19

Docmus Research
Publications

INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN MUSIC HISTORY

Edited by Saijaleena Rantanen and Derek B. Scott

DocMus Research Publications is a series of scholarly research publications – monographs, anthologies, and edited volumes. The series has been published by the Sibelius Academy since 2012.

The DRP series has implemented the label for peer-reviewed scholarly publications of the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies and is committed to follow the guidelines for the mark. The manuscripts intended for publication in the DocMus Research Publications series undergo peer review.

The series is available in printed and electronic format. Open access to DocMus Research Publications is provided through the Taju repository of the University of the Arts Helsinki at taju.uniarts.fi

Institutionalization in Music History

19

DocMus Research Publications

INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN MUSIC HISTORY

Edited by Saijaleena Rantanen and Derek B. Scott

Dedicated to the memory of Olli Heikkinen

Institutionalization in Music History

Edited by Saijaleena Rantanen and Derek B. Scott

Graphic design
BOND Creative Agency

Cover
Paul Forsell

Cover illustration: The Chamber Orchestra of the Vyborg Music Institute
Photographer (1920–1929): Emma Marie Andersen / The Finnish Heritage Agency

Layout
Paul Forsell

Printed by
Hansaprint

ISBN 978-952-329-281-9 (printed volume)
ISBN 978-952-329-282-6 (PDF)
ISSN 2341-8257 (printed series)
ISSN 2341-8265 (PDF)
https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-329-282-6

DocMus Research Publications 19

Helsinki, 2022

Contents

Foreword

This collection of essays was edited during a time of unusual and unexpected difficulties caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, such as library closures and disruption to archival access. Sadly, the editors were also confronted with the loss of a close colleague, Olli Heikkinen, who was originally part of the editorial team, but did not live to see this project beyond its early stages. The institutionalization of musical practices was a subject close to his heart, and one in which he possessed enviable expertise. His input is sorely missed, and we have dedicated the book to his memory.

The initial impetus for this volume came from the fifth of the biennial international symposia on music history, which was held at the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki, in June 2018. Its theme was *Inside, Outside, and in Between: Institutionalization in Music History*, and it was the source for many, if not all, of the chapters that follow. The selection process chosen by the editors was based on the desire to assemble a collection of essays that would form a coherent and satisfying book. We were aware that general publications of conference proceedings have a tendency to leap around from one topic to another. It was, therefore, our intention to focus on significant institutional themes that could be gathered under three broad headings. The reader will find that we have divided the book into three separate parts, although there are, naturally, some overlaps between them.

Avra Xepapadakou begins Part I, “Institutionalization Past and Present,” with a chapter that traces the increasing institutionalization of musical life in nineteenth-century Greece. Having been ruled formerly by the Ottomans, Greece was a cultural crossroads between East and West. Institutionalization had the effect of moving music-making from the private to the public domain in tandem with the development of networks of musical and theatrical activities together with their associated institutions, such as theatres and opera houses. Derek B. Scott follows with a study of the British music hall as a cultural institution, in which in-house regulations, and unscripted codes of behaviour all had a part to play. The music hall faced pressure when its internal notions of appropriate behaviour conflicted with external social anxieties, and these are examined in the context of rowdiness, drunkenness, obscenity, and prostitution. Kristin Van den Buys discusses how, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, modernist music became an integral part of concert life in Brussels. She argues that this city "occupied a unique position in Europe as a crossroads of French, Russian, and Germanic modernism." However, interest in modernism suddenly began to wane after 1933. From the later 1930s until the 1960s, a modernist revival was supported by the National Radio Broadcasting Institute and its orchestra, which acted as an effective platform for modernism. Daniel Moro Vallina looks at a period in the 1960s, when the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum of Madrid stressed that 12-tone technique was something that carried a transnational validity. He argues that its institutionalization offered a means of equating new Spanish music to that composed in Europe, focusing on two main features: "the objectivity and abstraction of the language employed and its distance from any previous nationalist orientation." He places this objective in the context of Cold War politics, and studies how institutions and avant-garde composers sought to modernize the cultural image of Spain. Part I closes with Mark E. Perry's examination of the role of deejays and radio programmers during the disco controversies of the 1970s and shows how radio stations functioned as mediating institutions. Some radio stations, like New York's WKTU aligned themselves with disco, while others were advocates for rock music. This sometimes involved the destruction of disco records and, on other occasions might display a homophobic character. Disco was associated with gay dance clubs, whereas rock music was seen as expressive of strongly heterosexual masculinity. Perry argues that radio management colluded with anti-disco sentiment for financial reasons, but also acknowledges that radio was giving vent to the frustrations of many listeners.

Part II takes as its theme "Musical Exhibitions and Festivals" and commences with Sarah Kirby's investigation of music's complex role in British nineteenth-century international exhibitions. She delves into the difficulties of representing music, compared to the other arts via a study of international exhibitions held in London in the second half of the century. She then moves to more recent times, to contrast the foregoing with an exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2017. Brandon Farnsworth explores the role of the curator in artistic practices. It is a subject that has been attracting growing interest in the past dozen years, as curators have become ever more proactive and visible as mediators. His chapter examines various initiatives across Europe, which enables him to identify four interrelated approaches to curatorial practice operating in contemporary music today. He theorizes his findings and shows how "new institutionalist, collective, and artist-led approaches are gaining prominence." Ardian Ahmedaja offers a case study of the history of the Albanian National Folklore Festival as an example of strongly institutionalized and politically controlled public musical life. This festival took place at five-year intervals from 1968 onwards in Gjirokastër, the birthplace of Albania's communist leader. Until the fall of communism in 1990, a strict selection process prevented any subversive elements from appearing in the festival. However, since then, other political interests have continued to exercise an influence, such as the desire to assert cultural norms about what is to be understood as traditional Albanian music. Melanie Strumbl ends Part II by scrutinizing a major late-nineteenth-century exhibition of music and drama in Vienna, curated by the renowned musicologist Guido Adler. She reveals how, in addition to promoting Vienna's image as a cultural capital of music and shining a light on the power of the monarchy, Adler ensured that it illustrated musicological endeavour by, for example, exhibiting the initial progress made on what was to become the multi-volume series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst Österreich*. In turn, that facilitated the institutionalization of music as a discipline at the University of Vienna.

The final part of the book is given over to the subject of musical institutions and power. Nuppu Koivisto-Kaasik explores the relations between institutions and professional Finnish women musicians. She demonstrates the importance of these women to three musical institutions in the late nineteenth century: the salon, the conservatoire, and the variety show. Studying the career choices of four musicians, she reveals the range of options open to women of various social classes and the opportunities for international mobility within an institutional context. Irene Pang examines the early history of the western-style Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, placing it in the context of an ideology of semi-colonialism, a term she uses to refer to the cultural influences emanating from the presence of several imperial powers in the city. The British and French, for example, administered their own areas (the Concessions) independently of the Chinese Manchurian government. In the final chapter, Rūta Stanevičiūtė turns her attention to the neglected subject of musicological cooperation networks. She contrasts the internationalist objectives of the Soviet Union with the failure to promote anthropological comparativist models that examine both similarities and differences in cultural practices. She argues that Lithuanian historical musicology was subject to the ideological pressure of the Soviet scientific model, but that the annual meetings held by Baltic musicologists from 1967 on established an institutional basis that was able to challenge the official doctrine of Soviet music.

Derek B. Scott and Saijaleena Rantanen

Part I
Institutionalization Past and Present

Towards the Institutionalization of Musical Life in Nineteenth Century Greece and Southeastern Europe: The First Steps of the Formation of New Creative and Cultural Industries

AVRA XEPAPADAKOU

This chapter attempts to trace the evolutionary path towards the formation of an urban audience, the establishment of evening entertainment and the institutionalization of musical and theatrical life in nineteenth-century Greece and Southeastern Europe. This geographical area presents several shared particularities, among which one should mention first the Ottoman past, followed by a common European orientation. Greece, as well as the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, was under Ottoman occupation for 400 years. From 1830 until the end of the century the area witnessed the breakout of liberation movements, the formation of independent national states, and a tendency for reconnection to the Western world. At this time, together with the introduction of West European mores, one may observe a rapid progress in the spread of Western European music, always within the general frame of conscious and hurried westernization. In some areas this comes as the result of a normal evolutionary process, in others western music was literally implanted before conditions had properly ripened. But in all cases, we are faced with a particular and very interesting cultural landscape.

The aim of this chapter is not to analyze the new institutions, but the process of their creation, the path to institutionalization, the *genesis* of the creative and cultural industry. I shall therefore avoid describing the official activities of musical and theatrical institutions after their establishment, focusing instead on their early stages and on the understanding of the socio-cultural parameters which led to this establishment. Additionally, this chapter intends to mainly focus on opera and operetta, the most popular musical genres of the nineteenth century. In this area, which functioned as the *par excellence* vehicles of Europeanization and urbanization, much like other musical genres, such as chamber music, symphonic music, etc.

The introduction, dissemination, and success of art music as well as urban popular music in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, is inherently connected to the development of an urban audience and the establishment of organized evening entertainment. Concerts, opera, ballet and theater productions, balls, light musical theater, are all instantiations of an urban civilization, linked to city public life, and bourgeois needs and habits. Above all, the performing arts correspond to the urban custom of evening entertainment, involving social interaction, amusement and spectacle. It is a feature not to be found in the traditional communal forms of culture of the countryside. We shall therefore attempt to trace the trajectory of these genres in Greece and in the wider ex-Ottoman Southeastern Europe and the Near East by travelling to the old and new cities of the nineteenth century.

Area of Focus

Upon opening a nineteenth-century map, one realizes that the states of the period do not correspond to modern ones. Europe's southeastern borders are fluid, constantly growing and receding, while the spheres of influence of the new states formed after the liberation from Ottoman rule are also in a constant state of change. In Southeastern Europe particularly, the gradual reception of Western musical and theatrical culture was effectuated initially as a private activity, only later acquiring a public character through consecutive stages of institutionalization. If one tries to trace on the map the network of musical and theatrical activity in the area, one will include the Ionian Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean archipelago, and the Black Sea region. The preponderance of the sea in this geographical description is noticeable due to the fact that the spreading process followed the sea and trade routes of the period.

The loci of development for music, theater, opera and dance, in their art and urban popular forms vary and do not arise simultaneously. Careful observation indicates different points of appearance and different paces of spread in this wider area, in conjunction with urbanization and westernization. A first basic distinction should be made between areas which were previously under Ottoman control and areas which were not; the latter are by far more westernized. During the Renaissance and the Baroque era, the reception and cultivation of Western music and cultural habits can be documented in Ragusa and in the Dalmatian cities along the Adriatic coast of Catholic Croatia, but also in Orthodox Crete under Venetian dominion (1211–1669) (Holton 1991, 1–16). Later, in the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, certain areas mostly outside the Greek mainland, which included the Phanariot milieu of Constantinople and the Transdanubian principalities, saw the flourishing of the movement known as “the Greek Enlightenment,” a dynamic intellectual, cultural and nationalist phenomenon, following the models of the French Enlightenment, which lasted from 1770 until 1820 and led to the Greek war for liberation, known as the Greek Revolt of 1821 (Tabaki 2003, 45–56).

However, the most outstanding instance of a westernized Greek-speaking area is the Ionian Islands, the only area of Southeastern Europe that escaped Ottoman rule. The Ionian Islands became successively the possession of Venice (1238–1797), France (1797–1799 and 1807–1815), Russia (1800–1807) and Great Britain (1815–64). Obviously, this direct contact with the West created a unique culture, in which local traditions and Western models coexisted. Emigrants from Venetian Crete and Italian musicians initiated the locals into Western harmony and laid the foundations of Ionian music institutions and habits. The most important consequence of this was the birth on Ionian soil of a national operatic and musical tradition. The strong and first-hand connection of the Ionians to Italian opera constitutes a unique socio-historical phenomenon in the Greek-speaking world (Kardamis 2019, 296).

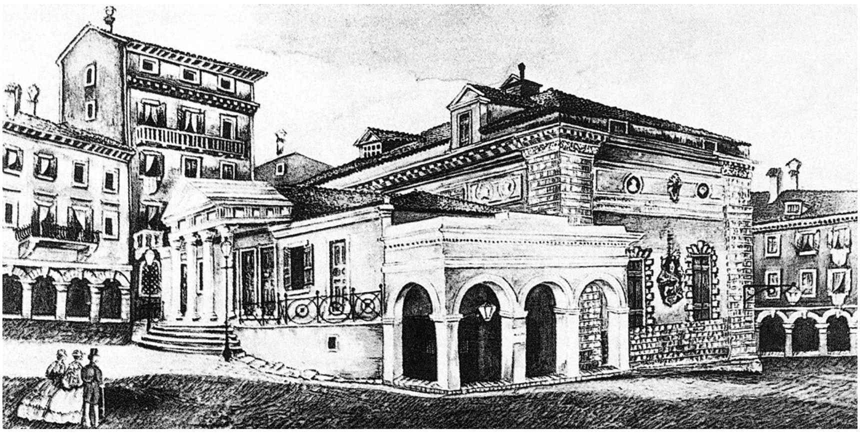


Figure 1. The Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo of Corfu. Source: Xepapadakou 2013.

In the main Ionian cities, Italian influence was dominant throughout the nineteenth century. In fact, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Ionian Islands were considered an Italian music center, a part of the Italian opera market. Italian opera monopolized Ionian musical life, while other genres, such as orchestral or piano music and chamber music, developed in the shadow of opera and under its influence. Its dissemination in the Levantine area started with the transformation of a loggia in Corfu into a permanent opera house in 1733: the Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in the city of Corfu belonged to the network of touring opera companies. Until the end of the eighteenth century more than a hundred operatic performances had taken place in this single theater, establishing a tradition of performing music theater that was interrupted only on the eve of World War II. Within the nineteenth century, the cities of Zante and Argostoli in Cephallonia followed the tracks of Corfu and built their own opera houses, thus securing autonomous cultural activity. Italian opera troupes visited the three islands throughout the nineteenth century and became favorites with all social classes. At the same time, local musical, operatic and dramatic production flourished in the Ionian Islands, making them the main pillar of Greek theater and Greek art music.

The reception process of Western music and opera, together with drama performances, imitating the cultural life of the European metropolitan cultural centers, was cultivated on many social levels, predominantly through the itinerant opera companies and local philharmonic orchestras in nearly every important city in the area. In Constantinople, the Eye of the Orient, and in the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna, the local European expatriate communities, the strong presence of the Greek element and the tendency for westernization which started to affect Ottoman rulership, led to a vivid musical and theatrical life. Actually, Constantinople was one of the focal points of this vibrant life in the second half of the nineteenth century. There, Greek troupes were cross-influenced by Italian and French troupes, together with Armenian ensembles and the slowly developing Turkish theater. Constantinople with its numerous Greek communities was also the base for tours in the areas of the northern Balkans, the Black Sea and the Caucasus (Puchner 2019, 285).

With the constitution of the New Greek state, which was the first state in Europe to gain its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the land saw the opening of new markets, led by the capital city of Athens, and of new trade ports: Patras, Hermoupolis on the island of Syros, and Piraeus, places where a vigorous commercial ruling class grew. In these cities, the cultural exchange with the West occurred directly and the ground was fertile for the reception, development, and transformation of European cultural achievements, after a process of productive fermentation with local traditions. A similar process can be observed in other Southeastern European areas; for example, new markets opened in Romania following the liberation of the Transdanubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia after 1826, followed by major Balkan cities such as Philippopolis, Burgas, etc., the area of the lower Danube, Constanţa, Varna, and today's northern Greek cities Salonica, Volos and others, the Pontus region on the north coast of Asia Minor, as well as in Egypt and Cyprus. Towards the end of the century, one may add, apart from the important cultural center of Odessa, which was already flourishing, the new port-cities of the eastern Black Sea up to the lands of the Caucasus, such as Tbilisi, Batum in modern Georgia, the Armenian cities of Yerevan and Elizabetpol (modern Ganja), termed at the time "small Caucasian Paris," and indeed up to Baku in Azerbaijan, on the shores of the Caspian sea (Xepapadakou 2019a, 322–323).

Figure 2. The Zizinia theater of Alexandria, Egypt, ca 1889. Source: Xepapadakou 2013

It is obvious that opera was the genre with the greatest growth during the nineteenth century and it almost monopolizes urban cultural life in the vast area of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. Referring to Italian opera of the *ottocento* I shall consciously employ the term "show-business," which functioned on the basis of very harsh rules of productivity, publicity and profit. The headquarters of the business were to be found in Milan (then under Hapsburg rule), and smaller head-offices were based in Bologna, Naples, Venice and Rome. Milan and Bologna were the places where everyone and everything rushed together: famous composers and minor *compositori scritturati* who produced works on commission, musicians staffing permanent or occasional orchestras, male and female singers of the first and the last orders, and all-powerful musical publishing houses which functioned as production companies. The latter did not limit their activities to the publication and exclusive sale of musical material, but also maintained full control and supervision of every production and performance of works published by them. The *case musicale,* such as Ricordi, Lucca and Sonzogno, selected opera houses, negotiated with the theater directors, interfered with the selection of performers and acted as exclusive managers for composers, operatic companies and singers. Moreover, they owned the musical press, as musical journals published articles and reviews commissioned by them. The Italian musical press of the *mezzo ottocento* has often been termed a *camorra*, a term which evokes organized corruption. Another facet of the great opera markets of Italy were the various kinds of artistic agencies and impresarios, who worked as "head-hunters," trying to get a good catch in order to organize a tour abroad. All parts involved (artists, publishing houses, theaters and *agenzie*) operated under conditions of strong competition. Opera in mid-nineteenth-century Italy was a profitable enterprise selling a highly successful cultural product, that is, it included a popular and a commercial aspect, involving, among other things exporting souvenirs, adaptations (what we would nowadays term post-production), in short everything that would ensure maximum turnover (Rosselli 1984, 145–146; Xepapadakou 2013, 41, 60, 72).

The operatic companies appearing in Ionian theaters, and later in the theaters of the new independent Greek State as well as in those of the Near East, the Balkans, etc., were formed in the above-described opera markets of Italy by minor impresarios. They, on the orders of the administrative committees of their theaters, addressed themselves to theatrical agencies and negotiated with them to form an opera troupe for the next season, or rather to purchase "package deals." These packages included the orchestra players and singers, *ballerine* when applicable, the repertoire, the sets and costumes, the frequency of performances and their dates. Of course, the quality of the package depended on the status and prestige of the commissioning theaters. For example, in the case of the Teatro di San Giacomo of Corfu, contracts were signed early, as the requirements and the expectations of the audience were high when it first opened, much higher than even the theater of the capital Athens. In any case, these ensembles were not permanent, but varied each year, and usually performed for a single season, usually from the autumn until the start of Lent. The period of the carnival was the highpoint of the year's theatrical activity (Kardamis 2014, 340–366).

A large number of documents attest to the malfunctioning of the "deals" between impresarios and ensembles, due to staffing problems, to the quality of singers and set, to missing singers and instrument-players, to over-charged expenses and budget overspending, and so forth. In some cases, ensembles or individual artists were fired mid-season for a variety of reasons, such as poor audience attendance or unsuccessful performances, low quality productions, audience displeasure, financial irregularities, and scandals. Benefit performances were also organized in honor of the public's favorite singers, or even a money collection initiated among the members of the community, in order to secure the expenses of the return travel to Italy or France for the company (Puchner 2019, 284). With the foundation of local philharmonic orchestras in many cities during the nineteenth century, experienced in Western music, the members of the opera companies were restricted mainly to singers, while the orchestra was recruited locally. Within this framework, Western art music, and particularly the "best-seller," that is, Italian opera and later French operetta, were exported, implanted, and established in the area of interest in four stages of institutionalization: "priblic," "outreach," organized and institutional. The following pages focus on the first two stages.

"Priblic"

The term "priblic" [private + public] refers to the first period of introduction of Western music in Southeastern Europe, as its main feature is its private or rather semi-public character (Theologou 2014). This phase includes private music lessons and mainly artistic events in embassies, upper-class mansions, and royal palaces. Initially, these events involved amateur performers, but soon one began to invite professional European artists to local royal courts and rich salons. Research interest has focused on the reception of Western music in the Levantine area by the upper class at the Court of the Sultan at the Supreme Porte. A typical case among many is that of Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856), the younger brother of Gaetano Donizetti. In fact, Donizetti was one of the leading figures in the *tanzimat* reforms advocating the introduction of Western music: in 1815, Mahmud II called him to Constantinople, where he settled; as “Donizetti Pasha;” he introduced Western music to the court and the military corps, assisted the annual opera season at Pera, organized concerts and operatic performances at court and was in general a significant factor of the cultural scene on the Bosporus during the first decades of the *alafranga*-period (Puchner 2019, 281).

Another case of “priblic” locations that hosted musical and theatrical events were the luxurious salons of the Phanariots, or, to be more precise, the Phanariot ladies. Phanar is a quarter in the city of Constantinople where traditionally the richest and most powerful and educated Greek families dwelt. In Phanar, as well as in the Transdanubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia—which belonged to the Ottoman Empire, were ruled by Greek Phanariots and enjoyed semi–independency as well as considerable freedoms—an elite cultural landscape was formed during the 18th and early nineteenth century. Most aristocratic ladies of the Phanar were polyglot, well-educated and moved by the spirit of the Enlightenment and the vision of Hellenic liberation. Many of them studied classical and modern literature, translated major literary works into Greek, set up libraries, organized literary and cultural gatherings in their salons, and formed theater troupes in order to give amateur performances. Most of them were musically literate and played the piano. “This is the beginning of the Hellenic nation’s education!” cried a teacher of the Phanar Hellenic Orthodox College, upon hearing a Phanariot lady playing Schubert on the piano. Similarly, the French traveler Castellan was fascinated not only by the imposing attire, but also by the musical talent of the Greek ladies of Phanar (Xepapadakou and Charkiolakis 2017, 5–7).

Among the illuminated female presences of the *epoca fanarioţilor* (the Phanariot epoch) one should single out *domnitsa* (= little lady) Rallou Karadja, the daughter of the highly educated Greek Hospodar of Wallachia, Ioannis Karadjas, a music lover himself. She marked with her brilliant activity the last years before the Greek War for Independence. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when Bucharest practically ignored even what theater was and only a single piano and a single harp were to be found in the city, it was princess Rallou who served the art of Mozart and Beethoven. She was the one who, in 1818, invited to the court theater a German ensemble led by Johann Gerger. The ensemble gave performances for some months through the winter period; the repertoire included *The Magic Flute* by Mozart, *The Robbers* by Schiller, an opera by Rossini, a tragedy by Alfieri, and other plays (Xepapadakou and Charkiolakis 2017, 5–7; Puchner 2019, 289).

Travelling to the Greek mainland, the first years of the New Greek state's Independence (1828–1831) were intertwined with the figural personality of Ioannis Capodistrias, the first governor of Greece. The new governor, a piano player himself, never hid his love for music. He, as well as the families who settled in the first capital of Greece, Nafplion,

Figure 3. The princess of Wallachia, Rallou Karadja (early 19th c.). Source: The Archive of the Centre for the Study and Research of Modern Greek Theatre.

proceeded very soon to the organization of social events, including cultural *soirées* and balls. Alexandros-Rizos Rangavis in his *Memoirs* dedicated some lines to the domestic entertainment of that period; there are descriptions of Karadjas' house, which was "one of the most elegant of the Greek capital, boasting of the rarest luxury of a clavichord and the even rarer one of a lady of the house, who could play it with a remarkable aptitude" (Rangavis 1894, 257; Schott 2004, 596–603). It seems that this impressive instrument became the object of desire and a bone of contention in the city of Nafplion; when his young daughter demanded an instrument similar to that of Karadjas' house, an aged Nafpliot politician promised: "Never you worry. If there's an uprising and his party loses, [...] it will be looted and we'll grab it from him." In other rich houses of Nafplion, like the Mavrokordatos residence, although lacking musical instruments, human inventiveness was in excess. Rangavis reports again: "We used to dance having as only orchestra the officer and man of letters K. Axelos, who sang and kept time by clapping his palms." There are many descriptions outlining the cultural environment in Nafplion from the arrival of young king Otto, the first king of Greece, from his home in Bavaria, until the relocation of the new Greek state's capital to Athens in 1834. Particularly colorful, but also quite loyal, are local accounts describing the atmosphere of the times, when the upper class families of Nafplion, amidst the waltz paroxysm, prepared to salute young Otto (Xepapadakou and Charkiolakis 2017, 13–14).

When Otto settled to the new capital, a considerable number of Bavarian officers and courtiers followed him, together with Greek emigrants from the great cities of the Greek Diaspora who were repatriated in their wake. At that time, the cultural life of Athens was centered on the royal court and the state authorities, while its main vehicles of expression were the senior civil administrators and the wealthy merchants. This motley social conglomeration was the bearer of the musical and theatrical activity in Athens, an activity developing initially privately, at court and at the mansions of the rich, and later in public spaces, mainly at the city's only theater (Xepapadakou 2019a, 323). Otto, with his vice regent, count von Armansberg, both warm music lovers, took great pains for the musical development of Greece. They saw to the importation of the first pianos, one of which was placed in the vice-regent's salon, and they invited Bavarian musicians as music teachers to the court. Very soon, singing became a compulsory class in the best Greek schools, as Otto believed that "music contributes greatly to the moral ennoblement of man and the embellishment of everyday life." Inside the walls of the royal palace several artistic events, such as concerts, plays and balls were organized. On these occasions, one could meet, apart from the members of the court and the administrative hierarchy, the higher social echelons of Athens. As was to be expected, the foreign organizers of these events, although attempting to transfer western models in their pure and unaltered form, were eventually forced, due to the particularities of the audience, to adapt themselves to the conditions offered by a city which until very recently had a strong oriental character (Xepapadakou and Charkiolakis 2017, 15).

Two decades later, during the reign of a new King, George the first from Denmark, we again meet this strange "priblic" mixture. Already by the start of the 1870s, the new King clearly showed his preference for *la culture française*. For the first time, sources of the period make mention of French comedies and vaudevilles performed in the palace. A part of the public expressed a negative view of this practice and considered the complete absence of Greek plays from palace performances as unacceptable. The crass presumptuousness of the high society of the court, which called the hall where performances were taking place *Théâtre du Palais* also became an object of ridicule (Xepapadakou 2014, 132–133).

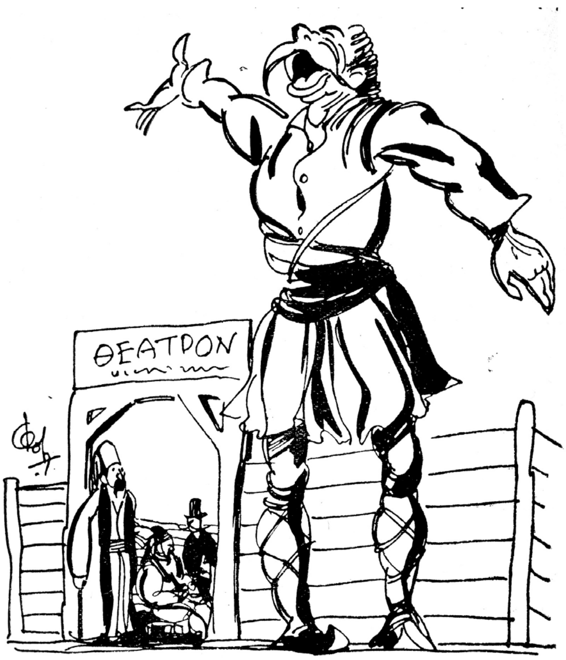
Finally, to add an exotic touch to our examples, let us take a trip to western Turkestan (modern Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan), as the area was called in the nineteenth century when it was under Russian rule, through the steppes and the deserts, the red and the black sands of Kizilkum and Karakum of Central Asia. There, at the Tcharjoui oasis, in 1891, the local ruler Beg Hadjar Kouli invited the French operetta, vaudeville and comedy troupe of Eugène Lassalle to his palace in order to revel in the merry tunes of *Mademoiselle Nitouche* (Xepapadakou 2019a, 331–332).

Outreach

The next phase, which may be termed "outreach," coincides with the establishment of urban life in our area of interest, and with the systematization of cultural habits such as evening entertainment. Within this framework, new locations of cultural events started to function with relative regularity: this involves mainly newly built opera houses, *cafés-chantants*, concert halls, and lounges. The first orchestras were formed, mainly military bands, and individual professional artists found their way on a regular basis to the new markets of the Levant. This experience led to the formation of national and local artists and troupes.

The center of musical and theatrical activity of the nineteenth century was the theater-opera house. The building and operation of theaters in the cities of Southeastern Europe was inherently connected to their urban function: the theater is an indisputable proof of urban identity and a shining landmark of Westernization: a "night school" for citizens, an open window towards European theatrical developments and a means of promoting national artistic potential. Especially in the case of Athens, the capital of Greece and the cradle of drama, the word "theater" was always spelt with an initial upper-case letter (theta) in the local press. Following the development of theater building, one observes that the first stages were hosted in non-theatrical spaces, such as hotel lounges, bourgeois salons, and clubs. The next step consisted in the attempt of private individuals to set up theaters in ramshackle buildings such as wooden warehouses and stockyards, until the first real stone theaters were built, operating semi-regularly. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost all major cities boasted a municipal theater of their own, constructed in a central location, and functioning with itinerant companies and a permanent orchestra. In the twentieth century, state operas with permanent orchestras and permanent companies were founded (Xepapadakou 2012, 253–84).

To give a few examples, from 1840 onwards, public entertainment started in Athens, with the inauguration of the first permanent stone-built Winter Theatre, which hosted Italian opera troupes and,



«Ὁ Τελάλης»

Figure 4. A town crier opens the Athenian theatrical season. Sketch by Phokion Dimitriadis (early 20th c.), published in Attikos, Eythymes Ikones tis Palaias Athinas [Hilarious Pictures of Old Athens], 1951.

more rarely, Greek theater troupes. The Italian opera companies that visited the city received state funding on a regular basis. From the 1840s until the end of the 1860s, Italian opera reigned in the night life of the major Greek urban centers. Italian troupes established themselves in Athens, as well as in the tried and true "hotspots" of the Ionian Islands, populated by Greeks but not yet annexed to the Greek state. The Athens Winter Theatre was inaugurated precisely that year, in 1840, not with some historical-patriotic drama to celebrate the occasion, as one would expect, but with *Loukia*, that is, *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti, the first ever opera to be performed on Athenian soil. It is hard to imagine the impression that the first performances of European opera must have caused on ears accustomed, until then, only to monophonic Byzantine chants, folk music and oriental *amané* songs. So, to what kind an audience was the demented bride of Scotland, with her Italian language and high vocal peaks addressed? One would expect that such an audiovisual experience would interest only those with Europeanized tastes, but reality disproves that: in fact, the opera was avidly watched by a very wide audience, as I will argue below (Xepapadakou 2014, 131).

Italian opera was even more scandalous on a visual level, since it brought for the first time women performers on stage, and on the level of content, with its focus on sensuality, erotic passion, romantic death and other extreme emotional situations. An immediate consequence of the theater's functioning was the increase and the social diversification of the audience. "All the young people know by heart the solos of *Norma*, the duets of the *Barber*, the tunes and the characters of several other à la mode operas," as reported in the sources of the period (Xepapadakou 2014, 131). Careful examination shows that the audience of the Italian *melodrammi* was extremely varied, and consisted not only of the higher classes, or of the polyglots educated in Europe. Among the spectators there were numerous representatives of all the still half-formed social classes, and even the uneducated public, who usually succumbed easily to opera's charms. "Foreigners, Greeks, army officers, merchants, Ottomans" threw out flowers and doves onstage; impassioned students gladly sold their textbooks to catch the performance of a prima donna, while the hot-tempered *foustanella*-wearers squandered their landed property for her. The hero of the Greek revolution, general Makrigiannis, gives us in his memoirs the story of old-man Londos, a veteran of the war of independence, who had fallen madly in love with an Italian soprano named Rita Basso, performing at the Winter Theatre of Athens, and had sold off his whole property for her sake. His phrase "to hell with that damned vineyard too" has remained proverbial in the Greek language and is used even nowadays to denote squandering of property for pleasure, or for a worthy cause (Xepapadakou 2014, 131).

Examining theater and opera houses of the nineteenth century more closely, the first thing to realize is that their establishment and function depended on a variety of factors and mainly on the facilitation of travel and contact with metropolitan cultural centers. Another important factor affecting building activity was the developments in European musical and theatrical repertoire. From the 1870s onwards, the repertoire underwent a renewal, and light musical theater was introduced as the

Figure 5. The sensual presence of the Italian *primedonne* onstage scandalized the conservative circles. Sketch by Themos Anninos, published in the *Skokos Almagnac* 1886.

new craze in Southeastern Europe. By the time operetta had become established, in the 1880s, Athens had started to function as a main stop or starting point for itinerant French operetta troupes. In a period of high artistic supply and demand, especially during the summer months, new open-air theaters started to grow on the banks of the river Ilissos and on the waterfront of Phaleron bay, offering a repertoire agreeable to all, ranging from popular pantomime to opera. The audience flocked to these venues, and enjoyed a pleasant entertainment package, including spectacle, fresh air, moonlight, and social mingling. A little earlier, the *café-chantant* was promoted as the latest thing in bourgeois fashion. The opening of the first *café-chantant* in 1871 met with an unprecedented success and had crucial influence on theatrical life. It provided incentive for the introduction of organized musical entertainment at the Athenian cafes and opened the way for open-air theaters. At the *café-chantant*, French, Bohemian and German beauties drove the audience crazy with their airs and graces and with their light, coquettish and scandalous repertoire. In the same period the distinction of cultural life between urban genres (opera, operetta, vaudeville, café-chantant, variété, prose theater) and folk/popular ones (pantomime, shadow-theater, café-aman) became stronger (Xepapadakou 2019b, 168–169).

The vision of *grand opéra* and Wagner music drama productions, and of the building of great stages capable of hosting demanding performances, lead to the next phase of organized and systematized musical and theatrical life. This happened with the Municipal Theatre of Athens, which was constructed in the vain hope, as it eventually turned out, to host "great dramas with a proper *mise en scène*." It is the period when interest in Wagner and symphonic music, which until then involved only a small minority, grew enormously. It was fired partly by a major social event of the time, the wedding of the crown prince of Greece, Constantine, to the German princess Sophia von Hohenzollern. These theaters were staffed by semi-permanent or permanent orchestras, made up mostly of members of philharmonic companies or military bands, whose activities also included public ceremonies such as religious and civic events, or performances for public entertainment in the city gardens or squares (Xepapadakou 2012, 253–284).

All these musical institutions would inevitably have declined and disappeared, were it not for the main driving force of musical-theatrical activity in Southeastern Europe: the itinerant companies. In fact, the frequency of an itinerant company's visits caused and hastened the building and opening of private and public theaters. It is impossible to calculate how many Western European opera, operetta and drama troupes followed the road to the East from the beginning of the eighteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. What is certain is that between 1733, the year when the theater San Giacomo of Corfu was inaugurated, and the Second World War, when the Greek National Opera was founded and the Greek capital acquired its own permanent opera troupe, a multiplicity of touring companies found their way onto the Greek stage. To approach the reality of their lives and to record their activities in the nineteenth century, one needs to have access to a variety of sources, not always connected to artistic life. It is not sufficient to study the process of construction and functioning of theatrical buildings, an event which always signals the opening of a new artistic market; it is equally important to follow the rapid development of public works and communication networks, such as the construction of roads, railroads, and ports, and to understand their function. The first step in tracing the stops of a troupe's tour is to carefully check the map, but also the regular steamship itineraries and port connections of the nineteenth century. In this way one may guess the next stop in the tour even if the primary sources provide no information (Xepapadakou 2019a, 326–327).

The strong tendency for Westernization and urbanization which was observable in the recently liberated areas of the Ottoman Empire as well as in the cosmopolitan centers of the Orient has been analyzed above. The turn to the West, the adoption of western habits, the abandonment of the traditional way of life, the concentration of population in cities determined the target audience of the troupes' tours. They addressed the bourgeois or upper-class audiences of the big cities. Moreover, historical events, religious or political reforms cannot be ignored, such as the *Hatt-i hümâyûn* edict of 1856, a set of measures relaxing the strictness of Ottoman administration and allowing European artists to disseminate the art of drama and opera in the lands of the Ottoman Empire and to infiltrate it more deeply. Finally, one should take into consideration the technological advances of the audiovisual industry, which marked indelibly the dawn of the twentieth century and overturned all previous experience: the first recordings and, later, discography, the cinema, the radio, and the television. The mass production and reproduction of sound and image seriously damaged the need for live entertainment and rendered the very existence of itinerant troupes potentially superfluous (Xepapadakou 2019a, 327–328).

Organized and Institutional

The last phase, during which musical and theatrical life became more systematized, is characterized by the regular operation of Municipal theaters. As already said, these theaters were subsidized by municipal funds, and hosted temporary companies, while their orchestras were mostly permanent. They were usually governed by a committee consisting of high-profile citizens, and the chief musician, or maestro. The establishment of a home base and the beginning of a more organized artistic life in the major urban centers would favor the creation and functioning of local operatic music ensembles. The importance of this step must be underlined: it was not only the work and activity of emblematic composers, but also the formation of local artistic companies and the flourishing of local artists that led to institutionalization. In this final phase, Greek troupes based in Athens or Constantinople, or Corfu or Zante, toured constantly, weaving a connecting web between Greek communities inside and outside the Greek state. Their itineraries, as far as they have been reconstructed, show a very high mobility across a vast geographic area, including the Ionian Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean, the archipelago, and the Black Sea region. The same holds for independent artists of the nineteenth century, such as the leading actresses Pipina Vonasera, Aikaterini Veroni and Evangelia Paraskevopoulou who made extended tours in the vast area of the Levant (Puchner 2019, 286–287).

A brief mention of the main Greek opera company that was active in the early twentieth century, namely the *Hellenikon Melodrama* ["Greek Melodrama"] is necessary. This emblematic opera company contributed decisively to the establishment of the lyrical art in the broader Greek territory and its development within and outside the borders of the Greek state. It served as the precursor—as a fertile school of artists—of the Greek National Opera. In its philosophy and vision, *melodrama* came first—with the use of this archaic term referring both to the opera genre and to the opera institutions—a "melodrama" that was Greek. This view was based on the fact that the majority of the members of the company were Greek performers, and on stage the Greek language was preferentially employed. In this context, Dionysios Lavrangas, the company's director sought to ensure the translation of the librettos in the Greek language. In this way, the repertoire would be comprehensible by the Greek-speaking audience. Moreover, in their numerous tours in and out of the Greek borders, the Greek artists chose to promote operatic creation in Greek by encouraging the production of new musical compositions and by restaging earlier operas deriving from the Ionian operatic heritage, among which were the well-known works of Pavlos Carrer and of Spyridon Xyndas. Thanks to them, thanks to those who "travelled in turbulent seas and suffered shipwrecks, squeezed in third class train cars and slept in dirty steamboat decks," the European as well as the

Greek operatic repertory spread and became popular "around the small Greek state and the wide Hellenism abroad" (Vekiarellis 1928, 5). It was among the members of those first companies that the Greek National Opera, founded in 1939, just prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, would find its first personnel. Also, many of the professional artists employed in the Greek Melodrama were teachers in the first organized music and dance schools, the first of which was the Odeon of Athens, founded in 1871, which soon became the center of musical education in Greek (Xepapadakou 2017, xxii–xxx, xliv–lii).

Figure 6. Members of the Greek Melodrama troupe touring in Egypt, late 19th c. Courtesy of Stathis Arphanis. Source: The Stathis Arphanis Home Archive.

In the same period, one may observe the gradual increase of the professional and commercial dimension of music and theater. Following the last steps towards institutionalization, musical publishing houses appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Ionian Islands, while the first Athenian music publisher, Zacharias Veloudios, became active in 1887, to be followed by many, while in the newspapers one finds daily advertisements for the sale, construction, or repair of musical instruments, and for private music lessons. Finally, in the first decades in the twentieth century, the first musical recordings take place, mostly in the Greek immigrant communities of New York and Chicago in the USA. In the second half of the twentieth century, one may speak of a fully institutionalized musical life in Greece, as state orchestras have been founded, music and musicology has entered in secondary and university education, and new state institutions have been established such as the Athens Festival and the Athens Concert Hall.

To sum up, as is the case with all related cultural phenomena in Greece and Southeastern Europe, drama, opera, and operetta too, belong to the area of the history of European performing arts. Consequently, their trajectory in the *Levante* is not constructed only through the life and work of major composers and performers, or through the history of stable cultural institutions; it first needs to be connected to the development of urban life and the continuous trend for westernization and Europeanization characterizing nineteenth century Southeastern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. In that vast and culturally complex area, the musical and theatrical life developed gradually through consecutive phases of institutionalization. One needs to look closer to fragments of everyday urban life to shape a vivid picture of nineteenth-century musical and theatrical activity, to understand the process of the formation of an urban audience, the foundation and operation of the first creative and cultural industries, and the organization of the official artistic scene.

List of References

Archival Sources

The Archive of the Centre for the Study and Research of Modern Greek Theatre.

The Stathis Arphanis Home Archive.

Bibliography

Attikos. 1951. Εύθυμες εικόνες της παλαιάς Αθήνας [Hilarious Pictures of Old Athens], Athens.

Holton, David (ed.). 1991. *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Kardamis, Kostas. 2014. "The Music of the Ionian Islands and its Contribution to the Emergence of 'Greek National Music.'" In *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, edited by Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon, 340–366. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Kardamis, Kostas. 2019. "Orientalism in the Art Music of the Ionian Islands." In *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, 296–317. London: The British Academy-Oxford University Press.

Puchner, Walter. 2019. "A Typology of Western Music and Theatre Activity in South-East Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region in Premodern Times." In *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, 279–295. London: The British Academy-Oxford University Press.

Rangavis [Rangabé], Alexandros-Rizos. 1894. *Memoirs I & II*. Athens: Georgios Kasdonis.

Rosselli, John. 1984. *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schott, Howard 2004. "The Clavichord Revival, 1800–1960." *Early Music* 32 (4): 595–603.

Skokos, A. Konstantinos. 1886. *A National Yearly Almanac of 1886*. Athens: Anestis Konstantinides Typography 136.

Tabaki, Anna. 2003. "Les Lumières Néo-Helléniques: Un Essai de Définition et de Périodisation." In *The Enlightenment in Europe: Unity and Diversity*, edited by Werner Schneiders, 45–56. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.

Theologou, Kostas. 2014. "The 'Priblic' (a Modern-Greek Particularity) and Public Space in Modern Greece." In *Continuities, Discontinuities, Ruptures in the Greek World (1204-2014): Economy, Society, History, Literature.* Proceedings of the 5th European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, vol. 1, edited by Konstantinos A. Dimadis, 81–95. Athens: European Society of Modern Greek Studies.

