underlying reason why it was welcomed in Japan and the Sinophone world. The development of Western art music was closely related to the context of domestic, regional, and global politics. Before the Second World War, the tension between Japan and China increased significantly. Western art music was then adopted by both governments to promote patriotism and national interest. In Japan, it was involved in the propaganda of militarism and expansionism, while it was used for national salvation in China. Against this background, Western art music was actively introduced by local intellectuals and musicians, and rooted in both countries.

During the Cold War, Western art music was utilised by the US to establish or confirm a partnership with Third World countries by sending musicians to perform concerts or by

providing resources for musical education. Japan, Taiwan, and China all benefitted from presenting the US musicians to their local audiences. Assisted by William Strickland, Japanese orchestras were able to perform in the US and issue recordings to gain a worldwide reputation. The concerts of Boston Symphony Orchestra in Taiwan were one of the ways for the Nationalist government to stabilise its governance as it demonstrated to the Taiwanese people that there was a strong partnership with the US. The Philadelphia Orchestra's tour to China was a cultural sign of the Sino-US rapprochement and laid the foundation stone for the establishment of a diplomatic relationship between these two countries in the late 1970s. In other words, in order to maintain a partnership with the US, Western art music was further promulgated in all these three countries.

As the market economy grew, the consumption of Western art music became further embedded in the society of Japan, Taiwan, and China in the post-Cold War era as a way of earning cultural capital and of displaying one's social identity. Against this backdrop, Western art music became more accessible to the general public during this period due to the invention of the compact disc, the establishment of radio stations that played Western art music for commercial purposes, and the improvement of international transportation. Furthermore, middle-class families were willing to invest in learning Western art music due to its connotations of upward social mobility and advancement. On a national level, Western art music was strongly supported by the government as numerous concert halls and opera houses in Japan, Taiwan, and China were established during this period. In other words, the appreciation of Western art music was a way for these countries to present themselves as a cultured nation.

By revisiting the reception history of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, and China in the twentieth century, it is evident that the privileged status of Western art music in these three

countries has been securely established. In the early twentieth century, Western art music was considered a symbol of modernisation and was used to promote patriotism. During the Cold War, confirming a partnership with the US through the receipt of musical resources was prioritised. In the post-Cold War era, the consumption of Western art music, including sales of concert tickets, recordings, and so on, became the major concern in the market economy. Middle-class families attempted to acquire cultural capital through consuming Western art music. Within this context, critical thinking about Western art music could hardly gain a foothold.

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the appreciation of Western art music was mediated by the Cold War and consumer capitalism in Japan and the Sinophone world, this thesis focuses on the reception of Pablo Casals in the second half of the twentieth century by revealing the power relations behind the interpretation of Casals. Attention is given to these questions: why materials relating to Casals appeared at a certain point of time, how Casals was presented, and who introduced Casals into Japan and the Sinophone world and how those individuals benefitted from the appreciation of Casals.

Casals has been chosen since his political stance during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War was on the politically correct side. In the post-war political climate, his anti-Franco and anti-fascist stance was further interpreted as his commitment to freedom and humanitarianism. Subsequently, his image as a musical humanitarian was firmly established in his English biographies published during the Cold War. In contrast with Casals, Furtwängler was hardly considered a humanitarian due to his close relationship with the Third Reich, even though he claimed that he had saved the lives of Jewish musicians by using his influence (Ellis and Cairns 2001). Casals' performance of Bach's music also distinguished him from other prominent musicians. By performing Bach at international occasions, Casals

successfully integrated his musical performance with his political stance and occupied the moral high ground of humanitarianism. In comparison with Casals, Rubinstein's image was slightly different since he was best known for his interpretations of Chopin's music, which was more relevant to patriotism and nationalism than to the idea of being a humanitarian. Meanwhile, Casals' versatile discography and the last fifteen years of his career in Puerto Rico also distinguishes him from his contemporaries. From the perspective of reception history, although Casals only visited Japan once in 1961 and never performed a concert in Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong, his positive image was firmly established in these places during the Cold War through written materials and his recordings. Without direct connections, the reception of Casals significantly relied on translating his English biographies, which also explains why criticisms of Casals could hardly be developed in Japan and the Sinophone world.

As discussed in the previous chapters, it is clear that neither Japan, Taiwan, nor China succeeded in establishing an alternative perspective from which to evaluate this musical figure. Instead, the influence of Americanism could be identified in Casals' reception. In addition, most individuals who were able to appreciate Western art music also benefitted from introducing Casals, which is another contributing factor in his reception. Casals was introduced into Japan in the late 1920s simply as a talented musician. During this period, his introduction was part of Japan's modernisation agenda in which the capacity for the appreciation of Western art music was integral. From the 1950s onwards, due to censorship, Japanese readers could only understand Casals through an American prism. The appreciation of Casals therefore changed from the process of enculturation to a political commitment within the context of the US' influence over Japan. During the Cold War period, Japan's economy recovered and developed rapidly so that the written materials and recordings of Casals were generally available to Japanese audiences. Yet, in order to avoid reminding the

Japanese readership of their war-time defeat, Casals' anti-Fascist stance in the 1930s and 1940s was blurred in the written publications. Meanwhile, through recounting his post-war humanitarian contribution and his Japanese visit in 1961, Casals' image was further used by Japanese critics to demonstrate Japan's commitment as an alignment of the free world in the 1970s and 1980s. In the post-Cold War era, Casals' image as a humanitarian was further connected with his performance of the Bach cello suites in order to promote his CD sales in Japan. Throughout the process of introducing Casals, Japanese writers such as Takeichiro Hirai and Yoritoyo Inoue were able to present themselves to the audiences of Western art music by sharing their opinions of this musical figure. Casals' reception in Japan suggests that Japan accepted the ideology of Western art music defined by First World countries.

Casals was hardly known in Taiwan before the Second World War. The introduction of Casals was significantly related to Cold War politics and pro-Americanisation. By presenting this pro-American musical figure and emphasising his commitment to humanitarianism, freedom, and democracy, the Nationalist government attempted to cover its failure in maintaining a democratic regime during the martial law period. In addition, in order to legitimise its campaign of anti-communism against the People's Republic of China, Casals was further portrayed as an anti-communist though his attitude toward communism could not be clearly identified in his English biographies. From the musical perspective, Casals' recordings gradually became available in Taiwan from the 1970s onwards. Although Casals' performance of the Bach cello suites was highly regarded, Taiwanese critics did not truly appreciate its musicality. Instead, Casals' recording was recommended due to its prominent historical value and its established reputation in the English reviews. Meanwhile, stemming from his positive image constructed in the existing publications, Casals' personality was romanticised in order to promote his CD sales in the post-Cold War era. Although no one in Taiwan had direct connections with Casals, Taiwanese critics were willing to introduce

Casals since it was a way for them to earn cultural capital by praising this musical figure. Subsequently, similar to his Japanese reception, Casals' Cold War image has deeply rooted in the Taiwanese materials without being contested.