Vekiarellis, Vassileios. 1928. "Οἱ πρόδρομοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι. Πῶς ἐνεφανίσθη διὰ πρώτην φορὰν τὸ ἑλληνικὸν μελόδραμα. Ὁ ἡρωισμὸς τῶν ἱδρυτῶν του καὶ ἡ νίκη των" [Precursors and Teachers. The Way the First Greek Opera Appeared. The Heroism of its Founders and Their Victory]. *Ethnos*, 11 November, 5.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2012. "Δημοτικό Θέατρο Αθηνών: Τα πρώτα χρόνια της κακοδαιμονίας ενός συγγρείου ευεργετήματος [The Municipal Theatre of Athens: The First Years of Malaise]." *Ariadne* (18): 253–84.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2013. *Pavlos Karrer*. Athens: Fagottobooks.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2014. "Idolatry and Sacrilege: Offenbach's Operetta in Nineteenth-Century Athens." *Studies in Musical Theatre* 8 (2): 129–141.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2017. "'The Second Life:' The Stage History of the Comic Opera *The Parliamentary Candidate by S. Xyndas* between the nineteenth and the twentieth Century." In *The Parliamentary Candidate (1867–2017), Spartito and Libretto*, edited by Spyridon Xyndas-Ioannis Rinopoulos, xxii–xxx and xliv–lii. Corfu: Corfu Philharmonic Society.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2019a. "European Itinerant Opera and Operetta Companies Touring in the Near and Middle East." In *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, 318–333. London: The British Academy-Oxford University Press.

Xepapadakou, Avra. 2019b. "Operetta in Greece." In *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, edited by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott, 167–186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Xepapadakou, Avra and Alexandros Charkiolakis. 2017. *Interspersed with Musical Entertainment. Music in Greek Salons of the Nineteenth Century*. Athens: Hellenic Music Centre.

Music Hall: Regulations and Behaviour in a British Cultural Institution

DEREK B. SCOTT

The new institutionalism in sociological analysis of organizations strives not only to reveal the way human beings are under obligations to comply with rules and regulations, but also to show how an institution encourages actions that appear to be voluntary, self-governing, or taken for granted. The music hall in nineteenth-century Britain offers an example of a cultural institution that was governed by legal measures and in-house regulations, but in which unscripted codes of behaviour also came into play. Its organizational dynamics, its routines, classifications, and ambiguous goals, make it a ripe subject for an investigation guided by the shifts in emphases that have characterized the methodology of new institutional research (see Powell and Di Maggio 1991, 13). At times, the performers or audience were under coercion to act in a certain way, but at other times constraints on behaviour were more indirect, because the music hall created common understanding of what was acceptable or respectable. There is, however, a further complication to consider: sometimes insider notions of what is normative or appropriate come into conflict with outsider concerns about music-hall behaviour. These various pressures are examined in the context of rowdiness, drunkenness, obscenity, prostitution, and aggressive nationalism.[1]

---

1 An earlier version of this chapter was given at The Future of Music Conference in Belgrade, and published in *Musicology* 26, Journal of the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (2017): 61–74. It was one of four presentations on Music and Institutionalization, given by a round table comprising Olli Heikkinen, Vesa Kurkela, Saijaleena Rantanen and Derek Scott.

The UK's Theatres Act of 1843 (which lasted until 1968) allowed magistrates to grant licences for popular entertainments, such as those that took place in saloons and pubs. Those entertainments developed into music hall. The Lord Chamberlain, however, retained control of theaters of spoken drama, and continued to censor plays before their production. Thus, it came about that some of the rules that music halls had to follow were not imposed primarily for moral reasons or for reasons linked to conventional ideas of criminality. For example, it was a contentious issue how long a sketch could be in a venue licenced as a music hall or theater of varieties, rather than a legitimate theater. The spoken drama was prohibited at music halls, because the legitimate theater was its home. A problem arose in the 1880s, however, about the duration a comic sketch might have before it was considered a play. Sketches were becoming longer, but overstepping the mark was by consensus rather than a law demanding strictly that a sketch should not exceed a duration of ten minutes. However, although stretching a sketch to fifteen minutes might be tolerated, this flexible attitude was being severely tested in the 1890s, as sketches began to expand further. The problem was not resolved until 1912, when the Lord Chamberlain insisted that, for every sketch, there must be six other variety turns on the bill (see Russell 1996, 69).

Outsider concerns about the morality of the halls were strongly expressed in the 1890s by Mrs Ormiston Chant and others, who were scornfully labelled "prudes on the prowl," a phrase was coined by Clement Scott of the *Daily Telegraph* (Short 1951, 212). The Empire Theatre of Varieties in Leicester Square had a spacious promenade at the back of the dress circle which, in the 1890s, became a focus of moral anxiety about prostitutes and young men of the town. Mrs Chant and her friends opposed the Empire Theatre's licence on the grounds that this part of the theater "was a rendezvous for the purposes of solicitation by women of an improper character" (Stuart and Park 1895, 194). A screen was erected to allay some of these concerns, but it was torn down by a group of young men and deposited in pieces outside the theater. It should not be casually assumed that those responsible for this action were members of a disaffected working class; Winston

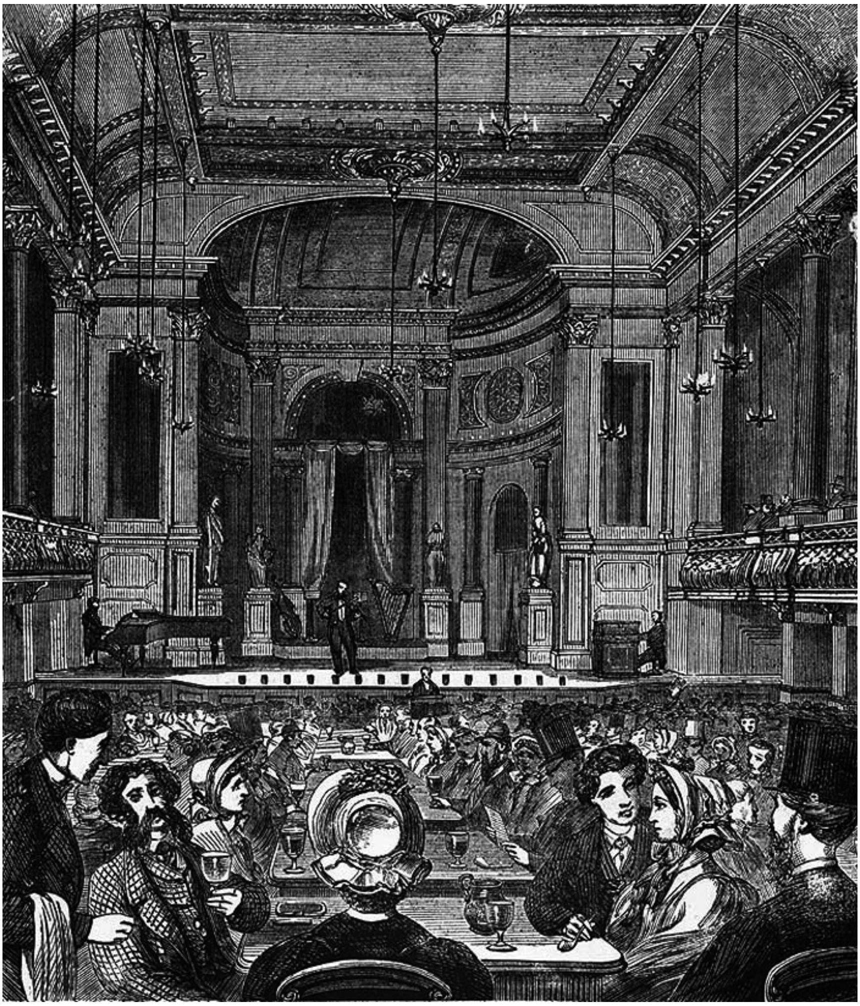


Figure 1. Oxford Music Hall, London, c. 1870. Source: London Theatre Museum collection (wrongly dated as c. 1875).

Churchill, who had been born into the aristocratic family of the Dukes of Marlborough, was among them (Short 1951, 212).

Changes took place in the auditoriums of music halls and had an influenced on the behaviour of patrons. Figure 1 shows the interior of the Oxford around 1870, with its apse stage (one that resembles a chapel).

When it was rebuilt following a fire in November 1872, it acquired a proscenium, which creating its typical window around the stage. The most significant change, however, was that benches replaced the tables and chairs in the auditorium. In Figure 1, people can be seen eating, drinking, chatting, and even ignoring what is happening on stage, but this now became more difficult. The next step in changing behaviour was to come about when London County Council, which had regulatory responsibility for the halls, began to refuse licences for the consumption of alcoholic drinks in the auditorium of newly built music halls.

That was part of a new phase of music hall development that took place in the 1880s and 1890s, as they were turned into theaters of variety. Cultural historian Dave Russell stresses that this change "was not the result of a coherent, planned strategy; individual managers and owners utilized numerous approaches" (Russell 1996, 61). Among the external influences on change were increases in disposable income, and increased desire on the part of women to attend theatrical performances. In the 1890s, the entrepreneur manager George Edwardes had promoted a new genre of musical comedy that was attractive to women who would have harboured doubts about the respectability of music halls. There were legal pressures towards change, too, especially when London County Council showed growing reluctance to grant drink licences in the 1890s. In that decade, Russell estimates that drink sales brought in 15 % to 20 % of the total takings (Russell 1996, 62).

There is also a need to consider that the regulatory framework and practices of institutions change over time in response to competition from other institutions. Where music hall is concerned, such changes were brought about by competition in the entertainment business. The appeal of the newer style of variety entertainment that catered for family audiences in the later nineteenth century led to the "continuous show," in which one performer followed on from another performer without the need for a chairman to make announcements or maintain order when audience noise increased during the breaks between "turns."

All these factors were drivers for change, although attention has tended to focus on the moral agendas of Oswald Stoll and Edward

Moss who formed a business partnership in 1898, and, by 1905, controlled thirty-seven variety theaters in cities throughout the UK. These were commonly referred to as the Moss Empires, since they almost all had "Empire" in their name. The dominance of the singer—especially, the comic singer—began to weaken in the two closing decades of the nineteenth century, as the programme incorporated more diversity of performance (see Tables 1 and 2). That, of course, is the very meaning of "variety theater."

Week commencing Sept. 18th, 1893.

1	**Overture** ... ... "*Electric*," J. Worswick.	*By the Band*
2	**Miss Winifred Johnson**	*Banjoist & Dancer*
3	**Mr. Tom Leamore** ...	*Comedian*
4	**Mr. Will Evans and Miss Ada Luxmore**	*Eccentric Instrumentalists*
5	**Miss Ada Lundberg**	*Comedienne*
6	**Miss Flo Hastings**	*Serio Comic*
7	**Mr. Sam Redfern**	*Negro Comedian*
8	**Miss Kate James** ...	*Comedienne*
9	**Miss Lucy Clarke**	*Ballad Vocalist*
10	**The Bros. Horn**	*In their Boxing Sketch*
11	**Miss Florrie Gallimore**	*Serio Comic*
12	**Mr. Harry Atkinson**	*The Australian Orpheus*
13	**Mr. R. G. Knowles** . .	*Comedian*
14	**Miss Minnie Cunningham**	*Serio Comic & Dancer*
15	**Mr. Leo Stormont**	*Baritone Vocalist*
16	**Miss Nellie Navette**	*Serio Comic & Dancer*
17	**Mr. Charles Godfrey**	*Comedian*
18	**Miss Fannie Leslie**	*Burlesque Artist*
19	**Mr. Dan Leno** ..	*Comedian*
20	**Miss Marie Lloyd**	*Comedienne*
21	**Miss Jenny Valmore**	*Serio Comic*
22	**Mr. Arthur Rigby** ...	*Comedian*

Table 1. Music Hall programme from the Oxford Music Hall, 18 September 1893. Table is drawn from a programme reproduced in Short, 1951, 229.

1	Overture, "Tivoli Revels"	Angelo Asher
2	Little Chip	Comedian
3	Flo Gallimore	Comedienne
4	G. W. Kenway	Mimic
5	Bros. Horn	Boxing Sketch
6	Jenny Valmore	Serio-Comic
7	Dutch Daly	Comedian
8	Ada Lundberg	Comedienne
9	Harry Atkinson	The Australian Orpheus
10	Marie Le Blanc	Comedienne
11	The Three Delevines	In their Satanic Gambols
12	Minnie Cunningham	Serio & Dancer
13	G. W. Hunter	Comedian
14	Howard Reynolds	Cornet Soloist
15	"Mahomet"	The educated Talking and Thought-Reading Horse.
16	Tom White's Arabs	[Horses]
17	Kate James	Comedienne
18	F. H. Celli	Baritone Vocalist
19	Nellie Navette	Serio-Comic & Dancer
20	Sam Redfern	The Black Philosopher
21	The Kellinos	In their Risley Act
22	Evans and Luxmore	Musical Eccentrics

Table 2. Tivoli Music Hall on the Strand, programme for 2.30 Saturday matinee, 30 December 1893. Table is drawn from a playbill reproduced on the Arthur Lloyd.co.uk web pages (http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/).

The subject position of music halls and cafés-concerts was that of the upper-working-class or lower-middle-class male. Even the large Queen's Music Hall, situated in solidly working-class Poplar, assumed the audience would share the values of those social groups. Matthew Hanly, a representative of the London United Workmen's Committee (established in 1878), informed a Parliamentary Select Committee that the music halls in the East End and south east of London (home to a population of two million) were "considered the great entertainment of the working man and his family." He gave the example of the Queen's music hall at Poplar, and then added, "at the present time music halls have reached a very high state of morality and can compare very favourably with the theatres" (*Minutes of Evidence* 1892, 327). The performers themselves were of a mixed class background: of the *lions comiques* in London, for example, George Leybourne had been a mechanic and the Great MacDermott a bricklayer, but the Great Vance was formerly a solicitor's clerk. The toff or "swell" character of the 1860s appealed to socially aspiring lower-middle-class males. Leybourne, the most acclaimed of the swells, was given a contract in 1868, at the height of his success with the song *Champagne Charlie* (Figure 2) requiring that he continued his swell persona off stage (Bailey 1986, 50–51 and 1998, 102–104). The swell, however, is double-coded: he might inscribe admiration for wealth and status, but he subverts bourgeois values in celebrating excess and idleness ("A noise all night, in bed all day and swimming in Champagne," boasts Charlie). In London, the socially mixed music halls were in the center and attracted bohemian types from the beginning; the working-class halls were in the East End and south London.

In London, attempts were made to control rowdy behaviour in music halls, although Peter Bailey observes that magistrates were generally tolerant to the halls unless they were "under pressure from reform lobbies" (Beiley 1987, 157). Concern about prostitution in theaters and music halls grew in the second half of the century (Kift 1996, 136–39; Höher 1986, 74–75). The music hall was especially disliked by some sections of "respectable" society, not just because of the availability of alcohol there, but because alcohol was also celebrated in song (hence,

Figure 2. Sheet music title-page depicting George Leybourne as "Champagne Charlie." Source: Author's Collection.

there were attempts to create "coffee music halls"). At one social level could be found Cockney costermonger characters such as Bessie Bellwood calling for her pint of stout (*What Cheer, 'Ria*, 1885), or Gus Elen yearning constantly for half pints of ale (*'Arf a Pint of Ale*, 1905), and, at another, dandy characters George Leybourne and Alfred Vance praising, respectively, champagne from Moët (*Champagne Charlie*, 1866) and from Cliquot (*Cliquot*, 1870).

The music hall audience in London, however, defended its values and behavior when the law was used in a repressive manner, turning up in large numbers at the halls, at law courts and licensing sessions, and writing letters and petitions (Kift 1996, 183). Indeed, when morality-campaigner Laura Ormiston Chant initiated action in 1894 against the Empire Theatre of Varieties, Leicester Square, claiming that prostitutes frequented its promenade, there was even middle-class resentment. It is a case that challenges the usual assumption of Victorian prudery.

Neglected in the above account of music-hall morality is the wholesome presence of entertainers like Harry Clifton and Felix McGlennon who prided themselves on their impeccable repertoire. Moreover, despite the variety of music-hall audiences, and despite the presence at times of subversive elements in the entertainment provided, it must be stressed again that the values most commonly upheld were bourgeois in character. This does not mean that the London bourgeoisie were unanimously in an insistence on moral propriety. Edward Pigott, Examiner of Stage Plays for the Lord Chamberlain, informed the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment in 1892, "generally, it is towards the West End of the town, and amongst richer, idler, and more fashionable audiences that a famished manager would prefer to seek in scandal and indecency the means of replenishing an exhausted treasury" (*Minutes of Evidence* 1892, 330).

The clearest example of coercive control is censorship. Censorship of British music hall songs was a responsibility given, in the first instance, to the managers. A contract offered to performers at Collins's Music Hall, Islington Green, required them to present any new song to the management for approval seven days before it was to be sung, and anyone "giving expression to any vulgarity" on stage was subject to instant dismissal.[2] Similar rules applied at the Middlesex Music Hall. In 1871, the Middlesex magistrates temporarily closed down the Alhambra Music Hall in Leicester Square after a high-kicking routine performed by a dancer outraged decency (while delighting most of the audience). The young woman responsible for the performance was immediately engaged at the Philharmonic Music Hall in Islington. The manager of that establishment, Charles Morton, who had been fined for presenting spoken plays in the past had managed to obtain a full theater licence and, therefore, his premises came under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain's Office. As a consequence, "that wicked, wicked dance was danced every night" (Soldene 1897, 95). The lesson was learnt by the Alhambra and, when it was rebuilt after a fire in 1882, it re-opened with a theater licence. That meant it could continue to offer variety performance, but, as a legitimate theater, it was not allowed to sell drinks in the auditorium. After the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888, London County Council (LCC) became responsible for regulating and licensing music halls, meaning that, should a manager fail to restrain indecent performers, then the LCC could step in and, if deemed necessary, withdraw the hall's licence, thereby putting all its related staff out of work.

The music halls were diligently policed, and the law was sometimes used harshly. A hall could be closed if single women were seen entering without men, the assumption being that they were looking for business as prostitutes. Yet, it was more difficult to use the law to enforce moral rectitude where songs were concerned. The saucy song with a sexual theme was part of music hall from its beginnings. The difficulty for censorship was that "suggestiveness" was something difficult to pinpoint or prove. In *Jones's Sister* (c. 1865), the singer makes the mistake of courting his friend's wife under the impression, that she is his friend's sister. Since she makes no attempt to correct the mistake, this might be thought a song about licentious behaviour, or, it might be believed that

2 Contract reproduced in Appendix 4 of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment, 1892, 441.

she merely enjoys the flattery of his attentions. As another example, consider a song written, composed and sung by the *lion comique* Arthur Lloyd, a song whose title is still a well-known saying today, *It's Naughty but It's Nice* (1873). Here is a sample:

> I kiss'd her two times on the cheek,
> I would have kiss'd her thrice,
> But I whisper'd, ain't it naughty?
> She said, Yes, but it's so nice.

The words are innocent enough, but the implication that naughtiness is nice brings with it a sense of moral danger. Another song plays upon fears of a moral threat to women and girls of respectable families. What men could pose a seductive danger in the hallowed middle-class home? For one, the piano tuner. We can only speculate about the parental reaction to the chorus of *The Tuner's Oppor-tuner-ty* (1879).

> At first he'd tune it gently, then he'd tune it strong,
> Then he'd touch a short note, then he'd run along,
> Then he'd go with a vengeance, enough to break the key,
> At last he tuned whene'er he got an opportunity.

Censorship was also blunt weapon when deployed against certain performers, and it is here that we find the more indirect forms of institutional constraints on behaviour coming into play. The music hall audience had a common understanding of what was acceptable and what was obscene. The institution created common understandings and normative obligations. Obscenity might have been tolerated at the make-shift stages of the "Penny Gaff," but not in the music hall, and compliance in this matter was assured because obscene behaviour was something that was not even conceived of in this context. It furnishes an example of the kind of compliance without direct constraint that Richard W. Scott sees occurring in those circumstances where alternative behaviour is unthinkable (Scott 2014, 68). In the music hall, it was innuendo that appealed to a knowing audience, not outright crudity.

The difficulty for the law was that suggestiveness was something awkward to pinpoint or prove, and I'll end with some examples. There is no doubt, for example, that it was the way Marie Lloyd performed that had such an impact on her audience—the lack of bodily discipline seen in the gestures, winks, and knowing smiles that she employed to lend suggestiveness to apparently innocent music hall songs, like *What's That For, Eh?* (Figure 3).

Marie Lloyd sang this song at the Oxford, and it was the subject of a complaint at a meeting of the London County Council in October 1896 (Pennybacker 1986, 131). However, Marie Lloyd constantly found ways to evade censorship, even when it was clear that she was overstepping the mark. The device of innuendo is found in many of her best-known songs, such as *A Little of What You Fancy Does You Good* (1915) and *When I Take My Morning Promenade* (1910). In the latter, she concedes that her dress shows her shape just a little bit, but that's "the little bit the boys admire." Her son, *Twiggy Voo?* (1892), is entirely about the role of innuendo in its diverse social contexts. She often signalled an innuendo with a wink of the eye, and sings about that stratagem in *The Twiddly Wink* (1912).

> What does it mean? Don't know. Do you?
> Still it's wonderful what a wonderful lot
> The twiddly wink can do.

Some of her songs built on innuendo now require a little information to be given beforehand. It was common for prostitutes to avoid entrapment by police officers by using railway metaphors. Wondering how far a client wants to go, could easily be converted into talk about whether you want to get off a one railway station or another further down the line. In the song *Oh, Mr Porter* (1892) she sings of being taken on to Crewe when she meant to get off at Birmingham. When Marie Lloyd sang songs about the railways, it was never quite what it seemed. One of Lloyd's songs told of a young woman with no experience of the railways and contained the line: "She'd never had her ticket punched before" (*What Did She Know about Railways?*). The moral outrage felt

Figure 3. "What's That For, Eh?" Words by W. T. Lytton, music by G. Le Brunn. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1892.

by some people can easily be imagined, but it is far more difficult to say what they could have done about it. The words are absolutely harmless, and she would have argued—she always did—that those who protested about the vulgarity of her songs merely made their own filthy minds known to the public.

Marie Lloyd's career illustrates the complex manner in which institutional power operated directly and indirectly. She achieved the highest stardom in the institution of music hall, and she may have seemed to have succeeded in always having her own way. However, when a shift in the institution's quest for respectability led to the production of the very first Royal Variety Show in 1912, with royalty present, she was denied the opportunity to perform. Yet, saucy songs, of varying degrees of vulgarity, had continued unabated in the Edwardian music hall, an example being *Has Anybody Seen My Tiddler?* (1910). Royal Variety Shows were not going to put a stop to something so characteristic of the music hall. Indeed, such songs clearly informed the repertoire of later variety artists like George Formby, whose father (of the same name) was a music hall entertainer.

List of References

Arthur Lloyd.co.uk. *The Music Hall and Theatre History Site Dedicated to Arthur Lloyd, 1839–1904.* <http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/Tivoli/TivoliTheatre-Programme.htm> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Bailey, Peter. 1986. "Champagne Charlie: Performance and Ideology in the Music Hall Swell Song." In *Music Hall: Performance and Style*, edited by Jacqueline S. Bratton, 49–69. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Bailey, Peter. 1987. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885*. London: Methuen. (Originally published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.)

Bailey, Peter. 1998. *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Höher, Dagmar. 1986. "The Composition of Music Hall Audiences." In *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, edited by Peter Bailey, 73–92. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Kift, Dagmar. 1996. *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict*. Translated by Roy Kift. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Originally published as *Arbeiterkultur im gesellschaftlichen Konflikt: die englische Music Hall im 19. Jahrhundert*. Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1991.)

London Theatre Museum. Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=19934650> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Minutes of Evidence. 1892. Taken before the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO.

Pennybacker, Susan. 1986. "'It was not what she said, but the way in which she said it:' The London County Council and the Music Hall." In *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, edited by Peter Bailey, 118–140. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Powell, Walter W. and Paul J. Di Maggio (eds.). 1991. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Russell, Dave. 1996. "Varieties of Life: The Making of the Edwardian Music Hall." In *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage*, edited by Michael R. Booth and Joel H. Kaplan, 61–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, Derek B. 2017. "Music Hall: Regulations and Behaviour in a British Cultural Institution." *Musicology* 26 (Journal of the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts): 61–74.

Scott, Richard W. 2014. *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 4th ed.

Short, Ernest Henry. 1951. *Sixty Years of Theatre*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Soldene, Emily. 1897. *My Theatrical and Musical Recollections*. London: Downey.

Stuart, Charles Douglas and A. J. Park. 1895. *The Variety Stage: A History of the Music Halls from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Songs Cited

A Little of What You Fancy Does You Good. Words by Fred W. Leigh, music by George Arthurs. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1915.

'Arf a Pint of Ale. Words and music by Charles Tempest, London: Darewski, 1905.
Champagne Charlie. Words by George Leybourne, music by Alfred Lee. London: Charles Sheard, 1867.

Cliquot. Words by Frank W. Green, music by J. Riviere. London, 1870.
Has Anybody Seen My Tiddler? Words by J. Mills, music by Frank W. Carter. London: Feldman, 1910.

It's Naughty but It's Nice. Written and composed by Arthur Lloyd. London: D'Alcorn, 1873.

Jones's Sister. Written and composed by Harry Sydney. London: D'Alcorn, *c.* 1865
Oh, Mr Porter. Words by Thomas Le Brunn, music by George Le Brunn. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1892.

The Tuner's Oppor-tuner-ty. Words by H. Adams, music by Frederick Coyne. London: Howard, 1879.

The Twiddly Wink. Words by Fred W. Leigh, music by Orlando Powell. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1912.

Twiggy Voo? Words by Richard Morton, music by George Le Brunn. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1892.

What Cheer, 'Ria. Words by Bessie Bellwood, music by Will Herbert. London: Hopwood & Crew, 1887.

What Did She Know about Railways? (She'd Never Had Her Ticket Punched Before). Words by C. G. Coates, music by Bennet Scott. London, n.d.

What's That For, Eh? Words by W. T. Lytton, music by George Le Brunn. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1892.

When I Take My Morning Promenade (Do You Think My Dress Is a Little Bit?). Words by Arthur J. Mills, music by Bennett Scott. London: Star Music Publishing, 1910.

National Radio Broadcasting: The Last Bastion of Modernism in the Interwar Period in Brussels

KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS

The existence of public performances, held by concert organizations, was a basic condition for establishing modernist music (see Boone, Declerck, Rao and Van den Buys 2012, 44–66). Just after World War I, concert organizations in Brussels were mostly private initiatives taken on by cultural entrepreneurs belonging to the rich francophone bourgeoisie. The concerts were commercially oriented and financed by shareholders, donors, and ticket sales. These cultural entrepreneurs were ambitious and wanted to turn Brussels into an important international centre of modernist music that could compete with other major cities like Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. They invested massive means and energy to firmly establish new music in Brussels. The intellectual and ideological value that modernist music had to offer to Brussels cultural elite fit their ethos of *Bildungsbürgertum* (well-educated upper- and middle-class families).[1] The vision of Henry Le Boeuf (1874–1835), banker, patron, director of the Concerts Populaires (1919–1929) and later of the Philharmonic Society (1929–1935), is an example of this (see Montens, 2000). Although Le Boeuf also struggled personally with the new stylistic characteristics of Stravinsky's work, he did not believe that his

1 The term itself is a concept difficult to translate into the English language. The word *Bildung* has a broader meaning than that of "culture" or "education" and is deeply rooted in the ideas of the Enlightenment. The concept of education becomes a lifelong process of human development. Originally it was a term for a new social class in Germany in the nineteenth century, but their ethos is comparable to the ethos of the Brussels bourgeois class in the interwar period.

own taste outweighed the public interest. He felt that it was his duty to inform the public of the latest developments. In 1927, he clarified this further.

> [M]ost members of the previous generation, who had kept up with new developments as best they could as far as the impressionism of Debussy and Ravel, balked at these new formulas. Nobody yet knows whether they mark a transition, an innovation or accidental events in the art of sound. Either way, the organizers of the Concerts Populaires have a duty, based on the educational mission taken on by the institution since its beginnings, to include in their programs such characteristic and representative works by Stravinsky, Darius Milhaud and those who emulated them. The audience has the right, or perhaps even the duty, to be aware of them (Closson 1927, 25).[2]

Under Le Boeuf's leadership, cultural entrepreneurs in Brussels succeeded in attracting sufficient funding for a completely new building, which provided space for concerts, theatre plays, exhibitions, and film showings. He wanted to create an entirely new, visionary, multidisciplinary complex for the arts with resonance on a European level. This ambitious project was designed in Art Deco style by the famous Belgian architect Victor Horta. At the foundation-stone–laying ceremony of this new Centre for Fine Arts in 1928, now known as Bozar, Le Boeuf reiterated the same modernist ideology and specified that the new complex should not become a museum, but a breeding ground for new ideas.

---

2 "Mais la plus grande partie de la génération précédente, de ceux qui avaient suivi de leur mieux l'évolution jusqu'à l'impressionisme debussyste et raveliste, se regimbait contre ces formules nouvelles, dont on ne sait encore si elles marquent une transition, un renouvellement ou un état accidentel de l'art des sons. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'administration des Concerts Populaires se devait, en vertu de la mission éducative assumée par l'institution depuis son origine, de porter à ses programmes les ouvrages si caractéristique et si représentatifs de Stravinsky, de Darius Milhaud et de leurs émules, dont le public a le droit, on pourrait dire le devoir d'être informé."

> To fulfil its role, it has to stay alive. Museums are schools and temples, for learning, reflection and upholding a belief system. But the idea of a museum is linked to the notion of permanence and definitive consecration. The day the Palace of Fine Arts becomes a museum, even partially, its role will be a false one: it will have to be abandoned and a different one built. [...] Our palace will be reserved for demonstrations that innovate, contemporary art or retrospective exhibitions that give temporary life to a piece of the past. [...] Living art, the fervent quest for new forms and expressions unable to wait for this outcome. [...] These forms, in painting, sculpture, music, require spaces that allow us to judge them, showing whether they are dead ends or really do open up new possibilities and enrich our ways of feeling (Le Boeuf 1928, 4).[3]

Le Boeuf was not the only one to propagate this ideology of modernism. Other members of the cultural elite shared the same vision. The most important figures were the Flemish musicologist Paul Collaer[4]

---

3 "Pour remplir son rôle, il doit rester vivant. Les musées sont des écoles et des temples. On y apprend, on y réfléchit, on y entretient un culte. Mais l'idée de musée s'attache la notion d'immuabilité, de consécration définitive. Le jour où le Palais des Beaux-Arts deviendrait, même partiellement, un musée, son rôle serait fausse: il faudrait l'abandonner et en construire un autre. [...] Notre palais sera réservé aux manifestations qui se renouvellent, art contemporain ou expositions rétrospectives qui rendent une vie temporaire à un morceau du passé. [...] L'art vivant, la recherche fervente des formes et des expressions nouvelles ne sauraient attendre cet aboutissement. [...] Il faut à ces formes, dans la peinture, la sculpture, la musique, des locaux qui permettent de les juger, en montrant si elles sont sans issue ou si elles ouvrent vraiment des chemins nouveaux et enrichissent nos moyens de sentir."

4 Paul Collaer, who held a PhD in science, was one of the most influential personalities in Belgian musical life as founder and pianist of the Pro Arte Concerts (1922–1934), as a member of the Board of Directors of the Brussels Philharmonic Society, as a founding member of the Concerts Anciens et Modernes (1933), and later as director at the National Institute for Radio Broadcasting (NIR) from 1936 to 1953 (except for the war years 1940–1945). In the fields of modernism, early music, and ethnomusicology, he took important initiatives that helped to develop these new disciplines in Belgium. As a performer, both as a pianist and as a conductor, his charisma remained limited. As a musicologist and critic, he leaves a body of work consisting of no less than 300 articles and 20 books and brochures. In addition, he was a gifted epistoler and his legacy includes more than 5,000 letters to composers Darius Milhaud, Igor Stravinsky, Erik Satie, Francis Poulenc, Paul Hindemith, Alban Berg, Sergei Prokofiev, and others. (See also Wangermée 1996; Dufour 2003; Van den Buys 2009; Van den Buys and Segers 2013.)

(1891–1989), together with his colleagues of the Pro Arte Concert Series (1922–1934), the Pro Arte Quartet,[5] and Arthur Prévost (1888–1967), Kapellmeister of the Royal Symphonic Band of the Belgian Guides; Maurice Corneil de Thoran (1881–1953), artistic director of the National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie; and violinist Désiré Defauw (1885–1960), conductor and director of the Defauw Concerts (1922–1939).

Musical Modernism Takes Hold in the Brussels Concert Organizations (1919–1933)

The Pyramid

Four major types of concert organizations can be distinguished in Brussels in the interwar period: (1) the opera house (the National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie); (2) philharmonic societies (such as Concerts Populaires, the Philharmonic Society, and Concerts Defauw); and (3) organizations of chamber music (such as Pro Arte Concerts). Besides major concert organizations, (4) small ad hoc initiatives (such as Gallery Giroux) also supported modernist music. These organizations can be ranked in terms of costs and the character of the audience. The opera house occupies the top of the pyramid of "high culture," followed by the philharmonic societies; then the chamber music societies; and, at the bottom, ad hoc initiatives, forming the basis of avant-garde enthusiasm at the time.[6] The first two, being (mostly commercial) high-cost organizations, were more concerned with attracting a larger and broader audience. They offered a more varied musical programme with less modernist music. On the other hand, because of their relatively low costs and small size, certain chamber music organizations and ad hoc initiatives could offer more performances of modernist music. They did not attract a mainstream audience, but more the enthusiasts of the

5 The Pro Arte Quartet consisted of violinists Alphonse Onou and Laurent Halleux, viola player Germain Prévost and Robert Maas, cello player. (See also Van Malderen 2002.)

6 This image of the pyramid places the most expensive, "high culture" events and highly educated audiences at the top, and the more personally involved, dedicated lovers of difficult, challenging music at the base.

avant-garde. They were also more receptive to cultural diversity and new artistic developments, and they acted as trendsetters for the institutions higher up in the pyramid. Modernism's entry in each level of the pyramid follows a clear sequence.[7] Modernist music was first performed in Brussels through ad hoc initiatives (1919), before it moved up to societies of chamber music (1922), to philharmonic societies (1923), and finally, to the opera house (1926).

Ad Hoc Initiatives

Between 1919 and 1923 enthusiasts interested in avant-garde music in Brussels gathered at ad hoc initiatives taken by student clubs (including *La Lanterne Sourde* at the Free University Brussels), galleries of modern art (such as Gallery Giroux); music publishers (such as Maison Chester and Schott); unions of artists and writers; and general arts magazines (such as *7 Arts*). It is remarkable that these ad hoc initiatives of modernist music, both in terms of concerts and publications, were taken on by small organizations within the young Brussels avant-garde circles of literature and the visual arts, and not by regular concert societies or musical magazines.

The first event of musical modernism in Brussels after the first World War, took place on 19 December 1919.[8] It was a lecture by Jean Cocteau (1889–1963) given on the new music of Erik Satie (1866–1925) and the group of French composers who would become known as "Les Six."[9] Cocteau was their spokesman, his pamphlet *Le coq et l'arlequin: Notes autour de la musique* (1918) was their Bible, and Erik Satie was their

7 This section is based on a thorough analysis of all concerts, put in a relational database. (See also Van den Buys 2004.)

8 Conference by Jean Cocteau on Erik Satie, 19 December 1919, at the Université des hautes études de Belgique, Brussels. With music of the "new musicians" ("des musiciens nouveaux") namely: Erik Satie (1866–1925), Louis Durey (1888–1979), George Auric (1899–1983), Arthur Honegger (1892–1955), Darius Milhaud (1892–1974), Francis Poulenc (1899–1963), and Germaine Tailleferre (1892–1983). Cocteau published his lecture at that time; see also Gullentops and Haine 2016.

9 It was the first time the group presented itself in a foreign country. The name, Les Six, was only given in 1920 by the critic Henri Collet in *Comœdia*.

God. Cocteau used the same rhetoric in his lecture as in his pamphlet: "Satie brings in a new simplicity, enriched with all the refinements that came before it. The music is ultimately a French music—a music so white, so delicate."[10] Three young musicians accompanied the poet: George Auric, Darius Milhaud, and Germaine Tailleferre. They performed *Parade* by Erik Satie and works of the six members of their group.

The Flemish musicologist, pianist, and notorious music critic Paul Collaer was present at the event on 19 December. After this lecture-recital he immediately contacted Jean Cocteau and Darius Milhaud. This was the start of an intense exchange of letters between Paul Collaer and the Parisian avant-garde milieu. At about the same time, the star of what would soon become the world renowned Pro Arte Quartet began to rise. Paul Collaer associated himself with these musicians, and together they formed the Pro Arte group.[11] They organized several concerts and events centred on modernist music together with student clubs like *La Lanterne Sourde* or galleries like Gallerie Giroux. One of the most famous events of Paul Collaer and this gallery of fine arts was the invitation of Erik Satie on 11 and 12 April 1921. This was the first time Satie, who rarely travelled, came to Belgium. During his visit, he gave a controversial lecture together with George Auric.

In the early twenties, composer, pianist, music critic, and presenter E. L. T. Mesens (1903–1971) was another influential figure (see Wangermée 1998). Together with Paul Collaer, his main competitor, he was regarded as the expert and pioneer in modernist music with a broad network in avant-garde circles in Antwerp, Brussels, and Paris.

Some ad hoc initiatives were also financed by members of the financial elite—like Henry Le Boeuf or Adolphe Stoclet (1871–1949),[12] who

---

10 "Satie apporte une simplicité neuve, enrichie de tous les raffinements qui la précèdent. Sa musique est enfin une musique française—une musique si blanche, si delicate." Lecture published in Gullentops and Haine 2016.

11 Arthur Prévost, Kapellmeister of the Royal Band of the Belgian Guides, participated in the Pro Arte Group. Paul Collaer was the director and pianist.

12 Adolphe Stoclet was a wealthy Belgian banker, engineer, financier, and noted art collector.

invited musicians, composers, and musicologists into their homes to perform or discuss modern music. Henry Le Boeuf, especially, maintained close contacts with the Parisian contemporary music scene.

Chamber Music Societies

With the Pro Arte Concert Series (1922–1934), the Pro Arte group wanted to offer the Belgian public an overview of the "latest developments in European music." Each concert season consisted of five concerts and was conceived as an anthology of the most important chamber and ensemble music at the time (Wangermée 1996, 22). They could count on a small but loyal audience of 500 to 600 people (Wangermée 1996, 22). For ensemble music, they attracted Arthur Prévost as a conductor. He was Kapellmeister of the renowned military Royal Symphonic Band of the Belgian Guides (*Koninklijke Muziekkapel van de Gidsen*). He engaged certain soloists of the Royal Band, who played for free as they were salaried employees.

The Pro Arte group closely followed the international music scene and performed no less than 45 world premieres of new creations.[13] They were the trendsetters of contemporary music for larger symphonic concert associations and the National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie. Paul Collaer advised both Henry Le Boeuf and Corneil de Thoran, artistic director of the opera, in concert programming (Wangermée 2010, 25).

Collaer's programming in the Pro Arte Concerts[14] showed a clear preference for French modernism. In fact, following the cultural elitism of Jean Cocteau, Collaer considered French culture superior to Germanic culture. Like Cocteau, he used an aggressive nationalistic rhetoric. The desubjectification of music, he said, was one of the most important characteristics of modernist music. Concepts such as "clas-

13 For a complete review of all the premieres of the Pro Arte Concert Series see Van den Buys 2004.

14 For a complete review of published articles on modernism during the interwar period in Brussels see Van den Buys 2018.

sical," "unity," "clarity," and "logic" were inherent to French culture, according to him. He considered the Germanic expressionism represented by the Second Viennese School to be a dead end and described Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) as the "expression of a nightmare." He even used war rhetoric and spoke of a "battle to be fought between the two camps," proclaiming in 1924 the victory of the Latin European pole over the "decadent" and "anarchic" Germanic style. He thus turned against Schoenberg's atonality and followed the path of Stravinsky's neoclassicism.

Between 1924 and 1927, in the Pro Arte Concerts, Collaer only programmed modernist music from France and other Latin European countries. According to him, German-Austrian supremacy was a thing of the past. From 1927 onwards, Paul Collaer expressed more nuance about the Germanic pole: Paul Hindemith had "converted" to French Neo-Classicism and "detoxified" Germanic music, according to Collaer. From 1930 onwards, he also counted Alban Berg as one of the most important composers of his time, because his music had "a more human face" and was more lyrical than Schoenberg's "professorial music" (Collaer 1928, 4–5).[15] Although Collaer himself was never a fan of Béla Bartók, the Pro Arte Quartet[16] performed all his quartets and the Brussels audience was able to get to know this Hungarian composer.

If we take a closer look at the entire history of the Pro Arte Concerts, from their start in 1922 until the end in 1934, we can con-

15 "[...] Schoenberg's third quartet, revolutionary for sure, but also terribly academic, is something like the work of a 'revolutionary professor,' which makes his present art perfectly intolerable. Hindemith has detoxified German music. He has stripped it of its excessive heaviness, overly systematic sublimity, doing work on the other side of the Rhine analogous to what Milhaud did in France." "[...] au troisième quatuor de Schoenberg, révolutionnaire, certes, mais terriblement doctoral aussi, quelque chose comme l'œuvre d'un 'professeur-révolutionnaire,' ce que rend son art actuel parfaitement insopportable. Hindemith a désintoxiqué la musique allemande. Il l'a débarrassée de ce qu'elle a de trop lourd, de trop systématiquement sublime, effectuant au-delà du Rhin un travail analogue à celui que fit Milhaud en France."

16 The Pro Arte Quartet and their manager Gaston Verhuyck (1899–1975) were in close contact with Béla Bartók. Bartok dedicated his fourth string quartet to the Pro Arte Quartet. Their correspondence is discussed in Lenoir 1993–1994.

clude that two-thirds of the programming was devoted to the Latin pool with the French composer groups Les Six and L'école d'Argenteuil, and the Russians Stravinsky and Prokofiev. Stravinsky's works were performed the most. All his chamber and ensemble music were programmed in the concert series. After Stravinsky, mainly the oeuvre of Darius Milhaud was played: Pro Arte performed no less than nine of his world-premiere creations.

Philharmonic Societies

Since 1927, modernist music had become an integral part of Brussels concert life, mainly thanks to Collaer, Le Boeuf, and Corneil de Thoran. In the Philharmonic Society, for example, the proportion of modernist compositions[17] in the 1929–1930 and 1930–1931 seasons accounted for almost a quarter of the total number of works performed. A telling sample is the month from 15 November to 15 December 1930. On 15 and 16 November, the German composer Paul Hindemith performed as a soloist in his concerto for viola and orchestra, which was its Belgian premiere in Brussels. On 11 December, the Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev gave a piano recital with a program of his own work. One of the highlights of the season, two days later, was the world premiere of Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*. Although it had been commissioned by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, its world premiere took place in Brussels on 13 December 1930, conducted by the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet. It was one of the rare times a world premiere of Stravinsky was given outside of Paris. The reason why it finally received its world premiere in Brussels is well explained in Dufour (2003, 89–98). Thanks to the good relationship between Stravinsky and the management of the Brussels Philharmonic Society, and in order to

---

17 The contemporary composers were divided into the three style categories of the interwar period: post-romanticism, post-impressionism and modernism. To determine to which category the composers belonged, the definition of the styles at that time was taken. This definition was obtained by analyzing the Belgian culture and music periodicals of the interbellum period. This research was the subject of the PhD dissertation of Van den Buys 2004.

solve an earlier conflict, Stravinsky had promised that the European premiere in Brussels would take place on the same day as the world premiere in Boston. However, because the premiere in Boston was cancelled due to unforeseen circumstances, the performance in Brussels became a world premiere.

The National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie

The National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie, with Maurice Corneil de Thoran at the helm, also presented a fine record of world premieres by international modernist composers: *Le pauvre matelot* by Darius Milhaud, *Antigone* by Arthur Honegger, *Le joueur* by Sergei Prokofiev, and the French-language premiere of *Wozzeck* by Alban Berg (Brussels, 29 February 1932). With this selection of new operas, Corneil de Thoran booked great international successes. He responded quickly to new trends and presented works that had little or no chance in other European theatres (Wangermée 2010, 21).

When the Opéra Comique of Paris refused to stage the opera *Antigone* by Honegger, Corniel de Thoran programmed it immediately in Brussels, on 28 December 1927 (Halbreich 1992, 131). As it was not an evening-length work, Corniel de Thoran added a premiere of Milhaud's *Le pauvre matelot*—also on a text by Cocteau—to the program. La Monnaie also developed Russian repertoire in the twenties with operas of Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, and others in addition to French and Italian repertoire (see Van den Buys 2019, 19). The premiere of *Le joueur*, the French adaptation of Prokofiev's *The Gambler*, on 29 April 1929, was the icing on the cake (Maes 2010, 263). Despite the fact that Prokofiev regarded the premiere of *Le joueur* as a stepping-stone to productions in other larger theatre houses in Europe, such as Leningrad, the opera was never again performed during his lifetime. The performance in Brussels therefore became an important event in the composer's creative life (Maes 2010, 264). The fourth and final premiere, the French version of *Wozzeck* by Alban Berg on 29 February 1932, also had historical value, which the whistling and howling Brussels audience at the time totally missed. Insiders considered *Wozzeck* to be

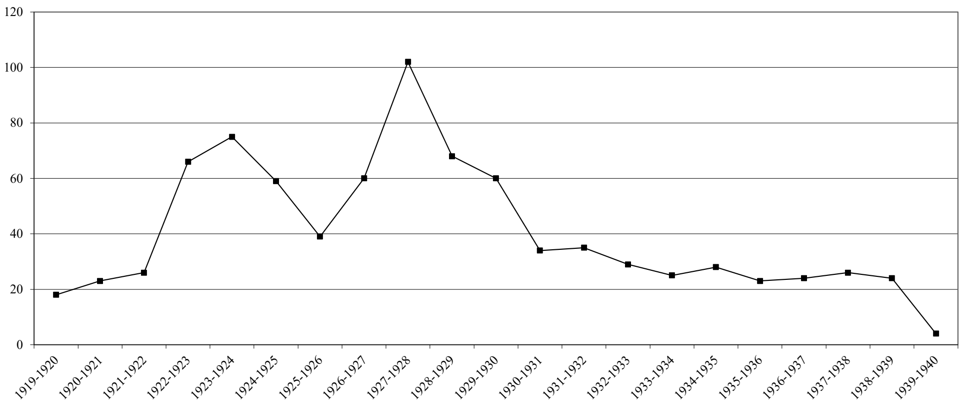


Table 1. Number of modernist compositions performed in the Brussels concert organizations during the Interwar period in Brussels (1919–1940).

the most important modernist opera of the time (see Van den Buys 2004). The four composers were all closely involved in the preparations of the premieres and regularly stayed in Brussels.

The Decline from 1933 Onwards

This table shows the total number of modernist compositions performed in Brussels during the interwar period. It clearly illustrates the rise, the height, and from 1933 onwards the decline of musical modernism in Brussels. Many initiatives such as the Pro Arte Concerts and the Defauw Concerts died out in the mid-1930s. Well-established philharmonic societies, such as the Philharmonic Society and the National Royal Opera House, La Monnaie, stopped programming modernist music completely in favour of more popular music that could attract a larger audience (see Van den Buys 2004).

The reason for this decline after 1933 is probably complex. Boone (2012) argues that the demise is driven by the strong abovementioned contestation between Latin European and the German poles: lacking a unified vision, modernist music never was accepted by the main audience. According to Paul Collaer, the main reasons were the increasing cost of contemporary music, the lack of interest in and misunderstanding of modernist music, and especially the disappearance of patronage.

> Music is becoming more and more expensive, and the audience who is presented with an art form whose expression doesn't have any significant meaning to them, comes to the concert in smaller numbers. This leads to a paradoxical situation: to play a concerto by Alban Berg, the virtuoso has to work for two years, after which he will manage to fill a hall in a large city with a capacity of between one hundred and one hundred and fifty people. How does one pay this virtuoso? How does one pay for the many rehearsals of the orchestras? The problem is insoluble, because patronage no longer exists (Collaer 1939, 79).[18]

The patronage of the Brussels cultural elite disappeared as a result of the financial crisis at the beginning of the 1930s, but their ideology of modernist music did not disappear. It was transferred to the National Radio Institute (NIR) led by Paul Collaer. Thanks to him, and with financial support coming almost exclusively from NIR, a renewed interest in modernist music emerged from 1936 onwards.

The NIR as the New Patron and "Last Bastion" of Modernism in Brussels

When Paul Collaer was recruited into the NIR in 1936, first as deputy director of the music department and then, in 1937, as head of music of the Flemish department of the NIR,[19] he wanted to turn this radio

18 "La musique coute de plus en plus cher, et les auditeurs mis en présence d'un art dont les moyens d'expression leur échappent, viennent en moins grand nombre au concert. De cette façon on arrive à cette situation paradoxale: pour jouer un Concerto d'Alban Berg, le virtuose doit travailler pendant deux ans, ensuite il réussira à faire, dans une grande ville, une salle de cent à cent cinquante personnes. Comment payer ce virtuose? Comment payer les nombreuses répétitions de l'orchestre? Le problème est insoluble car le mécénat n'existe plus."

19 In 1937, the National Institute for Radio split into a Flemish-speaking department and French-speaking department, the two main national languages of Belgium. Paul Collaer became director of the music service of the Flemish department. The five orchestras and two choirs worked for both departments.

station into the “last bastion” of musical modernism (Collaer 1938, 5). According to Robert Wangermée, Collaer accepted this appointment as head of the music department on the condition that he would be able to manage his policy of music programming on the radio completely independently (Wangermée 1996, 52). Wangermée describes him as an “enlightened despot.” Collaer considered it his task and moral obligation to “elevate” radio listeners and inform them about contemporary music. He saw himself as the expert who was capable of making the exact and “stringent” selection of contemporary music to be listened to, and he had to guide the radio audience towards “high culture” (Collaer and Stevens 1952, 16–17). His mission was to ensure the musical education of listeners, without considering their taste (see Van den Buys and Segers, 2013.) In this sense he embedded the ethos of the *Bildungbürgertum* in the National Radio Institute, as he applied the ideology of modernist music of the 1920s Brussels cultural elite.

The NIR was financed by public subsidies. All its revenue came from a tax on radio receiving sets. Therefore, concerts at the radio houses could be attended by the public free of charge. The case for modernist music to be subsidized by the taxpayer was made on the basis that it represented a quality which the free market could no longer attain. Since modernist music could not be supported and financed by concert societies, Collaer considered programming new music an important legitimation of the National Radio Institute. This idea fit the Reithian[20] ethos, adopted at that time by the Belgian political elite and directors of the NIR: the purpose of public service broadcasting was, as Reith expressed in his own words, to “inform, educate and entertain.” Broadcasting was a way of educating the masses in high culture. The broadcasters considered it their “duty” to introduce the public to it. Moreover, the listeners had the “right” to be informed about cultural matters.

Collaer now made his network of modernist composers, which he had built up in the 1920s, available to the music department of the NIR. He enjoyed programming music suited to his needs as an advo-

---

20 John Reith (1889–1971) was the founder and first general manager of the British Broadcasting Company from 1922 until his resignation in 1938.

cate of modernist music. In his view, public broadcasting institutes should function as "laboratories of contemporary music." In 1937, he explained this idea very clearly at the International Radio Congress in Florence:

> The latter role, as a laboratory for contemporary music, is absolutely necessary. For modernist music is not an incidental phenomenon or a fantasy. It is a human product, which is a reflection of the moral climate and social conditions. It informs us about the condition of people's souls with as much precision as the barometer tells us about variations in atmospheric pressure. It is a way of thinking which must be carefully followed, just as the other vital functions of peoples. Seen from this angle, the question of the performance of modernist music by broadcasting institutes does not need to take into account the pleasure or displeasure it may cause among the vast majority of listeners. Naturally, a very strict choice must be made in order to minimize the hearing of modernist works of little significance. The time reserved for modernist works is already very limited; let us reserve it as much as possible for composers who bring us an important message or tasteful entertainment (Collaer 1937, 47).[21]

In Collaer's view, broadcasting services were not only "laboratories for new music" but also "museums of music" (Collaer 1937, 46), allow-

---

21 "Ce dernier rôle, laboratoire d'études pour la musique contemporaine, est absolument nécessaire. Car la musique moderne n'est pas un phénomène accessoire ou cité par la fantaisie. Elle est une production humaine, qui est fonction du climat moral et des conditions sociales. Elle nous renseigne sur l'état général de l'âme des peuples avec autant de précision que le baromètre nous renseigne sur les variations de pression atmosphérique. Elle est une forme de pensée qui doit être attentivement suivie, au même titre que les autres fonctions vitales des peuples. Vue de cet angle, la question de l'exécution de la musique moderne par les stations de radiodiffusion n'a pas à tenir compte du plaisir ou déplaisir qu'elle peut provoquer parmi la grande majorité des auditeurs. Il faut naturellement opérer un choix très sévère, afin de réduire au minimum l'audition d'œuvres modernes peu significatives. Le temps réservé aux œuvres modernes est déjà très limité; réservons-le autant que possible aux créateurs qui nous apportent un message important ou un divertissement de haut goût."

ing the discovery and exploration of an ever-growing new repertoire. Collaer was not only referring to the unexplored field of early music and its historically informed performance practice[22] of works from the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Baroque, but also to previously ignored or lesser-known compositions from the twentieth century.

Reforming Radio: Collaer's Music Policy

When Paul Collaer entered as director of the NIR's music department in 1936, two-thirds of the radio's broadcast time was filled with music broadcasts. Because records were often of poor quality and their repertoire rather limited, live music was extremely important at that time. To meet this need the NIR had five orchestras at its disposal in 1936: the Grand Symphonic Orchestra (84 members) for classical music; the Radio Orchestra (30 members) for Casino Music; the Light Music and Operetta Orchestra (24 members); the Salon Orchestra (9 members); and the Jazz Orchestra (15 members). In 1937, two mixed choirs were founded to perform vocal repertoire. The Grand Symphonic Orchestra, founded in 1935 under the direction of Franz André (1893–1975), was a milestone in Belgian music history as this was the first big symphony orchestra to be fully subsidized by the Belgian state.

Collaer implemented his policy from the concert season of 1936–1937 on. He introduced horizontal programming with concerts being broadcasted weekly, on the same day at the same time. The rationale behind this new approach was based on the idea that it was easier for the listeners to tune in to these programs, which would result in a more faithful audience. Collaer concentrated the entire weekly programme around

22 In 1933 Paul Collaer started the first concert society in Belgium dedicated to Early Music, performed with period instruments, namely the "Association des Concerts anciens et modernes" and "Société de musique ancienne." In these societies he presented the Brussels audience the then little-known works of Guillaume de Machaut, Guillaume Dufay, Heinrich Isaac, Claudio Monteverdi and Johann Sebastian Bach, among others. Although the music was played on period instruments, he could obviously not continue this policy at the NIR because this institute did not have ensembles with period instruments. But with the same enthusiasm that he defended modern music at the NIR, he also fought for the rediscovery of instruments and early music.

one highlight: the prestigious “Great Wednesday Evening Concert” by the Grand Symphonic Orchestra conducted by Franz André. Listeners could develop the habit of keeping every Wednesday night free and listen to the most important concert of the week at home. He organized these Wednesday evening concerts in series, as he did the in the Pro Arte Concerts. In 1936–1937 he reserved six festivals for contemporary composers. He dedicated each concert to the work of a single composer, including Maurice Ravel (3 June 1936), Arthur Honegger (19 August 1936), Sergei Prokofiev (2 December 1936), Béla Bartók (3 February 1937), and Igor Stravinsky (7 April 1937). With the exception of Stravinsky, all composers came to the radio studio in Brussels. They conducted or performed as soloists.

Sergei Prokofiev came to Brussels one last time to perform at the radio studio on 2 December, right before he emigrated to the USSR in December 1936. He was very excited about the performance by the Grand Symphonic Orchestra of the NIR and wrote in their guest book, known as the *Golden Book*,[23] “Very well played on 2nd December 1936, performing a very difficult programme of my work. In particular, *Seven, They are Seven* and the Overture opus 42 demand great culture and skill.”[24]

An analysis of NIR’s radio programming from 1936 (the year Paul Collaer became director) until 1940 (the year war broke out) shows that the following were the most frequently performed modernist composers: (1) Stravinsky, (2) Milhaud, (3) Prokofiev, (4) Hindemith, (5) Bartók, and (6) Honegger.

Béla Bartók performed as a soloist in his *Concerto No. 2 for Piano and Orchestra* on 3 February 1937. He was very enthusiastic about the Grand Symphonic Orchestra, which he said was very well prepared (unlike that of the Paris radio) under the direction of Franz André.

---

23 The *Golden Book* is a precious book in which prominent musicians and composers who have collaborated with the Grand Symphonic Orchestra of the NIR have signed and added a commented.

24 *Golden Book of the INR, “Le livre d’or de l’INR”*, no page (private collection; copy in the possession of the author).

> In Brussels the case was totally different [from Paris]. First of all, an excellent orchestra, secondly, a very fine conductor. How these people are capable of sight-reading, is astonishing [...] Much joy I experienced in the (terribly difficult) Village Scenes and in the 2nd Rhapsody, because I have never heard these works performed well anywhere.[25]

In the following season, the concerts were compiled in such a way that "they offer[ed] a glimpse of the most distinctive products in the field of music today in some European countries."[26]

The table below shows how Collaer succeeded, even before the Second World War, in making modernism the common thread running through the concert series of the choir, the Radio Orchestra, chamber orchestra, and the scheduled broadcasts. The first highlight season of his tenure was that of 1938–1939.

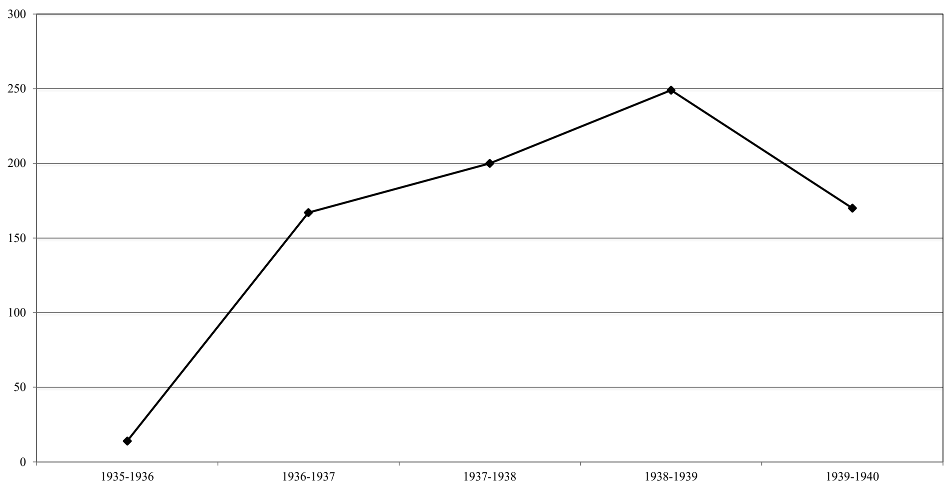


Table 2. Number of modernist compositions performed by the musical ensembles of the NIR between 1936 and 1940.

---

25 "In Brussel was de zaak totaal anders. Ten eerste een uitstekend orkest, ten tweede een zeer knappe dirigent. Hoe deze mensen van het blad spelen, is verbazend [...] Veel vreugde beleefde ik aan de (vreselijk moeilijke) Dorpstaferelen en aan de IIde Rhapsodie, want deze werken heb ik nooit goed uitgevoerd kunnen horen." (Dille 1974, 119.)

26 Program brochure NIR, 1937–1938, p. 3.

When we compare table 1 and table 2, it is striking that no fewer than 249 live performances of modernist works were given by the NIR during the 1937–1938 season, compared to only 23 in commercial concert organizations. This means that not only was the NIR the "last bastion" of modernism, but that they also spread modernism on a large scale.

One of the most prominent critics at that time, Denijs Dille, reviewed the concerts of the NIR every month in the magazine *Nieuw Vlaanderen* (Dille 1939, 6). He concluded that the NIR was leading not only in quantity but also in quality. He calculated that the NIR broadcast as many modernist works as all other European stations combined.

A small selection from the radio programming of 1939 gives an idea of the diversity of contemporary music: Ernst Krenek's *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* (with the composer at the piano); Gian Francesco Malipiero's oratorio *La Passione*; Alban Berg's *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*; Béla Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta*; *Carmina Burana* by Carl Orff; *L'enfant et les sortilèges* (in Dutch) by Maurice Ravel; *Gurrelieder* by Arnold Schönberg; *Mathis der Maler* by Paul Hindemith; and *L'Histoire du soldat* (in the Dutch translation by Martinus Nijhoff) by Igor Stravinsky. The world premiere of *Medea* by Darius Milhaud was broadcast live on radio from the Royal Flemish Opera in Antwerp (Van den Buys 2004b, 39).

With this programming, the NIR clearly profiles itself differently from its competitors, the commercial concert organizations of Brussels. This leads us to ask: Why was the Grand Symphonic Orchestra able to play such a major role internationally between 1936 and 1940? As is often the case, a combination of factors made this period a success story. The artistic level of the Grand Symphonic Orchestra was very high due to the talent and skills of Franz André and of the musicians. The orchestra attracted the best musicians in the country because it could offer the best contracts, as it was the first fully subsidized orchestra in Belgium. The musicians were very good sight-readers who could easily handle difficult scores, thanks to the specific needs involved in performing for the radio—preparing a score very quickly with little rehearsal time. Their artistic policy had a strong, unambiguous vision and was embedded in an international modernist context and network, developed by Collaer since the 1920s. This policy was supported not only by Collaer but also by the entire management of the NIR and Belgian politicians.[27] The orchestra had a clear function within the radio organization because live music was essential. The listener was able to concentrate on difficult compositions by modernist composers because listening to the radio was considered a concentrated activity in itself, since there was generally one radio in the middle of the average person's living room. Most of the NIR's budget went to the music service. And last but not least, the Grand Symphonic Orchestra had access to a very good hall, Studio 4, in the main Radio Building built in 1938 (now known as Flagey). All these factors combined to provide an ideal environment for modernist music to grow, thrive, and be preserved in the midst of this particular period of history. It resulted in a golden age of modernist innovation in Brussels, the legacy of which can still be felt in the cultural life of the city today.

List of References

Boone, Christophe, Carolyn Declerck, Hayagreeva Rao and Kristin Van den Buys. 2012. "Out of Tune: The Rise and Fall of Modernistic Music in Brussels, 1919–1939." *Poetics Journal of Empirical Research on Culture, the Media and the Arts*, I/40: 44–66.

Closson, Ernest. 1927. *Les Concerts Populaires de Bruxelles*. Brussels: Monnom.

Collaer, Paul. 1928. "Paris." *La Revue musicale belge* 4/13: 4–5.

Collaer, Paul. 1937. "La culture musicale par la radiophonie." *Die Musicke: Tijdschrift van de Vlaamsche Philharmonie* 1/2: 40–48.

Collaer, Paul. 1938. "La musique française." *Combat* 2/165: 5.

Collaer, Paul. 1939. "L'esprit de la Musique Française." *La Revue Musicale* 20/139: 79–85.

Collaer, Paul and Denis Stevens. 1952. "Music in Belgian Broadcasting." *Tempo*, 23: 15–18.

Dille, Denijs. 1939. "N.I.R. Concerten." *Nieuw Vlaanderen* 5/5: 6.

Dille, Denijs. 1974. *Béla Bartók.* Antwerp: Metropolis.

Dufour, Valérie. 2003. *Strawinsky à Bruxelles, 1920–1960*. Brussels: Royal Academy of Belgium.

27 Political discussions at the time centered around whether the national radio station should act as a temple of high culture or a more informative medium with entertainment. From 1935 onwards, politicians supported the idea of cultural responsibility (Senaat 1936. Handelingen, 567). The prestigious Radio Building from 1938 was proof of this new high cultural image.

Golden Book of the INR, "*Le livre d'or de l'INR*." Private collection. Copy in the possession of the author.

Gullentops, David and Malou Haine. 2016. *Jean Cocteau. Ecrits sur la musique*. Paris: Editions Vrin.

Halbreich, Harry. 1992. *Arthur Honegger: un musicien dans la cité des hommes*. Rennes: Fayard-Sacem.

Lenoir, Yves. 1993–1994. "Quelques documents du fonds G. Verhuyck." *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35 (1–3): 165–166.

Le Boeuf, Henri. 1928. "La signification et le rôle du Palais des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles." *Cahiers de Belgique* i/5: 3–4.

Maes, Francis. 2010. "'Cette impression de barbarie et de civilisation raffiné:' de mythe van Rusland op het podium van de Munt." In *La Monnaie entre-deux-guerres*, edited by Marc Couvreur and Valérie Dufour, 247–277. Brussels: Livre Timperman.

Montens, Valérie. 2000. *Le Palais des Beaux-Arts: la création d'un haut lieu de la culture à Bruxelles (1928–1945).* Brussels: Édition de l'Université de Bruxelles.

Program Brochure of the NIR, "*Programma van het muziekseizoen 1937–1938,*" edited by NIR, Brussel.

Senaat 1936. Handelingen. Vragen en Antwoorden. Zitting 1935–1936, Brussels, 567.

Van den Buys, Kristin. 2004. *De verspreiding van het muzikale modernisme in België tijdens het interbellum: Een analyse van de muziek- en algemeen culturele tijdschriften en van de programmering van de concertorganisaties in Antwerpen en Brussel*. Unpublished PhD diss, Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Van den Buys, Kristin. 2004b. "De beginjaren van het Belgisch-Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio-Omroep." In *Het geheugen van de geluidsfabriek: de Vlaamse symfonische muziek in de voormalige muziekbibliotheek van de openbare omroep, 1930–1960*, edited by M. Delaere, 9–39. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

Van den Buys, Kristin. 2009. *Collaer, Paul.* Nationaal biografisch woordenboek. Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academiën van België, XIX: 240–250.

Van den Buys, Kristin and Katia Segers. (eds.). 2013. *Het Orkest. Van het Radio-orkest tot Brussels Philharmonic in Flagey*. Tielt: Lannoo Campus.

Van den Buys, Kristin. 2018. "Brussels, crossroads of French, Germanic and Russian musical modernism in the interwar period (1919–1940)." In *Music Criticism 1900–1950*, edited by Jordi Ballester and German Gan Quesada, 23–40. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.

Van den Buys, Christine. 2019. "Rimsky-Korsakov opera's and ballets in the interwar period in Brussels (1919–1938)." In *Rimsky-Korsakov at 175: A Survey of his Legacy Year on Year*, edited by Ader Lidia, 19. State St. Petersburg: Museum of Theatre and Music.

Van Malderen, Anne. 2002. "Le Quatuor Pro Arte (1912–1947)." *Revue de la Société liégeoise de musicologie* 19: 25–45.

Wangermée, Robert. 1996. *Paul Collaer, Correspondance avec des amis musiciens.* Sprimont: Mardaga.

Wangermée, Robert. 1998. *E. L. T. Mesens. Moi je suis musicien: Écrits sur la musique*. Brussels: Devillez.

Wangermée, Robert. 2010. “La vie musicale à Bruxelles autour du Théâtre de La Monnaie.” In *La Monnaie entre-deux-guerres*, edited by Marc Couvreur and Valérie Dufour, 7–39. Brussels: Livre Timperman.

From Serialism to Mobile Form. The Institutionalization of Avant-Garde in Madrid and its Influence on the Aesthetics of the Generation of 51

DANIEL MORO VALLINA

At the end of 1957 Enrique Franco, head of the music section of National Radio of Spain and one of the most important music critics of the time, referred to the year that was ending in not very optimistic terms. In his opinion, young Spanish composers worked from a position of "anguishing unknown" in their attempt to integrate into European music, as there was no agreement at that time on which trend (twelve-tone technique, electroacoustic music, etc.) symbolized the predominant aesthetic (Franco 31 December 1957, 82). A short time later, the critic and director of the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum of Madrid—a series of music seminars organized between 1958 and 1973 that became a reference point for the knowledge of avant-garde works in the capital—Fernando Ruiz Coca considered serialism as a technique far away from its cultural origins grounded in the expressionism of the Second Viennese School, and adaptable to each particular current aesthetic. According to him, the identity of new Spanish music lay in the use of serial technique as a guarantee of universality, levelling the names of Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez, Luigi Nono, and Bo Nilsson with that of young Spanish composers such as Luis de Pablo (Ruiz Coca 1 April 1960, 17).

In a period of only three years, therefore, a remarkable change in the valuation of the international avant-garde and the integration of Spain in this panorama can be observed. As pointed out by previous studies (Pérez Zalduondo 2012; Moro Vallina 2016), during the 1950s twelve-tone music was judged negatively as a dehumanized method which reflected the anguish of the contemporary world, linking it to the philosophy of existentialism. However, in the 1960s the strategy consisted in detaching twelve-tone technique from its original aesthetic and confirming the differential features of Spanish serialism, described by some music critics as "Latin" or "joyful" (Franco 11 June 1961, 8). Thus, my aim is to investigate the role that both institutions and music criticism played in this promotion, the possible strategic reasons behind it, and how these agents influenced the particular aesthetic profile of a group of Spanish composers, the so-called "Generation of 51."[1]

This chapter explores the relationship between the political agenda of cultural institutions during the second Francoism—the technocratic years known as *Desarrollismo*[2]— and the instrumentalization of certain avant-garde languages, such as serialism and mobile form.[3] Traditionally, historiography has overlooked the connections between the official Francoist policy and the evolution of Spanish music during

1 This label refers to those composers born between 1924 and 1938, whereas the choice of 1951 was due to Cristóbal Halffter, justifying that it was in that year when several musicians—Odón Alonso, Francisco Calés Otero, Manuel Carra, Halffter himself—finished their studies at the Conservatory of Madrid. Despite its contingent nature and a certain oversimplification that cannot be applied to all generational composers in the same way, the label "1951" has been widely accepted by Spanish musicology.

2 The term, despite its coincidence in Spanish with "Developmentalism," comes from three state economic interventions known as *Planes de Desarrollo*, carried out from 1959 to 1975 with the objective of modernizing the Spanish industrial network and attracting foreign capital. These plans were designed by several ministers closely linked to the Opus Dei, such as Mariano Navarro Rubio, Alberto Ullastres, and Laureano López Rodó. From a cultural point of view, the attempt of modernizing the country was accompanied by a rationalistic approach of the role that art and education could play in the new Spanish society of the 1960s. This view determined much of the rhetoric used to promote the avant-garde, focusing on two main features: the high technical realization of the works and the avoidance of any explicit content that might recall the falangist exaltation characteristic of the autarky period, an ideology that had led Franco's regime to its diplomatic isolation and which now tried to disguise to ensure the acceptance of the regime in an international context.

3 This chapter has been written within the framework of the research project *Música en España y el Cono Sur Americano: transculturación y migraciones (1939–2001)*, funded by the Ministry of Economy and Industry of Spain (reference PID2019-108642GB-I00) and directed by Julio Rául Ogas Jofre (University of Oviedo).

this period. Thus, it has been frequent to resort to the cliché of the heroic resistance of the composers as opposed to the disinterest of both institutions and the public, and to insist on the rapid evolution of the avant-garde as a natural tendency to "skip stages" to achieve European modernity (Marco 1970). Some biographies on the two main figures of the Generation of 51, Luis de Pablo (García del Busto 1979) and Cristóbal Halffter (Casares 1980), reflect what Enrique Sacau-Ferreira has categorized as an exercise of cultural amnesia in his thesis *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain* (2011). In his opinion, musicology has avoided studying the collaboration of Halffter and De Pablo in triumphalist events such as the Concert of Peace, organized in 1964 by the Ministry of Information and Tourism to celebrate the 25 years of the regime: "this amnesia has allowed the composers and critics involved in the promotion of avant-garde music in Franco's Spain to explain away their careers as anti-Francoist struggles" (Sacau-Ferreira 2011, 23). In this way, a contradiction arises between the justification of the avant-garde as a movement of resistance to the political and cultural establishment and the protection of these composers by the State. Similarly, other works have addressed the study of contemporary music festivals that enjoyed widespread propaganda, such as the aforementioned Concert of Peace (Contreras Zubillaga 2016), the International Biennial of Contemporary Music (San Llorente Pardo 2017; Ferrer Cayón 2019), or the Festivals of Music of Americas and Spain (Moro Vallina 2012).

The analysis of this process of institutionalization that follows takes into account the city of Madrid and the period between 1958 and 1964. The first date corresponds to the creation of the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum, one of the first examples of official promotion of the avant-garde in a still modest scope; on the other hand, in 1964, we can speak of the "musical year of Spain"—in the words of the Deputy Director General of Popular Culture of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, Enrique de la Hoz (1964, cited in Ferrer Cayón 2019, 27)—due to the number of cultural initiatives organized at the time, among which are included the events mentioned previously. In fact, the celebratory acts of what was called the 25 Years of Peace were "the regime's largest propaganda campaign in its entire history" (Aguilar 2008, 189) and, coinciding with Spain's good diplomatic relations with USA, the image of a modern country, non-ideological, and aligned with western democracies was built. In this discourse, characteristic of Cold War technocratic policies, the institutions promoted the avant-garde as a particular achievement of theirs: a highly technical music, distanced from the earlier nationalism, and written by musicians fostered by the regime in the development of their careers.

I analyse how this discourse was carried out, based on the means of diffusion of new music and the rhetoric used both by critics and composers in the explanations of their works. Methodologically, I take inspiration from studies such as that of Anne C. Shreffler (2005) on the cultural policies of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the promotion of serialism. She suggests that, in order to carry out an ideological reading of an aesthetic presented as neutral or apolitical, it is necessary to observe not only how the networks of festivals, awards, and competitions partly determine particular aesthetic choices, but also to address the opposite process: that is to say, the degree of influence that the individual agendas of composers exerted on institutions during the Cold War years.

The Diffusion of the Avant-Garde in Madrid

In her study on the reception of contemporary symphonic repertoire during the second Francoism, Belén Pérez Castillo (2014) points out the different profiles of the audience as one of the causes of the early institutional support of the avant-garde. During the 1950s, the Spanish National Orchestra offered two weekly concerts in Madrid: the first took place on Fridays in the Palacio de la Música, its official home from 1944 to 1966, and constituted the main event; the same programme was repeated on Sundays in the Teatro Monumental, whose reduced prices captured younger audiences interested in premieres. The difference in atmosphere was highlighted by the magazine *Ritmo*, linking the young Sunday audiences with a committed stance compared with the "coldness and falsehood" of the high society that came on Fridays

(*Ritmo* 29/299 December 1958, 15). Another article published in the same magazine referred to the commotion that occurred on Sundays at the Monumental as an example of "musical hooliganism and uncouthness" (*Ritmo* 30/309 March 1960, 10), especially on the occasion of the premiere of atonal or twelve-tone music. Therefore, new repertoires were frequently associated with a young audience, branded as rowdy but also recognized as more intellectually prepared.

Both music critics and some of the young composers at the beginning of their careers considered the negative reception of the avant-garde as a consequence of the lack of training and the anachronism of the taste of the audience. This feeling was heightened by the premiere of serial works such as Cristóbal Halffter's *Microformas*, performed by the National Orchestra in February 1961. Enrique Franco described the scandal generated by the concert as an "act of terrorism and an artistic subversion" by the audience (cited in Sacau-Ferreira 2011, 113), underlining the contrast between the quality of the work and its adverse reception. For his part, Ramón Barce defended new Spanish music highlighting its European projection and the overcoming of the previous nationalism, while launching a rebuke towards those who showed their disinterest in the face of a reality that he judged as "the inexorable forward march of things" (Barce April–May 1961, 5). In this way, the necessary action of educating the public to make them part of the general evolution of art was added to the topic of progress and teleological justification of the avant-garde:

> Spanish music, which for thirty years sailed its way through the tranquil sea of nationalism, is suddenly confronted by a European reality, which, like so many works, disturbs our contemptuous inertia [...] The detractors of new music have no other reason than the magnanimous 'I'm bored' or the equally so Celtic Iberian 'I don't understand'. Well, you have to understand [...] The music scores are there, there is the place for continued and meditated listening

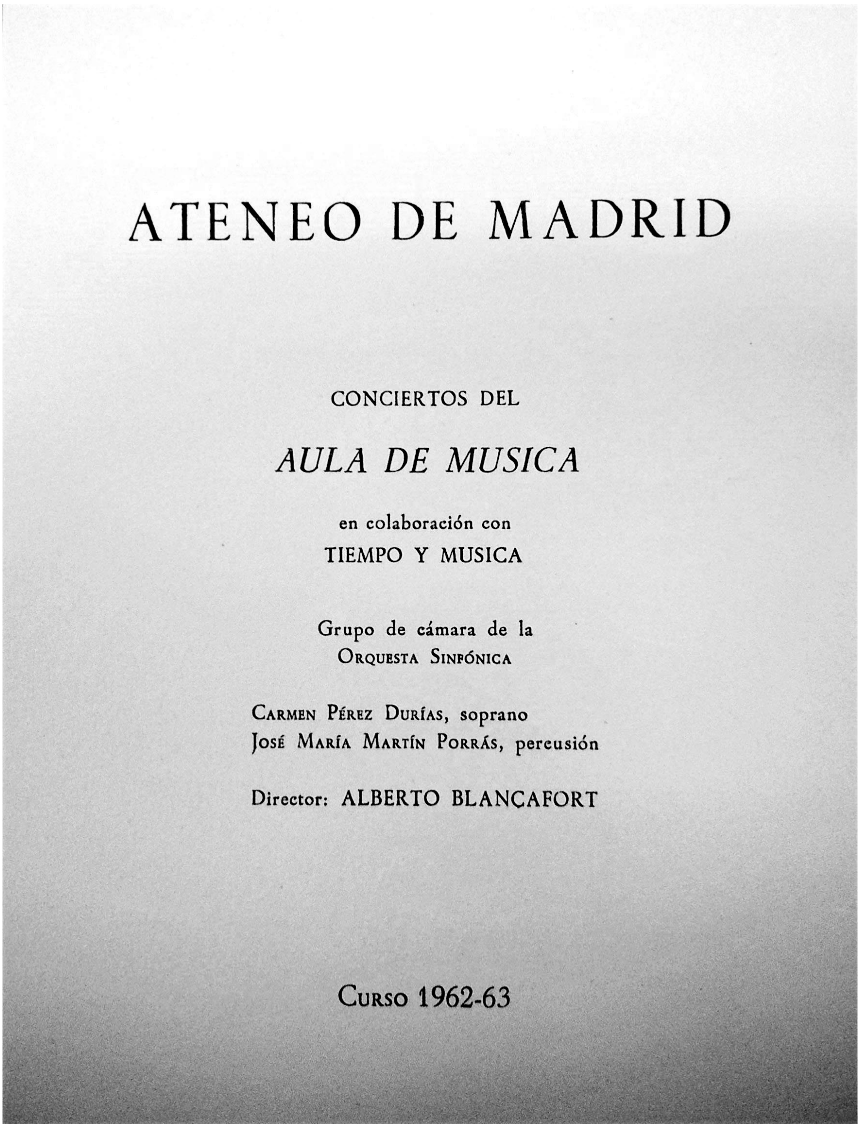
(Barce April–May 1961, cited in Pérez Castillo 2014, 302).[4]

This educational task was the principal objective taken up by the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum of Madrid, founded in 1958. This center brought together the individual efforts of the Generation of 51 and was the main agent of the renewal of Spanish music since the Civil War, apart from Barcelona (Medina 1987).[5] Its director, Fernando Ruiz Coca, noted in an inaugural text "the university tone and height" that he aimed to achieve with the scheduled activities (Ruiz Coca 1 February 1959, 17). The particular functioning of the Aula helped give it an intellectual air which was highlighted by the press alluding to the center as the "learned house:" firstly, a private seminar was held in which composers and critics studied the works to be performed in the programme. Subsequently, these analyses were offered in conference format before a reduced audience; finally, a concert took place in the Athenaeum auditorium, designed for a more general audience. The contents of the previous seminars were published in *La Estafeta Literaria*, a magazine which, between the years 1957 and 1974, was edited by the Athenaeum and became the official medium of the center.

Although Ruiz Coca assured on the occasion of the first cycle of conferences that "the Aula, as such, does not adhere to any tendency or school" (Ruiz Coca 1 January 1960, 22), the subject matter of most

4 "La música española, que navegaba desde hace treinta años por el cómodo mar interior del nacionalismo, se encuentra ahora, bruscamente, ante una realidad europea que, como tantas obras, molesta a nuestra desdeñosa inercia [...] Los impugnadores de la nueva música no tienen otra razón que el garboso 'me aburro' o el no menos celtibérico 'no entiendo'. Pues hay que entender [...] Ahí están las partituras, ahí tiene su lugar la audición continuada y meditada." All the quotations in this chapter have been translated by the author.

5 Comparing the knowledge and dissemination of twelve-tone music between Madrid and Barcelona, there was a greater line of continuity in the latter: it should be mentioned, for instance, the presence of Arnold Schoenberg and Anton Webern in this city during the 1930s, the studies of the Catalonian composer Robert Gerhard with Schoenberg in Vienna and Berlin in the 1920s, the continuity of this legacy by Gerhard's disciples such as Joaquim Homs—who introduced in Barcelona the first hearings of the music of the Second Viennese School after the Civil War, specifically in 1952—, and the influence of other figures like Cristòfor Taltabull on the also Catalonian Josep Soler, one of the members of the Generation of 51 most influenced by the twelve-tone technique.



ATENEO DE MADRID

CONCIERTOS DEL

AULA DE MUSICA

en colaboración con

TIEMPO Y MUSICA

Grupo de cámara de la

ORQUESTA SINFÓNICA

CARMEN PÉREZ DURÍAS, soprano

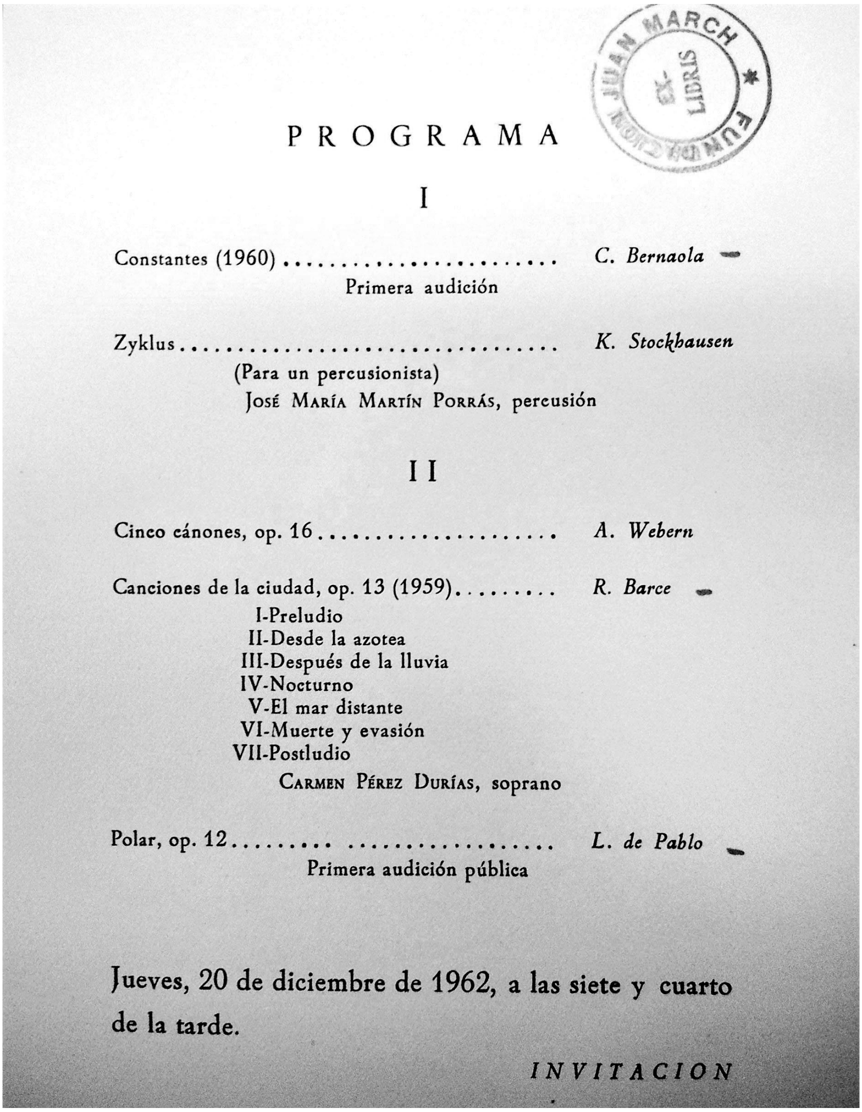
JOSÉ MARÍA MARTÍN PORRÁS, percusión

Director: ALBERTO BLANCAFORT

CURSO 1962-63

Figure 1a and Figure 1b. Programme of the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum, 20 December 1962, Sig. M-Pro-156, Contemporary Spanish Music Library, Juan March Foundation, Madrid.

of them revolved around the main figures of the European avant-garde and, at the same time, publicized the production of young Spanish composers. In fact, it can be stated that the construction of a new generational group with common goals and interests, the Generation of 51,



PROGRAMA

I

Constantes (1960) .... *C. Bernaola*
Primera audición

Zyklus .... *K. Stockhausen*
(Para un percusionista)
José María Martín Porrás, percusión

II

Cinco cánones, op. 16 .... *A. Webern*

Canciones de la ciudad, op. 13 (1959)......... *R. Barce*
I-Preludio
II-Desde la azotea
III-Después de la lluvia
IV-Nocturno
V-El mar distante
VI-Muerte y evasión
VII-Postludio
Carmen Pérez Durías, soprano

Polar, op. 12 .... *L. de Pablo*
Primera audición pública

Jueves, 20 de diciembre de 1962, a las siete y cuarto de la tarde.