The Chinese reception of Casals reveals a more complicated relationship between China and the US. The introduction of Casals to a Chinese readership was also attributable to political reasons. Due to the Sino-Soviet split, Casals' name appeared in China for the first time in the late 1950s. During the same period, the Great Leap Forward took place in China, which aimed to 'surpass Britain and catch up with America.' Against this background, the appearance of this musical figure symbolised that the model of developing the country began to change from Soviet Russia to Western states. Yet, Western states were considered enemies rather than friends in the Chinese materials. In contrast with the Sino-US rapprochement, the ideological propaganda was intensified as some terms in the Chinese translation of Casals' biography were mistranslated and connotated a leftist tendency. After the implementation of the Reforming and Opening policy, rules of market economy were gradually adapted into the Chinese economic system. Chinese critics therefore attempted to promote Casals' recordings by recounting his biography in the post-Cold War era. Although there were traces of political censorship on the publications, it is quite evident that Chinese critics relied on English materials to introduce Casals. Superficially, China intended to establish an alternative narrative of Casals as a way for promoting an antagonistic atmosphere against the US. Fundamentally, however, the way in which Casals was presented exemplifies how the understanding of Western art music in China has been ultimately restricted by the US. Echoing Westad's criticism on China's ambivalent and contradictory attitude toward the US cited in chapter 3, the Chinese reception of Casals suggests that China yearns for the cultural values defined by the US and other Western states. Meanwhile, Qian Yi-Shan's insignificance in Casals' Chinese reception further illustrates how the introduction of this musical figure

was driven more by political concerns than musical reasons. Given that Qian was Casals' only Chinese student, she attempted to present herself to Chinese audiences by sharing her experience of studying with Casals. Yet Qian's career in China ultimately was not as successful as that of Hirai in Japan. This may be attributable to two reasons, firstly that Qian did not join the Chinese Communist Party until 1959, and secondly that most cellists of her generation had studied in Russia. As a result, although Casals was widely appreciated in China, Qian did not receive the attention she deserved. Qian's career exemplifies how the appreciation of Western art music was mediated by Chinese politics.

Casals' reception in Hong Kong offers another point of reference to unpack the political agenda behind his reception in Japan and the Sinophone world. Since the Hong Kong government did not pay much attention to cultural affairs in the 1950s and 1960s, Casals was introduced into Hong Kong in the early 1970s, roughly fifteen years later than his appearance in Taiwan and China. Although the audience for Western art music in Hong Kong grew rapidly, the understanding of Casals in Hong Kong was not comprehensive in the 1970s. Casals' political stance, the Prades Festival, and his image as a musical humanitarian were not imported in Hong Kong. As a result, CD reviews published in Hong Kong in the post-Cold War era did not build on Casals' extra-musical legacies. Although Casals' performance of the Bach cello suites was considered fairly high by critics from Hong Kong, it was not the best evaluated interpretation of the Bach cello suites. Casals' reception in Hong Kong demonstrates how the appreciation of his musical performance in Japan, Taiwan, and China was mediated by his Cold War image as a humanitarian.

Chen Kuan-Hsing's 'inner Asian referential framework', discussed in chapter 2, argues that the focal point of postcolonial scholarship should be the dialogue between Asian academic societies rather than taking Euro-American academia as its primary or exclusive point of

reference. This thesis raises the reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong as the commonality among these places in order to fulfil Chen's framework. By analysing Casals' reception in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong, this thesis unravels how the appreciation of Western art music in Japan and Taiwan completely complied with the US while that in China struggled between opening up to America and the political censorship of the Chinese Communist Party. Casals' reception in Hong Kong, as counterevidence, further validates how the appreciation of Western art music in these three countries was politicised in accordance with their domestic political contexts.

From the regional perspective, the reception of Casals also reflected tensions between Japan, Taiwan, and China. The contradictory interpretations of Casals as an anti-communist and as a leftist musician can be better understood within the regional Cold War context which meant that the Nationalist government in Taiwan attempted to promote an antagonistic ideology against the Chinese Cultural revolution by implementing the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. Yet, since the Cold War was approaching its end in the 1980s, the tension across the Taiwan Strait eased. In the post-Cold War era, publications from both Taiwan and China could be circulated on the either side of the political divide. The reception of Casals in Taiwan and China therefore saw a similar transition from being a means of political propaganda to the promotion of CD sales by over-stating details of his personal and musical biography. In other words, in addition to the national and international level, this thesis emphasises the importance of a regional level while studying the topic of global history.

Meanwhile, the scrutinization of Casals' reception in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong not only validates Chen's claim that the development of postcolonial criticisms was suppressed by the Cold War but also elaborates his thought by involving the role of capitalism in the discussion. As discussed from chapter 2 to 4, this thesis demonstrates why

the development of postcolonial criticisms of Western art music was held back in Japan and the Sinophone world. The introduction of Western art music was not only a process of modernisation and enculturation but also a political commitment that enabled Japan, Taiwan, and China to negotiate their relationship with the US and a way for their governments to justify their policies domestically during the Cold War. Furthermore, chapter 5 elaborates why postcolonial discussions were not established in Japan and the Sinophone world in the 1990s. As Casals' reception suggests, Cold War ideologies were in fact consolidated in the post-Cold War era and became entangled with the market forces of consumer capitalism. Therefore, in order to achieve a decolonial discourse of Western art music, the role of capitalism in the era of globalisation should also be addressed and tackled continuously and systematically.

### **The Puerto Rican Perspective**

Echoing the Puerto Rican perspective and Chen's framework discussed earlier, this section elaborates how could Casals be perceived differently if the opinions from Puerto Rican composers were introduced in Japan and the Sinophone world. Although Chen named his methodology an 'inner-Asian referential framework,' he implied the potential of developing this framework beyond Asia to include other Third World countries in different regions of the world. Chen (2010: 253) wrote 'to study a place anywhere on earth, be it India, Ethiopia, Palestine, or Brazil, is simply one route toward an understanding of world history.' Stemming from Chen's framework, Casals' residency in Puerto Rico should be considered seriously, offering another valuable reference point for scholars in Japan and the Sinophone world.

In the 1950s, Campos-Parsi lamented the fact that innovation in music and the arts was restricted by the arrival of Casals. However, in the same period, Japan, Taiwan, and China all actively introduced this musical figure to their domestic audience as a way of negotiating

relationships with the US within the context of global Cold War politics. In the 1950s, the introduction of Casals' career to a Japanese readership was quite comprehensive and immediate. The Casals Festival in Puerto Rico was instantly reported to the Japanese audience by Takeichiro Hirai, who emphasised the significance of performing Western art music in a Third World country. In Hirai's (1958: 71) report, he especially mentioned that the orchestra of the Casals Festival was completely formed by American musicians who were drawn from top US orchestras. Casals' presence in 1961 made him even better known in Japan. Against this background, the introduction of Western art music was justified in Japan while leaving critical thoughts about Western art music overlooked. In the meantime, the appreciation of Western art music changed from the process of modernisation and enculturation to a political commitment that Japan shared the same cultural values as the US.

The earliest Taiwanese documentation of Casals appeared in the 1950s. Casals' residence in Puerto Rico received only a few sentences in these materials (Tseng 1958: 16; Wu 1959: 6). Obviously, Taiwanese critics did not fully understand the background for Casals' decision, including why he moved to there and his activities on the nation's behalf. Yet, Taiwanese writers noticed that Casals presented an orchestra formed by elite American musicians in San Juan. As discussed in chapter 2, the presence of an American orchestra could be an effective way for legitimising the governance of the Nationalist regime in Taiwan. Against this backdrop, critical voices from an indigenous Puerto Rican perspective about Casals and Western art music could hardly have attracted attention from Taiwanese critics.

In China, in order to promote a hostile attitude toward the US, Casals' supposed criticism of the US was forged in the Chinese materials. Yet, by choosing Casals as the vessel for delivering such criticisms, the editors of *People's Music* admitted Casals' prominence and significance in Western states, which makes their attempt to denounce the US ultimately

unsuccessful. In other words, the introduction of Casals indicates that Americanism had become rooted in Chinese society from the late 1950s onwards. Instead, if the Puerto Rican perspective had been introduced into China, Chinese critics could have been able to develop a more comprehensive criticism of the US since remarks from Puerto Rican musicians fundamentally challenged the privileged status of Western art music. The Chinese manner of rejecting the US was therefore anti-colonial rather than decolonial.

In the 1970s, as suggested by Aponte-Ledée's remark, criticism of the neo-colonial agenda of Casals' residence emerged in Puerto Rico. However, Casals' positive image was further promulgated in Japan and the Sinophone world. Although the political tensions between China, Japan and Western states were eased by a series of diplomatic normalisation, Casals' image was utilised to intensify the antagonistic Cold War ideologies of humanitarianism, anti-communism, and socialism. Based on the English literature, Casals' Cold War image as a musical humanitarian can be found in publications in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong, yet was interpreted in different ways in accordance with the domestic politics of each place.

Casals' reputation in Japan was fully established in the 1970s. Instead of understanding him through translated materials, Japanese critics articulated their own voice to re-evaluate Casals' legacy. Yet, the Cold War ideology of humanitarianism imposed by US writers could be extensively found in Japanese materials. Furthermore, Japan's policy in the late 1960s decided to use culture and the arts to serve the nation. The affirmation of Casals' image as a musical humanitarian therefore was an integral part of maintaining Japan's national interest, which focused on solidifying its partnership with the US during the Cold War. In the meantime, Casals' Japanese visit was extensively recounted in the written materials since that visit symbolised that Japan was a nation recognised by Casals. Casals' sublime status was therefore further secured rather than being contested from the perspective of postcolonial

criticism.

In Taiwan, in order to establish an oppositional ideology to the Cultural Revolution in China, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was implemented by the Taiwanese government. The promulgation of Western art music was also part of the agenda of this movement. 1968 was planned to be the year of music by the government. In that year, numerous musical events were organised, including concerts of Western art music, musical talks to the public, musical competitions and other events, designed to advance anti-communism in Taiwan (Committee of the year of music 1969). Against this background, Casals' self-imposed boycott of Russia, Fascist Italy, and Germany, and his staunch opposition to the Franco regime were especially emphasised. Meanwhile, his humanitarian efforts were heralded as anti-communist in nature. In addition to painting him as an anti-communist fighter through translating his biographies, some of Casals' recordings became available in Taiwan. Yet, the imported titles covered only a limited part of Casals' discography and hardly included his musical performances as a solo cellist. These facts suggest that the appreciation of Casals as well as Western art music was promoted by the government for political concerns rather than musical ones. Casals' image as a musical humanitarian was hence reinforced by the governmental protocol while leaving a more critical discussion of Casals neglected.

Although Western art music was severely humiliated in China during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Chinese political leaders considered Western art music an important diplomatic tool as discussed in chapter 2. It is evident that the appreciation of Western art music was hardly a musical issue but a political one in China. Within this context, from the late 1970s onwards, some existing materials were selectively translated and published in China and formed a biased image that suggested that Casals' behaviour was entirely guided by the spirit of social justice. Stemming from this positive but prejudiced image, Casals was

further interpreted as a leftist musician. For example, some terms used in the Chinese translation of the section on Casals in Lev Ginsburg's 1983 book, *History of the Violoncello* connoted a leftist tendency. The terms 'humaneness' and 'stand as a citizen' used in English were translated to 'people's character of art (藝術的人民性)' and 'people's artist(人民的藝術家)' in the Chinese. In contrast with the Sino-US and Sino-Japan normalisation in the 1970s, the reception of Casals suggests that the ideological competition between capitalism and communism was further strengthened. In the meantime, it is clear that the cultural values of Western art music gradually became accepted in China since Chinese writers heavily relied on the English biographical accounts to introduce this musical figure though his image presented in the Chinese materials was quite different from that in English. In other words, in order to serve domestic political demands, Casals was mis-represented in the Chinese materials. Yet, similar to the criticism made above, the misrepresentation of Casals was hardly decolonial since it did not create an alternative perspective for evaluating this musical figure. Instead, Casals' established reputation in Western states and the neo-colonial agenda carried by him were accepted in China.

Although Hong Kong was still a British colony in the 1970s, the understanding of Casals did not always comply with the ideology supported by Western states. The perception of Casals was quite superficial since the Hong Kong government avoided promoting any particular ideology through music. As a result, both interpretations of Casals as a humanitarian and as a leftist musician can both be found in Hong Kong. The reception of Casals in Hong Kong offers another point of reference from which to unpack the political agenda of the introduction of this musical figure in Japan, Taiwan, and China.

In the post-Cold War era, postcolonial criticisms of Western art music from the indigenous perspective of Puerto Rico were gathered and published in English (Thompson and Schwartz

1998; Thompson 2002), which makes such opinion more accessible to scholars from other regions of the world. Critical scrutiny of Casals' legacy in Puerto Rico has been conducted by Silva Lazo (2013; 2015; 2017) in the 2010s, which offers scholars in Japan and the Sinophone world a basis for rethinking Casals' legacy as well as the appreciation of Western art music. As the global order changed from a bipolar system to a monopoly of capitalism in the 1990s, Casals' Cold War image was not contested but consolidated in Japan and the Sinophone world. The reception of Casals in Japan, Taiwan, and China saw a similar transition, which adopted his Cold War image to promote CD sales.

The reception of Casals in Japan in the post-Cold War era illustrates that criticism of the Cold War was held back in order to promote CD sales. Japanese critics appreciated Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites by affirming his Cold War image as a musical humanitarian. In other words, instead of establishing an alternative perspective for evaluating Casals' musical and extra-musical legacies, his Cold War image was further consolidated in the Japanese materials. This fact suggests that although Japan attempted to challenge US dominance politically and economically during the second half of the twentieth century, from a cultural perspective, Japan has been restricted by the Cold War ideology imposed by the US.