INVITACION

was a particular achievement of the Aula. The first of these cycles, entitled *La música dodecafónica, estilo y evolución, función cultural* (Twelve-tone music, its style and evolution, cultural function) (November 1959–February 1960), included works by Schoenberg, Webern, Messiaen, Boulez, and Stockhausen explained by Enrique Franco, Ramón Barce, Gerardo Gombau, Cristóbal Halffter, or Luis de Pablo. Over the next course, two other cycles were held, designed to equate Spanish composition with the most valued international avant-garde. The title of the first of them—*Actualidad de la técnica y estética postserial: los determinantes nacionales* (Relevance of post-serial technique and aesthetics: national determinants)—dedicated to Berio, Pousseur, Boulez, Nono, Stockhausen, and Nilsson, already showed a certain instrumentalization of serialism, stressing its purely technical dimension and how it had been adopted in each country.

In the second cycle the Spanish conference speakers explained their own works. In the issues 208–213 of *La Estafeta Literaria* (January–March 1961) studies on foreign authors were published, and immediately after (issues 215–221, April–June 1961) self-analyses appeared by Luis de Pablo, Ramón Barce, or Cristóbal Halffter. The fact of sharing the same space in the magazine contributed to the sensation that new Spanish music was at the same level as its European counterpart, a strategy which is also apparent in the programming criteria of the concerts (Figure 1).

Although this center depended on the Ministry of Information and Tourism, and both Ruiz Coca and the general director of the Athenaeum, Florentino Pérez Embid, were members of the Opus Dei—a branch of the Catholic Church which displayed a technocratic orientation during the 1960s—the activities of the Aula were seen as part of the private sphere more than of the official one. Other means of diffusion of the avant-garde were the recitals organized by associations such as *Juventudes Musicales*—the Spanish name for *Jeunesses Musicales*—and *Cantar y Tañer* (Singing and Playing), held in the French and German Institutes, the Colegio Mayor Antonio de Nebrija, or the Colegio Aquinas. In the latter center a piano recital was held on 6 March 1960 dedicated to the Second Viennese School, with works by Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, and Luis de Pablo's *Sonata opus 3*. In the programme notes, the Spanish composer had no hesitation in linking his latest work to the figure of Webern, frequently legitimized as the father of new music (Pablo 1960a). Between 1960 and 1964 *Tiempo y Música* (Time and Music) was in operation, a concert organization dependent on the SEU—the Spanish university union—and directed by

Luis de Pablo. *Tiempo y Música* premiered in Madrid serial avant-garde works such as Boulez's *Improvisations sur Mallarmé* (30 January 1961); Maderna's *Studi per Il Processo* (13 March 1961); or Stockhausen's *Zeitmaße* (6 February 1962). As we shall see, the institutional backing behind these initiatives contributed to the more positive evaluation by music criticism.

To the activities of the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum were added, in early 1962, those of the Aula de Música of the Service of Education and Culture. This center depended on the National Delegation of Organizations of the Movement, a section integrated within the General Secretary of the Movement—the executive body of the single party of the regime—which went on to take over educational responsibilities. This second Aula, therefore, had a markedly official character. Apart from the conference-concert cycles, it is important to highlight that the Service of Education and Culture published between 1963 and 1965 the magazine *Aulas*, which together with *La Estafeta Literaria* became one of the principal media outlets on avant-garde music in Spain (Moro Vallina 2019). Stockhausen's conference *Erfindung und Entdeckung* [Invention and Discovery], given in Darmstadt in 1961, was published in the first three issues of *Aulas*; and over nine issues, the first Spanish translation of Webern's conferences *Der Weg zur Neuen Musik* and *Der Weg zur Komposition in zwölf Tönen* appeared, published by Universal Edition in 1960.

This increasing promotion culminated in the celebration of the Concert of Peace on 16 June 1964. The minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, personally contacted Cristóbal Halffter and Luis de Pablo to commission a work to commemorate the 25 years of the regime. As Igor Contreras Zubillaga (2016) explains, to prevent the event and the rest of the year's celebrations being seen as an explicit propaganda campaign, the organizing committee drew up some internal guidelines to make official publications as objective as possible, avoiding any ideological comments. The letter which Manuel Fraga sent to Cristóbal Halffter to formalize the commission demonstrated this neutrality: "[…] a great concert is being planned to reflect through music the fruitful period of Spain during this time of peace

[...] The work must correspond in its context and intention to the very noble event to be commemorated, with a duration of no longer than twenty minutes and no less than fifteen."[6] In turn, Halffter replied with gratitude, praising the Ministry's plan of action of supporting new creation: "I want to express my deepest gratitude for all that you are doing for Spanish music which, thanks to your efficient efforts, has gained new impulse and vigour"[7] (Manuel Fraga to Cristóbal Halffter, Madrid 14 December 1963; Cristóbal Halffter to Manuel Fraga, Madrid 22 December 1963, Sammlung Cristóbal Halffter–Korrespondenz, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel). Thus, although they might distrust state support for a supposedly autonomous and disruptive aesthetic such as the avant-garde, suspicious of its instrumentalization, for Halffter and De Pablo it was difficult to say no to an opportunity to enhance their professional career.

The attempt to deprive the 25 Years of Peace campaign of any ideology by insisting on mottos such as technique and progress was also reflected in the formalistic explanations of the composers about their works, as published in the Ministry of Information and Tourism's programme of the Concert (1964), as well as in the discourse of the majority of music critics. Below I will discuss the evolution of the opinion of these critics and some of the topics around at that time.

The Role of Music Criticism

During the 1950s, the most-valued modernist repertoire (Stravinsky, Hindemith, Bartók) as well as atonal and twelve-tone music were

6 "[...] se está planificando el montaje de un gran concierto que refleje a través de la música el fecundo periodo de España durante su paz [...] La obra deberá responder en su contexto e intención al nobilísimo hecho que se conmemora, con una duración no superior a veinte minutos ni inferior a quince." Excerpt reproduced with the kind permission of the Paul Sacher Stiftung.

7 "Quiero hacerle constar mi más profundo agradecimiento por todo cuanto hace por la música española que gracias a sus eficaces gestiones ha cobrado nuevo impulso y vigor." Excerpt reproduced with the kind permission of the Paul Sacher Stiftung.

judged from the same spiritualistic approach,[8] focusing on the content over the technical realization. Federico Sopeña, a former Falangist ordained priest and leading figure of music criticism, had laid down the pillars of this discourse in his book *La música en la vida espiritual* (1958). Despite referring to non-religious repertoires, Sopeña used this approach to value Bartók's music over that of composers of the Second Viennese School:

> Because I believe [...] that much of Schönberg's work, or the violin concerto of Alban Berg, can be called, no less, profane music. That being said, the spiritual content which they infer is one of darkness, of such despair that it almost denies the very reality of religion. However, there are other profane types of music whose influence on the spirituality of modern-day man is much more positive. Béla Bartók owes all his influence over several generations of musicians to this spiritual content (Sopeña 1958, 27–28).[9]

Other arguments alluded to the "unnatural" or "inauthentic" character of twelve-tone technique due to its denial of tonality, in the words of Óscar Esplá (1955, 30–31); or considered it an anachronistic phenomenon with regard to the current aesthetics, according to Antonio Fernández-Cid (22 November 1958, 61). Given their conservative nature, it is of no surprise that Sopeña, Esplá, or Fernández-Cid shared this general rejection of twelve-tone music. Notwithstanding, other critics

8 This religious approach responded to the Catholic profile of some members of the new government department established in 1951–1956, particularly that of the minister of Education Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez. This government was followed in the late 1950s by the beginning of the influence of the Opus Dei, with a technocratic orientation very different in practice from the spiritual mission of art advocated by Ruiz-Giménez or Federico Sopeña.

9 "Porque yo creo [...] que buena parte de la obra de Schönberg, o el concierto para violín de Alban Berg, pueden ser llamados, sin más, música profana. Ahora bien: el contenido espiritual hacia el que apuntan es de una negrura, de una desesperanza tal que niega casi la misma realidad de lo religioso. Sin embargo, hay otras músicas profanas cuya influencia en la espiritualidad del hombre de nuestro tiempo es mucho más positiva. A ese contenido espiritual debe Béla Bartók toda su influencia en varias generaciones de músicos."

much more committed to the avant-garde maintained a similar discourse for much of the decade. In 1952, for example, Enrique Franco referred to Cristóbal Halffter's *Antífona Pascual* in almost identical terms to those of Sopeña: "in [a] time in which the world learns of a desolate and sad, bitter, mind-boggling, and Freudian music with the latest surge of atonality [...] Spain intones its religious verses in music which is specific and spontaneous, melancholic, and smiling" (Franco 1952, 157).[10] Fernando Ruiz Coca also used the emotional content of the works to slight twelve-tone technique as "mathematical artifice" (September 1956, 17) or "illogical trick of expressionism" (15 February 1958, 12), criticizing that its rigidity meant a return to the dogmas that free atonality had managed to overthrow.

These words date back to 1958, when the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum of Madrid was inaugurated. Until that year, the opinion of several critics reflected certain disorientation when choosing the international aesthetic that best equated to Spanish music. This was the tone presented by the text of Enrique Franco quoted at the beginning (Franco 31 December 1957, 82), or also an editorial article in *Ritmo* in which it was pessimistically stated that in the last 25 years young composers and musicians had not been able to cement their style and personality in European musical centers (*Ritmo* 27/284 January 1957, 3). The same feeling of ambiguity can be observed in the terms in which Fernando Ruiz Coca spoke of the two principal contemporary trends that the Aula de Música dealt with in its inaugural course: in their words, the "formalist objectivism" and the "expressionism in its different meta-tonal forms" (Ruiz Coca 1 February 1959, 17).

It is surprising to note that, just two years later, Ruiz Coca completely modified his opinion of the twelve-tone technique, until then criticized for having converted the emotional content of expressionism in a mere technical lucubration. On the occasion of the aforementioned cycle *La música dodecafónica, estilo y evolución*, the author offered the opposite

---

10 "En [un] momento en los que el mundo sabe de una música desolada y triste, amarga, alucinante y freudiana con el último auge del atonalismo [...] España entona sus estrofas religiosas en una música concreta y espontánea, melancólica y sonriente."

argument: "in serialism, then, what Schoenberg really initiates is a path back to standards of universal validity, definitively turning his back on expressionism from which he originates. In this way, atonality, which he reaches by virtue of an aesthetic tendency, of a style, is converted into a technical situation" (Ruiz Coca 15 January 1960, 16).[11] The reasons for this change can be explained as follows: in his double function as a member of a cultural institution and a music critic, Ruiz Coca was conscious of the importance of bringing together the individual efforts of young composers. Despite the aesthetic diversity shown by the members of the Generation of 51, a common link was the overcoming of the earlier nationalist folklorism to give Spanish music a more modern look and in accordance with the formalist approach of Darmstadt's avant-garde. Thus, Ruiz Coca participated in the general strategy of considering the technical development of serialism as a guarantee of modernity of the works composed under this language. At the same time, denying the link with the preceding expressionist aesthetic would allow him to highlight how Spain had adopted and made its own the serial technique, a strategy which we can also find in the words of Cristóbal Halffter on its aesthetic evolution: "my maximum aspiration is to latinize serialism" (*La Estafeta Literaria* 187, 15 February 1960, 6).

Swiftly, musicians admired by the Generation of 51 such as Webern, Boulez, Stockhausen, or Berio were also lauded by the critics, even by the most traditionalists. An example of how institutional support of the avant-garde influenced the sector least in favour of innovation can be seen in the review of Federico Sopeña on a cycle of six talks on electronic music given by György Ligeti at the Athenaeum of Madrid in May 1961. Even in a repertoire far removed from Sopeña's religious profile, he positively valued the works heard, using the same approach with which he had condemned the music of Schoenberg, in a rather difficult reasoning:

11 "En el serialismo, pues, lo que realmente inicia Schoenberg es un camino de vuelta a normas de validez universal, dando la espalda definitivamente al expresionismo del que parte. De esta manera, el atonalismo, al que llega en virtud de una tendencia estética, de un estilo, se convierte en una situación técnica."

> A clear consequence arises from the works of Stockhausen and Berio, compatible with a certain problematic, hesitant, and indecisive reality: the more the composer is subjected to the technical world that this technique brings, the more the 'expression' reaches us, as an expression pointing to human areas that were just silence or noise [...] There is, therefore, the evident danger of creating a concept of the technique separated from art, opposed to all tradition [...] I want to be Christianly optimistic: it is not Pythagoreanism, as Adorno would say, but rather the expression of a musician always concerned about the basic human problem, being aware that the 'purer' and more strictly fitting to his means this music is presented, the more distant from the instrumental and even from the concrete (musique concrète), the more it reaches the spirit (Sopeña 17 May 1961, 58).[12]

The strategic importance of achieving a unified discourse of the critic was also reflected in the 1st International Biennial of Contemporary Music (28 November–7 December 1964). As opposed to previous initiatives, this event was organized directly by a state organization, the Service of Education and Culture, and an executive commission formed by Luis de Pablo, Cristóbal Halffter, Federico Sopeña, Enrique Franco, and Fernando Ruiz Coca. In addition to including works ranging from Schoenberg to Cage, Feldman, Brown, Ligeti, or Nono, the Biennial brought together foreign musicologists and critics such as Massimo Mila, Hans Stuckenschmidt, or Jean-Étienne Marie. This opportunity to widely promote Spanish music did not go unnoticed by the organizers. As Jesús Ferrer Cayón explains,

---

12 "De las obras de Stockhausen y de Berio surge una clara consecuencia, compatible con una cierta realidad problemática, dubitativa, indecisa: cuanto más se sujeta el compositor al mundo técnico que esta técnica trae, más la 'expresión' nos llega, como tal expresión, apuntando a zonas humanas que eran solo silencio o ruido [...] Hay, sí, el claro peligro de crear un concepto de la técnica separado del arte, frente a toda la tradición [...] Yo quiero ser cristianamente optimista: no es pitagorismo, como diría Adorno, sino expresión de músico preocupado siempre por el problema humano de fondo, ver cuanto más 'pura', más estrictamente atenida a sus medios se presenta esta música, cuanto más distante de la instrumental y de la misma concreta, más alcanza el espíritu."

Enrique de la Hoz wrote a letter to Félix Mª Ezquerra (director of the Service of Education and Culture) asking him for a dossier of Spanish and foreign critics who had written about the Biennial. He added: "[...] If there has been any adverse criticism, please send it to me, especially in view of the convenience of knowing what the guests have said about the event" (1964, quoted in Ferrer Cayón 2019, 35). In this sense, it is interesting to highlight the contradictory opinion of Massimo Mila on the Biennial. The Italian critic had expressed his admiration for the event in *Aulas* (23, January 1965, 48–49), in a few words perhaps filtered by censorship given the official character of the magazine; at that time, an article of his appeared in *L'Espresso* entitled "L'avanguardia in Spagna. Schönberg tra i falangisti" (Avant-garde in Spain. Schoenberg among the falangists), where Mila expressed his surprise that Franco's government promoted the music of a composer linked to the political left in Italy and abroad (20 December 1964, quoted in Sacau-Ferreira 2011, 53). This is a representative example of the instrumentalization of certain repertoires which previously had been rejected, but now proved profitable for the regime.

The state initiatives of support for the avant-garde which occurred in 1964 led to Arthur Custer, in a thematic article for *The Musical Quarterly*, to speak about a true "renaissance" of Spanish music, focusing on the previously explained topics: "Spanish musicians today strive for 'liberation from explicit nationalism,' in an attempt to speak a universal musical language. Their syntax is serialism" (Custer January 1965, 44).

Boulez vs. Cage—International Models for the Spanish Avant-Garde

Apart from serialism, in 1961 the aesthetics of aleatory music and mobile form were introduced into the Spanish cultural debate. In March of that year an article appeared in *La Estafeta* dedicated to the so-called "open music" (Ruiz Coca 1 March 1961, 14), and in the same issue Cristóbal Halffter signed an analysis of Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI* (Halffter 1 March 1961, 14–15). Other musicians, such as Ramón Barce, took advantage of the German composer's visit to Madrid to publish a résumé of the formal typologies explained in the aforementioned conference *Erfindung und Entdeckung* (Barce 15 December 1961, 13–14). Faced with the vast field of possibilities introduced by these trends, the three authors coincided in the need to preserve the structural control of the composers over their own work. Ruiz Coca's opinion clearly reflected this preference, associating the control–freedom binomial with two Spanish musicians then considered antithetical: "among these extreme consequences are the works (?) of John Cage, Bussotti, or of our own Juan Hidalgo. From their works to the 'semi-open' works of Stockhausen or Luis de Pablo there is a comparison of nuances that place the latter in a plane which is much more interesting and richer in possibilities" (Ruiz Coca 1 March 1961, 14).[13]

Together with Stockhausen, Boulez was another figure who served as a model in the adoption of aleatory techniques by the Generation of 51. Luis de Pablo, who had attended the premiere of *Pli selon pli* in Darmstadt, mentioned the work as an example of "flexible composition" due to the direct control of the different possibilities of realization. He also explained concepts such as heterophony or the "diverse capacities of density" of the piece, technical principles that the author would develop in his own music (Pablo 15 September 1960b, 15). De Pablo consciously exploited his association with Boulez in a series of self-analyses published during the 60s. With regard to his work *Radial*, for example, he explained that the options of structural order also depended on the timbre and sound density of the instruments, concluding with a comment very much in line with Boulez's famous article *Alea* (1957): "seemingly, what appeared antithetical has been achieved: maximum flexibility of construction with a complete control of results" (Pablo 15 April 1961, 14).[14]

---

13 "Entre estas consecuencias extremas están las obras (?) de John Cage, Bussotti o de nuestro Juan Hidalgo. Desde ellas hasta las 'semiabiertas' de Stockhausen o Luis de Pablo existe una gradación de matices que sitúan estas últimas en un plano mucho más interesante y rico en posibilidades."

14 "Al parecer, se ha logrado lo que parecía antitético: la máxima flexibilidad de construcción con un completo control de resultados."


La
1963
ESTAFETA LITERARIA

:EPTIEMBRE 14 SALE SABADOS ALTERNOS 15 PESETAS

escriben:

.FONSO ALVAREZ VILLAR ★ AMON BARCE ★ MANUEL ARRA ★ JORGE CELA TRU-OCK ★ CELSO COLLAZO ★ PE-RO CRESPO ★ RAUL CHAVA-RI ★ CRISTOBAL HALFFTER ★ NTONIO IGLESIAS LAGUNA ★ RCADIO DE LARREA ★ LEA EVI ★ JOSE MARIA MESTRES UADRENY ★ MELIANO PE-AILE ★ JOSE MARIA RIN-ON ★ LEOPOLDO RODRIGUEZ .LCALDE ★ FERNANDO RUIZ OCA ★ JOSE MANUEL SAL-ADO ★ PEDRO SANCHEZ PA-REDES ★ DAMASO SANTOS

JUAN EMILIO ARAGONES, ECRETARIO DE REDACCION ★ AIME BORRELL, REDACTOR EFE ★ LUIS PONCE DE LEON, DIRECTOR

La nueva música de

las FORMAS ABIERTAS

(PAGINAS 2, 3, 4, 5 y 6)

Carta de Chelsea:

ESPAÑA

Y LA IMPRENTA

MUNDIAL

(PAGINAS 8, 9 y 10)

PINTORES ESPAÑOLES EN PARIS

(PAGINAS 12 y 13)

OTRO AUTOR NUEVO REVELADO POR "LA ESTAFETA LITERARIA": LA PRIMERA OBRA NARRATIVA DE PEDRO SANCHEZ PAREDES

TELURIA existió: ERA UN PAIS FRENETICO...

(PAGINAS 15 a 18)

Figure 2. Special issue of *La Estafeta Literaria* about open music, 14 September 1963.

In response to the interest aroused by open music, the Aula de Música organized in early 1963 a course dedicated to the subject under the title "Open forms." Once again, we encounter the strategy of equating Spanish avant-garde with its European counterpart: in two of the five programmed conferences, Josep Mª Mestres Quadreny and Cristóbal Halffter compared their own production with that of Bussotti and Stockhausen, respectively. A monographic issue of *La Estafeta* was published in September of that same year which grouped part of these conferences (Figure 2). In his presentation, Ruiz Coca again valued the creative control that flexible music or mobile form entailed compared with the excessive freedom of Cage and Bussotti's indeterminacy, including in this group the Spaniard Juan Hidalgo (Ruiz Coca 14 September 1963, 2). Compared with Boulez or Stockhausen, the figure of Cage received little attention in the official circles of Madrid, a situation which contrasted with the greater knowledge of him in Barcelona.[15] But in both cities, the diffusion of Cage depended to a great extent on initiatives without state support. In Barcelona he was known thanks to the activities of the private association *Música Oberta* (Open Music), promoted by Juan Hidalgo (Martín-Nieva 2019). This author was also responsible, together with Walter Marchetti and Ramón Barce, for the creation of the experimental group ZAJ, whose inaugural concert (21 November 1964) included pieces such as *4'33"* and *Variations IV* by Cage. The polarization between both sectors would be highlighted years later by Llorenç Barber in a revisionist study on the exploitation of the avant-garde by Francoism, by alluding to Luis de Pablo as the "Spanish Boulez" and Hidalgo as the "European Cage" (Barber January 1980, 207).

15 Whereas the Madrilenian critics Fernando Ruiz Coca and Enrique Franco showed little interest in Cage's compositional methods, interpreting the freedom granted to the performer as a denial of creative authorship or even a tendency to anarchy that did not suit with the scientific approach of Boulez and Stockhausen, the reception by composers settled in Barcelona such as Josep Mª Mestres Quadreny and Juan Hidalgo was much more positive. Hidalgo had become familiar with the music of Cage through his contact with David Tudor in Milan in 1956, and from his arrival in Barcelona in 1960 onwards he would influence Mestres Quadreny and the beginning of his work with chance. (See Pardo Salgado 2019.)

A final reflection concerns the rhetoric used by composers in the explanations of their works. Although I cannot determine if the institutional sphere (represented by the previously mentioned centers and by music criticism) influenced primarily the aesthetic choices of the Generation of 51, or if the process was the other way round, what is true is that both agendas, the official and the individual, employed the same technical and formalist discourse, designed to promote the degree of current relevance of Spanish music. An example of this discourse can be found in the supplement of *Aulas* "Puntos de vista de la actual composición en España" (Points of view of contemporary composition in Spain) (July 1963), in which Ramón Barce, Carmelo Bernaola, Mestres Quadreny, Luis de Pablo, Miguel Ángel Coria, and Antón García Abril wrote self-analyses. The reference to sound timbre and density as constructive factors, the willingness to create a new musical form for each work, or the use of terms such as "flexible formant" or "sound objects" denotes an emphasis on the technical commentary above any other consideration. In this way, I can conclude that languages such as serialism and mobile form turned out to be not only profitable for the aesthetic renovation of the Generation of 51 but were also an opportunity for Franco's cultural institutions to exploit a modern and impartial image of the regime in favour of its own economic and diplomatic interests.

List of References

Archival Sources

Concert programme of the "Concierto de la Paz," Madrid 16 June 1964. Courtesy of Professor Ángel Medina Álvarez (University of Oviedo).

Juan March Foundation, Madrid. Contemporary Spanish Music Library. Concert programme of the Aula de Música of the Athenaeum, Madrid 20 December 1962, Sig. M-Pro-156.

Pablo, Luis de. 1960a. "Dodecafonismo. Bases para una comprensión." The National Library of Spain, Madrid. Gerardo Gombau's Collection, Sig. M. GOMBAU/47/2/1. Programme notes of the concert held on 6 March 1960 in the Colegio Mayor Aquinas (Madrid) by Pedro Espinosa.

Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. Sammlung Cristóbal Halffter–Korrespondenz. Folder "Manuel Fraga Iribarne."

Newspapers and Periodicals

Aulas 5, July 1963. "Puntos de vista de la actual composición en España:" 2–12.

Aulas 23, January 1965. "Entrevista a Massimo Mila:" 48–49.

Barce, Ramón. April–May 1961. "De cara a la realidad," *Ritmo* 31/318: 4–5.

Barce, Ramón. 15 December 1961. "Las formas musicales en Stockhausen," *La Estafeta Literaria* 231: 13–14.

Esplá, Óscar. 1955. "Función musical y música contemporánea," *Música* 12–13: 7–35.

Fernández-Cid, Antonio. 22 noviembre 1958. "Saludo y consejo a los compositores españoles que no tienen treinta años," *ABC*, 61.

Franco, Enrique. 1952. "Recensiones y notas," *Música* 2: 157.

Franco, Enrique. 31 December 1957. "La incógnita de la música española," *Arriba*, 82.

Franco, Enrique. 11 June 1961. "Serialismo en España," *Arriba*, 8.

Halffter, Cristóbal. 1 March 1961. "Klavierstück–XI, de Stockhausen," *La Estafeta Literaria* 212: 14–15.

La Estafeta Literaria 187, February 1960. "Cristóbal Halffter y la música concreta:" 6.

Pablo, Luis de. 15 September 1960b. "Una obra fundamental," *La Estafeta Literaria* 201: 15.

Pablo, Luis de. 15 April 1961. "Panorama sin perspectiva," *La Estafeta Literaria* 215: 14.

Ritmo 27/284, January 1957. "Editorial. Meditación post balance:" 3.

Ritmo 29/299, December 1958. "Madrid. La Orquesta Nacional:" 15.

Ritmo 30/309, March 1960. "Gamberrismo y cerrilismo musical:" 10.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. September 1956. "El atonalismo, hoy," Índice 10/93: 17.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 15 February 1958. "Dos movimientos para timbal y orquesta de cuerda, de Cristóbal Halffter," *La Estafeta Literaria* 116: 12–13.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 1 February 1959. "Aula de Música," *La Estafeta Literaria* 162: 17.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 1 January 1960. "La música dodecafónica hoy," *La Estafeta Literaria* 184: 22.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 15 January 1960. "Evolución, puente y profecía," *La Estafeta Literaria* 185: 16.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 1 April 1960. "De lo español en nuestra música," *La Estafeta Literaria* 190: 17.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 1 March 1961. "Música abierta," *La Estafeta Literaria* 212: 14.

Ruiz Coca, Fernando. 14 September 1963. "Nueva problemática musical: sobre las formas abiertas," *La Estafeta Literaria* 274: 2.

Sopeña, Federico. 1958. *La música en la vida espiritual*, Madrid: Taurus.

Sopeña, Federico. 17 May 1961. "Ateneo: Música electrónica," *ABC*, 58.

Bibliography

Aguilar, Paloma. 2008. *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política. El caso español en perspectiva comparada*. Madrid: Alianza.

Barber, Llorenç January. 1980. "40 años de creación musical en España." *Tiempo de Historia* 62 (6): 198–213.

Casares, Emilio. 1980. *Cristóbal Halffter*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo.

Contreras Zubillaga, Igor. 2016. "El Concierto de la Paz (1964): Three Commissions to Celebrate 25 Years of Francoism." In *Composing for the State: Music in Twentieth-Century Dictatorships*, edited by Esteban Buch, Igor Contreras Zubillaga and Manuel Deniz Silva, 168–186. London: Ashgate.

Custer, Arthur January. 1965. "Contemporary Music in Spain." *The Musical Quarterly* 51 (1): 44–60.

García del Busto, José Luis. 1979. *Luis de Pablo*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Ferrer Cayón, Jesús. 2019. "'España es diferente... España cambia de piel.' Of the Festivals of Spain (1954) to the 1st International Biennial of Contemporary Music of Madrid (1964): Avant-Garde Music for the Francoist Technocracy." *Contemporary Music Review* 38 (1–2): 24–43.

Marco, Tomás. 1970. *Música española de vanguardia*. Madrid: Guadarrama.

Martín-Nieva, Helena. 2019. "Opening Pandora's Cage: 'Open Music' and John Cage in Barcelona, 1960–1970." In *Music Criticism 1950–2000*, edited by Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Locanto, 333–356. Turnhout: Brepols.

Medina, Ángel. 1987. "Primeras oleadas vanguardistas en el área de Madrid." In *España en la música de Occidente. Actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Salamanca*, 2, edited by Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and José López-Calo, 369–397. Madrid: INAEM.

Moro Vallina, Daniel. 2012. "El Festival de Música de América y España (1964–1970). Intercambios musicales entre las dos orillas." *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 24: 143–173.

Moro Vallina, Daniel. 2016. "Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de la vida musical en Madrid durante los años cincuenta." *Revista de Musicología* 39 (2): 595–627.

Moro Vallina, Daniel. 2019. "Música de vanguardia en la prensa cultural española: los casos de *La Estafeta Literaria* y *Aulas*." *Educación y Cultura*, *Anuario Musical* 74: 71–90.

Pardo Salgado, Carmen. 2019. "The Influence of John Cage on Spanish Experimental Music." *Contemporary Music Review* 38 (1–2): 44–75.

Pérez Castillo, Belén. 2014. "'Problematized' Music. Notes on the Reception of 'Avant-Garde' Symphonic Music during the Franco Years (1952–1969)." In *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth-Century*, edited by Massimiliano Sala, 289–316. Lucca: Brepols.

Pérez Zalduondo, Gemma. 2012. "De la tradición a la vanguardia: música, discursos e instituciones desde la Guerra Civil hasta 1956." In *Historia de la Música en España e Hispanoamérica*, 7, edited by Alberto González Lapuente. La música en España en el siglo XX, 101–167. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Sacau-Ferreira, Enrique. 2011. *Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford: University of Oxford.

San Llorente Pardo, Inés. 2017. "La Bienal de Música Contemporánea de 1964." *Cuadernos de Investigación Musical* 3: 75–95.

Shreffler, Anne C. 2005. "Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's *Threni* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom." In *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity. Essays*, edited by Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb, 217–245. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

“Disco Sucks:” The Decline and Fall of Disco Music

MARK PERRY

In the 1970s, the underground and urban dance music known as disco increasingly entered the song rotation of mainstream FM radio in the United States, challenging rock music for both radio airplay and record sales. Radio deejays and station programmers served as tastemakers, and radio stations functioned as an institution, mediating which musics made it to the public airwaves. The influential medium of radio led to the mainstreaming and increased popularity of disco; however, radio was also a culprit of its demise, leading in part to the decline and fall of the dance genre. In earlier decades, radio had played a role in classical and experimental music. In classical and new music sectors, radio—especially in Europe—served as a major employer of musicians as well as a functioning as their patron, resembling past musical institutions such as the Church and European courts.

In popular music of the 1970s, many young Americans perceived two factions, those primarily identifying with rock music and others with disco music. Interceding between the two groups was the institution of FM radio. In addition to musical tastes and cultural identity, contemporaries and recent scholars have also recognized that issues of race and homophobia played a role in the declining popularity of the dance genre—sometimes the actions of radio, as an institution, occurred through the lens of race and sexuality. In 1979, one event in particular, the radio promotion Disco Demolition Night, led to an almost overnight drop in popularity of the dance genre. Disco Demolition represented the pinnacle of the anti-disco movement that was taking place across the United States; however, the radio promotion was not an aberration. Other instances of FM radio stations advocating for rock music over disco music occurred. In Portland, Oregon, a radio disc jockey cut a stack of disco albums not too subtlety with a chainsaw, accompanied with thousands cheering for the radio stunt (Frank 2007, 278). In Los Angeles, a radio station released promotional records with titles such as *Disco's What I Hate*, *Disco Defecation*, and *Death to Disco*, Memphis radio deejay Rick Dees' released the novelty song *Disco Duck*, performed by Dees and His Cast of Idiots (followed by the less successful Dis-gorilla), and protests took place in New York City when a rock radio disc jockey played Donna Summer's *Hot Stuff* (Frank 2007, 278).

The dominance of rock music in the music industry began to slowly fade in the 1960s and the disco genre rose in popularity among music charts of the 1970s. The 1977 movie *Saturday Night Fever*, featuring John Travolta, caused a disco craze within mainstream America. The New York City radio station WKTU became the first all-disco radio station in 1978. After switching from its rock format, the formerly low-rated station WKTU, became the most popular radio station in the United States a year later, and its success led to format changes across the country (Frank 2007, 288). More than 250 radio stations began including disco music and as many as 75 adopted the all-disco format. Rock deejays found themselves increasingly being forced to incorporate disco tracks in their song rotations.

In Chicago, deejay Steve Dahl happily worked for the album-oriented rock station WDAI, until 1979, when he was fired for his unwillingness to spin disco tracks after it became an all-disco radio station. Shortly afterwards, Dahl was hired by rival station WLUP and an on-air vendetta against disco ensued. Dahl's show on WLUP served as a platform to attack disco music. On the air, Dahl employed the sound effect of an explosion over a disco song, foreshadowing what would happen later at the notorious Disco Demolition radio promotion. Dahl created a spoof of Rod Stewart's disco crossover *Da Ya Think I'm Sexy* with *Do Ya Think I'm Disco*. In Dahl's parody song, he makes reference to a character named Tony, similar to John Travolta's character in the 1977 film *Saturday Night Fever*. Dahl established the Insane Coho Lips Antidisco Army as part of his radio show. The coho salmon was a species of salmon introduced to Lake Michigan to counter the lamprey eel, an invasive species that was negatively impacting the natural fish population. While Dahl always claimed that his aversion to disco was not homophobic, he frequently employed a lisp on the word disco, referencing gay associations of the dance genre. Dahl claimed that he was "dedicated to the eradication of the dreaded musical disease known as disco" (Frank 2007, 297). His hatred of the music was so deep and repulsive, he destroyed a record of Van McCoy's song *The Hustle* on the air after the artist died.

Nevertheless, Dahl's most shocking reaction to disco music occurred when 97.9 WLUP-FM sponsored a baseball game promotion involving a climatic explosion of vinyl disco records on the playing field in-between a double header of the Chicago White Sox and Detroit Tigers. For 98 ¢, chosen for the station's call number of 97.9, and a donation of a disco record, the public could attend the game and observe a fiery destruction of vinyl disco records. The discounted ticket price, a bargain, was a quarter of the original ticket price. In part, the promotion was a success, resulting in the White Sox having their best attendance of a game in decades, even while having a mediocre baseball season; however, the White Sox were forced forfeit the second game of the doubleheader, after chaos followed the explosion of disco records.

Billed as Teen Night, Disco Demolition brought an estimated 55,000 attendees and 15,000 outside the stadium. Throughout the stadium there were banners with the slogan "disco sucks." By the fifth inning, some attendees were tossing records like Frisbees onto the field. After the first game, in which the White Sox lost, Dahl dressed in military fatigues and an army helmet entered the playing field on a Jeep, accompanied by a blonde model. Dahl led the attendees to a chant of "disco sucks." The disco records explode, and thousands of rock fans rushed the field. Commenting on the evening mayhem, country music fan and White Sox pitcher Richard Wortham told reporters "this wouldn't have happened if they had country and western night" (Meares 2021) and the Tigers' manager Sparky Anderson made sure to make a distinction between baseball and rock music enthusiasts: "Beer and baseball go together; they have for years, but I think those kids were doing other things than beer" (Hoekstra and Natkin 2016, 22). Earlier that day in a television interview, Dahl smashed a disco record on his own head and spouted the nonsense of "I hate the taste of piña coladas, [smashes a disco record on head] I'm allergic to gold jewelry, so there's nothing there for me. You have to spend so much time blow-drying your hair. It's a waste of time" (Greene 2019).

Before disco music became mainstream, the four-on-the-floor dance music flourished in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia in predominately gay, African American, and Latino dance clubs. Racism in America and the African American roots of Disco music does not appear to be the primary factor in the anti-disco movement, as much of popular American music has had African American roots; however, Chicago was a historically segregated city and those that participated in Disco Demolition were predominately white. Some employees working the event noticed that it was race, not genre, that was the target:

> Fans flooded the stadium, as ushers struggled to keep up with the number of disco albums being shoved in their faces. One young African American usher, Vincent Lawrence (who later became a pioneer of house music, disco's direct descendant), noticed a disturbing trend as he took the albums. 'A lot of the records were not disco records but BLACK records—Marvin Gaye, Stevie Wonder' (Meares 2021).

Early disco music had connections with the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. No longer ashamed to dance in public, disco dancing allowed gay men to express their newly fought sentiments. One factor, recognized then and now, led to the attack on disco music—the general perception that disco was gay, in contrast to hyper-masculine rock music. On the subject, Gillian Frank argues that "The events leading up to the Disco Demolition saw the assignment of homosexual definitions to disco and heterosexual definitions to rock music" (Frank 2007, 279).

In the 1960s, the civil rights and anti-war movements merged with rock music and later disco became connected with the gay liberation movement. Rock music appealed almost overwhelmingly to white, heterosexual, and suburban males. The commercial success of disco music in the 1970s caused considerable angst among those who identified with rock music. In 1979, *The Village Voice* printed the headline of "The Dialectics of Disco: Gay Music Goes Straight," addressing the perception that disco crossed over to mainstream society, while being hostile to mainstream culture, and taking over rock music (Kopking 2005). In a 1979 *Rolling Stone* article, the author addressed both racism and homophobia in the anti-disco movement: "White males, eighteen to thirty-four are the most likely to see disco as the product of homosexuals, blacks and Latins, and therefore they're most likely to respond to appeals to wipe out such threats to their security. It goes almost without saying that such appeals are racist and sexist, but broadcasting has never been an especially civil-libertarian medium" (Marsh 1979).

The rising commercial success of disco over rock music during the Disco Decade was often cited as a trigger of the anti-disco movement. In early 1979, the number of discos in the United States had proliferated as well as all-disco radio stations—disco music accounted for a large percentage of the music industry. Rock music was a form of live performance, while disco was recorded music. The shift from live musical performance to recorded music for public dancing challenged those who privileged listening musics over dance music. The importance of the guitar waned, and a perceived mechanical quality replaced virtuosity in disco music. In disco music, lyrics were repetitive instead of conveying a narrative, and were regarded as inauthentic and commercial. The greatest betrayal came from recognized rock artists and bands that crossed over to disco; they included Rod Stewart's *Da Ya Think I'm Sexy?*, Blondie's *Heart of Glass*, the Rolling Stones *Miss you*, and Kiss' *I Was Made for Loving You*. Two days before Disco Demolition, *The New York Times* published a lament for popular music:

> The Disco Decade is one of glitter and gloss, without substance, subtlety or more than surface sexuality. The Disco Decade is the era when intimacy and close personal connections are to be avoided even with the self. In the 1960s, of course, Americans would have given anything for something as mindless and impersonal as disco, an escape hatch from the social responsibilities, from the shouting

> and shoving in the streets. Now we have found the answer. All we have to do is blow dry our protein-enriched hair, anoint ourselves with musk oil, snort another line of cocaine and turn up the volume [...] After the lofty expectations, passions and disappointments of the 1960s, we have the passive resignation and glitzy paroxysms of the Disco 1970s. After the poetry of the Beatles comes the monotonous bass-pedal bombardment of Donna Summer (Vare 1979, 15).

At the end of the decade, radio management recognized the financial appeal of attacking disco music. Rock radio deejays imitated Dahl's methods of attacking disco music.

The fallout from the anti-disco movement was too much for the dance genre. Mel Cheren, a disco record executive, remembered what followed after the Disco Demolition:

> Overnight, the 'disco sucks' campaign grew into a huge juggernaut, and everybody who ever had any misgivings about disco jumped on. Radio deejays began denouncing the music openly; disgruntled writers at music publications went on attack; people began making fun of anything associated with disco, and it quickly had an effect. Programmers and market researchers began to encounter visceral hatred for anything connected with the word disco, gay people included [...] dozens of all-disco radio stations were abandoning what they now believed was a sinking ship, adopting instead a blend of rock, pop and only the most popular disco hits, a format they labeled urban-contemporary (Cheren 2000, 258).

He added on the dance genre: "disco was so officially over that the word itself ceased being used by the mainstream media except as a pejorative" (Cheren 2000, 259). In 1979, disco music transformed from being socially acceptable to being stigmatized. Returning from a European performance, the disco guitarist from the band Chic Niles Rodgers lamented the shift of emotions towards disco: "It felt to us like Nazi-book burning. This is America, the home of jazz and rock, and people were now afraid even to say the word 'disco'" (Easlea 2020, 157).

Rock music re-emerged over disco. Steve Dahl's former station returned to a rock music format, rebranding the radio station's name to erase its disco past from listeners' minds. Gillian Frank addresses the aftermath of the anti-disco movement and Disco Demolition: "As disco receded from the mainstream, it became evident the widespread backlash against disco had enabled Dahl and other rock fans to reclaim symbolic ownership of the radio airwaves and heterosocial spaces" (Frank 2007, 305). Dahl claimed retrospectively: "It is important to me that this is viewed from the lens of 1979. That evening was a declaration of independence from the tyranny of sophistication. I like to think of it as illustrative of the power that radio has to create community and share similarities and frustrations." He added: "We were kids pissing on a musical genre. We were choosing to remain faithful to the bands that provided the backdrop to our lives," ultimately claiming, "I wanted to entertain and to provide a release for kids who had too little money and too much awkwardness for the dance world. I wanted to say the music you revere is great, and you are okay just as you are" (Dahl 2016, 16–17). Radio deejays and stations served as musical institutions, exerting their power of influence on the musical tastes of their audience, which ultimately led to the chants and banners claiming that "disco sucks;" however, as the legendary DJ Frankie Knuckles has stated "House music is disco's revenge" (Moser 2014).

List of References

Cheren, Mel. 2000. *Keep on Dancin': My Life and the Paradise Garage*. New York: 24 Hours for Life.

Dahl, Steve. 2016. "Introduction." In *Disco Demolition: The Night Disco Died*. Chicago: Curbside Splendor Publishing.