Casals' Cold War image was also utilised to promote his CD sales in Taiwan and China. Yet fundamental discrepancies could still be found between the Taiwanese and Chinese materials. In contrast with the Japanese manner which drew a connection between his musical performance and his political stance, critics from Taiwan tended to advertise Casals by romanticising his biography and advancing his positive personality. Lazo's scholarship offers valuable insights into Casals' biographical accounts by clarifying how Casals' life was romanticised by himself and his biographers, and which serves as the basis for unpacking how Casals' legacy was further exaggerated in the Taiwanese and Chinese materials. Yet,

although Casals' recording of the Bach cello suites was highly regarded, Taiwanese critics focused on its historical value rather than its musical insight. In China, a similar tendency of over-stating Casals' biographical accounts could also be found in the written materials. Since political censorship of publications was a concern for Chinese critics, the influence of Casals' political stance was disconnected with his performance as his recording was appreciated simply from a musical perspective. Nevertheless, Casals' positive image constructed during the Cold War was still the underlying reason for the musical appreciation of his recordings. Casals' reception in Japan, Taiwan, and China indicates that the Cold War ideologies was entangled with the rules of market economy in the post-Cold War era.

Compared with his reception in Taiwan and China, biographical accounts of Casals were hardly found in Hong Kong. In other words, Casals' humanitarian image did not gain a foothold in Hong Kong. Against this background, Hong Kong critics focused on musical aspects to evaluate Casals' performance. Yet, although Casals' interpretation of the Bach cello suites was highly regarded, it was not considered the best performance of that work: Hong Kong critics tended to rank János Starker's performance ahead of Casals. The reception of Casals in Hong Kong suggests that without his positive Cold War image, Casals' musical performance may not have been valued as highly as the current reputation he enjoys.

The Puerto Rican perspective could be another reference point for evoking critical reflection on Casals' reception in Japan and the Sinophone world. Yet such remarks are neither introduced from the perspective of postcolonial criticism nor have they attracted attention from scholars in Japan and the Sinophone world since the appreciation of Casals into these countries follows that found in his English biographical accounts. Three implications could be drawn from the comparison between the reception of Casals in Puerto Rico and that in Japan and the Sinophone world: a) compliments on Casals in his English biographies, and in

the Japanese and Chinese materials, should not be considered a warranty; b) the political agenda of and power relations in the global dissemination of Western art music should be examined critically; and c) why has the privileged status of Western art music been taken for granted over the twentieth century in Japan and the Sinophone world? In other words, the Puerto Rican perspective could be another critical point of reference for scholars and critics in Japan and the Sinophone world to rethink why Western art music is generally considered a superior musical culture than other genres and how the privileged status of Western art music was constructed and maintained.

In a wider context, most criticisms of Casals and Western art music came from Puerto Rican composers, which suggests that their dissatisfaction may have been caused by the exclusion of their own works. In other words, they believed that their musical resources and opportunities for presenting their works were being edged out by Casals and Western art music. If the Puerto Rican perspective had been introduced into Japan and the Sinophone world earlier, postcolonial criticisms of Casals and of Western art music may have been more likely to gain a foothold in these places since similar issues about the distribution of resources and of the establishment of local cultural identity were discussed in Taiwan (Kam 2019). Yet, such opinions were generally neglected in Japan and the Sinophone world since scholars in these places had become quite accustomed to considering Western academia as a reference point for knowledge production. Casals' reception in Puerto Rico suggests that in order to establish an alternative perspective for evaluating Western art music, scholars should consult a wider range of opinions from different regions of the world.

### **Reflections on Asia as Method and Potential Future Directions**

Echoing the question raised in the introduction, which asks how a reception history of Western art music in Japan and the Sinophone world could be written beyond an East-West

explanatory framework, this thesis attempts to draw comparisons between the development of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong from the perspective of Asia as method and focuses on the case study of Casals' reception. Based on this thesis, there are four potential directions for elaborating the discussion of the reception history of Western art music in East Asia. First, how would the reception of Western art music in East Asia be influenced by the evolving interpretation of humanitarianism within the context of a 'New Cold War' between the US and China? On the one hand, scholars have begun their projects on the discussion of the role of music in the crisis of human rights in Xinjiang, China (Harris and Elkun 2022). On the other hand, although Western art music has deeply rooted in China, its development has been significantly influenced by the anti-colonial agenda of the Chinese government. One of the most compelling examples can be seen in the prohibition of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* in China in 2020. How would the perception of Western art music in the US as well as that in East Asian countries evolves within the context of the ongoing confrontation between China and the US in the following years could be one of the issues for further studies.

Second, from an intra-East Asian perspective, South Korea should be included in the discussion. While presenting the results of this thesis at conferences, music scholars from South Korea believed there were numerous similarities between Taiwan and South Korea, including Korea's colonial history as part of the Japanese empire before 1945, and the influences from the US in the post-war era, which make these two nations highly comparable. Indeed, the exclusion of the Korean perspective in this thesis is simply a pragmatic decision due to the burden that bringing further material in an additional language would have created. Parallel to the language barrier, the accessibility of secondary literature is another issue while conducting an intra-Asia research project. Although there is a growing body of texts on the development of Western art music in East Asia, most of this scholarship is not written in

English and hence is hardly accessible to readers outside their home country, which is an issue should be taken into consideration while discussing an East Asian perspective.

Third, Within the domestic context of each country, the relationship between the reception of Western art music and the discussion of traditional music could be further clarified. For instance, over recent decades, the development of the modern Chinese orchestra has received extensive attention from scholars in the Sinophone world. Yet such discussions have not extensively taken the influences from Western art music in the development of the modern Chinese orchestra properly into consideration. By clarifying the reception of Western art music in East Asia and its influence on traditional musical genres, a more comprehensive understanding of East Asian musical culture could be gained in the future.

Forth, censorship in China and its hostile attitude toward Taiwan and Hong Kong should be registered while discussing an intra-East Asia framework. Over the past few years, China has interfered violently in Hong Kong and has threatened Taiwan's security. In the meantime, musicological activities have been impacted by censorship in China. The most compelling example was the conference of IMS East Asian Association at Soochow University, China in October 2019. Due to the illegal suppression of anti-extradition protests, most scholars from Hong Kong decided to withdraw from the conference as a way to express an academic boycott. In addition, Taiwanese scholars were asked to remove the term 'national' from their affiliation and biographies, for instance, 'National Taiwan University' could only be presented as 'Taiwan University' since Taiwan is not recognised as a nation in China. Numerous Taiwanese scholars therefore also decided not to participate in the conference. As a result, a significant number of presentations were cancelled, which fundamentally cripples the IMSEA's mission of being a platform for free discussion among East Asian musicologists (Chen 2020: 16). In other words, although it is indispensable to involve China in the

discussion of Asia as method, political censorship and China's interference in academic freedom should be considered seriously.