Easlea, Daryl. 2020. *Everybody Dance: Chic and the Politics of Disco.* London: Omnibus Press.

Frank, Gillian. 2007. "Discophobia: Antigay Prejudice and the 1979 Backlash against Disco." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (2): 276–306.

Greene, Andy. 2019. "Flashback: Watch 'Disco Demolition Night' Devolve into Fiery Riot." *Rolling Stone*, July 12. <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/flashback-watch-disco-demolition-night-devolve-into-fiery-riot-206237/> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Hoekstra, Dave and Paul Natkin. 2016. *Disco Demolition: The Night Disco Died*. Chicago: Curbside Splendor Publishing.

Kopking, Andrew. 2005. "The Dialectic of Disco: Gay Music Goes Straight." *The Village Voice*, February 12, 1979. <https://www.villagevoice.com/2005/10/18/coming-of-age/> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Marsh, Dave. 1979. "The Flip Sides of 1979." *Rolling Stone*, December 27, 1979. <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/the-flip-sides-of-1979-113608/> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Meares, Hadley. 2021. "The Night When Straight White Males Tried to Kill Disco." Aeon. <https://aeon.co/ideas/the-night-when-straight-white-males-tried-to-kill-disco> Accessed 14 April 2021.

Vare, Robert. 1979. "Discophobia," *New York Times* July 10, 1979.

Part II
Musical Exhibitions & Festivals

“A mystery, and viewless / Even when present:” Exhibiting Music at International Exhibitions in Nineteenth-Century Britain

SARAH KIRBY

Letitia Elizabeth Landon’s 1827 poem *Erinna* contains the following passage on music’s ephemerality:

> The painter’s hues stand visible before us
> In power and beauty; we can trace the thoughts
> Which are the workings of the poet’s mind:
> But music is a mystery, and viewless
> Even when present, and is less man’s set,
> And less within his order; for the hand
> That can call forth the tones, yet cannot tell
> Whither they go, or if they live or die,
> When floated once beyond his feeble ear
> (Landon 1838, 185).

“This,” wrote the *Musical Times* in 1873, quoting Landon, “is why music has hitherto had no place in artistic exhibitions” (*Musical Times* 1 April 1873, 40–41). For as long as international exhibitions had been held in Britain there had been vigorous debate in the musical press about the position, representation and use of music in such spaces. Yet it was exactly that fleeting quality—the intangibility of form that made it so attractive to poets—that made music’s inclusion in the physical exhibition space elusive. This outcome, however, the *Musical Times* felt was “not inevitable.”

International exhibitions were some of the most significant cultural phenomena of the nineteenth century, as a potent illustration of the "modernizing drive of the Victorian hinterland" (Greenhalgh 2001, 266). These massive events were held for up to six months, in vast purpose-built spaces, in which different nations were invited to exhibit their artistic, scientific, and industrial prowess through the display of physical goods (Greenhalgh 1988, 1). Objects were divided into taxonomic categories, the exhibits within assessed by international juries, and prizes awarded for those deemed the best. For the public, exhibitions were intended to be educational, providing—their organizers argued—a snapshot of every branch of human achievement: "a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived" (*The Times* 22 March 1850, 5). But they also had grander aims—particularly at the first modern event, the London Great Exhibition of 1851—being touted as symbols of universalism and world peace (Hoffenberg 2001, 5), encouraging nations to compete not by "fabricating weapons of mutual destruction" but instead attempting to "rival each other in the manufacture of commodities" for "their mutual advantage" (Ward 1851, 5).

In purporting to display all human achievement, over the decades, many organizers attempted to include music in their designs. But how to do it? Musical instruments—the physical products of a manufacturing industry—could be easily put on display. Yet many argued that silent instruments could never adequately constitute an exhibit of "music;" that these were merely representations of the mechanical and acoustic means by which music *could* be produced. Performances of the "great works" could be given, as if to "exhibit" their qualities, but these too were considered insufficient as they lacked the permanence of visual art displays. A physical art-object could be on show for six months at an exhibition—hardly comparable to a single performance of a musical work. Debates surrounding these issues were considered with some urgency, as music's presence—and the difficulty of putting it "on display"—called into question the all-encompassing rhetoric that claimed exhibitions as universal showcases of human industry and culture.

This chapter interrogates the various ways that exhibition organizers in mid-nineteenth-century London attempted to put music "on display" and how these exhibitionary practices became institutionalized, all in the context of contemporary understandings of music and museums. I argue that negotiating music within exhibition spaces gradually drove organizers towards the concept of a "musical museum" in an almost physical manifestation of Lydia Goehr's theory of the "imaginary museum of musical works."[1] Further, I argue that some of the conclusions reached through the institutionalization of music within these exhibitions have direct legacies in twenty-first century curatorial practice. My examples span from the 1851 Great Exhibition, through the London exhibitions of the decades that followed, including the International Exhibition of 1862, and a series of annual exhibitions held between 1871 and 1874. I conclude with a case study from the Victoria and Albert Museum (henceforth, the V&A)—the direct institutional descendent of the Great Exhibition—and the 2017 exhibition *Opera: Passion, Power and Politics*, examining how the same curatorial questions were managed in the twenty-first century. My overall approach is a reception study, using press reports as sources to provide an "historical analysis" of the "changing interpretive practices" surrounding music in these spaces (Machor and Goldstein 2001, xii).

Exhibitions and Museums

The 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, as it was officially titled, was held in the monumental Crystal Palace, a temporary structure of glass and iron erected in London's Hyde Park. The internal structure, processes of organization, and surrounding rhetoric of the Great Exhibition were central in shaping public expectations of future international exhibitions. Its legendary status held such an important place in the collective imagination that attendees

1 Goehr argues that the "work concept" emerged around 1800, based on an understanding of musical works as equivalent to fine art works, appreciated and marketed as "permanently existing creations of composers/artists." Music resolved its need to preserve and "replicate the conditions of the plastic arts"—despite its ephemeral character—by the creation of a "metaphorical" museum, which she terms "the imaginary museum of musical works" (Goehr 1993, 174).

of other exhibitions—whether they had experienced the original or not—were affected by "the ghost of 1851" in how they perceived the events in "material and imaginative terms" (Hoffenberg 2001, 7, 5). In addition, both the Great Exhibition and those that followed developed concurrently with the public museum, influencing and being influenced by this process. While both private and public museums had existed in various forms through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was a "direct result" of the Great Exhibition's success that the state began actively developing a public museum culture in Britain (Garwood 2014, 26). Thus, an understanding of the historical intersection of the exhibitionary and museum traditions is important for conceptualizing the place of music within the events discussed below.

All the 1860s and 1870s London exhibitions were held in South Kensington between Kensington Gore and Cromwell Road, and the present-day institutions on this site form an important part of their legacy. The profits of the Great Exhibition allowed the purchase of this estate—nicknamed the "Albertopolis"—and its first permanent museum, the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A), was established to hold "miscellaneous collections," some from the Great Exhibition itself (Garwood 2014, 26). The Natural History Museum, Royal Albert Hall, and other educational spaces followed. But the legacy of the international exhibitions extends beyond these physical buildings to their interior spaces and language of display. "The ephemeral, scenic museology" of the exhibitions' internal structures directly influenced how these public museums were arranged. At the South Kensington Museum (and still, the V&A), for example, the term "court" was used, instead of "gallery," to delineate interior spaces in "reminiscence of the exhibition hall" (Whitehead 2005, 48).

Despite a closely interconnected history, international exhibitions and museums have some fundamental differences. In the nineteenth century, one important distinction lay in the value placed on an object's age. In terms of musical instruments, museum collections held objects that retrospectively illustrated different periods and traditions. Exhibitions, in contrast, promoted technological advances by displaying newly manufactured instruments. For some critics, this deeply com-promised exhibitions' educational value. Both institutions were central pillars of the mid-nineteenth-century rational recreation movement—an ideological middle-class effort to promote public education and exert a "civilising influence" over the working classes (Bailey 1978, 35). Exhibitions, however, placed much emphasis on spectacle as a "vehicle for popular amusement" (Whitehead 2005, 70), and this, alongside their significant commercial implications, left some feeling that they were inferior to the serious-minded museum. As George Wagstaffe Yapp wrote in 1852, the vast "accumulation" of objects at the Great Exhibition "however startling, is not of the most beneficial description" and not "a pleasant place of study" (Yapp 1852, 36–38). Museums, instead, were hoped to encourage serious study without the need for spectacle.

Despite these differences, the same curatorial challenge of exhibiting "music" at nineteenth-century international exhibitions can be seen in the representation of art that unfolds over time—music, but also forms such as dance and drama—in museum spaces in the twenty-first century. The central question raised by trying to put music "on display" remains the same: as Eric De Visscher asks, "how does one feature music in museums when its natural place would rather be the concert hall or the private home where one listens or plays?" (De Visscher 2014, 237). This was a question repeatedly asked in the musical press in the nineteenth century.

Locating Music

In order to "display" music, it was first necessary to decide where it fit within the rigidly compartmentalized taxonomic structures that governed the exhibitions' layouts. The Great Exhibition was uncharted territory in this respect, and the commissioners—with an executive made up of engineers, military figures and politicians, including chairman Colonel William Reid, Henry Cole, and Charles Wentworth Dilke—did not include any musical experts. There was therefore much speculation and anxiety in the musical press before the Exhibition's opening as to what music really was, and what would constitute an adequate representation of it, particularly in comparison to the plastic arts. Indeed, while contemporary publications ran articles throughout the decades of the exhibitions attempting to answer “what is music?”—with responses ranging from “simply a succession of sounds regulated by the laws of melody and rhythm,” to “the first art of the feelings,” “the heart’s own language,” or quoting Martin Luther, “the fairest and most glorious gifts of God”—critics at the exhibitions found it simpler to define what it *wasn’t* (*Musical World* 3 September 1859, 2–3).

At the Great Exhibition, the only official display related to music was a collection of instruments. While some recent scholarship has argued that no “critical appraisals” of the exhibition record any “anxiety about the presence of musical instruments” (Willson 2016, 237), this in fact became an extremely fraught issue in the press. Critics argued that instruments could only demonstrate aspects of mechanical construction, or technologies of sound production. As the *Musical World* stated, it was an “absurd” mistake by the commissioners in “confounding ‘music’ with ‘instruments of music,’ though the latter are to the former no more than the bricks and mortar to a monument” (*Musical World* 11 January 1851, 19). No matter how prominently placed, it was argued, this would reduce the art of music to matters of technical invention. The same article continued,

> to confound the abstract science of sound, a matter of dry mathematical calculation, with the art of music itself, which appeals no less to the heart and the imagination, in its highest manifestations, than to the ear alone, in its lowest, is to confound the science of verbal derivation with the magnificent art of poetry (*Musical World* 11 January 1851, 18–19).

Not only were instruments the sole display relating to music at the Great Exhibition, but these were shown in a single combined class—superintended by two military men, Lieutenant-Colonel John Lloyd and Lieutenant William Trevor—entitled “Philosophical, Musical, Horological and Surgical Instruments.” These instruments (barring the grand, prominent pipe organs) were relegated to an upper gallery of the Crystal Palace between displays of anatomical models, cutlery, and glass chandeliers (*Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* 1851, 404–405). This approach, it was felt, came nowhere near adequately representing "music."

The narrative surrounding the inadequacy of instruments representing "music" continued through the exhibitions that followed, and by 1873 the *Musical Times* was arguing about this in Biblical terms: "Jubal's 'chorded shell' was a wonderful instrument according to Dryden, but duly labelled and showed at a fine art exhibition of the period, it would scarcely have attracted much attention [...] You cannot set up a gallery of this ethereal art as you can of painting and sculpture" (*Musical Times* 1 April 1873, 40–41). Although performance began to take on a greater role at later exhibitions, displays of instruments remained the most constant music-related exhibit, and the musical press remained dissatisfied.

Attempts to define music, related to attempts to "exhibit" it, and subsequent questions about music's ephemerality—particularly in relation to the plastic arts—have parallels in broader Victorian aesthetics. Descriptions of music as independent from the physical objects that facilitate its production—such as instruments or scores—appear throughout nineteenth-century musical literature, illustrating a dichotomous understanding of the plastic and temporal arts. As an essay reprinted in an 1857 *Musical Times* argued, the condition of music was "a strange thing" that did not in itself exist: "it is there but gone again" in the moment of its performance, always putting on "mortality afresh [...] being born anew, but to die away and leave only dead notes and dumb instruments behind" (*Musical Times* 1 May 1857, 42). Decades later, another author in the *Orchestral Musical Review* suggested that music could not exist in the material world, discounting both representations on "the printed page" and in "the vibrations" that travel from "instrument to ear." Music, they concluded, was of "another and a higher kind," whose substance was "ethereal" (*Orchestral Musical Review* 19 December 1885, 450).

Couched in literary and sentimental Victorianisms as they are, these discussions display an approach to conceptualizing music similar to those presented by many nineteenth-century European philosophers.

E. T. A. Hoffmann, in his 1831 essay "Beethoven's Instrumental Music," described music as existing outside of the physical world. Not bound like poetry to words that suggest "definite emotions," and as "the art diametrically opposed to plastic," Hoffmann considered music to exist instead in the "realm of the infinite" (Hoffmann 1998, 151–152). Hoffmann was well-known in Britain, with English translations of his works appearing as early as the 1820s, so it might be assumed his thoughts on this were also known (Leydecker 2000, 331). Similar sentiments appear in Heinrich Heine's letters, particularly the ninth from *Letters on the French Stage* which were widely reprinted in nineteenth-century English music periodicals. Originally written in 1837, Heine questions "what is music?," reflecting on it as a "marvel," existing "between thought and manifestation" (Heine 1892–1905, 242). In the following decade, Søren Kierkegaard's 1843 *Either/Or* also describes music as obtainable "only in the moment of its performance," continuing to suggest that music exists only in "an unreal sense" at other times (Kierkegaard 1972, 55). Such discussions of music's material form continued throughout the century, appearing in many works of aesthetic philosophy beyond those specifically considering music (including, notably, Walter Pater's often-quoted statement that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music," Pater 1888, 135). While these disparate examples are not exhaustive, they show that the arguments brought forward by the necessity of placing music in the physical sphere tapped into ongoing philosophical debates in the wider community.

Equivalents for these ideas can also be found in twentieth-century theoretical musicology. As Goehr argues, musical works are "ontological mutants" that do not exist as "concrete, physical objects" (Goehr 1992, 2–3). Roman Ingarden similarly argues that the musical work is both distinct from and does not exist as the "conscious experiences" of the composer or listeners, cannot be "identified with its various performances," and is entirely distinct from the score (Ingarden 1986, 2). Just as similar ideas had been explored through the nineteenth century, the exhibitions, with their expectation that music should be represented in physical space, forced an examination of these theoretical problems in real terms, becoming sites of physical attempts to reconcile such ideas.

The Musical Work as Object

The consensus that musical instruments—while perhaps interesting displays of manufacturing—were not exhibits of "music" itself, meant that the press demanded, and organizers searched for solutions elsewhere. From the philosophical debates regarding the nature of music over the century, there was a general agreement in discussions of exhibitions that the best way of representing music was through the performance of works. This was fitting, as the concept of the "work" itself emerged in the late eighteenth century through a movement towards understanding music as a fine art, in need of "enduring products—artefacts comparable to other works of fine art" (Goehr 1992, 152).

The opening ceremonies of the exhibitions were the most obvious place to perform musical works, yet the Great Exhibition was notoriously lacking in this respect. The ceremony included massed choirs singing only the national anthem and the "Hallelujah" chorus from *Messiah*. The national anthem was then heard again, passed from organ to organ, following the royal family's procession around the building. With William Sterndale Bennett as the superintendent of music and George Smart directing, it was perhaps unfair of *Musical Times* editor Henry Lunn to reflect two decades later that the Exhibition was marred by its officials' lack of "knowledge" and "sympathy with music" (Lunn 1871, 103). In fact, the choice of *Messiah* was entirely fitting to the vast, cathedral-like Crystal Palace, as "a religious piece which could be played in secular surroundings" (Davis 1999, 265). In any case, this ceremony did not constitute an active attempt to "exhibit" music, and music merely fulfilled its usual ceremonial function.

Organizers of the next exhibition in 1862, in response to criticism of 1851, made a conscious attempt to center music in the opening ceremony. The executive commission—headed by Earl Granville and taking musical advice from Henry Chorley—commissioned several composers to write new works representing different countries. This was one of the first attempts at an exhibition to use musical works as representative, sonic objects. While not "anticipat[ing] any satisfactory result" as to the adequate representation of music, the *Musical World* argued that, unlike at the Great Exhibition, music had "this time been allowed to assert its right to a fitting place in the temple of the world's genius" (*Musical World* 20 July 1862, 456). The Exhibition's definition of "internationalism" was rather Eurocentric, limited only to Britain, Germany and France through, respectively, an *Ode* by Sterndale Bennett, a *Fest-Ouvertüre im Marschstyl* by Meyerbeer and a *Grand Triumphal March* by Daniel Auber. Verdi had also provided a cantata, *Inno delle nazioni*, but it was rejected by the organizers. The press reported that this was because it contained a quotation from the overtly political *La Marseillaise*—potentially controversial in a British ceremony (*Musical World* 31 May 1862, 339)—but the organizers themselves (and Roberta Montemorra Marvin in a recent study) argued that the work was simply submitted too late (Marvin 2014, 46). The Bennett, Meyerbeer and Auber works were reviewed as "a decided success" (*Musical World* 3 May 1862, 282). Despite this, little was made of the idea of these works as representative of individual nations, or of "music" itself.

The next exhibition in 1871 explicitly presented musical works as exhibition objects, in an opening ceremony entitled an "Exhibition of Musical Art" (*Musical World* 6 May 1871, 276). Opening with the overture to Weber's *Der Freischütz* and closing with Rossini's *Semiramide*, the highlight of this sonic "Exhibition" was four works commissioned and conducted by different composers to represent "the varied styles of national music" (Lunn 1871, 103). Ciro Pinsuti represented Italy with a chorale on words by Lord Houghton, Charles Gounod presented the motet *Gallia* for France, Ferdinand Hiller provided a Triumphal March for Germany, and for Britain was Arthur Sullivan's cantata *On Shore and Sea* with a text by Tom Taylor. The general consensus in the press was that these works were unconvincing as musical representations of different nations, with a contributor to the *Sunday Times* writing that, owing to "a singularly unanimous misconception," the composers had merely composed in their own styles.

From the Great Exhibition onwards, exhibitions' floorplans and distribution of goods encouraged the "study and comparison of individual nations" through and alongside that of individual products (Young 2009, 70). Audiences clearly expected the *Exhibition of Musical Art* to provide a similar forum, bringing each nation's musical qualities "into the small compass of one programme; just as in the Exhibition galleries the productions of various nations are grouped within one field of vision" (*Sunday Times* 7 May 1871, 3). "National" musics, however, rarely contain any intrinsic markers of a nation. Rather, these emerge through historical processes or extrinsic signifiers—through titles, programme notes, or how works are historically employed, rather than their musical materials (Dahlhaus 1989, 39; Fauser 2005, 56). The way the 1871 opening was promoted, however, suggested that such markers would be not only inherently present, but aurally perceptible and easily comparable, leading to much frustration in the press.

Despite broad agreement that the works were poor musical representations, there was little consensus on what should have constituted national style. Pinsuti—accused of providing only "one of those part-songs" which were his "speciality" (*Sunday Times* 7 May 1871, 3)—gave a work that reminded one reviewer of a "cross between the Teutonic part-song and the Anglican glee" (*Graphic* 6 May 1871, 410). His composition lacked the "colour," "warmth and emotionalism" apparently distinctive to Italian music, with the *Orchestra* suggesting that "a love ode" would have been more suitable (*Orchestra* 5 May 1871, 397). For Gounod, "nobody," the *Musical World* argued, would associate *Gallia* "with the lightsome genius of 'La Belle France'" (*Musical World* 6 May 1871, 272). However, with the ceremony occurring alongside the end of the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune, other critics argued that its tone could indeed represent present-day France, in an "earnest outpouring of deep and heartfelt grief" by the composer (Lunn 1871, 104). Gounod, conducting the work himself, in tears, received a standing ovation. Hiller's Triumphal March, in contrast, was described by Lunn as appropriate to "glorify the victorious deeds of his countrymen," but by others as "a bitter failure" in representing Germany, lacking Wagner's particular understanding of "the head, hands, and feet of the Teuton" (*Orchestra* 5 May 1871, 74). Following the Gounod, this work not warmly received, and Hiller left the hall immediately after its conclusion (Richards 2001, 25). Criticism of Sullivan's representation of England seems largely confined to the cantata's subject matter, set in sixteenth-century Genoa and depicting conflict between Italian Christians and North African Muslims. Such a text left Sullivan little room to "get in even a little bit of English music edgeways" (*Orchestra* 5 May 1871, 74). It was suggested that he should have provided something more "intensely national," with pastoral works like Bennett's *May Queen* or George Macfarren's *May Day* given as potential models (*Graphic* 6 May 1871, 411).

Although no critics found any explicit sonic national markers in these works, the programme itself was considered important as an indication that organizers were progressing from static displays of instruments in representing music—that music was finally admitted into "a scheme especially intended to exhibit the result of human genius and skill" (Lunn 1871, 103). Yet a single concert still felt inadequate in comparison to the displays of plastic arts. *The Times* argued in 1873, that paintings and sculptures "may be seen and judged, day after day, without the intervention of a medium," unlike music, which required "a medium, in the shape of a performer [...] to give audible utterance to the thoughts of the composer" (*The Times* 8 May 1873, 6). While the musical work, Goehr notes, was an "equivalent commodity, a valuable and permanently existing product that could be treated in the same way as the objects of the already respectable fine arts" (Goehr 1992, 173–174), exhibitions faced great difficulty in giving music equivalent physical space. As Edmund Gurney explained in his near-contemporary *The Power of Sound*, musical works—with no equivalent in the physical world—were "not, like pictures, contained in a national gallery which can be walked round once a week." (Gurney 1880, 302.) It was therefore important for exhibition organizers to find ways of presenting music with more permanence than single performances, in a manner more comparable to the exhibition of plastic art-objects.

A Real Exhibition of Musical Works

The solution proposed at the 1873 Exhibition, in a joint venture between the commissioners and Novello, attempted to put music "on view" like the plastic arts through six months of daily orchestral concerts. These were held in the Albert Hall, conducted by Joseph Barnby or Carl

Deichmann, had an orchestra "chosen with special care" from "the most esteemed London professors," and played music exclusively "of a high class" (*Musical World* 5 April 1873, 220). With programmes supposedly covering "all schools of orchestral music which may fairly claim to be considered classical," from Bach, to still-living composers, the *Graphic* described this series as an "absolute novelty" and the first time that music had been presented in a way that could truly "constitute an exhibition" (*Graphic* 26 April 1873, 399). While the programmes were not exactly the same every day, a sense of permanence was achieved through the regularity of the concerts, each consistently structured containing a symphony or concerto, two overtures, and selections of vocal music. Works, and sometimes entire programmes were repeated in close succession, providing a physical space where listeners could contemplate pieces as if in a "collection of works of art" and "divorced from everyday contexts" (Goehr 1992, 173–174). Although the programmes changed, individual works remained present over weeks, and in some cases, across the whole season. In the first week, Auber's Exhibition Overture (composed for 1862) was heard on three days, as were selections from Wagner's *Lohengrin*. Beethoven's *Symphony no. 8* and Mozart's overture to *Die Zauberflöte* were each played twice, and a range of marches and overtures by Gounod, Rossini and symphonies by Mendelssohn were heard over the week. All these works, and many others, made regular appearances throughout the season, and "music" as a whole was constant in a way that attempted to counter the ephemerality of the form.

Goehr argues that, over the nineteenth-century, the problem of preserving musical works in comparison to the fine arts was collectively resolved through the formation of a "metaphorical" museum, appropriate to music's "temporal and ephemeral character" (Goehr 1992, 174). When tangibly confronted with this problem, the organizers of the 1873 Exhibition also moved towards a conceptual "musical museum." Of course, the idea of such a project was not new: examples range from Franz Liszt suggesting daily ceremonial performances of "all the best" works in 1835 as a sort of "musical museum" (Liszt 1987, 159–160), to less systematic processes whereby opera houses and symphony halls gradually became "virtual, repertorial museum[s]" through "the repetition ad infinitum of canonic works" (Ellis 2015, 391). What these institutions did inadvertently, through the organic process of canon-formation, or in direct attempts to preserve older music, the exhibitions did in a deliberate, practical way.

While the 1873 concerts were praised across the press, these performances were unable to sustain public attention, and attendance steadily decreased. Yet the *Musical Times* argued that the importance of the series in representing music meant that this should not be considered a failing:

> The public came or stayed away—more often they stayed away than came—but every afternoon [...] the prescribed work was done as carefully as though the Hall had been full [...] It brought a new element into the public demonstration of art—an element above and beyond the question of pecuniary gain, and taking music into account before aught else (*Musical Times* 1 December 1873, 319–320).

It is perhaps through this lack of attendance that the idea of an equivalent permanence between this music and the plastic art-object can be most strikingly perceived. A physical artwork in a physical gallery remains, regardless of whether it is viewed. In 1873, musical works also remained present, whether anyone was listening or not.

The Musical Museum in the Twenty-First Century

The issues outlined above, relating to representations of "music" through instruments or through "works" in physical space, have parallels in modern museology. Many of the world's musical instrument museums were established from late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century institutional collections, such as the Paris Musée de la Musique (from Conservatoire collections begun in 1793), or the Musical Instrument Museums of Brussels (established 1877) and Berlin (1888). Across the twentieth century, however, curators have grappled with how to best engage with the objects these collections contain, beyond immediate organological considerations. These spaces are somewhat paradoxical, featuring objects designed "to produce sound—to produce music" (Deters 2014, 257). Aware of their own "incapacity to exhibit music itself", through the twentieth century, these institutions began to transform "the means [...] into an end" by rematerialising the instruments as artworks themselves (Dehail 2014, 53). But this can become problematic for visitors, who recognize the objects for their function, and desire sonic engagement. It is common, then, for instrument museums to supplement their displays with regular concerts, or to use recorded audio to demonstrate their exhibits' sounds. These museums, however, remain fundamentally dedicated to physical instruments, not "music" conceptually. In contrast, with the twentieth century's broadening technological means and mediums of artistic practice, there now are few contemporary art institutions that do not engage with sound to some extent. This is often through multimedia or audio-visual works, or as an element of "multidimensional" or "immersive" gallery experiences (Wiens and De Visscher 2019, 278). But again, in these instances, a musical "work" in the traditional sense is rarely the object of display.

There have been occasional attempts to put musical works "on display," with one recent example appearing, fittingly, at the V&A: a direct institutional descendent of the London exhibitions. *Opera: Passion, Power and Politics* opened in September 2017 as the inaugural exhibition in the new Sainsbury Gallery. Moving through seven operas and their premieres in seven cities—from Monteverdi's *Coronation of Poppea* in Venice in 1642, to Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* in St Petersburg in 1934—the exhibition contained over 300 physical objects. *Opera* was part of a long tradition of music-themed shows at the V&A, from *Berlioz and the Romantic Imagination* (1969) commemorating the composer's centenary, to more recent explorations of popular figures including Kylie Minogue (2007), David Bowie (2013) and Pink Floyd (2017). These exhibitions featured sound in a variety of ways but were also intended to explore "the wider social, political and cultural context" of their subjects, with objects from multiple collections (Bailey, Broackes and De Visscher 2019, 329–330).

Like these previous exhibitions, *Opera* was not intended to display only the musical material of the works at its core—opera being a synthesis of many art-forms. As curator Kate Bailey explained, the collection policy of the V&A's performance departments is to acquire the "non-ephemeral parts of a performance" (Bailey 2017). In this exhibition, objects ranged from set designs and costumes to things owned by composers or from the compositional process. Through this, *Opera* considered the wider narrative of how each work interacted with the sociocultural contexts of its premiere, and how each "reflected, altered, and ever undermined, their social fabric" (Thompson 2017, 116).

With these broader aims, putting the sounds of opera "on display" was not the sole purpose of this exhibition, but the sonic remained central to its execution, with recordings sometimes also becoming the objects of display (Bailey, Broackes and De Visscher 2019, 335). Music was provided through headphones, and sensors triggered edited excerpts of specific works when visitors entered certain spaces. Some sonic objects were also created to be experiential, including a new recording of Verdi's *Va pensiero*, with each singer recorded individually, and mixed so that the listener, through their headphones, heard the work as if they were in the center of the ensemble, giving a "different experience to how you would hear the sound if you were sat in the auditorium" (Bailey 2017). Although only some of the exhibition's objects were musical works, for many reviewers the "music" was central to their interest in attending.

The reception of *Opera* in the press demonstrates how vital the musical works were to the viewer experience. Tim Ashley in the *Guardian* described the "hi-tech sound system" as a "constant" but "shifting" presence (Ashley 2017). One could stand in place and contemplate a single aria for as long as they wished—parallels here could be drawn to the individual contemplation of a painting or sculpture. Matthew Collings, in the *Evening Standard* also highlighted the physicality of the sounds in space, describing it as "a wrench to leave" one sonic work for the next, wanting to "stick with what you're hearing" (Collings 2017). Others found the ephemerality of the sounds, coupled with their technological execution, to be jarring. David Mellor in the *Mail on Sunday* was critical of the transitions between works: "move a yard and you're plunged into the middle of something completely different" (Mellor 2017).

The question of "exhibiting" music remained present in many critics' assessments. Denise Wendel-Poray wrote in *Opera Canada*, "it's a challenging topic for a museum exhibition," asking how it might be "possible to bring to life the art of opera through soundless, inanimate objects." (Wendel-Poray 2017.) Rupert Christiansen, in the *Telegraph*, too noted the "strange choice" of theme, suggesting that there remained something "fundamentally unresolved" about the concept, given that opera was "primarily an aural art form" (Christiansen 2017). Less well-received in the *Observer*, Fiona Maddocks appeared disappointed that the exhibition's focus was "cultural history rather than music," and the physical objects—considered unrepresentative of the "music"—"cannot convey the substance of the real thing" (Maddocks 2017). In contrast, Christiansen continued—potentially based on previous encounters with optional audio-guides—that hearing the works through headphones, made them appear "optional and peripheral to the experience" when they should have been the central objects of interest. Descriptions of some of these musical works were also sometimes given in terms of more familiar twentieth-century museum sound experiences, with, for example, the new recording of *Va pensiero* described as "a sound installation" (Marcus 2017).

The V&A, with *Opera: Passion, Power and Politics*, is just one example of an art-institution dedicated to physical display, exploring the capacity of music to fill concrete exhibition space. This exhibition, and others like it, bring to the forefront questions about the ephemerality of music and practices of "exhibiting" that have endured since the nineteenth century. Victorian discourses in aesthetics and the philosophy of music, coupled with the urgency with which organizers wanted international exhibitions to be exhaustive catalogues of human achievement, mean that the physical representation of music in exhibition space was a subject of ongoing debate. In recent times, digital technology has helped to negotiate such representations of "music," and recording technology has meant that specific performances of a work can become a kind of enduring product. But as the critical reception of *Opera* shows, questions about the compatibility of music in space remain. Ultimately the presentation of a "musical museum," real, rather than imaginary, continues to be an object of fascination for curators and musicians, spanning from the international exhibitions of the mid-nineteenth century to museums of the present day.

List of references

Historical Newspapers

Egg. 6 May 1871, "Unrepresentative Music," *Musical World* 49/18: 272.

Graphic 6 May 1871, "Music" 3/75: 410–411.

Graphic 26 April 1873, "Music" 7/178: 399.

Lunn, Henry C. 1 June 1871, "Music at the Opening of the International Exhibition," *Musical Times* 15/340: 103–105.

Monthly Musical Record 1 June 1871, "The Opening of the International Exhibition," 75.

Musical Times 1 May 1857, "Conditions of Music" 8/171: 42.

Musical Times 1 December 1871, "Daily Exhibition Concerts" 16/370: 319–320.

Musical Times 1 April 1873, "Exhibition Music" 16/362: 40–41.

Musical World 11 January 1851, "The Great National Exhibition" 16/2: 19.

Musical World 3 September 1859, "What is Music?" 22/18: 2–3.

Musical World 3 May 1862, "The Music at the Opening of the International Exhibition" 40/18: 282–283.

Musical World 31 May 1862, "Her Majesty's Theatre" 40/22: 339.

Musical World 20 July 1862, "The Musical World" 39/29: 456–457.

Musical World 6 May 1871, "Music at the International Exhibition" 49/18: 276.

Musical World 5 April 1873, "Exhibition Music" 51/14: 220.

Orchestra 5 May 1871, "The International Exhibition" 16/397: 70.

Orchestra 5 May 1871, "The Exhibition Music" 16/397: 74–75.

Orchestra Musical Review 19 December 1885, "Music Versus Materialism," 450.

Sunday Times 7 May 1871, "Music at the International Exhibition," 3.

The Times 22 March 1850, "The Exhibition of All Nations," 5.

The Times 8 May 1873, "Music at the International Exhibition," 6.

Recent Newspapers

Ashley, Tim. 2017. "Opera: Passion, Power and Politics Review—A Game-Changing Spectacular Show," *Guardian,* 27 September.

Bailey, Kate. 2017. "Opera: Passion, Power and Politics at the V&A," *The Week*, 2 October.

Christiansen, Rupert. 2017. "Some High Notes, but Not the Whole Picture; Exhibition Opera: Passion, Power and Politics V&A," *Daily Telegraph*, 27 September.

Collings, Matthew. 2017. "Opera: Passion, Power and Politics Review: V&A Hits the High Notes," *London Evening Standard*, 27 September.

Maddox, Fiona. 2017. "The Golden Dragon; Opera: Passion, Power and Politics—Review," *Observer*, 8 October.

Marcus, J. S. 2017. "Icons: Conjuring Phantoms of the Opera: London's V&A Will Recall Seven Eventful Productions," *Wall Street Journal*, 2 September.

Mellor, David. 2017. "The Opera Show That's Nothing to Sing About," *Mail on Sunday*, 1 October.

Morrison, Richard. 2017. "V&A Hits Right Note with Virtuoso Seven-act Operatic Journey; Exhibition," *The Times*, 27 September.

Thompson, Warwick. 2017. "Go Big, or Go Home... Sex, Sedition and High Cs at the V&A," *Blouin Modern Painters,* September. 116–121.

Wendel-Poray, Denise. 2017. "Opera: Passion, Power and Politics," *Opera Canada* 58/3.

Bibliography

1851. *The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, by Authority of the Royal Commission*. London: Spicer Brothers.

Bailey, Kate, Victoria Broackes and Eric De Visscher. 2019. "'The longer we heard, the more we looked:' Music at the Victoria and Albert Museum." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 62 (3): 327–341.

Bailey, Peter. 1978. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Dahlhaus, Carl. 1989. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Translated by Bradford Robinson. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Davis, John. 1999. *The Great Exhibition*. Stroud: Sutton.

Dehail, Judith. 2014. "Musealising Change or Changing the Museum: The Case of the Musical Instrument Museum from the Visitors' Perspective." *Museological Review* 18: 53–60.

Deters, Sarah. 2014. "The History and Future of Public Programming at Musical Instrument Museum Edinburgh." *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 39 (1–2): 257–266.

De Visscher, Eric. 2014. "Sight and Sound: From a Museum of Instruments to a Museum of Music." *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 39 (1–2): 237–241.

Ellis, Katharine. 2015. "Olivier Halanzier and the Operatic Museum in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Music & Letters* 96 (3): 390–417.

Fauser, Annegret. 2005. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

Garwood, Christine. 2014. *Museums in Britain: A History*. Oxford: Shire Publications.

Goehr, Lydia. 1992. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Greenhalgh, Paul. 1988. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Greenhalgh, Paul. 2001. “The Art and Industry of Mammon: International Exhibitions, 1851–1901.” In *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 265–279. London: V&A Publications.

Gurney, Edmund. 1880. *The Power of Sound.* London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Heine, Heinrich. 1892–1905. “Letters on the French Stage, in Charles Godfrey Leland (trans.).” *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, vol. 8. New York: Croscup and Sterling Company.

Hoffenberg, Peter H. 2001. *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus. 1998. “Beethoven’s Instrumental Music (1813).” In *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. 6. Revised edition by Leo Treitler, edited by Ruth Solie, 151–156. New York: Norton.

Ingarden, Roman. 1986. *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity*. Translated by Adam Czerniawski, edited by Jean G. Harrel. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Kierkegaard, Søren. 1972. *Either/Or*. Translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Landon, Letitia Elizabeth. 1852. “Erinna.” In *The Works of L. E. Landon in Two Volumes*, vol. 1, 183–187. Philadelphia: J. Harding.

Leydecker, Karl. 2000. “German Fiction: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century.” In *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, edited by Peter France, 331–337. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liszt, Franz. 1987. “On the Position of Artists and their Place in Society.” In *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811–1947*, edited by Alan Walker, 159–160. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Machor, James L. and Philip Goldstein (eds.). 2001. “Introduction.” In *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*, ix–xvii. London: Routledge.

Marvin, Roberta Montemorra. 2014. *The Politics of Verdi’s Cantica*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Pater, Walter. 1888. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Literature.* London: Macmillan.

Richards, Jeffrey. 2001. *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876–1953*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ward, James Arthur. 1851. *The World in its Workshops: A Practical Examination of British and Foreign Processes of Manufacture, with a Critical Comparison of Fabrics, Machinery and Works of Art Contained in the Great Exhibition*. London: William S. Orr & Co.

Whitehead, Christopher. 2005. *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Wiens, Kathleen and Eric De Visscher. 2019. “How Do We Listen to Museums?” *Curator: The Museum Journal* 62 (3): 277–281.

Willson, Flora. 2016. “Hearing Things: Musical Objects at the 1851 Great Exhibition.” In *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789–1851*, edited by James Q. Davies and Ellen Lockhart, 227–246. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Yapp, George Wagstaffe. 1852. *Art Education at Home and Abroad*, London: Chapman and Hall.

Young, Paul. 2009. *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Contemporary Music and the Curatorial Turn: Surveying Curatorial Practices from Curators-as-Authors to Institutional Critique

BRANDON FARNSWORTH

The idea that contemporary music can be "curated" has over the past decade become increasingly accepted among festival directors, leaders of music centers and ensembles, and among artists. Borrowed from the visual arts by way of theater, dance, and performance, the term's definition in contemporary music is still being negotiated. For many, curating's ambiguity is its allure, creating an opening for questioning established institutional structures and modes of presentation, creating more transdisciplinary modes of musical production, and crucially for connecting it to forms of social and political struggles and to forms of intervention in real-world events. The significance of this development can hardly be understated; Western art music has in the past two centuries largely been defined by its emphasis on high-fidelity individualized self-expression, and precisely its autonomy from any such social or political struggle. As Georgina Born writes of this history, "we might say that a defining feature of the ontology of western art musics from the 19th century to the present has been a disavowal of music's social mediations" (Born 2016, 49).

While not entirely new, what could be called a "curatorial turn" towards criticizing structures, addressing societal issues, and creating new formats raises a host of historical, theoretical, and practical issues around contemporary musical practice that must be re-examined. In order to set the stage for more fundamental analyses of these questions, this article surveys a diverse array of interrelated practices related to this transformation. By investigating statements and by analyzing organizational and artistic practices, it identifies four major strands of thinking about curatorial practice in contemporary music being practiced today and connects them to various forms of social engagement as well as to curatorial theory from the visual and live arts. The goal is to highlight the specific dynamics of curating's permeation of contemporary music, and thus to lay the groundwork for differentiating musical practices from other live arts in the broad interdisciplinary field of socially engaged performative practices.

Curator as Author

The music curator as a form of individual author of a festival or concert program is the most widely held understanding of curatorial practice in music (Farnsworth 2020, 19). Selection as a form of individual expression and curatorial authorship originates with the historical emergence of the professional profile of the curator in the visual arts, particularly in relation to arts biennales.

Starting in the late 1960s, independent curators like Harald Szeemann and Seth Siegelaub began working together with artists independent of galleries or museums. The artists' production was often conceptual, site-specific, or performative, and thus could not be placed into a conventional "frame" without this too becoming part of the work. Thus together with artists, these early curators designed and experimented with new forms of display that acknowledged the artistic encounter as co-constitutive of the art itself (Szeemann 1981, 44–47).[1] Curators' experiments with modes of display of contemporary art would develop in the 1970s and 1980s into group exhibitions where the juxtaposition of selected artists became a codified means of illustrating a curatorial thesis, often as a subjective commentary on art historical, social, or political issues. As the number of biennales grew

1 See here for instance Siegelaub's *Xerox Book* exhibition (1968), and Szeemann's *When Attitudes become Form* (1969).

rapidly around the globe in the 1980s and 1990s, curators were the ones responsible for developing concepts for these mega group exhibitions, which continue to serve as platforms for discussion and re-examination of a site or city's relation to local and international histories, often taking a critical, counter-hegemonic perspective and using the same group exhibition format developed by early independent curators. With such concepts, often laden with intertextual or otherwise highly complex forms of positioning, came also the need to explain their significance via talks, symposia, and exhibition catalogues. Paradoxically, these attempts at transparency would further entrench and mythologize these art world elites, as their explications themselves became performances that positioned them at the center of discourse production. (O'Neil 2012, 10 and following.)

The mythos of the curator as a singular, hypervisible auteur mediating encounters with diverse artistic or cultural contexts was taken up by performing arts in the early 2010s. In his 2014 article "The Curatorial Turn," Tom Sellar proposed that the figure of the "performance curator" could be seen as a catalyst for the "rejuvenation and development" of the live arts of theater, dance, and performance, a "great white hope for progressive theater makers" (Sellar 2014, 21). He argues for the urgency of curators in the performing arts as a response to artistic productions combining multiple forms (for example, no longer only taking place within theaters), and blending many different discourses and references. Because such work is "often inseparable from its context" it requires "a curator to originate or complete its framework," recalling the concepts of global biennale curators (Sellar 2014, 23).[2] The curator-as-author model is made more attractive because of its correspondence with the singular role that artistic directors have historically played at the center of administrative and artistic structures of European theaters since the early 1900s (Schmidt 2018, 5).

Curatorial practice in contemporary music adopts this understanding from theater, focusing on individual artistic directors of major festi-

2 See here also Malzacher 2010, 12; Ferdman 2014, 6–7.

vals and their concepts. Recent increased interest in curators and curatorial practice in contemporary music means that many programmers and artistic directors increasingly eclipsing in importance the artists that they program, disrupting the traditional centrality of the composer. The concept of the independent curator, curatorial collectives, or musicians/composers "curating" events do exist, but rarely are implied by the uses of the term in this context.

Examining recent editions of the Maerzmusik festival at the Berliner Festspiele illustrates the curator-as-author model. The festival has been led by Berno Odo Polzer since 2015 under the subtitle "Festival for Time Issues," where he has focused on exploring large societal topics like decolonization, migration, and capitalism through the lens of music and the live arts. In his earlier festival editions, this was often achieved through what Polzer called "composed evenings," meaning that they possessed a detailed concert dramaturgy uniting heterogeneous works to illustrate a curatorial thesis (Odo Polzer and Engels 2017, 4). This created a strong presence of a curatorial authorship and coherency cutting across whole evenings of various kinds of artistic work, realized through the careful coordination of transitions between works, manipulation of lighting, choice of site, and choice of works/artists.

Later years have focused more on evening-filling projects developed for the festival that relate to larger, "extramusical" topics, and are often departures from the traditional concert setting. The 2019 edition of Maerzmusik featured for instance an exhibition entitled "Tele-Visions: A Critical Media History of New Music on TV (1950s–1990s)," which presented over 250 films during the festival from a number of television archives. The "criticality" of the exhibition's title comes from the artistic director's "composition" of pre-existing material (here television archives) in ways that re-interpret the archive or create new meanings, as was the case with the "composed evenings." Expanding this to the whole festival, the thematic content becomes centered on the artistic director's vision of the festival as a kind of "meta-artist." What is presented becomes *illustrative* of this curatorial vision, with works being programmed because of their contribution to the director's titular exploration of "time issues." This is the mechanism by which a curatorial vision is able to subsume the authorship of the individual artists presented within the festival, and the first way in which contemporary music is beginning to rehearse similar power structures found in curatorial practices in other artistic fields.

Diversifying Contemporary Music as Curatorial Practice

While the Maerzmusik example illustrates how contemporary music festivals can serve as public spheres for addressing broad societal questions such as decoloniality, music festivals tend to focus more on supporting existing communities, and the perpetuation of a "symbolic economy" of cultural capital (such as the status and legitimacy conferred on composers by large commissions) (Farnsworth 2020, 41–42).[3] Because of this focus on supporting a community, progressive social movements around social justice, intersectional feminism, and decolonization are primarily being addressed through reflection on the constitution and definition of the supported community (i.e. who is onstage), and less through programming that in turn addresses these issues. In curatorial parlance, these practices more closely resemble a form of new institutionalism than of institutional critique.

These topics began to receive increased attention at festivals following several public statistical analyses showing the lack of women programmed at contemporary music festivals. Central here was Ashley Fure's commission for the Darmstadt Summer Course's *Historage* project in 2016, where she presented statistics on the shocking number of female composers who had been performed and commissioned by the course since 1946 (92 per cent of all works performed until 2014 were by men, see Fure 2016). The collective outrage over the systemic imbalances in the field seemingly reached a tipping point, spurring widespread action and debate, with many initiatives around diversity

3 One needs here only to consider the marketing material for music festivals across many genres to see the central importance placed on the names of individual "headliners" (as opposed to themes or questions) in advertising.

able to be traced back to this period. The group that directly emerged from Fure's actions, Gender Relations in New Music (GRiNM), has since produced statistics on other festivals, as well as further interventions.[4] A number of similar initiatives around Europe have also confirmed the huge statistical underrepresentation of women and non-binary people in contemporary music, including KVAST in collaboration with FST in Sweden (2019), the Danish Composers' Society's study of repertoire statistics (2018), Curating Diversity's study on gender and ethnic representation in Italian contemporary music (Bertolani and Santacesaria 2020), and Scharff's statistics on inequalities in the classical music sector in German and the UK (Scharff 2018, 44–64). These studies all show the frighteningly disproportionate programming of particularly white (cis) men over any other group.[5] While preliminary studies by Fure, GRiNM, and others focused mainly on proportions of men/women due to constrained resources, they have since added a third gender category, but also developed into broader intersectional critiques of the presumed defaults of contemporary music, and the structures that have led to this situation.

These statistics efforts have led to festival leaders acknowledging that their organizational structures are complicit in reproducing these exclusions, and as a result to fundamentally re-examine and change their commissioning and programming practices in a process that is decidedly *curatorial* in its critical re-imagining of the gatekeeping mechanisms over which they themselves preside. The largest of these initiatives so far was *Defragmentation: Curating Contemporary Music*, a joint project between the Darmstadt Summer Course, the Maerzmusik Festival in Berlin, and the Donaueschinger Musiktage, in cooperation with the Ultima Oslo contemporary music festival, which was organized partly in response to the uproar around Fure's 2016 statistics on the

4 The author is currently a member of GRiNM, and has co-edited several of its texts, but was not directly involved in its first incarnation in Darmstadt as Gender Research in Darmstadt (GRiD).

5 Cis here refers to people whose gender identity and expression corresponds with their assigned birth sex.

Darmstadt Summer Course. The project focused on the topics of gender & diversity, decolonization, technology, and curating, and encouraged discussion among the festivals' directors about how to address them in contemporary music, where they had largely been ignored. As Lars Petter Hagen describes, the project's overall focus was on re-examining the mechanisms constituting contemporary music's artists and audiences:

> Defragmentation looked at [...] structures in various institutions of contemporary music. [...] Which mechanisms are we subject to? And which conscious and unconscious (or subconscious) rules are we led by? Who gets to choose the music we hear? How are decisions made, and by whom? (Hagen 2020, 3.)

The project's emphasis was on exchange between those festivals' leaders about how to question these mechanisms in order to create new criteria for inclusion into contemporary music, in order for their festivals to be both more gender equal, and program more diverse musical practices. As with the curator-as-author, this newfound self-reflexivity is associated with the singular individual, and thus again historicized as a new form of "artistic director, dramatist, festival programmer, etc." (Hagen 2020, 4.)

In 2019, a new large-scale festival network with a similar premise called *Sounds Now* launched with nine partner festivals and art/music centers.[6] The project's stated goals are further evidence that problematizing the constitution of the contemporary music community is central to music curatorial practice:

> In this project, we are concerned with the way in which curation [...] reproduces the same patterns of power and exclusion that are

---

6 Though focusing mainly on electronic and popular music festivals, the Keychange Initiative (since 2017) should also be mentioned here, as it is the network with the largest number of participating festivals, who have all commit to gender equal programming by 2022.

> dominant at all levels of our societies [...]. Sounds Now consequently aims to actively stimulate diversity within our professional field and thus open up the capacity and possibility for different experiences, conditions and perspectives to be defining forces in shaping the sonic art that reaches audiences today. Activities in Sounds Now are directed at bringing new voices, perspectives and backgrounds into the extremely closed, patriarchal and top-down hierarchies of contemporary music festivals. (Creative Europe n.d.)

Similar to *Defragmentation*'s earlier focus on decision-making structures, *Sounds Now*'s diagnosis of contemporary music's closed, patriarchal structures suggest that the operational definition of music in these institutions has become narrow to the point of becoming untenable. The solution to this perceived aesthetic impoverishment is thus to diversify the mechanisms for artists being programmed *qua* curatorial project.[7] The exchange network then offers opportunities for curators to network and exchange best practices for doing this, while also facilitating co-productions of these diverse artists.[8]

Looking past the status of curatorial discourse production in these networks, individual festivals and music centers who participate in them are actively implementing changes. The most prominent has been their programming response to the quantitative statistics referenced earlier which monitor the increase in programming women: according to GRiNM statistics, Maerzmusik's 2018 festival was gender equal (GRiNM n.d.), and the 2018 Darmstadt Summer Course highlighted its high number of productions by women (both were members of *Defragmentation*). Some festivals have gone further and programmed

7 *Sounds Now*'s website's tagline describes the network as aiming "to achieve greater inclusion in contemporary music and sound art by exploring new pathways in curating," making the rhetorical connection between inclusivity and curatorial practice (https://www.sounds-now.eu).

8 Portmann argues in the contemporary theater context that co-production networks are increasing in importance as festivals are increasingly the sites of production of new work (Portmann 2020, 40). This dynamic is doubtless here as well, and likely undermines some claims of diversification by forming an international style for touring productions, however more research is needed.

all-female/non-binary programs, such as the 2019 edition of Archipel in Geneva, or the Heroines of Sound festival in Berlin (continually since 2014). While these are positive developments, many organizations still have much to do, as shown by research on venues in Italy (Bertolani and Santacesaria 2020, 34–35), and the reactionary programming of classical music festivals and venues.[9] Despite this, a focus on the gender diversity of musical programming in the live music sector is in general clearly recognizable, and largely the result of festival leaders gaining a new consciousness of their responsibility in perpetuating discriminatory practices.

Though until now the most prominent, gender discrimination in programming is not the only structure that is being put under scrutiny. Proponents of more intersectional approaches to music curatorial practices argue though that while simple percentage increases of any identity group are important, they are largely palliative, and that "it must be the diversity of musical expressions, tools, techniques, languages, traditions that will effect a turn towards the global musical reality of this current historical moment" (Bhagwati 2019, 40). Between these two positions lies a yet-unresolved tension between the need to address blatant inequalities, and the deeper sense that major contemporary music festivals have a societal mandate that goes beyond just supporting one musical genre. This sense of responsibility towards representing a more global, more multifaceted understanding of music from different musical cultures bears similarities worth investigating to the visual arts' global "expansion" in the early 1990s, corresponding also with the increased importance of curators, as mentioned earlier.

A smaller number of festivals are addressing this tension, such as Maerzmusik mentioned earlier. The Donaueschingen Music Festival's "Donaueschingen Global" project scheduled for its 2021 centenary is another. Starting in 2019, "four experts in global art music have been

9 For instance, CEO of the Danish Royal Theatre Kaspar Holten has recently stated that the challenge with diversifying his institution is both its reliance on an old musical canon "written by white males," and the large number of staff and performers whose livelihoods are invested in this status quo (Holten 2020, 171).

travelling to different rural and urban regions in South America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East to explore and discuss contemporary musics outside of well-known networks and institutions," the results of which will be presented at the festival (Donaueschinger Musiktage). Notably, the Munich Biennale for New Music Theatre has since 2016 emphasized commissioning music theater by collectives instead of composers and focused on idiosyncratic and often site-specific formats by practitioners with many diverse backgrounds (Farnsworth 2020, 139 and following).

Curator as Manager

Some institutions are continuing this critical project questioning contemporary music's power structures further and are changing their internal organizational and administration as an extension of this curatorial practice. The Borealis festival for experimental music in Bergen, Norway is an example of this approach. Since 2015, the new artistic director Peter Meanwell has been expanding his definition of "experimental" beyond its understanding in contemporary music to include more electronic music and sound art, while also tailoring the festival programming to the listening expectations of local audiences (Meanwell and Rude 2020, 57). This led to the festival team also questioning its own organizational structures as a logical continuation of its diversification process.

One result was the festival restructuring into a co-director model, where the artistic director (*kunstnerisk leder*), Peter Meanwell, and managing director (*daglig leder*), Tine Rude, have equal weight within the organization (Meanwell and Rude 2020, 59). The co-directors claim this new structure facilitates "intertwining the organizational and the curatorial" (Meanwell and Rude 2020, 62), a claim exemplified by the festival's *Doing Not Saying* project initiated in 2019 by resident artist Jenny Moore. It is described by the festival as "an artist led project that has brought different perspectives to our organizational structures" and has led the co-directors to state that "we must make our structures diverse—change the way we WORK not just how we TALK," suggesting the danger they perceive in diversification remaining as a performance of music curatorial discourse at symposia (Borealis 2020, 4). The project itself led to both artistic outcomes like workshops and presentations, as well as specific operational outcomes like signs for gender-non-conforming toilets in all venues, working with security companies to coordinate their understandings of inclusive spaces, and trainings in non-violent confrontation for festival volunteers (Meanwell and Rude 2020, 63).[10]

The Ultima Oslo Contemporary Music Festival's artistic director Thorbjørn Tønder Hansen is similarly diversifying the festival's programming, while also investing effort into diversifying its internal working processes, audiences, temporary festival staff, permanent staff, and board (Tønder Hansen 2020, 21). The artistic director sees this internal diversification process as the way to formulate new structures for the festival that can break away from existing normative values. Combined with using the festival's yearly commissions to challenge the defined limits of contemporary music, this internal process is the director's attempt to create the possibility for a line of flight from existing aesthetic norms (Tønder Hansen 2020, 20).

These examples suggest contemporary music's curatorial turn is strongly related to a diversification of programmed artists and institutional structures. As has been shown, numerous major initiatives focused on programming and structural reforms are doing so using the language of diversification and the professional strategies of curators. If contemporary music festivals traditionally focus on supporting their communities, then their curatorial turn has been marked by a critical revisiting of the specific mechanisms and legacy structures that create it.[11]

---

10 This example illustrates why such power-sharing arrangements are a positive development. Had these reforms taken place without moving to a co-director model, the artistic director would probably not have been able to navigate these operational and artistic considerations as effectively alone. It is however worth considering here Thomas Schmidt's research on the power structures of German theaters, where he argues that only as of three people in an executive committee like this can concentrations of power be most effectively avoided (Schmidt 2019, 413).

11 On music festivals' working in a paradigm of the symbolic economy of cultural capital, see again Farnsworth 2020, 41–42.

The Artist as Curator

The previous three sections focused on artistic directors who have been shaping programming as a form of self-expression, diversifying it as a critique of contemporary music's elitist structures, or otherwise attempting to create alternatives to these structures themselves. This is because contemporary music's interest in curatorial practice has come mainly from administrators who connect the term to the "mythological" global biennial curator synthesizing diverse cultural contexts, and thereby assert a new form of authorship in the field. It must, however, be remembered that this model of curatorial practice developed out of the response to performative and conceptual turns in artistic practices in the mid-twentieth century, with curators focusing more on *concepts* instead of *logistics* for programming artistic work.[12]

This same shift among artistic practices also occurred in contemporary music, as Brüstle (2013) argues in her history of artistic experimentations with concert formats between 1950 and 2000. For her, the same epistemological shift happening in conceptual art with movements like Fluxus would in music shift the focus from musical works to music's performative situation, and lead to a continued experimentation with the concert format for the remainder of the century. Important as well to Brüstle's approach is that this centring of the performative situation allows for a more pluriversal definition of contemporary musical practices that allows space for many idiosyncratic connections to other theatrical, performative, and conceptual practices. This permits her to sidestep unfruitful attempts at genre categorization and focus instead on individual practices and performances themselves, as well as their often rhizomatic influences and connections—the potential beginning of a solution for contemporary music festivals currently questioning what kinds of artistic practices their programming should focus on.

Hiekel (2017), though to the contrary perhaps overstating certain genre categorizations, continues this examination of contemporary

12 This comparison comes from Ferdman (2014, 10), who also uses it in the context of linking visual arts curating with curatorial practices in the live arts.

music's experimentation with its modes of presentation and display into the 21st century. He argues that many musical practitioners today are working with formats in project-specific ways that emerge out of internal artistic logics. Staging becomes part of the artistic concept, meaning that there is often no clear distinction between music theatrical and concert situations (e.g. in the work of Simon Steen-Anderson), and thus often between musicians and performers (e.g. in the work of Trond Reinholdtsen) (Hiekel 2017, 23). These productions are also increasingly eschewing interdisciplinary collaborations (defined by discrete roles working together) in favour of more transdisciplinary, team-based and collective forms of production that create alternatives to the model of composer-as-author (Hiekel 2017, 33).

Together, Brüstle and Hiekel show that a history of experimentation with the performative event exists also within contemporary music practices, continuing until today. The many forms of commissioned productions for the Munich Biennale for New Music Theatre since 2016 are one illustration of this. Under the new artistic directorship of Daniel Ott and Manos Tsangaris, both with backgrounds creating new music theater themselves, the biennale has been commissioning productions that are from various musical traditions, often by transdisciplinary teams, often site-specific, and that result in unique approaches to musical presentation. The heterogeneity of modes of presentation and display gives a glimpse of what these new, transdisciplinary forms of music production can look like. They have included in 2016 a performance installation (*The Navidson Records*), a sound installation (*Hundun*), and unannounced interventions in public space (*Staring at the Bin*), in 2018, performances for individual audience members in a bathtub (*Bathtub Memory Project*), an estate auction (*Nachlassversteigerung*), a magical realist reconstruction of a state assassination (*Ein Porträt des Künstlers als Toter*), a micro concert hall in front of the Bayerische Staatsoper (*Tonhalle*), and in 2020 a series of rapped music video news reports on YouTube (*Journal Rappé*), to name just some of the productions.

In addition to production-specific forms of collaboration and presentation, musicians are also directly addressing social and political issues with their work, as well as experimenting with new organizational structures. These include projects like Hannes Seidl's *Good Morning Deutschland* (2016) giving a voice to a wave of refugees arriving in Germany through the creation of a radio station, or experimental contemporary music publisher Y-E-S publishing C.A.S.C.A.T.A.'s *A Bucolic Treasure Hunt* (2020), a score for a treasure hunt around the RWM bomb factory in Sardinia. Artist-run networks and groups, often organized around supporting gender minorities in contemporary music, furthermore are practicing non-normative and experimental organizational structures to support such new practices. These include SKLASH+ and Damkapellet in Denmark, Konstmusiksystrar in Sweden, and GRiNM and FEM*_MUSIK*_ in Germany. In addition to providing support structures that established institutions fail to provide, these artist-run organizations typically mirror their values in their forms of organization, such as collective and non-hierarchical leadership, while also experimenting with alternative structures for creating contemporary music performance, such as Konstmusiksystrar's experimentation with chance operations in musical programming (see Antonsson and Jakobsson 2020).

As the numerous artistic practices and organizations referenced above illustrate, Hiekel argues that while current practices may be rooted in the historical dynamics studied by Brüstle, the fluency and self-evidency with which contemporary music practices are currently blending references and blurring genres constitutes a new approach to musical production, demanding, in turn, new musicological and organizational frameworks to adequately support and acknowledge them (Hiekel 2017, 42). Importantly, this need for new frameworks parallels the emergence of performance curators in the fields of dance, theater, and performance (cf. Sellar 2014). In both instances, artists are "blurring forms with unprecedented fluidity" resulting in "a tidal wave of site-based, urbanist, participatory, and relational performances," necessitating the creation of new institutional structures to fund, commission, contextualize, and present these works to audiences (Hiekel 2017, 22–23). This suggests that across the arts, when the performative situation becomes co-extensive of artistic production, or what Jackson would call the "addressive relation between art and receiver" becomes a component of artistic practice (Jackson 2005, 173), the "disciplinary defaults," or established working methods for organizing and talking about artistic practices become no longer adequate. Instead, artists and organizers must experiment and negotiate new ways of working with the many stakeholders in the performative event in order to realize these new forms of artistic practice, as is taking place here.

Where this development in contemporary music differs from other live arts is in the current disparity that exists between the artistic and curatorial practices in the field. Artistic practices exhibiting a new self-evidency of blended and diverse references that would necessitate the music curatorial turn's redesigning institutional structures are still largely absent from discussions of curatorial practices in music, such as take place at *Defragmentation* or *Sounds Now*. They thus remain under-reflected and underexplored, and institutions consequently struggle to address their needs.

A potential explanation is that as opposed to theater or dance, contemporary music does not have a strong tradition of dramaturgs, someone who would act as "the first spectator," apart from the composer themselves (van Kerkhoven 1994). While programmers and festival directors are obviously important for contemporary music history, the role of these mediating figures has remained comparatively undertheorized/ignored. Compare this with the discourse on theater curating, which, for example, in collections by Tom Sellar or Florian Malzacher is able to move fluidly between institutional issues and discussions of individual artistic productions by directors, dramaturgs, and choreographers (see, e.g., Sellar and Ferdman 2014). It makes sense then that a newly conscious class of music curators is focusing first on their abilities for subjective expression through programming, creating more diverse programming, and experimenting with their existing institutional structures, because these are all domains over which they have some form of executive power.

Because of this, the conversations around music curating still focus mostly on directors and institutions instead of productions or artistic practices, once again as seen in the *Defragmentation* or *Sounds Now* projects mentioned earlier. Meanwhile, the growing number of education programs teaching music curating such as those being organized by *Sounds Now*, as well as musicological projects like those of Hiekel and Brüstle, focus mainly on artistic practices and their theatricality. These currently disparate approaches to music curatorial practice will be able to merge when they can be better conceptualized within a larger turn in the understanding of musical production more generally. Rogoff asked already a decade ago in reference to the visual arts' educational turn whether "turning" should be understood as an active, critical movement, opening up a new horizon, or as more cynically the branding of certain stylistic tropes under a fashionable, new banner to be incorporated into funding applications (Rogoff 2010, 33). Following this approach, if a curatorial turn in contemporary music is to take place, it must thus transcend the status of buzzword for artistic directors and become a project of re-examining music's relationship to its many social mediations, realized in different ways by different stakeholders.

This means that in addition to the important work already underway by directors of festivals and music institutions experimenting with the structures and the implicit values they reproduce, existing curatorial practices by artists must play a central role, with their unique forms of artistic, non-discursive knowledge production co-informing changes in the rest of the system. Furthermore, the rest of the musical ecosystem must similarly experiment as well, from music educators to symphony orchestras to arts councils, many of whom have not even begun the process of critical self-reflection of the curators mentioned here.

Such a wider, more holistic approach to exploring forms of curatorial practice in contemporary music will be decisive in determining the extent of this turn on the field. However, if curatorial practice in the other arts can again serve as a guide, the outsized influence of a small few on the conversation around experimentation with modes of presentation will hopefully soon give way to more nuanced, collectively determined, and artist-led reflection on contemporary music and its mediation, as well as an understanding of contemporary musical aesthetics that better reflects the rich diversity of current musical production.

List of References

Antonsson, Kajsa and Anna Jakobsson. 2020. "The Quick Fix: Thoughts on Chance and Community in New Music." *OnCurating Journal* 47 (September 2020): 66–71.

Bertolani, Valentina and Luisa Santacesaria. 2020. "Curating Diversity in Italy: Gender and Ethnic Distribution in Contemporary and Experimental Music Programming." *OnCurating Journal* 47 (September 2020): 26–38.

Bhagwati, Sandeep. 2019. "How to be a Node, a Temporary Abode. Some Ideas on Curating Contemporary Musiking." In *Defragmentation: Curating Contemporary Music*, edited by Sylvia Freydank and Michael Rebhahn, 34–44. Special Issue of Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik. Mainz: Schott.

Borealis festival for experimental music. 2020. *Programbok*. <https://issuu.com/borealisfestival/docs/borealis_2020_digital_issu_01> Accessed 3 November 2020.

Born, Georgina. 2017. "After Relational Aesthetics: Improvised Music, the Social, and (Re) Theorizing the Aesthetic." In *Improvisation and Social Aesthetics*, edited by Georgina Born, Eric Lewis and Will Straw, 33–58. Durham: Duke University Press.

Brüstle, Christa. 2013. *Konzert-Szenen: Bewegung, Performance, Medien. Musik zwischen performativer Expansion und medialer Integration 1950–2000* [Concert Scenes: Movement, Performance, Media. Music Between Performative Expansion and Medial Integration 1950–2000). Collection Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft nr. 73. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Creative Europe. n.d. *Sounds Now* project card. <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/ce-project-details/#project/607460-CREA-1-2019-1-BE-CULT-COOP2> Accessed 3 November 2020.

Dansk Komponistforenig, *Repertoire statistik for danske symfoniorkestre, operaer, ensembler og musikgestivaler* [Repertoire Statistics for Danish Symphony Orchestras, Ensembles, and Music Festivals]. Copenhagen: Dansk Komponistforening, Edition Wilhelm Hansen, SNYK and Edition-S.

Donaueschinger Musiktage. n.d. Project website. <http://donaueschingenglobal.org> Accessed 3 November 2020.

Farnsworth, Brandon. 2020. *Curating Contemporary Music Festivals: A New Perspective on Music's Mediation*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Ferdman, Bertie. 2014. "From Content to Context: The Emergence of the Performance Curator." *Theatre* 44 (2): 5–19. New Haven: Yale School of Drama/Yale Repertory Theatre.

Föreningen Svenska Tonsättare (FST) and Kvinnling Anhopning av Svenska Tonsättare (KVAST). 2019. *Repertoarstatistik över tjugoen musikinstitutioner I Sverige under spelåren 2016/2017, 2017/2018 och 2018/2019* [Repertoire Statistics of Twenty-One Swedish Music Institutions During Seasons 2016/2017, 2016/2017 and 2018/2019]. https://kvast.org/wp-content/uploads/Kompendieindd_190925_uppslag.pdf. Accessed 6 December 2021.

Fure, Ashley. 2016. *GRID: Gender Research in Darmstadt: A 2016 HISTORAGE Project Funded by the Goethe Institute*. Darmstadt. https://grinm.org/grid_gender_research_in_darmstadt.pdf. Accessed 6 December 2021.

GRINM. n.d. Collective statistics on the Maerzmusik Festival between 2010–2018. https://www.grinm.org/20180321%20-%20Märzmusik%20Berlin%20Statistics%20GRiNM.pdf. Accessed 3 November 2020.

Hiekel, Jörn Peter. 2017. "Grenzüberschreitungen und neue Arbeitsweisen: Zu einigen künstlerischen Suchbewegungen im Musiktheater der Gegenwart" [Crossing Boundaries and New Working Methods: On Some Exploratory Artistic Practices in Contemporary Music Theater]. In *Gegenwart und Zukunft des Musiktheaters: Theorien, Analysen, Positionen* [The Present and Future of Music Theater: Theories, Analyses, Positions], edited by Jörn Peter Hiekel and David Roesner, 13–45. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Holten, Kaspar. 2020. "Kasper Holten interviewed by Anna Jakobsson." In *Taking the Temperature: Crisis, Curating, and Musical Diversity*, edited by Brandon Farnsworth, Anna Jakobsson and Vanessa Massera, 166–171. Zurich: OnCurating.

Jackson, Shannon. 2005. "Performing Show and Tell: Disciplines of Visual Culture and Performance Studies." *Journal of Visual Culture* 4 (2): 163–177. London: SAGE Publications.

Malzacher, Florian. 2010. "Cause and Result: About a job with an unclear profile, aim and future." *Frakcija* 55 (Summer 2010): 10–19.

Meanwell, Peter and Tine Rude. 2020. "Peter Meanwell & Tine Rude (Borealis festival for experimental music) interviewed by Brandon Farnsworth." In *Taking the Temperature: Crisis, Curating, and Musical Diversity*, edited by Brandon Farnsworth, Anna Jakobsson and Vanessa Massera, 56–63. Zurich: OnCurating.

O'Neil, Paul. 2012. *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Odo Polzer, Berno and Tom Engels (eds.). 2017. *Maerzmusik—Festival für Zeitfragen 2017 (Reader)* [Maerzmusik—Festival for Time Issues 2017]. Berlin: Berliner Festspiele.

Petter Hagen, Lars. 2020. "Introduction to Defragmentation—Curating Contemporary Music." *OnCurating Journal* 44 (January): 2–4.

Portmann, Alexandra. 2020. "International Festivals, the Practice of Co-production, and the Challenges for Documentation in a Digital Age." In *The Cambridge Companion to International Theatre Festivals,* edited by Ric Knowles, 36–53. Cambridge: University Press.

Rogoff, Irit. 2010. "Turning." In *Curating and the Educational Turn*, edited by Paul O'Neil and Mick Wilson, 32–46. London: Open Editions.

Scharff, Christina. 2017. *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession*. London: Routledge.

Schmidt, Thomas, 2019. *Macht und Struktur im Theater: Asymmetrien der Macht* [Power and Structure in Theater: Asymmetries of Power]. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Schmidt, Thomas. 2018. *Elemente des deutschen Theatersystems* [Elements of the German Theater System]. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Sellar, Tom and Bertie Ferdman (eds.). 2014. "Performance Curators." Special issue, *Theater* 44 (2). Duke University Press.

Sellar, Tom. 2014. "The Curatorial Turn." *Theater* 44 (2): 21–29. Duke University Press.

Sounds Now. <https://www.sounds-now.eu> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Szeemann, Harald. 1981. *Museum der Obsessionen: von/über/zu/mit Harald Szeemann*. Berlin: Merve Verlag.

Tønder Hansen, Thorbjørn. 2020. "Thorbjørn Tønder Hansen (Ultima Festival) interviewed by Brandon Farnsworth." In *Taking the Temperature: Crisis, Curating, and Musical Diversity*, edited by Brandon Farnsworth, Anna Jakobsson and Vanessa Massera, 18–25. Zurich: OnCurating.

Van Kerkhoven, Marianne. 1994. "Looking without pencil in the hand." SARMA: Laboratory for discursive practices and expanded publication. <http://sarma.be/docs/2858> Accessed 11 November 2020.

The Presentation of Traditions in Albania as a Mediation of Political Events: From National Awakening to the National Folklore Festival as Institution

ARDIAN AHMEDAJA

The emergence of the National Folklore Festival (NFF) in Albania as an institution and its transformations up to the present day are results of major political events in the country. To better approach the particularities of its institutionalization process, it is necessary to first review how the period of the National Awakening in the nineteenth century impacted public presentation and representation of local traditions up until the independence of the country in November 1912 (section I) and further until its liberation in November 1944 (section II). The totalitarian communist regime which was established after World War II strictly institutionalized musical life in the country (section III). The NFF emerged in this context and became pivotal for the presentation and representation of local music and dance until the end of the 1980s (section IV). The festival's importance has been declining since the fall of communism at the beginning of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the NFF is still today of significant relevance as an agency-driven institution (section V).

I. Features of Presentation and Representation of Local Traditions During the National Awakening Period

The proclamation of the independence of Albania from the Ottoman

Empire on 28 November 1912 (cf. Nosi 2007, 99, 176–179) was the culmination of a historical period known as the *Rilindja Kombëtare* (national awakening). During this period "Albanians began to form as a modern nation and to become politically organized" (Bartl 1995, 92).[1] This situation influenced the intensification of the collection and publication of local traditions, which appears to have begun in the seventeenth century in the diaspora in Italy (Blanchum [Bardhi] 1635, 207–217). The best-known writer of that diaspora Girolamo (Alb: Jeronim) de Rada published in 1866 (De Rada/de' Coronei 1866) and later between 1883 and 1887 in the magazine *Fiamuri i Arbërit* (Flag of Albania) a collection entitled in the latter *Rapsodie Nazionali*. Furthermore, the *Albanian Bee* by Thimi Mitko (1878 and 1924) became very well known. Mitko collected materials mostly from Albanians settled in Egypt, some of whom had come from the diaspora in Greece. Giuseppe Jubany (Alb: Zef Jubani) on the other hand published a collection of folk songs lyrics from northern Albania in 1871. All the collection and publication activity of the time inevitably became part of the efforts towards independence, as was the case in other countries in Europe, including the Balkans, where the idea of nation-state was spreading.

Another feature of these efforts became the issue of language. It is significant that, in the ongoing discussions about the starting point of the *Rilindja* period, parallel to the uprisings against the Reorganization (*Tanzimat*) reforms of 1836–1878 in the Ottoman Empire, Naum Veqilharxhi's attempts in 1844 and 1845 to create a standardized alphabet for Albanian are also mentioned (Sulstarova 2004; Elsie 2010, 569–470). The final decision in favour of the current Albanian writing system based on the Latin alphabet was made only on 22 November 1908 at the end of the Congress of Manastir (*Kongresi i Manastirit*, Demiraj/Prifti 2004), in what is known today as Bitola in North Macedonia. Until that time, Albanian was written in six distinct alphabets, plus several subvariants (Lloshi 2008, 77–114), among them Latin, Greek and Ottoman Turkish, depending on where the writer had been educated.

1 "Albaner sich als moderne Nation zu formieren und politisch zu organisieren begannen."

A third feature of the presentation and representation of local traditions among Albanians during the *Rilindja* period is the intensification of publications by foreign travellers and researchers on local traditions in Albania. Of note are the three volumes of *Albanesische Studien* (Albanian Studies) issued in 1854 by the Consul of the Austrian Empire in Ioannina Johann Georg von Hahn. They became the first comprehensive description of the geography, history, language, customs and traditions of Albanians (Bartl 1995, 19; Ahmedaja 2016). Among the later publications might be mentioned those by the linguist Gustav Meyer. These contain many folk song lyrics (e.g. 1883; 1891; 1899) and they became very important for Albanian studies. What is more, Meyer was in contact with the afore-mentioned Thimi Mitko and knew his work (Haxhihasani 1985).

The contacts between collectors and researchers from Albania and other countries during the *Rilindja* period, as a fourth feature of the presentation and representation of local traditions, also made possible the fifth one: the earliest known sound recordings of local musical practices in Albania. Some of those conducted by the German ethnographer Paul Traeger in 1903 could be published only in 2012 (Ahmedaja 2012a). The recordings conducted by the British artist, anthropologist and writer Edith Durham in 1905 (British Library, C662) are still not known by the broader public. Both collections contain recordings from northern Albania. Although these recordings did not have any impact during the *Rilindja* period, they show once more the increasing interest in (Western) Europe towards Albanians and their language, customs and traditions.

II. On Presentations of Local Traditions between 1912 and 1944

The ideals of the *Rilindja* period continued to affect the presentation and representation of local tradition in Albania after 1912. As is known, the emergence of a national identity leads, amongst other things, “to the emphasis on the elements of indigenous traditions—or the construction of a new system of values—hostile to the original nationalism" (Greenfeld 1992, 17). One example in the Albanian case is the posthumous publication of a customary law collected by the Franciscan priest Shtjefën Gjeçovi (Gjeçovi 1933 [1993]). The Albanian "Franciscans saw themselves as working toward an enlightened revitalization of the Albanian nation. Their overarching goal and barely disguised objective was to provide Albanians with a national identity, and to strengthen and unify the nation. Their goal was not to record customary law, but to improve it" (Doja 2014, 153).

After independence, publication activity concerning local customs and traditions reached a pinnacle in the most important Albanian publication of the first half of the 20th century on local traditions, the 15 volumes of *Visaret e Kombit* (Treasures of the Nation). The first volume was published in 1937 by the linguist and folklorist Karl Gurakuqi (a professor of Albanian studies in Palermo between 1950 and 1971) and philologist and translator Filip Fishta (*Fjalor* 2013, 306), in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Albanian independence. The fifteenth volume was published in 1944 by the teacher Shaban Sheshori. The series was not continued after World War II. The reason was the coming into power of the communists after the war, who aimed to create the "new people" (*njeriu i ri*) in Albania by trying to do away with anything that had been done by representatives of the "old world" (*bota e vjetër*), which is to say, the "non-communist" one. These ideas were adapted by models established in the Soviet Union and later in the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Of relevance here is the publication in 1954 of an article by Igor Semyonovich Kon (1928–2011), a Soviet and Russian philosopher and psychologist who became known in the 1960s as a sociologist and sexologist (i.e. Kon 1995). The article, titled "Zhvillimi i individit në socializëm" (Development of the Individual in Socialism), was published in *Rruga e Partisë: organ teorik dhe politik i KQ të PPSH* (Road of the Party: Theoretical and Political Organ of the Central Committee of the PLA), the main organ of the Party of Labour of Albania, or PLA (*Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë, PPSH*). Regarding the idea of the "new people," it states: "The new people [...] are of high political and moral values, builders of communism and more dignified than any other representatives of the old world" (Kon 1954, 8; quoted after Lepuri et al. 2016, 12).[2] In addition, the Albanian communist rulers persecuted intellectuals who did not act according to their dictum. Among those persecuted was Filip Fishta (*Fjalor* 2013, 306), one of the editors of the afore-mentioned first volume of the *Visaret e Kombit* (Treasures of the Nation) series.

A volume with annotations of folk song melodies under the title *Melodi Kombëtare* (National Melodies) had also been envisioned as part of that series, but due to the lack of time this plan could not be realized (Fishta 1940, i). The first volume with musical annotations of Albanian folk song melodies was published under the title *Lyra shqiptare* (Albanian Lute), by Pjetër Dungu in 1940. The volume contains song melodies from diverse areas that Dungu became acquainted with during his work at Radio Tirana "as a caretaker of the music of the people" (*si kujdestar i muzikës së popullit*, Dungu 1940, IV). Three years later a second volume was published titled *Valle kombëtare. Vol. I. Dasëm shkodrane. Cori nazionali albanesi. Vol. I. Nozze Scutariana* (National Dances. Volume 1. Shkodraner Wedding). It focused on song melodies which accompanied dances in the town of Shkodër in northern Albania collected and notated by Gjon Kujxhia (1943).

Researchers from other countries also continued to explore local traditions and the Albanian language. Two of them were based in Vienna: Baron Franz (Ferenc) Nopcsa (see, e.g., Elsie 1999) and the linguist Norbert Jokl (i.e. 1923). Jokl, who was Jewish, died in 1942 after being persecuted by the Nazis, who prohibited him from taking a position offered to him in Albania (Mechthild 2004; Simon 2008).

The study trips focusing on oral poetry in the former Yugoslavia by Milman Parry in 1933 and "from June 1934 through August 1935" together with Albert B. Lord (Elmer 2013, 341, 343) took on special importance. Many sound recordings were made during these trips. Lord's study trip to northern Albania in 1937 (Lord 1948, 43) is also to be seen in this framework. Their work with bilingual singers—Serbocroatian (Parry and Lord 1954) and Albanian—became of special interest to

2 "Njeriu i ri [...] është bartës i vlerave të larta politike e morale, ndërtues i komunizmit dhe është pakrahasimisht më i denjë se çdo përfaqësues i botës së vjetër."

their formulaic theory (Lord 2000, 45–46). While studies on Serbo-Croatian songs were prepared in cooperation with Béla Bartók and published after World War II (Lord and Bartók 1951; Parry and Lord 1954), those on Albanian songs have been conducted only in the past two decades (Neziri 2006; Scaldaferri 2012, 222, footnote 8). The biggest quantity of sound recordings of local music and dance practices in Albania conducted in the 1920s and 1930s, were published by international labels such as Columbia, Odeon, His Master's Voice, and Pathé (Hyso 1985, 171; Tole 1998, 152–155; Ahmedaja 1999, 98–99).

Although information on the collection of and publication about local traditions until World War II is increasing nowadays, material concerning presentations of local music and dance in the public space in the same time period is still scarce. Reports about the increasing activities of music societies before and after 1912, for which traditional music was of particular importance, have been gradually rediscovered in the past decades (e.g. Kraja 2013, 19–20). In some cases, Albanians from abroad also took part in the musical life in the country, which became possible only after indipendence. One example is a brass band from Worcester, Massachusetts (USA), the members of which were "young Albanian men without previous musical experience, most of them being factory workers" (Nasi 1960; cf. Kalemi 2010, 166). This band performed between 1920 and 1926 in Albania, playing Western art music as well as melodies from local music practices adapted and arranged for the band (Nasi 1960). In their concerts in the 1930s, Albanian opera singers performed also mostly urban songs arranged for voice and piano (or orchestra) accompaniment (Koço 2004, 84–85; Kalemi 2010, 202–219). Within the country, the foundation of Radio Tirana in 1938 (Këlliçi 2003) marked a significant step for the public presentation of local music through broadcasting programmes.

III. The Institutionalization of Musical Life in Communist Albania

The manners of presentation and representation of local traditions in Albania in general and those of local music and dance in particular depicted so far were abruptly interrupted after World War II by the communist rulers. Their actions to create a "new people" effectuated a selective viewpoint in the collection and publication as well as in the presentation manners of local music and dance in the country. In addition, international cooperation was obstructed until the beginning of the 1990s. At the same time, the strict institutionalization of musical life, which had a determining impact on the manners of public presentations of local music and dance, became an essential feature of cultural politics in Albania. Although no research has been undertaken until now, it is highly significant that the establishment of new musical institutions (most of them for the first time ever) relates to major political events and their implications for all life aspects in the country. Needless to say, all these institutions were funded by the state.

III.1. The Split with Communist Yugoslavia in 1948 and the Foundation of the First Musical Institutions

The split between communist Albania and communist Yugoslavia in 1948 was affected by the Tito-Stalin split. "[T]he main reason for the conflict was Stalin's dismay when Tito continued to pursue an expansionist foreign policy agenda toward Yugoslavia's neighbours, especially Albania, against Moscow's stern advice at a time when Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe as a whole was hardening" (Perović 2007, 34). In this situation the Albanian communists split from communist Yugoslavia[3] and became closer to the USSR. The USSR subsequently also helped the Albanian government with know-how and, financially, with the "two-year economic plan" of 1949–1950, the first of this kind in the country (Hoxha 1971). The organization of the first edition of the NFF in Albania in 1949, with the presence of the most important representatives of the Communist Party and official representatives of foreign countries to Albania, therefore seems understandable. Significantly, the festival opened with a song dedicated to the "two-

3 Komunikatë e KQ të PKSH me të cilën solidarizohet me rezolutën e Byrosë Informative "Mbi gjendjen në PKJ" ku dënohet rruga tradhëtare e udhëheqjes së PKJ. 1948.

year plan" (more in section IV). The presentations in this festival seem very similar to the *dekady*, the annual ten-day festivals of folklore in the various republics in the Soviet Union in the 1930s (Brooks 2000, 96).

The year 1949 also saw the founding of the League of Artists (*Lidhja e Artistëve*), which emerged in 1957 with the League of Writers (*Lidhja e Shkrimtarëve*), established already in 1945, to form the League of Writers and Artists (*Lidhja e Shkrimtarëve dhe Artistëve*). The most long-lasting organs of these leagues during the communist period in Albania were the monthly magazine *Nëntori* (November) from 1954 onwards and the weekly newspaper *Drita* (The Light) from 1961 onwards (*Fjalori* 1985, 620). The State Philharmonic (*Filarmonia e Shtetit*) followed in 1950, which included a choir and soloists, a symphony orchestra and a ballet troupe. These were transformed in 1953 into the Theatre for Opera and Ballet (*Teatri i Operas dhe Baletit*) (*Fjalori* 1985, 267). It is important to underline that by that time a number of Albanian musicians were being sent to study in the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries.

The State Ensemble of Folk Song and Dance (*Ansambli Shtetëror i Këngës dhe Valles Popullore*) was established in 1957 (Këlliçi 2007, 11), which became very influential in the public presentation of local music and dance in and outside the country. Its aims included the "preservation, processing and dissemination of the most significant values of Albanian musical and dance folklore"[4] (Këlliçi 2007, 12). However, of the more than 300 dances realized by the ensemble up until its 50th anniversary in 2007, very few represented local practices. Most of them were processed local dances as well as new creations (Këlliçi 2007, 22) by educated musicians and choreographers based on so-called "folk motifs" (*motive popullore*). The same can be said about the ensemble's songs and instrumental pieces (for instance, the list of performed repertory given in Këlliçi 2007, 69–89, 95–96).