### **Musical Decolonisation and Western Art Music in Japan and the Sinophone World**

Through revisiting the reception history of Western art music and that of Pablo Casals in Japan and the Sinophone world, it is clear that the privileged status of Western art music has not been extensively contested. Over the past century, although the ways for and the purposes of introducing Western art music were slightly different, Japan, Taiwan, and China all actively imported Western art music in order to symbolise that they had become modernised and cultured countries. Individuals who were able to appreciate Western art music were considered to be cultivated. As a result, Western art music is still considered a superior musical culture to other genres. Through the examination of Casals' reception in Japan and the Sinophone world, this thesis has demonstrated how the privileged status of Western art music was constructed over the past century by revealing power relations behind its dissemination on a personal, national, regional, and international level. Echoing Chen's proposal, the Puerto Rican perspective further unpacks how the discourses of Casals as well as that of Western art music in Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong were dominated by the English language literature hence failed to establish an alternative perspective for evaluating Western art music. Instead of being the destination, clarifying how Western art music has been welcomed and consumed in Japan and the Sinophone world over the past century is just a relay point of the discussion of musical decolonisation. The issue of musical decolonisation should be continuously addressed and tackled by scholars across the world in order to achieve a fully decolonial understanding of global music culture. This thesis proposes that when Western art music is no longer considered simply a superior musical culture but is understood more neutrally and equally as part of the global musical culture, the critical process of musical decolonisation may finally have begun.

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### Appendix 1. Casals' Recordings as a Cellist

Composer	Work	The Other Artists	Date Recorded	Label/No.
J.S. Bach	Adagio from Toccata in C major, BWV 564 (arr. Siloti/Casals)	Piano/Edouard Gendron	21/2/1925	NAXOS/8.110987
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	28/2/1927	NAXOS/8.110972
	Aria from Pastorale for Organ in F major, BWV 590 (arr. TBC)	Perpignan Festival Orchetra	1951	SONY/886976569020
	Recitative from Organ Concerto No.3, BWV 594 (after Vivaldi) (arr. Marie Rosaboff)	Piano/Eugene Istomin	1950/1953	SONY/886976569020
	Recitative from Organ Concerto No.3, BWV 594 (after Vivaldi) (arr. Marie Rosaboff)	Piano/Eugene Istomin	TBC	SONY/886975737529
	Musette, Gavotte from English Suite No.6, BWV 811 (arr. Pollain)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	31/1/1928	NAXOS/8.110976
	Andante from Sonata No.2 in a for unaccompanied Violin, BWV 1003 (arr. Siloti)	Piano/Blas Net	19/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
	Suite No.1 in G major, BWV 1007		2/6/1938	EMI/724356621527
	Suite No.2 in D minor, BWV 1008		25/11/1936	EMI/724356621527
	Suite No.3 in C major, BWV 1009		23/11/1936	EMI/724356621527
	Prelude, Sarabande, Bourree from Suite No.3 in C major, BWV 1009		23/4/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Gigue from Suite No.3 in C major, BWV 1009		15/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110985
			23/11/1936	NAXOS/8.558081-84
	Prelude, Sarabande from Suite No.3 in C major, BWV 1009		TBC	SONY/886975737529
	Suite No.3 in C major, BWV 1009		TBC	MUSIC&ARTS/MACD-1113
	Suite No.4 in E-flat major, BWV 1010		13-16/6/1939	EMI/724356621527
	Suite No.5 in C minor, BWV 1011		14-15/6/1939	EMI/724356621527

	Sarabande from Suite No.5 in C minor, BWV 1011		10/10/1956	SPECTRUM/8809142811695
	Suite No.6 in D major, BWV 1012		3/6/1938	EMI/724356621527
	Sonata for Cello & Piano in G major, BWV 1027	Piano/ Paul Baumgartner	1/6/1950	SONY/886976569020
		Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	8/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Sonata for Cello & Piano in D major, BWV 1028	Piano/ Paul Baumgartner	1/6/1950	SONY/886976569020
	Sonata for Cello & Piano in G minor, BWV 1029	Piano/ Paul Baumgartner	1/6/1950	SONY/886976569020
	Air from Orchestral Suite No.3 in D major, BWV 1068	TBC	5/5/1916	NAXOS/8.110985
		Orchestra, Conductor TBC	29/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
	Air from Orchestral Suite No.3 in D, BWV 1068 (arr. Siloti)	Piano/Otto Schulhof	5/3/1930	NAXOS/8.110976
	Komm suesser Tod from the Schemelli Gesangbuch (arr.Siloti)	Piano/Blas Net	16/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
L. van Beethoven	Piano Trio in C minor, Op.1 No.3	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski Violin/Sandor Vegh	1958	Decca/4627592
		Piano/Hephzibah Menuhin Violin/Yehudi Menuhin	18/7/1959	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Cello Sonata in F major, Op.5 No.1	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski	19-20/6/1939	NAXOS/8.110949-50
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	17/5/1953	SONY/888837685825
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	20/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/ Wilhelm Kempff	1961	Decca/4627582
	Cello Sonata in G minor, Op.5 No.2	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski	20-21/6/1939	NAXOS/8.110949-50
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	30/7-1/8/1951	SONY/888837685825
		Piano/Eugene Istomin	7/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Piano Trio in B-flat major, Op.11	Piano/Eugene Istomin Violin/Alexander Schneider	1951	MCPS/4011222327291
	Horn Sonata in F major, Op.17	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	11/7/1958	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Twelve Variations for Cello and Piano in F major on "Ein Maedchen"	Piano/Rudolf Serkin	31/7/1951	SONY/888837685825

	oder Weibchen”, Op.66			
	Cello Sonata No.3 in A major, Op.69	Piano/Otto Schulhof	6-7/3/1930	NAXOS/8.110949-50
		Piano/Alfred Cortot	10/7/1958	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/Rudolf Serkin	18/5/1953	SONY/888837685825
	Piano Trio No.4 in D major, Op.70 No.1	Piano/Rudolph Serkin Violin/Szymon Goldberg	18/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/ Karl Engel Violin/Sandor Vegh	1961	Decca/4627592
	Piano Trio No.5 in E-flat major, Op.70 No.2	Piano/Rudolph Serkin Violin/Szymon Goldberg	18/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Piano Trio No.7 in B-flat major, Op.97, ‘Archduke’	Piano/ Eugene Istomin Violin/Alexander Schneider	1951	MCPS/4011222327291
		Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski Violin/Sandor Vegh	1958	Decca/4627582
	Cello Sonata No.4 in C major, Op.102 No.1	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski	26-27/11/1936	NAXOS 8.110949-50
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	19/5/1953	SONY/888837685825
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	16/6/1953	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Cello Sonata No.5 in D major, Op.102 No.2	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	21-22/6/1939	NAXOS 8.110949-50
		Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	6/1953	MUSIC&ARTS 017685111327
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	19/5/1953	SONY 888837685825
		Piano/Rudolph Serkin	20/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS 017685111327
		Piano/Julius Katchen	6/8/1960	DOREMI 723721483050
	Piano Trio No.9 in G major, Op.121a, ‘Kakadu’	Piano/Rudolph Serkin Violin/Szymon Goldberg	18/6/1954	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Minuet No.2 in G major from Six Minuets, WoO 10	Piano/Otto Schulhof	7/3/1930	NAXOS/8.110949-50
	Seven Variation on the duet “Bei Maennern, welche Liebe...” from Die Zauberfloete by Mozart, for cello and piano, WoO 46	Piano/Alfred Cortot	10/7/1958	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/Ruldof Serkin	1/8/1951	SONY 888837685825
L. Boccherini	Cello Concerto in B-flat major	Conductor/Landon Ronald	2/5/1938	NAXOS/8.110305