The aims and experiences of the Albanian ensemble corresponded to those of the ensemble Folk Dance Company of the U.S.S.R. established by the USSR Ministry of Culture already in 1937. This ensemble,

---

4 "[R]uajtja, përpunimi dhe përhapja e vlerave më të spikatura të folklorit tonë muzikor dhe koreografik."

which was led by Igor Moiseyev, became famous in and outside the USSR (Chudnovsky 1959) and was even allowed to tour in the USA in 1958 (Hallinan 2012). The title of Anthony Shay's 2019 book about the Soviet ensemble is significant: *Igor Moiseyev Dance Company: Dancing Diplomats*. The Albanian ensemble was given the same "diplomatic" or rather, "propagandistic," role by the government. It toured first in the Eastern Bloc countries of Europe and Asia and in the 1970s and 1980s also in Western Europe, but it travelled to North America only after the fall of communism at the beginning of the 1990s (cf. Këlliçi 2007, 99).

Another significant institution for the presentation and representation of local music and dance in Albania was established in 1960, namely, the Central House of Folk Creativity (*Shtëpia Qendrore e Krijimtarisë Popullore*). Among its aims were the support of "the development of the amateur cultural-artistic movement of the masses" (*zhvillimin e lëvizjes kulturore-artistike amatore të masave*), the preparation of "materials for the ideological and political, technical-scientific and aesthetic education of the masses" (*materiale për edukimin ideopolitik, tekniko-shkencor e estetik të masave*) and "providing [lit.: feeding with] repertory to amateur artistic groups of enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, schools, military units and cultural houses and centres" (*ushqen me repertor grupet artistike amatore të qendrave të punës, të kooperativave bujqësore, të shkollave e reparteve ushtarake dhe të shtëpive e vatrave të kulturës*). This institution also organized "methodological activity with the participants and leaders of the amateur movement" (*veprimtari metodike me punonjësit e drejtuesit e lëvizjes amatore*), helped "new talents with seminars and courses" (*talentet e reja me seminare e kurse*) and published brochures and bulletins, including "Kënga jonë" (Our Song) and "Kultura masive" (Culture of the Masses) (*Fjalori* 1985, 1065–1066).

III.2. The Split with the USSR in 1961 and the Establishment of Further Musical Institutions

The relationship between Albania and the USSR deteriorated after Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" at the Twentieth Party Congress on 25 February 1956, which was titled "On the Cult of Personality and

Its Consequences" and criticized Stalin's policies. Whether this occurrence and its effects on the politics of both countries directly affected the establishment in 1957 of the afore-mentioned League of the Writers and Artists and the State Ensemble of Folk Song and Dance in Albania remains to be examined. What can be confirmed, however, is the personal attention paid by the Albanian communist leader, Enver Hoxha, to the establishment of the ensemble, as revealed to the author of this paper in personal communication by Çesk Zadeja, the ensemble's first director. Zadeja (1927–1997), who had completed composition studies in Moscow in 1956, was tasked personally by Hoxha with the establishment of the ensemble.

In December 1961, the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with Albania (Omari and Pollo 1988, 287–288). The main reason seems to have been the power struggle within the communist camp between the Soviet Union and China, in which Albanian communists supported China (Zagoria 1961), Albania's new strategic partner. The increasingly aggravated relations between the Soviet Union and Albania had a direct impact on Albanian students in the USSR. On 26 August 1961, a few days before the beginning of the new academic year, the Soviet authorities cancelled scholarships for Albanian students studying in the Soviet Union and gave these students a deadline to leave the country by October (Freedman 1970, 79; Ash 1974, 205). One consequence of this occurrence was the opening of the State Conservatory of Tiranë (*Konservatori Shtetëror i Tiranës*) on 15 January 1962 (Kalemi 2010, 58). This institution offered for the first time the opportunity for higher musical education in the country, based on Western art music. In communist Albania, each graduate officially secured a job. The position of each individual was decided by the officials. Graduates of the Tiranë conservatory were employed in musical institutions (including musical research) and orchestras as well as in the "houses of culture" (*shtëpi kulture*), where they encountered local music and dance and had considerable influence on the public presentations of local practices.

On 16 May 1962 came the foundation of the Orchestra of the Albanian Broadcasting Company Radio-Tirana. The *Orkestra e Radios dhe Kinematografisë* (Orchestra of Radio and Cinematography), as it was initially called, gave its first concert on 20 August 1962 (Çangu 1962). In addition to playing works from the Western art music and music by Albanian composers, it also played a major role in the *Festivali i Këngës në Radio* (The Song Festival on the Radio), which represented the genre called “light music” (*muzikë e lehtë*). The first edition of the festival took place in December 1962. The festival has taken place yearly ever since and is known today under the name *Festivali i Këngës në RTSH* (Song Festival on the Albanian Radiotelevision). It was modelled on the *Festival della canzone italiana* (Festival of the Italian Song) commonly called the *Festival di Sanremo* (Sanremo Festival) in Italy, which began in 1951 (Borgna 1998, 3–16). The Sanremo Festival had also inspired the European Song Contest, the first of which took place in 1956 in Lugano, Switzerland (Wolther 2006, 32).

III.3. The Chinese Cultural Revolution and Cultural Politics in Albania

After the break with the Soviet Union, the relationship with China undeniably affected economic developments in Albania. In the field of culture, the slogan of the Chinese Cultural Revolution held sway—“break the four olds—old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits” (Mobo 2008, 20)—which, in addition to its parallels to the afore-mentioned idea of the “old world”, shows an impact to (cultural) politics of the Albanian government. The Chinese Cultural Revolution was announced in the Central Committee Circular of the Chinese Communist Party on 16 May 1966, although it was made known to the broader public only on 16 May 1967, “when the joint editorial of *People’s Daily* and *Red Flag* (18 May 1967) stated that the circular was drawn up ‘under the personal guidance of Mao’” (Burton 1971, 1029, footnote 1). In this framework, the wait-and-see attitude in the speech of the Albanian communist leader on 14 October 1966 at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA (Hoxha 1981a) is of interest. Long fragments from Lenin’s writings about culture and art were quoted to criticize the attempts of the “Chinese comrades” to create the Mao Zedong’s cult as well as the “unclear and incomplete explanation” of the substitution on their part of "four olds" with "four news" (Hoxha 1981a, 390). The "four news" were "new customs, new culture, new habits, new ideas" (Xing 2004, 61–62). Hoxha clearly stated his dictum in this framework in the speech "The Further Revolutionization of the Party and the Power" (*Revolucionarizimi i mëtejshëm i Partisë dhe i pushtetit*), held on 6 February 1967 in front of the PLA representative members from a few factories, a military command and the University of Tirana, two months before the elections of the PLA local organizations' representatives. The speech was directed mostly against intellectuals who "take advantage" (*shfrytëzojnë*) of their knowledge "to impose their 'I' on the masses" (për të imponuar mbi masat "unin") and who "should be fought against" (*duhet ta luftojmë*, Hoxha 1982a, 53–54).

In the same period, the attitude of the communist rulers towards religion also clearly became evident involved in their "old-new" dichotomy. In Hoxha's speech at the fifth Congress of the PLA on 1 November 1966 "the war against religious ideology, prejudices [...] and backward customs" (*lufta kundër ideologjisë fetare, paragjykimeve, besëtytnive e zakoneve prapanike*, Hoxha 1981b, 165) was considered part of the "class struggle" (*lufta e klasave*), which was one of the loudest slogans in communist Albania. As a matter of fact, the struggle against any religious activity and religious representatives had begun right after the communists came into power, becau*se* the Albanian communists believed that religious faith threatened their power. The fact that the Constitutional Law (*Statuti Themeltar*) of 1946 and the constitution of 1950 guaranteed the freedom of faith, the division between state and religion and financial support for religious institutions (Qazimi 2012, 11) turned out to be a sham. The content of the secret letter of the Central Committee of the PLA on 27 February 1967, sent to Party's districts' committees, gives "orientations" (*orientime*) asking for further actions against religious institutions in the country. In that letter, based on Karl Marx's idea "Religion is the opium of the people" (*Feja* është *opium për popullin*, Hoxha 1982b, 103) or understandings such as "Religion causes you to make serious mistakes politically and on your way forward"[5] (Hoxha 1982b, 107), instructions were given on how to take everything "there, where we have left them something, the entire estate, an olive tree root or any other income they might still have"[6] (Hoxha 1982b, 106). In November 1967, the Albanian Parliament overrode the previous laws that allowed religious activities in the country (Qazimi 2012, 111), making Albania practically the first atheist country in the world. This attitude was included later in the Article 37 of the 1976 constitution: "The state recognizes no religion and supports and carries out atheistic propaganda in order to implant a scientific materialist world outlook in people" (Trix 2009, 153). This was changed only in the 1991 constitution. Its Article 7 [Secular State, Religion] reads: "(1) The Republic of Albania is a secular state. (2) The state observes the freedom of religious belief and creates conditions to exercise it" (*Albania, Constitution*, 1991).

In the spring of 1967, at the Theatre for Opera and Ballet, the first of the *Koncertet e Majit* (The May Concerts) was organized in Tiranë, which became an annually music festival until 1990 (Çefa 1967; Këlliçi 2008, 29). The performances contained only new creations for a variety of genres and groups, from children's ensembles to those of the Opera and Ballet Theatre. They were all based in Tiranë. This festival was also called *Dekada e Majit* (May Decade) by the participants, which calls to mind the afore-mentioned term *dekady* (and its content) from the Soviet Union of the 1930s (cf. section III.1.). In the last of the *May Concerts* a selected programme from all concerts was presented. This concert was named "the government concert" (*koncerti qeveritar*) in the jargon of the participants, because of the presence of the highest representatives of the communist party and government in the audience. For all these years this festival took place in the Theatre for Opera and Ballet, the building that is known as the Culture Palast (*Pallati i Kulturës*). The afore-mentioned *State Ensemble of Folk Song and Dance* and the Albanian National Library are also based in the same building. The cornerstone

5 "Feja të bën të gabosh rëndë politikisht dhe të ecësh përpara."

6 "[A]tje ku u kemi lënë diçka, të gjithë tokën, ndonjë rrënjë ulliri ose të ardhur tjetër që mund të kenë akoma."

of the building was laid on 3 June 1959 by Nikita Khrushchev during his visit to Albania (*Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Filmit*), but the building was completed after the break off of the diplomatic relations between both states. At the request of Enver Hoxha the building was constructed in the old bazaar (*Pazari i vjetër*), leading to the destruction of the bazaar as well as historic mosque of Mahmud Muhsin Bey Stërmasi, built between 1837 and 1840 (Rey 1930, 91). In addition to a variety of performances, the big hall of the Theatre for Opera and Ballet became the site of the PLA the congresses, beginning with the afore-mentioned fifth congress in November 1966.

The year 1968 is of considerable significance for the NFF, because in this year the organization was established according to a strict plan: it would happen once every five years, in the first half of October, at the castle in the town of Gjirokastër in southern Albania, where Enver Hoxha was born in October 1908 (more in section IV). From this time onwards, the responsible institution for the programme content became the Institute of Folklore (*Instituti i Folklorit*) on behalf of the Ministry of Culture. The Institute was established in 1948 as the Centre for Folklore Research (*Qendra e Studimeve Folklorike*), as a department of the Institute of Sciences (*Instituti i Shkencave*; *Fjalori* 1985, 421, 426). In 1960, it was transformed into the Institute for Folklore (*Instituti i Folklorit*), in 1979 into the Institute for Folk Culture (*Instituti i Kulturës Popullore*) and in 2007 into the Institute for Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies (*Instituti i Antropologjisë Kulturore dhe Studimit të Artit*).

III.4. Further Developments in the 1970s and 1980s

Although the 1968 student protests in Europe had no impact on everyday life in Albania, cultural life in the country in the early 1970s nevertheless seemed to open a little towards new trends from abroad. Information came mostly from foreign radio and television programmes, in spite of the fact that the television sets were rare in the country. Televisions began to be produced in Albania only in 1969 (*Fjalori* 1985, 1144) and were based on imported components. During this period, some youths became acquainted with the music of the

Beatles and other internationally famous bands of the time, and for a short time could even form their own bands, and in rare cases perform their own songs (Zajmi 2016). Todi Lubonja, a journalist and member of the PLA, who was appointed director of the Albanian Broadcasting Company in 1970, believed it was necessary to bring this new atmosphere into radio and television programming as well. He was encouraged in this view by members of the PLA politburo (cf. Këlliçi 2003; Lubonja 2010). The peak of this development was the eleventh edition of the Song Festival on the Albanian Radiotelevision in December 1972. At this festival the influence of international trends in music became particularly apparent, marking a turning point in the whole cultural life of the country. The state apparatus, headed by Enver Hoxha, used the criticism of the festival (cf. Hoxha, 1986, 291) to begin an unprecedented hunt on artists in all fields, under the pretext of "deepening the ideological war against foreign appearances and liberal attitudes towards them,"[7] which was the title of Enver Hoxha's speech at the 4th Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA on 26 June 1973 (Hoxha 1986). At that plenum Lubonja and other PLA representatives who had not been "vigilant in regard to the inner enemy of the [working] class" (*ndaj armikut të brendshëm të klasës*, Hoxha 1986, 365) were mentioned by name and defamed as "elements against the Party" (*elementë antiparti*, Hoxha 1986, 308, 322, 323). As a result, he was put in prison, where he wrote memoirs, which were first published in 1993 (Lubonja 2010).

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 the relationship between Albania and China worsened. Contradictions in this relationship had increased, especially since Henry Kissinger's secret trip to China in 1971 (Kreka 2015, 127, 131), which prepared the way for the visit of Richard Nixon in 1972. The unavoidable split followed in 1978 (Kreka 2015, 141–155). Significantly, the "principle of self-reliance for building socialism" (*parimi i mbështetjes në forcat e veta për ndërtimin e socializmit*), became a fundamental theme in the speech of Enver Hoxha in the VIIth con-

7 "Të thellojmë luftën ideologjike kundër shfaqjeve të huaja e qëndrimeve liberale ndaj tyre."

gress of the PLA in November 1976 (Hoxha 1988) and was set at the article 14 of the December 1976 Albanian constitution (*Kushtetuta e Republikës Popullore Socialiste e Shqipërisë* 1977, 5). This guideline was strictly followed until the fall of communism in Albania at the beginning of the 1990s.

As far as the presentation of local music and dance was concerned, this continued to be done mainly by ensembles of the "houses of culture" (*shtëpi kulture*). They were composed by local musicians and dancers, and later also graduates of the Tiranë conservatory. Their repertory was based on local traditions as well as on music and dance arranged for them on some occasions.

A similar repertory was performed by ensembles of factory workers under the leadership of professional musicians in the 1970s and 1980s. These ensembles were initiated and supported by the government in the framework of the so-called "amateurs' movement" (*lëvizja amatore*), which had since 1960 its own institution (cf. section III.1.). During the performance periods the members of these *grupe artistike* (artistic groups) had to work only five instead of eight hours a day, with the remaining time intended for rehearsals. In addition to concerts in different parts of the country, they became a distinctive form of public presentation of music and dance abroad, mostly in Eastern Europe and Turkey, but also in some Western European countries. Especially when travelling abroad, the groups were "strengthened" with professional performers, who were glad for the opportunity to travel abroad, since private trips or visits abroad were forbidden for the majority of the population. The political changes in Albania in 1990 brought an end to this kind of amateur movement, the same as for the *May Concerts*.

IV. The Making of the National Folklore Festival into an Institution

In two previous articles (Ahmedaja 2011 and 2012b), I have written about how the NFF was established and how it impacted on musical life and local practices as well as about the role of researchers and educated artists in this framework. Analysing the NFF institutionalization process helps to detect other features of its construction and organization and the role of different agents and their agencies in this process.

One of the most influential figures in institutional theory, the sociologist William Richard Scott, has emphasized that:

> it examines the processes and mechanisms by which structures, schemas, rules, and routines become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour. It asks how such systems come into existence, how they diffuse, and what role they play in supplying stability and meaning to social behaviour. It also considers how such arrangements deteriorate and collapse, and how their remnants shape successor structures (Scott 2005a, 408).

The history of the NFF as an institution is a good example. Its first event of 1949 took place in the largest football stadium in the country in the capital, Tiranë. An excerpt from a film about the festival released that same year by the state-owned enterprise *Kinematografika Shqiptare* (Albanian Cinematography), shows people apotheosising leading politicians. According to the speaker in the film, 41 performing groups from all over the country took part in that particular NFF. The festival began with the afore-mentioned song about the "two-year plan," performed by the State Choir (*Kori i Shtetit*) together with choirs from the towns of Korçë and Shkodër. The State Choir was founded in the autumn of 1944 (the last German soldiers left the northern Albanian town of Shkodër on 29 November 1944; cf. Stamm 1981, 117) as "the choir of the antifascist youth" (*kori i rinise antifashiste*) and consisted on amateur singers (Kalemi 2010, 231–232). In 1950 it became part of the State Philharmonic and in 1953 of the Theatre for Opera and Ballet (cf. section III.1.). The choirs from the urban centers of Korçë and Shkodër (in south-eastern and northern Albania, respectively) emerged as a result of the intensification of musical life there in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century (e.g. Kalemi 2010, 162–263; Gjoka 2010; Kraja 2013, 124–127). Mobilizing as many musicians as possible for the NFF is a good example of how gigantomania, often viewed as a typical of totalitarian regimes in relation to technology and architecture (Josephson 2010), was used in the representations of local music and dance in Albania.

The film's characterization of the function of the NFF makes clear the agency and top-down character of this activity, which became an institution and a major platform for the rulers to deliver official policy and exert their influence on deciding and showing what tradition in Albania was like: "This festival will serve the development of our folklore, the education of the people with high traditions and qualities and the development of our national art and culture with socialist content"[8] (*Kinematografika Shqiptare* 1949).

Of interest is that the templates for the design of organizational structures "exert their power, not via their effect on the task activities of organizational participants—work activities are often decoupled from rule systems or from the accounts depicting them—but on stakeholders and audiences external to the organization. Their adoption by the organization garners social legitimacy" (Scott 2005b, 6). This has been also the case with the NFF. After having taken place at irregular intervals and in different places in the 1950s and 1960s the festival was set in Gjirokastër in a five-year cycle from 1968 to 1988 (cf. section III.3.). From 1968 onwards, on the last evening a programme with selected pieces was performed in the presence of the communist party and government representatives, as it can be seen in a recording from 1983 (*Festivali Folklorik Kombëtar 1983*). The strict process of selecting festival programmes lasted for two years before each event. Six ministries participated in the monitoring and the organization of the NFF, and all the ministers were present at the important meetings. Afterwards, the vice-ministers and the directors of the responsible departments took over.

The Ministry of Culture was responsible for the festival programme. The Ministry of Defence provided army barracks near Gjirokastër for the NFF participants. The Ministry of Tourism arranged for cooks and

8 "Ky festival do të shërbejë për zhvillimin e folklorit tonë, për edukimin e popullit me traditat dhe vetiat e lartra, si dhe për t'zhvilluar artin dhe kulturën tonë nacionale me përmbajtje socialiste."

waiters to arrive from other towns along with their equipment, because Gjirokastër's only hotel at that time was reserved for officials and members of the organizing committee. The Ministry for Light Industry and Food had to bring dishes and food for 2000 people from other hotels around the country. The Ministry for the Interior took care of travel arrangements for participants and ensured that nothing disturbed the course of the festival itself. The Ministry of Finances had little to do because no participant paid for these services. Everything was arranged through invoices from one ministry or department to another.

This information is recorded during a long interview with Ermir Dizdari in 2009, who was involved in the organization of the festivals from 1967 until 2004 and published a book about the 2000 edition of the NFF (Dizdari 2000). Other participants of the organizational staff of several festivals have confirmed these details. Having attended the festivals since 1983 (when I had just begun to study and was able to arrange for a place to stay at the apartment of a student fellow from Gjirokastër), I can also attest to many of the descriptions of actions and behaviour of those involved in the NFF. Nevertheless, in-depth studies about the impact of such a massive undertaking for the cultural life of the country are still to be undertaken.

Of interest at this point, are "*types of actors* or organizing models (a combination of cultural-cognitive and normative elements), *institutional logics* (primarily cultural-cognitive elements) and *governance structures* (a combination of regulative and normative elements)" (Scott 2005b, 22, italics in the original). In the case of the NFF, the Academy of Sciences, represented by the afore-mentioned Institute for Folklore, was another institutional actor of the festival's governance structure. The institute's specialists determined the "academic criteria," which had absolute priority and followed the instructions of the Communist Party, for monitoring the tradition with a "critical eye" (*sy kritik*). For example, historical figures to whom songs or dances were dedicated had to be seen through the filter of the political system. As religious practice was forbidden by law in Albania between 1967 and 1990, anything concerning religion was prohibited. Therefore, even a figure such as Mother Teresa only became known to the general public in

Albania after the political changes in the 1990s. The many songs dedicated to her were possible only from the 1990s onwards. In addition, songs about the problems of everyday life were not tolerated in the festival programmes. Everyone involved in the NFF organization had to observe these rules, otherwise there would be consequences. Every performing group had its own composer, choreographer and writer (Xhagolli 2009). Communist Party representatives were present during the entire selection process.

Specialists sent from the Ministry of Culture to monitor preparations for the festival played an important role. They were formally only advisers, but some of them were also appointed as jury members of the festival. The prizes for individuals and groups were not connected with money, but the prestige was enormous. The longing to achieve success increased after well-known folk musicians began to be sent to perform abroad (from the late 1970s to the late 1980s) as members of amateur ensembles, or of the State Ensemble of Folk Song and Dance. The opinion of external specialists regarding a group's festival programme had considerable significance also for the local Communist Party representatives, since they would be commended if the group won a prize.

Two of the criteria set by the organisers of the NFF (which have not changed up to the most recent NFF event in 2015) limited the number of participants for each representative group of an administrative district to 60 participants and the time of a concert to 30 minutes. Because musical and dance practices follow their own limits concerning participants and time, it is easy to understand how hard it was to fulfil such criteria, particularly for the performers, who were the ones who actually made the NFF happen. An impression related by Minir Cake from the village of Zagorçan in southeastern Albania during a conversation in September 2010, when he was over 70 years old, is worth mentioning here. Cake had been a well-known dancer in the area and was often invited to weddings and festivities. In his youth, he and his friends worked in the fields and were physically strong. But after dancing long at festivities, as was the tradition, their legs usually felt weak for the next couple of days. They therefore considered dancing on the NFF stage for a few minutes just a joke (Cake 2010).

Isë Elezi from Rugovë in Kosova, a well-known performer of epic songs, which are accompanied on a single-string lute called a *lahutë* by the singer himself, recounted another experience in 2010. Since the 2000 festival, groups of Albanians from Kosova, North Macedonia and Montenegro have been invited to take part in the NFF "competition." According to Elezi, anyone can perform on the *lahutë* and anyone can sing an epic song, but you have to know them well and perform each song as long as it takes (which may last for up to one and a half hours) to be respected as a bearer of this tradition in the area. These songs are memorized based on poetic and musical patterns. Parry defined the poetic patterns as "formulas" (Lord 2000, 30), which gave the name to his oral-formulaic theory. These formulas are an important component of the technique of the "singers of tales" (Lord 2000). But at the NFF, only two to three minutes are allotted for performing an epic song, which is therefore no more than an advertising spot for this genre. As a result, some performers who are not considered bearers of the epic-song tradition have performed on the NFF stage, some of whom have even been awarded by NFF juries, which makes Elezi and his friends laugh (Elezi 2010).

Another particularity was the exclusion of some participants, because they came from families considered to have a bad reputation (*e cënuar*) or to have a *biografi të keqe*, which literally means "bad biography", but in this case, however, it has the connotation of "ashamed," "immoral" or having a "tainted past." This designation was directed towards people diverging from government orthodoxy. They were not, as a rule, allowed to perform, because they could not contribute towards the construction of the mentioned "new people" (*njeriu i ri*). But exceptions were possible. If the leader of an ensemble wrote to the Communist Party secretary of the area stating that they could not perform without a certain musician, approval was sometimes granted. The decision was nevertheless subject to the judgement or arbitrariness of representative politicians in the district. There was no special "Arts Department" with that responsibility. Regardless of whether the request was approved or not, no explanation of the decision was provided. If people from stigmatized families were allowed to participate in the festival, they could not hope for a prize. That would have been going too far (Dizdari 2005). In other cases, their names were simply not mentioned in the programme.

The strong will of local musicians and dancers to perform at the NFF was also used, not least by some local organizers, to obtain personal profit. In poor impoverished Albania of that time, this might have meant small presents, invitations to sumptuous meals or similar favours. Some examples were related by Minir Cake in the afore-mentioned conversation in 2010.

V. An Agency-Driven Institution with a High Degree of Resilience

After the fall of communism in the early 1990s, several disapproving voices against the NFF emerged. These have been hushed again today by the politicians, although the meaning of the festival is still often called into doubt by many individuals. Representatives of all political parties continue to support the NFF as an agency-driven institution, because it seems to help their political agendas and public image. A public debate about the legitimacy of the NFF in the new realities in the country has never been called for. Instead, the former Central House of Folk Creativity (cf. section III.1.) was transferred in 1994 to the National Centre of the Folklore Activities (*Qendra Kombëtare e Veprimtarive Folklorike*) by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. Since then, this institution has been responsible for the organization of all folklore festivals, including the NFF. Through folklore activities, it aims to "propagate, preserve and transmit the original [lit.: source] character of folklore as part of the cultural heritage of the Albanian nation."[9] Since 2005, its organ is *Gjurmë të shpirtit shqiptar* (Traces of the Albanian Soul).

At this point the notion of structuration over the notion of structure (Giddens 1984) is of help to better understand how powerful actors construct their agencies. The question of who structures the NFF today,

9 "[P]ropogandojë, të ruajë e të transmetojë karakterin burimor të folklorit, si pjesë e trashëgimisë kulturore të kombit shqiptar."

why and how, is therefore of relevance. While the political impact of the festival programme's content has been forgotten and the strictness of the past has very much been reduced in the NFF editions events since the 1990s, the organizers (in addition to the staff of the Centre of the Folklore Activities, the Ministry of Culture appoints individuals from other institutions as well) still issue a platform and instructions (*udhëzues*), commissions still control their implementation, and juries still award "the best values." In the instructions, the idea of "authentic ethno-folkloristic values" (*vlerave të mirëfillta etnofolklorike,* cf. Dizdari 2000, 16) or "authentic folkloristic traditions" (*tradita të mirëfillta folklorike,* cf. Ruka 2015, 39) is still very important, although never explained. Structures, rules, norms, and routines have hardly changed. For example, the afore-mentioned limit of 60 participants and a 30-minute programme for each group is still valid (cf. Ruka 2015, 47). But because now there are only 12 instead of 26 administrative districts in the country, the same areas are represented with less than half of the performers and time compared to the festival editions of the communist era. A further paradox is that invited groups outside the "competition" receive much more time for their performances than groups that have gone through the selection process, as was the case in the 2015 event.

Among the very few changes, is a shorter preparatory period, which now takes no longer than one year (cf. Dizdari 2000, 10; Ruka 2015, 31), instead of two. Furthermore, it is possible to cooperate with private sponsors who might support the participation of the group in addition to the public sector, which is financially very weak. In fact, this necessity has become a burden for many groups, because it is no longer possible for the musicians and dancers to stay at the site for the whole duration of the festival, as was the norm during the communist period. Nowadays, most of the groups are present only for their rehearsal and presentation, which means that the exchange among the artists propagated by the politicians and organizers is hardly possible.

The way the festivals are being currently organized shows that they are still a political issue regardless of the political force in power. It is still the Ministry of Culture that decides when and where the festival will take place, who will be on the organization committee and compile instructions for participating groups, who will select the programmes of every group, who will be jury members and so on (cf. Dizdari 2000, 12–15; cf. Ruka 2015, 31, 43–53). In particular, the stop-go policy as far as the location and the time of the NFF are concerned is remarkable. The first festival of the post-communist period (under the first democratic government) took place in September (instead of October) 1995 and at the castle in the town of Berat (southern Albania), instead of Gjirokastër. The reason given for this change was a decision made in favour of a rotation system, which meant organising the NFF every time at a different castle (Dizdari 2009). Accordingly, in 2000 the NFF was planned to take place at the castle in Shkodër in northern Albania, but eventually it was brought back to Gjirokastër by the Ministry of Culture of the socialist government, whereby the prime minister had to sign for the change of location (Dizdari 2009). Another change concerned the time interval between NFF events. Now the festival had to take place every four (instead of five) years, but the original rotation system (Article 4 of the statute) was still effective. In his closing address at the 2000 edition, the minister said: "Goodbye until the next Festival [...] at Rozafa Castle in Shkodër!"[10] But in 2003 the minister of the same socialist government changed the statute, deciding that the location of the NFF should be only Gjirokastër (Dizdari 2009). The official explanation about this decision was based on the experience that this town had already had with previous NFF events. But this decision carries a rather bitter aftertaste because the Socialist Party arose from the PLA, which made Gjirokastër the NFF site due to the fact that its leader, Enver Hoxha, was born there. In any case, the next edition took place in 2004, again in Gjirokastër, from 29 September to 5 October.

According to the new statute, the next festival should have taken place in 2008. But that did not happen. The minister of the democratic government in power at that time decided to change the interval again to five years. This change is also recorded in the Statute of the NFF 2009 (*Statuti i Festivalit Folklorik Kombëtar*): "Article 4: The

---

10 "Mirupafshim në Festivalin tjetër [...] në kalanë e Rozafës në Shkodër!"

National Folklore Festival takes place once in five years at the castle of Gjirokastër" (*Neni 4. Festivali Folklorik Kombëtar zhvillohet një herë në pesë vjet në kalanë e Gjirokastrës,* Ruka 2015, 41). Thus, the next NFF event took place between 24 and 29 September 2009 in Gjirokastër. One of the reasons mentioned in the public discussion in Albania about this last change was the fact that the NFF could not take place on the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the former communist leader (October 2008). The next festival should have taken place in 2014, but the socialist government postponed it first until April 2015, and then May 2015, one month before the local elections (June 2015). This event (10–16 May 2015) was named *Festivali Folklorik Mbarëkombëtar* (Nationwide Folklore Festival), obviously taking into account the Albanian groups from neighbouring countries, Western Europe and the United States that took part in it. The festival planned for 2020 was postponed until the spring of 2021 because of a strong earthquake on 26 November 2019 and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. This means that, although these issues, as well as others, have led to the lessening of the importance of the NFF to the musical life of the country, no radical changes in its structure and much less attempts to discuss ideas of replacing it with other kinds of activities appears likely in the near future.

According to William Richard Scott, institutions "are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience." Moreover, they "are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships" (Scott 2008, 48). This understanding is close to Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* (1977 [1972] 72–95) as a theory of action, according to which agents' strategies depend on the structures of the social spaces they are embedded in. From these viewpoints it is easier to understand why a considerable number of different generations of local musicians and dancers still feel a bond with the NFF, in spite of other activities in which they are involved at home and abroad, including concerts, broadcasting programmes, audio-visual recordings and social media. This kind of ambivalence is a witness for social spaces as a field of conflict between agents and agencies (Bourdieu 1984). The NFF as a living organism is, from this perspective, a significant agency-driven institution with a high degree of resilience in the cultural life of Albania.

List of References

Ahmedaja, Ardian. 1999. *Zur Melodik der albanischen Volkslieder. Eine Typologie der gegischen Lieder*. Band I, PhD Dissertation, Universität Wien.

Ahmedaja, Ardian. 2011. "The role of the researchers and artists in public presentation of local music and dance in Albania." In *Proceedings of the Second Symposium by the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe held in Izmir, Turkey, 7–11 April 2010,* edited by Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, 3–14. Izmir: ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, Ege University State Turkish Music Conservatory.

Ahmedaja, Ardian. 2012a. *Discovering Albania. Recordings from the collections Traeger Albanien 1903* and *Stockmann Albanien 1957 of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, Ethnological Museum—Berlin State Museums.* CD. Compiled and commented by Ardian Ahmedaja. Sound restoration, signal processing and mastering by Albrecht Wiedmann. Tiranë: Ulysses Foundation.

Ahmedaja, Ardian. 2012b. "Das Nationale Folklorefestival in Gjirokastër (Albanien) und die Frage der Klassifizierung und Präsentation der 'besten Werte.'" In *Festivals popularer Musik. Tagungsbericht Köln 2010 der Komission zur Erforschung musikalischer Volkskulturen in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde e.V*, edited by Klaus Näumann and Gisela Probst-Effah, 205–219. Schriftenreihe der Institute für Musikpädagogik und Europäische Musikethnologie an der Universität zu Köln. Band 2, Köln: Allitera Verlag.

Ahmedaja, Ardian. 2016. "Performance practices of ritual songs in Johan Georg von Hahn's Albanesische Studien (1854)." In *Fifth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe*, edited by Ivanka Vlaeva, Liz Melish, Lozanka Peycheva, Nick Green and Ventsislav Dimov, 67–78. Blagoevgrad: University Publishing House Neofit Rilski.

Albania, Constitution, 29 April 1991. <http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/al00000_.html> Accessed 30 November 2020.

Ash, William 1974. *Pickaxe and Rifle: The Story of the Albanian People*. London: Howard Baker Press Ltd.

Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Filmit. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i46OoSr0XBk> Accessed 30 November 2020.

ATA [Albanian Telegraphic Agency]. <https://ata.gov.al/2020/06/16/festivali-folklorik-i-gjirokastres-margariti-sofra-me-e-madhe-e-trashegimise-shpirterore-ne-pranveren-e-2021/> Accessed 30 November 2020.

Bartl, Peter. 1995. *Albanien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart.* Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet.

Blanchum, Franciscum. [Bardhi, Frang.] 1635. *Dictionarium Latino Epiroticum.* Roma: Typis Sac. Congr. de Propag. Fide.

Borgna, Gianni. 1998. *L'Italia di Sanremo*. Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977 [1972]. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* London: Routledge.

Brooks, Jeffrey. 2000. *Thank you Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Burton, Barry. 1971. "The Cultural Revolution's Ultraleft Conspiracy: The 'May 16 Group.'" *Asian Survey* 11 (11): 1029–1053.

Cake, Minir. 2010. *Interview with Ardian Ahmedaja,* Zagorçan, Albania, on 4 September 2010. EMM.215.DV.

Çangu, Vath. 1962. Një fillim i mbarë, Orkestra simfonike pranë Radio-Tiranës, *Drita,* 26 August 1962. 4.

Çefa, Sandër. 1967. Koncertet e Majit. (Shënime kritike), *Nëntori,* no 7, 175–179.

Chudnovsky, Mikhail Aleksandrovich. 1959. *Folk Dance Company of the U.S.S.R.: Igor Moiseyev, art director.* Translated from the Russian by Susanna Rosenberg, edited by H. Perham. Moscow: Foreign Languages Pub. House.

Demiraj, Shaban and Kristaq Prifti. 2004. *Kongresi i Manastirit*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë.

De Rada, Girolamo (Jeronim) and Niccolò Jeno de' Coronei (eds.). 1866. *Rapsodie d'un poema albanese raccolte nelle colonie del Napoletano*. Firenze: Tipografia di Federico Bencini.

Dizdari, Ermir. 2000. *Festivali Folklorik Kombëtar Gjirokastër 2000*. Tiranë: Qendra Kombëtare e Veprimtarive Folklorike.

Dizdari, Ermir. 2005. Interview with Emi Aliçka. September 21. Durrës. Private archive of Emi Aliçka.

Dizdari, Ermir. 2009. Interview with Ardian Ahmedaja. May 27. Tiranë.

Doja, Albert. 2014. "Folkloric archaism and cultural manipulation in Albania under socialism." In *The Anthropological Field on the Margins of Europe 1945–1991*, edited by Aleksandar Boskovic and Chris M. Hann, 153–174. Berlin/Münster: Lit Verlag.

Dungu, Pjetër. 1940. *Lyra Shqiptare*. Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini.

Elezi, Isë. 2010. *Interview with Ardian Ahmedaja.* Koshutan, Kosovo on 23 May 2010. EMM-DV 212.

Elmer, David. 2013. "The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature." *Oral Tradition* 28 (2): 341–354.

Elsie, Robert. 1999. "The Viennese Scholar Who Almost Became the King of Albania: Baron Nopcsa and His Contribution to Albanian Studies." *East European Quarterly* 33 (3): 327–345.

Elsie, Robert. 2010. *Historical Dictionary of Albania, Second edition*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

Festivali Folklorik Kombëtar 1983. Last concert. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHVSS4ZOlLc> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Fishta, Filip. 1940. "Parathânëje." In *Lyra Shqiptare*, compiled by Pjetër Dungu, i-iii (Albanian), v-vii (Italian). Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini.

Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar 1985. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë.

Fjalor enciklopedik i viktimave të terrorit komunist. II. D-G, 2013. Instituti i Studimit të Krimeve dhe Pasojave të Komunizmit. Tiranë: WestPrint.

Freedman, Rober Owen. 1970. *Economic Warfare in the Communist Bloc*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Gao, Mobo. 2008. *The Battle for China's Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution.* London: Pluto Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gjeçovi, Shtjefen Konstantin. 1933. *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit: Veper postume. Permbledhë e kodifikue. Me parathâne Gjergj Fishtës e biografí Pashk Bardhit*, Shkodër: Shtypshkroja françeskane. (Reprinted 1993, Tiranë: Albinform.)

Gjoka, Martin. 2010. *Kompozitori At Martin Gjoka OFM: 24 pjesë e artikuj mbi veprën e tij. Libër dhe CD* [The Composer Father Martin Gjoka OFM: 24 pieces and articles about his work. Book and CD], edited by Robert Prenushi. Luigi Angelini (pianist). Shkodër: Botime françeskane.

Greenfeld, Liah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Gurakuqi, Karl and Filip Fishta (eds.). 1937. *Visaret e Kombit. Vëllimi 1. Kângë trimnije dhe kreshnikësh. (Pjesë të folklores së botueme.).* Tiranë: Nikaj.

Hahn, Johann Georg von. 1854. *Albanesische Studien,* Volumes I–III. Jena: Verlag von Friedrich Mauke. Druck der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Wien. (Reprint: 1981. Athens: Verlag Dion. Karavias.)

Hallinan, Victoria. 2012. "The 1958 Tour of the Moiseyev Dance Company: A Window into American Perception." *Journal of History and Cultures* (1): 51–64.

Haxhihasani, Qemal. 1985. "Thimi Mitko dhe Gustav Meyer." *Kultura Popullore* 5 (2): 139–170.

Hoxha, Enver. 1971. "Fjala e mbajtur në Sesionin VII të Legjislaturës së Parë të Kuvendit Popullor me rastin e paraqitjes për aprovim të projektligjit të Planit Dyvjeçar të shtetit për vitin 1949–1950. 1 qershor 1949." In Enver Hoxha, *Vepra. Vëllimi 6. Janar-Dhjetor 1949,* 175–187. Instituti i Studimeve Marksiste-Leniniste pranë KQ të PPSH. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri.

Hoxha, Enver. 1981a. "Disa mendime paraprake për revolucionin kulturor proletar kinez. Fjala në Plenumin e 18-të të KQ të PPSH, 14 tetor 1966." In Enver Hoxha, *Vepra. Vëllimi 33, qershor 1966–tetor 1966,* 378–400. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Hoxha, Enver. 1981b. "1. Lufta për triumfin e ideologjisë socialiste është luftë për triumfin e socializmit e të komunizmit." In Enver Hoxha, *Raport në Kongresin e V të PPSH. IV. Thellimi i mëtejshëm i revolucionit ideologjik e kulturor. Vepra. Vëllimi 34, nëntor 1966–janar 1967,* 162–176. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Hoxha, Enver. 1982a. "Revolucionarizimi i mëtejshëm i Partisë dhe i pushtetit. Fjalim i mbajtur në mbledhjen e përbashkët të organizatave-bazë të Partisë të Minierës së Qymyrgurit të Krrabës, uzinës 'Enver,' kooperativës bujqësore 'Vilhelm Pik,' Repartit Ushtarak nr. 5009 dhe Universitetit të Tiranës, 6 shkurt 1967." In Enver Hoxha, *Vepra, Vëllimi 35, shkurt 1967–qershor 1967,* 1–55. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Hoxha, Enver. 1982b. "Praktikat fetare t'i luftojmë me frymën patriotike dhe revolucionare të masave, Letër e KQ të PPSH drejtuar komiteteve të Partisë të rretheve mbi luftën kundër fesë, paragjykimeve e zakoneve fetare, 27 shkurt 1967." In Envor Hoxha, *Vepra. Vëllimi 35, shkurt 1967–qershor 1967,* 103–113. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Hoxha, Enver. 1986. "Të thellojmë luftën ideologjike kundër shfaqjeve të huaja e qëndrimeve liberale ndaj tyre." In Envor Hoxha, *Vepra, Vëllimi 51, Maj 1973–Qershor 1973,* 277–367. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Hyso, Riza. 1985. "Mbi inçizimet e para të folklorit shqiptar." *Kultura Popullore* 5 (2): 171–177.

Jokl, Norbert. 1923. *Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen.* Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Josephson, Paul R. 2010. *Would Trotsky Wear a Bluetooth? Technological Utopianism under Socialism, 1917–1989*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Jubany, Giuseppe. (Jubani, Zef) 1871. *Raccolta di canti popolari e rapsodie di poemi albanesi tradotti nei l'idioma italiano da Giuseppe Jubany albanese.* Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco.

Kalemi, Spiro. 2010. *Gjysëm shekulli muzikë (1945–1995). Mbresa e kujtime.* Lezhë: Gjergj Fishta.

"Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences,' Delivered at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," February 25, 1956, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive. From the Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 84th Congress, 2nd Session (May 22, 1956–June 11, 1956), C11, Part 7 (June 4, 1956). 9389–9403. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/115995> Accessed 6 December 2021.

Këlliçi, Skifter. 2003. *Historia e Radiotelevizionit Shqiptar* (*1938–1990*). Tiranë: Botime TPE.

Këlliçi, Zamir. 2007. *Ansambël gjysëmshekullor*. Tiranë: Globus R.

Këlliçi, Zamir. 2008. *Operistika*. Tiranë: Globus R.

Kinematografika Shqiptare. 1949.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aRfiNyzmxw&feature=related>
Accessed 30 November 2020.

Koço, Eno. 2004. *Albanian Urban Lyric Song in the 1930s*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

Komunikatë e KQ të PKSH me të cilën solidarizohet me rezolutën e Byrosë Informative "Mbi gjendjen në PKJ" ku dënohet rruga tradhëtare e udhëheqjes së PKJ. 29 qershor 1948, 1971. In *Dokumenta Kryesorë të Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë. Vëllimi i I, 1941–1948. Botimi i dytë,* 475–477. Tiranë: Shtëpia botuese Naim Frashëri.