	(arr.Gruetzmacher), G.482	London Symphony Orchestra		
	Sonata No.6 in A major for Cello and Piano, Mov.1, 2	Piano/Blas Net	16-17/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
	Sonata No.6 in A major for Cello and Piano, Mov.2	Piano/Charles A. Baker	19/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
J. Brahms	Piano Trio No.1 in B major, Op.8	Piano/Myra Hess Violin/Isaac Stern	30/6-1/7/1952	MCPS/4011222327291
		Piano/Eugene Istomin Violin/Yehudi Menuhin	13/7/1955	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	String Sextet in B-flat major, Op.18	Violin/Isaac Stern, Alexander Schneider Viola/Milton Katims, Milton Thomas Cello/Madeline Foley	1952	MCPS/4011222327291
	Sonata No.1 in E minor for Cello and Piano, Op.38	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	19/7/1958	MUSIC&ARTS/017685118722
	Piano Trio No.2 in C major, Op.87	Piano/Eugene Istomin Violin/Yehudi Menuhin	13/7/1955	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/Dame Myra Hess Violin/Joseph Szigeti	TBC	SONY/886975737529
	Cello Sonata in F major, Op.99	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	28/11/1936	NAXOS/8.110949-50
	Piano Trio No.3 in C minor, Op.101	Piano/Eugene Istomin Violin/Yehudi Menuhin	13/7/1955	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Double Concerto in A minor, Op.102	Violin/Jacques Thibaud Conductor/Alfred Cortot Pablo Casals Orchestra of Barcelona	10-11/5/1929	NAXOS/8.110930
	Trio in A minor for Clarinet, Cello, and Piano, Op.114	Piano/Eugene Istomin Clarinet/David Oppenheim	13(?)/7/1955	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Sapphische Ode	Piano/Walter Golde	2/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
M. Bruch	Kol Nidrei, Op.47	Conductor, Orchestra TBC	18/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985

	Kol Nidrei, Op.47	Piano/Edouard Gendron	3/4/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
	Kol Nidrei, Op.47	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	31/1/1928	NAXOS/8.110972
	Kol Nidrei, Op.47	Conductor/Landon Ronald London Symphony Orchestra	27/11/1936	NAXOS/8.110305
B. Campagnoli	Romance	Piano/Charles A. Baker	27/1/1915	NAXOS 8.110985
P. Casals	The Birds (El Cant dels Ocells)	Conductor/Pablo Casals Prades Festival Orchestra	1950/1953	SONY/886976569020
	The Birds (El Cant dels Ocells)	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	18/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685118722
	The Birds (El Cant dels Ocells)	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski	13/11/1961	SONY/886976569020
	The Birds (El Cant dels Ocells)	Conductor/TBC Perpignan Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/886975737529
	Les Rios Mages Sardane	Cello/Paul Bazeleire, Maurice Marechal, Gaspard Cassado, Rudolf von Tobel, Etienne Pasquier, Andre Levy, Gaston Marchesini, Guy Fallot, Charles Bartsch, Jean Vaugeois	10/10/1956	SPECTRUM/8809142811695
G. Cassado	Requiebros	Piano/Bles Net	15/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
F. Chopin	Prelude, Op.28 No.15 "Raindrop" (arr. Sieveking)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	19/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Nocturne in E-flat major, Op.9 No.2 (arr. Popper)	Piano/Walter Golde	30/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110987
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	20/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
F. Couperin	Pieces en concert	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski	13/11/1961	SONY/886976569020
S. Crouch	Kathleen Mavourneen	Couductor, Orchestra TBC	1/5/1920	NAXOS/8.110987
C. Cui	Berceuse, Op.20 No.8	Piano/Walter Golde	18/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
C. Debussy	Menuet from Petite Suite (arr. Choisnel)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	4/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
A. Dvořák	Cello Concerto in B minor, Op.104	Conductor/George Szell Czech Philharmonic Orchestra	28/4/1937	NAXOS/8.110930
		Conductor/Alexander Schneider	6/1960	MEMORIES Reverence/ 8249194002197

		The Festival Casals Orchestra of Puerto Rico		
	Songs my mother taught me from Seven Gypsy Songs, Op.55 No.4 (arr. Gruendeld)	Piano/Blas Net	TBC	NAXOS/8.110976
E. Elgar	Salut d' amour, Op.12	TBC	15/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Salut d' amour, Op.12	Piano/Romano Romani	16/3/1922	NAXOS/8.110987
	Cello Concerto in E minor, Op.85	Conductor/Adrian Boult BBC Symphony Orchestra	14/10/1945	NAXOS/8.110305
M. de Falla	Siete canciones populares espanolas No.5, Nana	Piano/Eugene Istomin	1950/1953	SONY/886976569020
		Piano/Charles A. Baker	TBC	SONY/886975737529
G. Fauré	Après un rêve (arr.Casals)	Piano/Charles A. Baker	3/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	5/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Elegie for Cello and Orchestra	Cello/Paul Bazeleire, Maurice Marechal, Gaspard Cassado, Rudolf von Tobel, Etienne Pasquier, Andre Levy, Gaston Marchesini, Guy Fallot, Charles Bartsch, Jean Vaugeois	10/1/1956	SPECTRUM/8809142811695
A. Glazunov	Melodie arabe, Op.20 No.1	Piano/Edouard Gendron	3/4/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
B. Godard	Berceuse from Jocelyn	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	20/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
G. Goltermann	Cantilena from Concerto in A minor	Orchestra, Conductor TBC	15/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
E. Granados	Intermezzo from Goyescas (arr. Cassado)	Pino/Edouard Gendron	21/2/1925	NAXOS/8.110987
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	28/2/1927	NAXOS/8.110972
	Spanish Dance (arr. Casals)	Piano/Charles A. Baker	14/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	28/2/1928	NAXOS/8.110976
G. F. Handel	Largo from Xerxes	TBC	15/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Largo from Xerxes	Orchestra, Conductor TBC	23/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
	Minuet	Piano/Walter Golde	16/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
F. Haydn	Adagio from Piano Sonata No.19 in D major, Hob. XVI 19 (arr. TBC)	Piano/Eugene Istomin	1951	SONY/886976569020

	Adagio from Cello Concerto No.2 in D major, Op.101	Orchestra, Conductor TBC	15/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
		Piano/Walter Golde	2/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
	Cello Concerto in D (arr. Gevaert), Op.101 Mov. 1, 2	Conductor/Adrian Boult BBC Symphony Orchestra	15/10/1945	NAXOS/8.110305
	Minuet in C major	Piano/Charles A. Baker	14/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
	Minuet from Sonata for Violin and Viola in C major (arr. Piatti)	Piano/Blas Net	21/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
P. J. G. Hillemacher	Gavotte tendre	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	4/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
K. T. Hinkson	Would God I were the tender apple blossom	Piano/Romano Romani	17/3/1922	NAXOS/8.110987
F. Kreisler	Cahnson Louis XIII and Pavane	Piano/Charles A. Baker	22/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
B. de Laserna	Tonadilla (arr. Cassado)	Piano/Blas Net	21/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
E. Lassen	Thine Eyes So blue	Piano/Walter Golde	29/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
F. Liszt	Liebestraum	TBC	5/3/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Liebestraum No.3 in A-flat major	Piano/Walter Golde	28/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
E. MacDowell	Romance, Op.35	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	4/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	To a Wild Rose	Piano/Walter Golde	30/1/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
F. Mendelssohn	Piano Trio No.1 in D minor, Op.49	Piano/Karl Engel Violin/Sandor Vegh	13/8/1960	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski Violin/Alexander Schneider	13/11/1961	SONY/886976569020
	Piano Trio No.2 in C minor, Op.66	Piano/Wilhelm Kempff Violin/Christian Ferras	15/7/1959	MUSIC&ARTS/017685118722
	Serenade, Op.67 No.6 from Songs Without Words	Piano/Walter Golde	2/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
	Song without words No.49 in D major, Op.109	Piano/Blas Net	17/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
	Spring Song	Piano/Charles A. Baker	19/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
E. Moore	Believe me if all those endearing young charms	Concuctor, Orchestra TBC	1/5/1920	NAXOS/8.110987

W. A. Mozart	Piano Quartet No.2 in E-flat major, K493	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski Violin/Yehudi Menuhin Viola/Ernst Wallfisch	7/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Larghetto from Clarinet Quintet in A major, Op.581 (arranged for cello)	TBC	21/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
		TBC	22/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
D. Popper	Chanson villageois, Op.62 No.2	Piano/Edouard Gendron	3/4/1925	NAXOS/8.110972
	Gavotte in D major, Op.23	Piano/ Romano Romani	17/3/1922	NAXOS/8.110987
	Mazurka in G minor, Op.11	Piano/Charles A. Baker	23/4/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Mazurka, Op.11 No.3	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	1/2/1928	NAXOS/8.110976
	Spanish Serenade, Op.11	Piano/Charles A. Baker	24/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985, Pearl/727031998136
	Spanish dance No.2	Piano/Charles A. Baker	TBC	SONY/886975737529
	Vito (Spanish Dance, Op.54 No.5)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	31/1/1928	NAXOS/8.110972
T. del Riego	Oh, dry those tears	Piano/Walter Golde	30/3/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
N. Rimsky-Korsakov	Flight of the bumblebee from Tsar Sultan	Piano/Blas Net	19/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
A. Rubenstein	Melody in F major, Op.3 No.1 (arr. Popper)	TBC	15/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
		Piano/Walter Golde	24/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	20/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Romance in E-flat	Piano/Walter Golde	30/1/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
C. Saint-Saens	Allegro appassionato	Piano/Charles A. Baker	22/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
	The Swan	Piano/Charles A. Baker	24/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
		Piano/Walter Golde	22/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	31/1/1928	NAXOS/8.110972
F. Schubert	Moment musical, Op.94 No.3/D.780	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	4/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Quintet in C major, Op.163	Violin I/Jacob Krachmalnik Violin II/Orrea Pernel Viola/Karen Tuttle Cello/Madeline Foley	7/7/1953	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Violin/Isaac Stern, Alexander Schneider	1952	MCPS/4011222327291

		Viola/Milton Katims Cello/Paul Tortelier		
	Piano Trio No.1 in B-flat major, D898	Piano/ Eugene Istomin Violin/Alexander Schneider	1951	SONY/886976569020
R. Schumann	Abendlied	Orchestra, Conductor TBC	21/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
		Orchestra, Conductor TBC	23/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
	Traeumerei from Kinderszenen, Op.15	TBC	14/4/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
		Piano/Walter Golde	21/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	5/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
		Piano/Otto Schulhof	5/3/1930	NAXOS/8.110976
	Adagio and Allegro for piano and horn in A-flat major, Op.70	Piano/Clifford Curzon	15/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
		Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski	13/11/1961	SONY/886976569020
	Piano Trio No.2 in F major, Op.80	Piano/ Mieczysław Horszowski Violin/Yehudi Menuhin	4/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
	Abendlied, Op.85 No.12 (arr. Becker)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	5/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Piano Trio No.3 in G minor, Op.110	Piano/Rudolph Serkin Violin/Sandor Vegh	11/7/1956	MUSIC&ARTS/017685111327
Cello Concerto in A minor, Op.129	Conductor/Eugene Ormandy Prades Festival Orchestra	1952	MCPS 4011222328526	
	Conductor/Eugene Ormandy Prades Festival Orchestra	5/1953	MEMORIES REVERENCE 8249194002197	
G. Sgambati	Serenat Napoletana, Op.24 No.2 (arr.Bouman)	Piano/Walter Golde	31/1/1923	NAXOS/8.110987
		Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	1/2/1928	NAXOS/8.110976
G. Tartini	Adagio from Concerto in D minor	TBC	15/1/1915	NAXOS/8.110985
	Grave ed espressivo (from Cello concerto in D major)	Piano/Bles Net	14/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
P. I. Tchaikovsky	Autumn Song from The Seasons, Op.37 No.10	Piano/Walter Golde	16/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
	Melodie, Op.42 No.3	Piano/Walter Golde	16/2/1924	NAXOS/8.110987
G. Valentini	Gavotte from Violin Sonata No.10 in E major (arr. Piatti)	Piano/Blas Net	TBC	NAXOS/8.110976

A. Vivaldi	Largo from Concerto Grosso No.11 in D minor, Op.3 No.11 from L'estro armonico (arr.Stutschewsky)	Piano/Blas Net	15/6/1929	NAXOS/8.110976
R. Wagner	Abendstern	Orchestra, Conductor TBC	21/4/1916	NAXOS/8.110986
		Orchestra, Conductor TBC	29/4/1920	NAXOS/8.110986
	Evening Star from Tannhaeuser	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	5/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972
	Preislied from Die Meistersinger (arr. Wilhelmj)	Piano/Nikolai Mednikoff	19/1/1926	NAXOS/8.110972

### Appendix 2. Casals' Recordings as a Conductor

Composer	Work	The Other Artists	Date Recorded	Label/No.
J. S. Bach	Cantata 'Weichet Nur, betrübte Schatten' (Wedding Cantata), BWV202	Soprano/Maria Stader Prades Festival Orchestra	19/6/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
	Concerto for Violin No. 1 in A minor, BWV 1041	Violin/Isaac Stern Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Concerto for Violin No. 2 in E major, BWV 1042	Violin/Joseph Szigeti Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Concerto for 2 Violins in D minor, BWV 1043	Violin/Isaac Stern Violin/Alexander Schneider Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Concerto for Flute, Violin & Harpsichord in A minor, BWV 1044	Flute/John Wummer Violin/Alexander Schneider Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 in F major, BWV1046	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052
	Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F major, BWV1047	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
Marlboro Festival Orchestra		9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052	

	Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G major, BWV1048	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Prades Festival Orchestra	19/6/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052
	Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G major, BWV1049	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Prades Festival Orchestra	24/6/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052
	Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 in D major, BWV1050	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052
	Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 in D major, BWV1051	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	9-11/7/1964	SONY/5153052
	Concerto for Harpsichord in F minor, BWV 1056	Piano/Clara Haskil Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Concerto for Oboe and Violin in C minor, BWV 1060	Oboe/Marcel Tabuteau Violin/Isaac Stern Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
	Orchestral Suite No. 1 in C major, BWV 1066	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	1966	SONY/5175383
	Orchestral Suite No. 2 in B minor, BWV 1067	Prades Festival Orchestra	1950	Cascavelle/vel 3061
Marlboro Festival Orchestra		1966	SONY/5175383	
Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	1966	SONY/5175383	
Orchestral Suite No. 4 in D major, BWV 1069	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	1966	SONY/5175383	
L. van Beethoven	Piano Concerto No.1 in C major, Op. 15	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski Prades Festival Orchestra	24/6/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
	Piano Concerto No.2 in B-flat major, Op. 19	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski Prades Festival Orchestra	9/7/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
	Symphony No.1 in C major, Op. 21	Pablo Casals Orchestra of Barcelona	3, 6, 8/7/1929	NAXOS/8.111262
		Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SICC-1517
Symphony No.4 in B-flat major, Op.	Pablo Casals Orchestra of	4-5/7/1929	NAXOS/8.111262	

	60	Barcelona		
		London Collegium Musicum	8/7/1959	Music & Arts/MACD1887
	Symphony No. 6 in F Major, Op. 68, 'Pastoral'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SICC-1517
	Symphony No.7 in A major, Op. 92	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK45893
	Symphony No.8 in A major, Op. 93	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK45893
	The Ruins pf Athens, Op. 113	Pablo Casals Orchestra of Barcelona	8/7/1929	NAXOS/8.111262
L. Boccherini	Cello Concerto No. 9 in B-flat major, G482	Cello/Maurice Gendron L'Orchestre des Concerts Lamoureux	5-7/10/1960	Hänssler/PH 18091
		Cello/Takeichiro Hirai Tokyo Symphony Orchestra	14/4/1961	TBS Viintage Classics/TYGE-60021
J. Brahms	Variations on a Theme by J. Haydn, Op. 56a	London Symphony Orchestra	6/12/1927	NAXOS/8.111262
	Symphony No.1 in C minor, Op. 68	Casals Festival Orchestra	31/5/1963	Grand Slam/GS-2097
	Double Concerto for Violin & Cello in A minor, Op. 102	Violin/Yuhudi Menuhin Cello/Leslie Parnas Casals Festival Orchestra	29/5/1969	DOREMI/DHR7844
A. Dvořák	Cello Concerto in B minor, Op.104	Cello/Takeichiro Hirai Tokyo Symphony Orchestra	14/4/1961	TBS Viintage Classics/TYGE-60021
J. Haydn	Symphony No.45 in F-sharp minor, Hob. I:45, 'Farewell'	Casals Festival Orchestra	1959	SONY/SICC14-40
	Symphony No.94 in G major, Hob. I:94, 'Surprise'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	7/9/1967	SONY/SICC14-40
	Symphony No.95 in C minor, Hob. I:95	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	8/9/1967	SONY/SICC14-40
	Cello Concerto No. 2 in D major, Hob. VIIb:2 (Op. 101)	Cello/Maurice Gendron L'Orchestre des Concerts Lamoureux	5-7/10/1960	Hänssler/PH 18091
F. Mendelssohn	Symphony No.4 in A major, Op. 90,	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK 46251

	'Italian'			
W. A. Mozart	Symphony no 29 in A major, K 201 (186a)	Perpignan Festival Orchestra	1951	SONY/SMK 66569
	Violin Concerto No.5 in A major, K. 219, 'Turkish'	Violin/ Erica Morini Perpignan Festival Orchestra	1951	SONY/SMK 58983
	Divertimento No. 11 In D Major, K. 251	Oboe/Marcel Tabuteau Violin/Alexander Schneider Perpignan Festival Orchestra	1951	SONY/SMK 66569
	Sinfonia Concertante for Violin, Viola & Orchestra in E flat major, K. 364	Violin/Issac Stern Viola/William Primrose Perpignan Festival Orchestra	1951	SONY/SMK 58983
		Violin/Joseph Fuchs Viola/Lillian Fuchs Prades Festival Orchestra	19/6/1953	Music & Arts/MACD1887
	Aria From Idomeneo, K. 366	Soprano/ Victoria De Los Angeles London Collegium Musicum	9/7/1959	Music & Arts/CD 1113
	Symphony No.35 in D major, K.385, 'Haffner'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	30/7/1967	SONY/230008132
	Symphony No.36 in C major, K.425, 'Linz'	Casals Festival Orchestra	1959	SONY/230008132
	Piano Concerto for Piano No. 14 in E flat major, K 449	Piano/Eugene Istomin Perpignan Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK 58984
	Piano Concerto No. 22 in E flat major, K482	Piano/Rudolf Serkin Perpignan Festival Orchestra	26/7/1951	SONY/SMK 66570
	Symphony No.38 in D major, K.504, 'Prague'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	14/7/1968	SONY/230008132
	Serenade In G Major, K.525, 'Eine Kleine Nachtmusik'	Perpignan Festival Orchestra	1951	SONY/SMK 66569
	Symphony No.39 in E-flat major, K.543	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	12/7/1968	SONY/230008132

	Symphony No.40 in G minor, K.550	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	7/1968	SONY/230008132
	Symphony No.41 in C major, K.551, 'Jupiter'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	15/7/1967	SONY/230008132
	Piano Concerto for Piano No. 27 in B flat major, K 595	Piano/Mieczysław Horszowski Perpignan Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK 58984
	Ch'io mi scordi di te?... Non temer, amato bene, K. 505	Soprano/ Victoria De Los Angeles London Collegium Musicum	9/7/1959	Music & Arts/MACD1887
R. Schumann	Symphony No.2 in C major, Op.61	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK 47297
F. Schubert	Symphony No.5 in B-flat major, D. 485	Prades Festival Orchestra	4/7/1953	SONY/7464589922
	Symphony No.8 in B minor, D. 759, 'Unfinished'	Marlboro Festival Orchestra	TBC	SONY/SMK 47297