Kon, Igor. 1995. *Sexual Revolution in Russia: From the Age of the Czars to Today*. Translated by James Riordan. New York: Free Press.

Kraja, Bendis. 2013. *Lëvizja arsimore-kulturore në Shkodër në vitet 1912–1920*. PhD Dissertation, Universiteti i Tiranës.

Kujxhia, Gjon Kolë. 1943. *Valle kombëtare. Vol. I. Dasëm shkodrane. Cori nazionali albanesi. Vol. I. Nozze Scutarina*. Firenze: Tipografia Il Cenacolo.

Kushtetuta e Republikës Popullore Socialiste e Shqipërisë [miratuar nga Kuvendi Popullor më 28. 12. 1976]. 1977. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 8 Nëntori.

Lepuri, Anxhela, Ardiana Sallaku, Antonio Çikollari, Adriana Hoxha, Daniela Gjopalaj, Meridita Kola and Olta Sulaj. 2016. *"Homo socialiticus" ose njeriu i ri i realizmit socialist (Një qasje estetike e pikturës "MË TEJ" të piktorit SH.Hysa)*, Tiranë.
https://filologusblog.files.wordpress.com/2017/12/piktura-e-realizmit-socialist2.pdf
Accessed 6 December 2021.

Lloshi, Xhevat. 2008, *Rreth Alfabetit të Shqipes*. Shkup: Logos-A.

Lord, Albert B. 1948. "Homer, Parry and Huso." *American Journal of Archeology* 52 (1): 34–44.

Lord, Albert B. 2000. *The singer of tales.* Second edition With Audio and Video CD, edited by Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lord, Albert B. and Béla Bartók (eds.). 1951. *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lu, Xing 2004. *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture, and Communication.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Lubonja, Todi. 2010. *Nën peshën e dhunës.* Tiranë: Marin Barleti.

Mechthild, Yvon. 2004. "Der jüdische Albanologe Norbert Jokl und seine Bibliothek. Spielball zwischen Begehrlichkeit und akademischer Solidarität?" In *Geraubte Bücher: Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek stellt sich ihrer Vergangenheit. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 10. Dezember 2004 bis 23. Jänner 2005*, edited by Murray G. Hall, Christina Köstner and Margot Werner, 104–117. Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Meyer, Gustav. 1883. *Albanesische Studien. I. Die Pluralbildung der albanesischen Nomina*. Wien: In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn. Buchhändler der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Meyer, Gustav. 1891. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanischen Sprache*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Meyer, Gustav. 1897. *Albanesische Studien. Band 6. Beiträge zur Kenntniss verschiedener albanesischer Mundarten*. Wien: In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn. Buchhändler der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Mitko, Thimi. 1878. *Αλβανιχι μέλισσα (Belietta Sskiypetare)*. Alexandria: Typ. Xenofontos N. Salti.

Mitko, Thimi. 1924. *Bleta shqypëtare*, edited by Gjergj Pekmezi. Wien: Rabeck.

Nasi, Thoma. 1960 [2008]. *The Vatra Band and Albania.* The text of a speech held in an American-Albanian association in Cambridge, Massachusetts, published by Van Christo on 10 December 2008 <https://www.frosina.org/the-vatra-band-and-albania/> Accessed 30 November 2020.

Neziri, Zymer Ujkan. 2006. I. 2. Po hapet dosja H në universitetin e Harvardit. In Zymer Ujkan Neziri, *Studime për Folklorin I. Eposi i krehsnikëve dhe epika historike.* Prishtinë: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës.

Nosi, Lef. 2007. *Dokumente historike për t'i shërbye historiës tonë kombëtare,* edited by Marenglen Verli and Ferit Duka. Tiranë: Instituti i Historisë.

Omari, Luan and Stefanaq Pollo. 1988. *The History of the Socialist Construction of Albania.* Tirana: The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania. The Institute of History.

Parry, Milman and Albert B. Lord (eds.). 1954. *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs. Novi Pazar—English Translations—Volume I. With musical transcriptions by Béla Bartók.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press and Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences.

Perović, Jeronim. 2007. “The Tito-Stalin Split: A Reassessment in Light of New Evidence.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9 (2): 32–63.

Qazimi, Azem. 2012. *Procesi i asgjësimit të fesë në komunizëm. Instituti i Studimit të Krimeve dhe Pasojave të Komunizmit.* Tiranë: West Print.

Rey, Léon. 1930. *Guide de l'Albanie*. Paris: Office du Tourisme en Albanie.

Ruka, Esat. 2015. *Festivali Folklorik Kombëtar Gjirokastër 2009*. Tiranë: ILAR.

Scaldaferri, Nicola. 2012. “Remapping Songs in the Balkans: Bilingual Albanian Singers in the Milman Parry Collection.” In *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity*, edited by Philip Bohlman and Nada Petkovic, 203–223. Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

Scott, W. Richard. 2005a. “Institutional Theory.” In *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. *Volume I*, edited by George Ritzer, 408–414. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Scott, W. Richard. 2005b. “Institutional theory: Contributing to a theoretical research program.” Revised, August, 2004. Chapter prepared for *Great Minds in Management: The Process of Theory Development*, edited by Ken G. Smith and Michael A. Hitt, 1–47. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265348080> Accessed 30 November 2020.

Scott, W. Richard. 2008. *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Shay, Anthony. 2019. *Igor Moiseyev Dance Company: Dancing Diplomats.* Bristol: Intellect Books ltd.

Sheshori, Shaban. 1944. *Visaret e Kombit. Vëllimi XV. Kangëe trimnije dhe dashunije. Kangë dhe valle darsmash. Fjalë t'urta dhe shprehje popullore*. Tiranë: Shtypshkronja Tirana.

Simon, Gerd. 2008. *Buchfiber. Zur Geschichte des Buches im 3. Reich*. Tübingen: GIFT Verlag.

Sulstarova, Enis. 2004. “Naum Veqilharxhi dhe lindja e kombit.” *Politika & Shoqëria* 7 (3): 91–104.

Tole, Vasil S. 1998. *Sazet. Muzika me Saze e Shqipërisë së Jugut*. Tiranë: Teknotrade.

Trix, Frances. 2009. *The Sufi Journey of Baba Rexhep.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wolther, Irving. 2006. *Kampf der Kulturen. Der Eurovision Song Contest als Mittel national-kultureller Repräsentation.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.

Xhagolli, Agron. 2009. Interview with Ardian Ahmedaja. May 20. Tiranë.

Zagoria, Donald S. 1961. “Khrushchev's Attack on Albania and Sino-Soviet Relations.” *The China Quarterly* 8: 1–19.

Zajmi, Uvil. 2016. *Kush ishin vajzat e guximshme të Rock&Rollit në Shqipërinë e ‘70-s?11 April 2016*. <http://www.panorama.com.al/kush-ishin-vajzat-e-guximshme-te-rockroll-ne-shqiperine-e-70-s/> Accessed 30 November 2020.

The International Exhibition of Music and Drama 1892 and its Influence on the Institutionalization of the Musicology Department in Vienna

MELANIE STRUMBL

The International Exhibition of Music and Drama, Vienna 1892 was the first and only International Exhibition within a series of World's Fairs in the nineteenth century that had as its main theme the display of music and drama history. Although objects relating to music (history) were exhibited at various International Exhibitions prior to Vienna 1892, as well as musical performances did serve as a complementary entertaining function, it was the only event of its kind that aimed at showcasing music and drama from a scientific perspective, namely the display of music and drama historiography. The founder of musicology in Vienna, Guido Adler, was ordained to curate the exhibition's musico-historical section of Germany Austria-Hungary as well as he was a the chief responsible for the foundation of the *Monumenta Historiae Musices* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst Österreich) in 1893. In light of this, the following article illuminates how Vienna 1892, the founding of the monumenta series, and the institutionalization of musicology as an academic field were connected.

It is striking that until 2013, when the Austrian music historian Theophil Antonicek wrote an extensive monograph on the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Drama in 1892, not much research had been conducted on this topic, especially not within musicology. One can hypothesize that musicologists were reluctant to delve into this topic because it is assumed that exhibitions generally fall into the realm of art history and curatorial studies. However, the historian Martina Nußbaumer (2007), for instance, sheds light on the correlations between the exhibition and the image-construction of Vienna being the “City of Music.” Nußbaumer holds the contention that the image of Vienna being the “City of Music” is not only one of the most widespread international perceptions of Vienna, but it is also deeply anchored in the self-image of the city. Concerning the musico-historical section of the exhibition, she concludes that its aim was to display a universal and canonized history of music (Nußbaumer 2007, 329–330).

From the middle of the nineteenth century on, Vienna carried this image, and it was the cardinal topic that motivated travelers and tourists to visit the city. The touristic aspect was also decisive for the organization of the exhibition in 1892. In an article from 2009, the theater historian Julia Danielczyk, for instance, casts light on the exhibition from the perspective of theater and drama historiography. Her study focuses on the cultural and political goals of the exhibition, which was developed by an aristocratic circle around Pauline von Metternich, who worked in close cooperation with the City of Vienna (Wassilko 1959).

Further, Danielczyk (2009) argues that it was essentially due to the initiative of Carl Glossy (1848–1937), who was the director of the City Library in Vienna and later became the head of the theater and drama section at the exhibition, that the event had a decisive influence on the library’s collection policy. When framing this in a bigger picture, Vienna 1892 was crucial for the foundation of theater and drama historiography, an undertaking that had not been embarked on until then. Moreover, the event also mobilized the founding of theater studies as an academic discipline (Danielczyk 2009, 28).[1] Glossy, who became the director of the theater and drama section, already had curating experience, having successfully organized the Grillparzer Exhibition

1 On the scholarly inventories and schemata that were generated in order to reinforce the different ordering principles of theater studies as well as musicology at Vienna 1892, see Lotte Schüßler 2019.

in Vienna in 1891 just one year before. The Grillparzer exhibition was a literary exhibition—an exhibitionary model that also emerged in the nineteenth century and was dedicated to the display of writers and their works (Zankl 1975).

Vienna 1892: Putting an Idea into Practice

After the success of the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, ideas for a similar event emerged. The centenary of Mozart's death was seen as the ideal occasion to organize a massive spectacle that should showcase the rich and abundant history of music and drama. Pauline von Metternich (1836–1921), who initiated the idea of Vienna 1892, wanted to install a celebration that should go far beyond the scope of a commemorative ceremony. She was the granddaughter of the Austrian state chancellor Prince Clemens Wenzel von Metternich and was married to Prince Richard Clemens von Metternich, who was her mother's (Léontine von Metternich) half-brother. Pauline von Metternich was the organizer of many events under Imperial reign that appealed to broad sections of the population and generated a lot of money that was used for charitable purposes. As goes for Vienna 1892, with the support of the aristocracy and the government, the event was conceived and realized in the form of a large-scale international exhibition in which Germany was exhibited in a joint section with the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Italy, Spain, France, Great Britain and Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, and the United States participated with their own specialized exhibitions. The conception of the exhibition shows that the organizers were, above all, pursuing a patriotic political agenda that was meant to secure their national identity but should also represent the cultural and ethnic plurality of the monarchy and the multiculturalism of the City of Vienna.

This was achieved by emphasizing the symbolic character of their own cultural and historical legacy and then creating a hierarchy. The leading role of German nationality was put to the forefront and was followed by the representation of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire accentuating its supremacy in relation to other European states. Finally, another cultural demarcation line was drawn between Europe and the "rest of the world" (Danielczyk 2009, 28–30). This ideology was successfully conveyed to the public, as the Austrian press gives testimony of the successful realization of the exhibition's concept:

> Vienna, like no other metropolis, is destined to cultivate the spirit of international peace and cosmopolitanism. [...] It is therefore not by chance that an international music and theater exhibition was held within our walls. This is a historical fact which we must understand and appreciate.[2]

In the context of creating the identity of Vienna being the City of Music, the specific connotations and meanings with which it was imbued (as well as ideologically charged) were more relevant than the actual artistic production. The constructions of a cultural unity based on the notion of music have to be examined primarily with regard to two aspects: multi-ethnicity and the problem of nationality and competition amongst metropolises.

In close connection with these two focal points, the significance of music as a means of expressing bourgeois identity must also be taken into account. Music as the "highest among the arts" was highly valued in bourgeois circles, in particular as an elementary educational asset, and the self-confidence of the aspiring liberal Viennese bourgeoisie was expressed in the establishment of an institutionalized musical life dedicated to art music. In that sense, music also played a role in the formation of identity against the backdrop of social distinction (Nußbaumer 2001, 20–22).

The significance of the exhibition and the artistic events surrounding it lies, on the one hand, in the fact that it awakened curiosity for foreign cultures, which were too little known. On the other hand, and this

---

2 "Wien ist, wie keine zweite Metropole, dazu berufen, den Geist des Völkerfriedens und des Weltbürgerthums zu pflegen. [...] Es ist daher nicht ein Zufall zu nennen, daß innerhalb unserer Mauern eine internationale Musik- und Theaterausstellung erstand. Das ist eine historische Fügung, die wir nur recht verstehen und würdigen müssen." (*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 7 May 1892 as cited in Danielczyk 2009, 30.)

was certainly an aspiration of the initiators, it was the exhibition's significance for the local musical institutions and for the musical self-confidence of the country to display its rich heritage and also to take stock of the developments since 1848 (Gruber 1995, 39). Vienna 1892 should give an overview of the artistic development of music and drama, while a special commercial exhibition that was attached to it should present the latest achievements in the field of instrument making and modern theater technology. In this way, the international exchange between the participating countries as well as between the nationalities within the monarchy was to be promoted, and Vienna's claim to leadership in the field of music and drama in the past and present was to be clearly demonstrated (Nußbaumer 2005, 45–46).

Between National Identity and Internationalism

A glance at the list of countries represented at the Viennese exhibition and their contributions allows us to draw initial conclusions about the hierarchies that were created. Germany and Austria-Hungary exhibited together, and, in this way, culturally underlined their political alliance. Italy, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Spain as well as—with smaller contributions—Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden were represented separately. Independent of national borders, there was also a Polish and a Bulgarian section. The Eurocentric character of the exhibition was only disrupted by a separate department of the USA, which, however, were represented only by Morris Steinert's private piano collection and was therefore not part of the "staged performance" of the "culturally superior" nations.

Hence, the original plan of the organizers that had in mind the display of the unification of all cultural nations in the specialized exhibition section could not be realized due to the strong desire for the national self-representation that was foregrounded. Ultimately, this arrangement made visible which countries were counted among the culturally relevant and most advanced nations. As a consequence, the ones that were absent were not granted the opportunity to represent themselves and their culture because they remained "invisible" (Nußbaumer 2005,

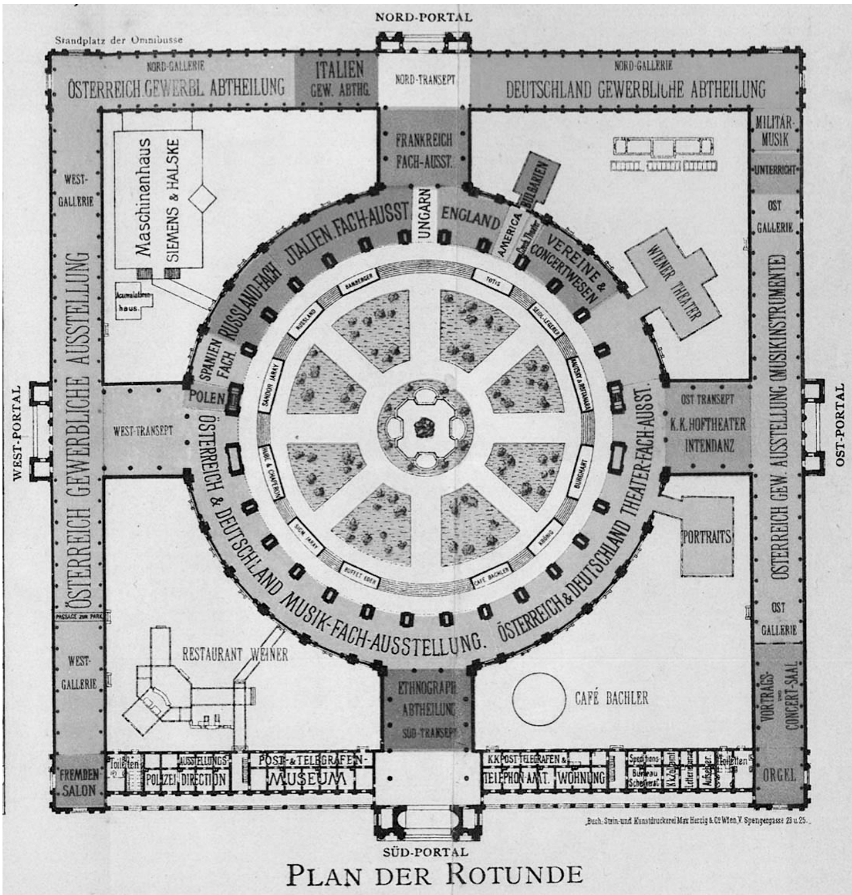


Figure 1. Map of Rotunda. Source: *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892: Leporello-Album.*

47–48). This argument can be underpinned by Guido Adler's own testimony as stated in his autobiography: "The original plan of uniting all cultural nations was abandoned due to the desire for independence of individual states; only the German Reich and Austria remained together."[3]

3 "Der ursprüngliche Plan der Vereinigung aller Kulturnationen wurde ob des Selbständigkeitsdranges einzelner Staaten aufgegeben, nur Deutsches Reich und Österreich blieben zusammen." (Adler 1935, 61.)

The German musicologist Oskar Fleischer was one of the main organizers and curators of the musico-historical section. From his writings on the exhibition, we can draw that Vienna 1892 followed the typical model and the political ideology of preceding International Exhibitions that foregrounded the representation and display of the culturally most progressive nations and, in particular, focused on the representation of Vienna as the capital of music:

> Various plans were made and rejected, thwarted and cancelled each other out, until it was finally agreed: to tie in with the centuries-old fame of Vienna as the center of the musical world; to call the cultural countries of the world together for an international exhibition, in order to convince them through their own experiences here in Vienna that the venerable city of the muses has lost neither its charm nor its strength, in order to be able to take over the leading role again in the future, in the entire field of the muses. What a patriotic thought![4]

The spatial dominance of Austria and Germany could also be explained as a certain prerogative of the host country that was owed to the easier logistical handling of the exhibition equipment within the country. However, the German-Austrian claim to leadership in the field of music becomes clearly manifest in the layout of the musico-historical section of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which was under the direction of the musicologist Guido Adler (Nußbaumer 2005, 48).

The image of the superiority of German and Austrian music and theater culture was comprehended not only as the apex of European art but universal art in general. This was reinforced by creating a particu-

---

4 "Die verschiedensten Pläne wurden gefasst und verworfen, durchkreuzten, hoben sich gegenseitig auf, bis man schliesslich einig war: anzuknüpfen an den Jahrhunderte alten Ruhm Wiens als des Mittelpunktes der musikalischen Welt; die Kulturländer der Erde zusammen zu berufen zu einer internationalen Ausstellung, um sie durch eigene hier in Wien gemachte Erfahrungen sich überzeugen zu lassen, dass die ehrwürdige Musenstadt weder an Reiz noch an Kraft Einbusse erlitten, um auch in Zukunft die führende Rolle wieder übernehmen zu können, und zwar im ganzen Bereich der Musen. Welch ein patriotischer Gedanke!" (Fleischer 1894, 9.)

lar walking path placing the ethnographic section before the German-Austrian section. In order to reach the German-Austrian section, the visitors were first guided through the ethnographic section after entering the main portal of the Rotunda. This was a deliberate strategy to create a cultural hierarchy by regulating the order of vision and display through organized walking paths based on the model of stages of development. First, the visitors were acquainted with a "prehistory," then proceeding to the stage of "high art."

This display practice established a stark contrast and created the effect making the cultural achievements presented in the musico-historical section even more genius and astonishing. In the ethnographic section, all objects relating to the music, dance, and theatrical performance of peoples outside the European cultural sphere as well as a number of characteristic folk instruments from Europe were included in this section. The curators' scheme reveals that "non-European culture" already began in the areas of the Balkans that had Islamic influence. From there, the ethnographic section led from North Africa and the Near East to China, India and Japan, and to the "natural peoples" of Oceania and America. Similar to other International Exhibitions, Vienna 1892 also applied a display principle that aimed at establishing a dichotomy of the "primitive" and the "civilized" in which the former were represented, and the latter were given the opportunity to present themselves.

The display of the culture of non-European populations in the ethnographic section even followed the classificatory scheme as used in natural history and not, like in the other divisions, according to the display principles of cultural and art history. It was put together by the curator of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, Franz Heger. In doing so, the ethnographic section following the principles of natural history, becomes a good example of exoticism, which was a common cultural practice in the nineteenth century to establish binary differences (Nußbaumer 2005, 51).

As Schwarz (2001) demonstrates, exhibiting non-European populations as the "exotic" or "the Other" was very common at nineteenth and early twentieth-century Colonial and International Exhibitions. One of the most famous examples of this practice is Carl Hagenbeck's concept of the “zoo” that displayed non-European peoples to be gazed at. Other examples are the Parisian Exposition of 1889 that entailed the so-called *Jardin d’Acclimation Anthropologique* and the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893 that exhibited seventeen “villages.”

Displaying Music Historiography: A Failed Concept?

The challenge for the organizers was primarily to develop a concept that would present the historical development of music and drama on an international level to a broad audience. In addition, until then, music and drama had mainly been used as supplementary entertaining elements in exhibitions. It was not until 1892 that the focus of interest was to be shifted to these elements as objects for display on a large scale. This made the organizers’ efforts to objectify and exhibit centuries-old music and theater traditions all the more difficult. The top priority was to meet the demands of a broad heterogeneous stratum of visitors by following the usual exhibition practice of existing museums. Within the framework of this concept, specific research on the historiography of theater and drama with a focus on the history of development was conducted for the first time in Vienna on an academic level (Lauterbach 2010, 6–7).

Vienna 1892 was driven by three different converging efforts: economy, national self-assertion, and science. Robert Hirschfeld, musicologist, music critic, and one of the founding members of the *Wiener Konzertverein* (Viennese Musical Society), who was also in charge of curating the section *Musikvereine und Konzertwesen* (Musical Associations and Organized Concerts), comments on the dual character of the exhibition:

> The countries of the world sent countless priceless objects to the rotunda, but, as one had foreseen, not the corresponding number of visitors, so that the frequency was sought to be increased by unworthy park festivals and exhibitions. While remarkable evenings of theater honored Austrian, especially Bohemian, New Italian,

> French, and New German art, the pleasure-seeking crowd that was attracted in the avenues used to throw out coriandoli and paper snakes jeering or to enjoy the rare fare of the international dining halls, while in the rotunda the spiritual wealth of nations was stored only for the small group of 85 people with expert knowledge.[5]

In a letter from Pauline von Metternich to Guido Adler, it becomes evident that her initial intention was to hold an exhibition that is primarily dedicated to the illustration of the history of music and drama and, for that matter, was determined to put this idea in practice.[6]

However, as it had turned out, the musico-historical section was not very popular amongst the visitors and did not strike people's fancy, although, Vienna carried the image of being the "City of Music." It seems that the underlying problem was a discrepancy between the concept she had in mind for the exhibition and the lack of interest on the part of the visitors. Metternich also points out that the commercial interests and the aspect of crude entertainment were foregrounded; she also laments that there was a point in time in the organizing process of the exhibition when she felt overruled and excluded from further decision-making. Likewise, to set the record straight, Metternich's initial idea had been to hold an exhibition for the occasion of Mozart's centenary, and therefore she wanted the exhibition to be an event that focused on the arts and the science behind it.

Nevertheless, Emil Auspitzer, who was the secretary and chief organizer of the exhibition, was more interested in commercial success

5 "Die Länder der Erde entsendeten in die Rotunde wohl zahllose unschätzbare Objekte, aber, wie man vorausgeahnt hatte, nicht auch die entsprechende Zahl von Besuchern, so daß man durch nicht ebenwürdige Parkfeste und Schaustellungen die Frequenz zu heben suchte. Brachten auch bemerkenswerte Theaterabende die österreichische, zumal die böhmische, die neuitalienische, französische und neudeutsche Kunst zu Ehren, so pflegte doch die angelockte, vergnügungssüchtige Menge in den Alleen johlend Koriandoli und Papierschlangen auszuwerfen oder sich an der seltenen Kost der internationalen Speiseräume zu erfreuen, während in der Rotunde der geistige Reichtum der Nationen nur für die kleine 85 Schar der Verstehenden aufgespeichert war." (Hirschfeld 1912 as cited in Fichtinger 2004, 97.)

6 Pauline von Metternich to Guido Adler, Vienna 10 August 1892, Guido Adler Papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

(e.g. tourism) than in artistic and scientific pursuits (Auspitzer 1892, 4; Fleischer 1894, 21). For that reason, in the course of organizing the event, its dimension had been blown out of proportion, and commercial interest had taken over and placed the generic format of the common nineteenth-century International Exhibition on top of an event that was supposed to put the display of the history of music and drama center stage. In the end, based on primary sources, it appears that there were diverging conceptions in regard to the idea and framework of an "International Exhibition" among the organizers. Especially, against the backdrop of Vienna 1892 being the first so-called International Exhibition having the history of music and drama as the central theme where the arts were not supposed to fulfil the mere function of complementary entertainment.

Science and Pleasure

The primary function of major exhibitions in the nineteenth century was to achieve economic benefit, which was in contrast to the efforts of institutions such as the museum. Although it was known from the very beginning that the economic success of the exhibition would be minimal, the specialized commercial departments were largely concerned with the presentation and marketing of international products. However, the event was not merely supposed to achieve economic success for Vienna through its income. Moreover, International Exhibitions and World's Fairs in the late nineteenth century had a dual character: instruction and entertainment.

The music historian and music critic Eduard Hanslick states that this concept was also realized in the frame of Vienna 1892: "The scientific interest is strictly preserved in the exhibition, but it will by no means reign alone, but in happy combination with the entertaining and the delightful. This can be so precisely defined in short: In the Rotunda the instruction, in the park the amusement and relaxation."[7]

The special departments in the Rotunda functioned primarily as a place for comparing and combining products and manufacturing processes on an international economic level, which, in turn, took on forms of cultural competition in the sense of "national self-assertion" (Lauterbach 2010, 29–30). According to Lauterbach (2010, 32–33), with the large exhibitions, the boundaries between science and pleasure were abolished, and the interests of the mass audience were pushed to the foreground. The theater tried to express its superiority through representing the function of an educational institution behind which a fundamental need for entertainment was hidden. No attempts were ever made to conceal the fact that education and science primarily served as a cover for the educated bourgeoisie's culture of pleasure, and the exhibition in Vienna was no exception.

However, the boundaries between science and pleasure were not exactly "abolished." What had happened was that "International Exhibitions" successively turned into fairs, which had to do with the growing market for mass entertainment, due to the expansion of capitalism. In the USA, World's Fairs were the forerunners of the fairgrounds that are still part of contemporary entertainment culture. Thus, in the end, science and entertainment were not strictly separated—science was popularized to fit the frame of an event that was intended to entertain the masses (Fuchs 2002, 219).

In the case of Vienna 1892, Guido Adler aspired to render an accurate depiction of music history according to scientific and historiographical paradigms and, or rather—according to his idea—of what music historiography should look like, also against the backdrop of the transposition of historiographic models to objects functioning as metonymies and metaphors for historical facts (res factae) and narratives (res fictae). Guido Adler's plan was to exhibit a history of music

7 "Das wissenschaftliche Interesse ist in der Ausstellung streng gewahrt, aber es wird keineswegs allein herrschen, sondern in glücklicher Verbindung mit dem Unterhaltenden und Ergötzlichen. Man kann das in Kürze so präcisiren: In der Rotunde die Belehrung, im Park das Amüsement und die Erholung." (*Neue Freie Presse* 5 May 1892.)

according to scientific criteria and with historiographical accuracy. In the preface of the catalogue of the German and Austrian musico-historical section he explains:

> The musico-historical section should give an overall picture of the historical development of the two unified states, accordingly, also take into account those foreign artists who have influenced our art, and also include artistic endeavours and phenomena that are intimately connected with our music. The visitor was to be introduced via a type of prodomo, and thus the art of those peoples of the Ancient World and the Orient, on which our Western art is based, was included.[8]

Adler was also very vocal about his struggle with transposing a historiographical concept to a visual medium, especially the entertaining character of an International Exhibition to which he had to succumb eventually, but in the end, he managed to realize his idea of "performing music historiography." In particular, he lamented that visualization had become a trend and an inevitable component of narrating music history:

> Since then, 'illustration' (the New German ugly name for it) has occupied a large part of the musico-historical literature. Today there are music histories that are, as it were, 'textual' picture books. In my 'Handbook of Music History' and in the publications of the 'Monumenta historiae musices,' I too had to take this into consideration—that is the curse of the evil deed. With these remarks I do not want to disparagingly judge the museum work that serves

8 "Die Abtheilung sollte ein Gesamtbild geben von der musikhistorischen Entwicklung der beiden vereinten Staaten, demgemäß auch solche auswärtige Künstler berücksichtigen, welche unsere Kunst beeinflusst haben, ferner Kunstbestrebungen und Erscheinungen mit aufnehmen, welche im innigen Zusammenhang mit unserer Musik stehen. Durch eine Art Prodomos sollte der Besucher eingeführt werden, und so wurde die Kunst jener Völker des Alterthums und Orients mit einbezogen, auf denen unsere abendländische Kunst basiert." (Adler 1892, V.)

> the history of music and its sister arts. The instrument museums, the publication of autographs, documents, memorabilia, and so on have their merits, and the latter also find their lovers. In 1892 I had obediently followed the call of the government of my fatherland and remained faithful to scientific seriousness; for my work I have not received any form of payment whatsoever, not even one Kreuzer; at least younger laborers have had some merit.[9]

Adler was very frank about his mixed feelings when taking over the direction of the musico-historical section and that he had strong reservations about the combination of visual art and music history. Despite his seemingly apathetic stance towards combing the two, he saw how it could nevertheless be useful when putting emphasis on the iconographic relationship between the two domains when illustrating instruments (apart from the exhibition of old instruments), musical performances, or portraits. However, palaeographic showpieces, the development of musical notation and printing as well as autographs and relics were relegated to the realm of "sources of amusement." Therefore, their essence and their meaning became distorted because of the obligation to display them visually (Adler 1935, 60).

Adler also reveals that the original plan was to unite all cultural nations but had to be abandoned due to the individual states' desire for independence. Consequently, only Germany and Austria remained together. Also, upon request, individual collections were placed in their historical context such as the "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde" (The

9 "Seither hat in der musikgeschichtlichen Literatur die 'Bebilderung' (so lautet der der neudeutsche häßliche Name) einen breiten Raum eingenommen. Es gibt heute Musikgeschichten, die gleichsam 'betextete' Bilderbücher sind. Auch ich musste in meinem 'Handbuch der Musikgeschichte' sowie in den Publikationen der 'Denkmäler' darauf billige Rücksicht nehmen—das ist der Fluch der bösen Tat. Mit diesen Bemerkungen will ich nicht die Musealarbeit, die der Geschichte der Musik und ihrer Schwesterkünste dient, abfällig beurteilen. Die Instrumentenmuseen, das Auflegen von Autographen, Dokumenten, Erinnerungsstücken und so weiter haben ihre Verdienste, und auch letztere finden ihre Liebhaber. Ich war 1892 dem Rufe der Regierung meines Vaterlandes mit Gehorsam gefolgt und bin dem wissenschaftlichen Ernst treu geblieben; für meine Arbeit habe ich in keinerlei Form auch nur einen Kreuzer Honorar erhalten; wenigstens haben jüngere Kräfte einen Verdienst gehabt." (Adler 1935, 65.)

Society of the Friends of Music) in Vienna, the “Königliche Sammlung altertümlicher Musikinstrumente zu Berlin” (The Royal Collection of Ancient Music Instruments in Berlin), the instrument collection of Baron Nathaniel Rothschild (Vienna), the Paul de Wit Collection (Leipzig), “Reichsdeutsche Militärmusik” (German Military Music), a Wagner exhibition in the separate “Gibichungenhalle” (Hall of the Gibichungs), and the precious instrument collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand d’Este (Adler 1935, 61).

In spite of various disputes among the organizers and the conceptual and ideological clashes, the hard work on the exhibition finally seemed to have paid off. One of the most valuable remnants was without a doubt the catalogue of the musico-historical section. Adler states that the catalogue remained a valuable bibliographical reference as well as it rendered important instructions for the *Monumenta Historiae Musices* (Adler 1918, 16). Adler had no prior curating experience and was often frustrated with the task of organizing the musico-historical section, especially against the backdrop of having to curate the musico-historical section through the lens of an erudite and meticulous music historian based on an exhibitionary model that was, firstly, driven by capitalist interest (showcasing purchasable goods) and, secondly, aimed at attracting and entertaining the general public.

A letter from Alfred James Hipkins, a British musicologist with curating experience and most knowledgeable in the domain of music exhibitions, reveals that Adler was inquiring about catalogues from other exhibitions that had a music section or in some shape or form exhibited music. This correspondence not only shows that Adler was in exchange with Hipkins about the catalogue, but also that Adler was in need of a blueprint that would aid him with the arrangement of the musico-historical section:

> 6 August 1892
> Dear Dr. Adler
> I have received the magnificent Catalogue you have so kindly sent me. It is a worth monument of an unrivalled collection. I have already read a considerable portion of it and hope to finish its pe-

> rusal before I leave here on the 15th. I shall be returning then to Broadwoods (no 33 Gr. Pulteney Street, London). I hope it is intended to complete the catalogue with a similar work or appendix to include the foreign sections. The proofs of the English labels which I prepared were, as I dare say you know sent by my colleague Mr. Bambridge to Dr. Auspitzer. I admire the arrangement of your catalogue. It is better than that of mine which I had the pleasure to send you, of the 1885 Loan Exhibition in London. But I was then bound by the arrangement which had been adopted by the executive council of the entire Exhibition of Inventions and Music. Let me again thank you for your kindness and courtesy in sending me a book that will always be one of the most important in my library and offer you my sincere congratulations on the complete success which is due to your admirable compilation.
> Believe me
> Yours faithfully
> J. Hipkins.[10]

This letter discloses that Adler most likely asked Hipkins to send him the official catalogue of the 1885 International Inventions Exhibition in London, which was held at South Kensington. However, comparing the classification in the Official Catalogue of the 1885 exhibition with Adler's catalogue of the musico-historical section (*Fach-Katalog der Musikhistorischen Abtheilung*) of Vienna 1892, shows that they differ in their organizing principles. Moreover, the exhibited objects at London 1885 were mostly collections of instruments organized in groups (XXXII–XXXIV) and subdivided into classes (166–180), which were exhibited in the main building and contained musical instruments since 1800. The Loan Collection of Historical Instruments was a separate exhibition space, the location being the adjacent Royal Albert Hall. This collection contained "old instruments" before 1800. In addition, some novelties belonging to composers were exhibited under the section mis-

10 A. J. Hipkins to Guido Adler, London 6 August 1892, Guido Adler Papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

cellaneous (section IX).

Adler's scheme is organized by "rooms" (I–XXVI) having as its main goal the representation of a chronological history of music starting with ancient music, Greeks, Romans, and "oriental music" that influenced Western music. The rooms demonstrating a chronological, developmental history of music are preceded by the "Interieur Habsburg-Lothringen," which is placed right after entering the Rotunda from the South-transept after the ethnographic section. This arrangement served the purpose of a) representing the monarchy and b) illustrating the musical works of monarchs such as Ferdinand III., Leopold I., Joseph I., and Karl VI. Instruments can be found dispersed in various rooms, either belonging to certain epochs or centuries or formerly belonging to composers. Entire collections of instruments could also be found: the Collection of Arch-Duke Franz Ferdinand von Oesterreich-Este (room VII, containing instruments from the sixteenth and seventeenth century), the Collection of Paul de Wit (room X, mostly containing various instruments mostly from the eighteenth century and exhibited jointly with the section addressing the development of music engraving and printing), the Royal Collection of Ancient Instruments Berlin (room XII, containing various instruments from different centuries), and the collection of Baron Nathaniel Rothschild (room XIII, containing various instruments, musical works, and portraits, copper engravings and pictures.)

Sarah Kirby (2019) conducted a study on the London Exhibition 1885 and the Edinburgh exhibition of 1890 in which she indicates that these two exhibitions were "two of the most explicitly intended to 'exhibit' the idea of modernity." (393) Her chief argument is that the display of ancient instruments was in stark contrast with the exhibitions' main themes of displaying innovation and technological progress and exemplifies a conceptual breach between the past and modernity. At the London Exhibition in 1885, the "Loan Collection," which was placed in the circular gallery at the top of Albert Hall, consisted of ancient musical instruments, manuscripts, and related objects stemming from various institutions and collectors. The exhibition also included three "period rooms" displaying Tudor England, eighteenth-century England, xxviii *International Inventions Exhibition.*

DIVISION II.—MUSIC.

Group XXXII.—INSTRUMENTS AND APPLIANCES CONSTRUCTED OR IN USE SINCE 1800.

Class 166. Organs.—Details of construction; machines for blowing, hydraulic or otherwise; details of mechanism and the construction of pipes; pneumatic apparatus for keyboards and couplers, electric appliances, designs for organs, designs for organ-cases.

„ 167. Harmoniums.—American organs, vocalions, concertinas, accordions, varieties of reeds and air-channels, details of construction.

„ 168. Wind Orchestral Instruments.—(*a*) Wood; (*b*) Brass.

„ 169. Pianofortes (Grand, square, and upright).—Models of framings, castings, models of actions, pedal appliances, mechanical devices for tuning and transposing, wire and other material used in construction, designs for cases.

„ 170. Violins, and instruments of the Violin family; Bows, strings, and inventions connected with these instruments.

„ 171. Harps.

„ 172. Automatic and Barrel Instruments.

„ 173. Drums, Cymbals, and other instruments of percussion.

„ 174. Bells and Carillons.

„ 175. National Instruments of all countries not ordinarily used in orchestras.

„ 176. Sirens, Tuning Forks, Pitch Pipes, Tonometers, and appliances for the determination of pitch.

„ 177. Miscellaneous Musical Appliances.—Metronomes, desks, seats, appliances for forming the hand; instruments for recording improvisation.

Group XXXIII.—MUSIC ENGRAVING AND PRINTING, MODERN PAINTINGS, &c.

Class 178. Printed and Engraved Music: and Machines and Appliances for its Production.

„ 178*a*. Modern Paintings, Drawings, and Engravings of Musical Subjects.

Group XXXIV.—HISTORIC COLLECTIONS.

Class 179. Musical Instruments and Appliances.

„ 180. Pictures, Engravings, and Drawings of Musical Subjects.

Figure 2. Classification of the International Inventions Exhibition 1885, Divison II, Music. Source: *International Inventions Exhibition 1885: Official Catalogue*, xxviii.

Loan Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, etc. xxix

LOAN COLLECTION OF HISTORIC MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND APPLIANCES, MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS, PICTURES, ENGRAVINGS, AND DRAWINGS OF MUSICAL SUBJECTS.

SECTION I.—Stringed Instruments with Keyboard.
" II.—Stringed Instruments with a Bow.
" III.—Harps, Lutes, Guitars, Zithers, Dulcimers, &c.
" IV.—Trumpets, Horns, and similar Wind Instruments.
" V.—Flutes, Oboes, and similar Wind Instruments.
" VI.—Organs and other instruments containing Organ Pipes or Tongues of Metal.
" VII.—Percussion Instruments; Drums, Stones, Cymbals, &c.
" VIII.—Mechanical; by Handle or Automatic Mechanism.
" IX.—Miscellaneous; Castanets, Conductors' Bâtons, Metronomes, Tuning Forks, Æolian Harps, Glasses, &c.
" X.—Ethnological.
" XI.—Manuscripts (Old Scores, &c.), Choir Books, Lecterns, Choir Staffs, and other Ecclesiastical Objects relating to Choirs, Printed Books, &c.
" XII.—Paintings, Engravings, Drawings, &c.

The Loan Collection will be open from the beginning of May to the end of October, 1885. The Group devoted to this object will resemble in its main features the Loan Collection of Historic Musical Instruments which was held at South Kensington in the year 1872. The scope, however, is more extended, the intention being to illustrate the history of music as fully as possible.

In order that every precaution may be taken regarding the safety and proper keeping of the valuable objects exhibited on loan, it has been decided to set apart for that purpose the fireproof galleries of the Royal Albert Hall. The cases in which they will be displayed will be of an equally secure description to those in use at the South Kensington Museum.

The arrangements regarding the carriage of the objects lent for Exhibition will be of a similar character to those made at the 1872 Exhibition. Official vans will be used, the packing will be under the direction of experienced persons, and all charges of transit will be defrayed by the Executive Council.

Any further information on the subject will be given on application to the Secretary.

RULES RESPECTING THE RECEPTION OF OBJECTS LENT FOR EXHIBITION.

1. All Loans are received on the understanding that they are at the absolute disposal of the Executive Council during the time the Exhibition is open, and are to be exhibited in the Gallery set apart for the purpose in such a manner as the Council think fit.
2. Whilst every care is taken of objects lent for exhibition, the Executive Council (following the rule of the Royal Academy, the South Kensington Museum and other bodies) cannot be held responsible for loss or damage.
3. Permission to copy or photograph objects on loan is not granted to private persons without the sanction, in writing, of the lender.
4. All charges of transit will be defrayed by the Executive Council.
5. The reception of Loans will begin on the 1st of April, and the necessary official labels for packages will be supplied to owners as they may request.

Figure 3. Classification of the International Inventions Exhibition 1885, Divison II, Music. Source: *International Inventions Exhibition 1885: Official Catalogue*, xxix.

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Figure 4. Table of Contents of Guido Adler's Catalogue of the Musico-Historical Section Germany and Austria-Hungary. Source: Adler 1892, XIII.

and another room that was arranged in the style of Louis XVI. A fourth so-called "Oriental room" put non-Western instruments on display. The "ancient instruments" were presented among contemporary furniture and various decorations, which, again, illustrated this breach between the (modern) present and the (historical) past (Kirby 2019, 397). Annegret Fauser (2005, 40), for example, uses the term "historical retrospection" to emphasize this dual philosophy of celebrating the achievements of the past as well as illustrating the innovations of the

XIV **Inhaltsverzeichnis.**

Figure 5. Table of Contents of Guido Adler's Catalogue of the Musico-Historical Section Germany and Austria-Hungary. Source: Adler 1892, XIV.

present (Kirby 2019, 395).

At the Scottish exhibition in 1890, the display of objects was divided into three sections, namely: instruments, scores and manuscripts, and pictures. The curator of this section was Robert A. Marr, secretary to the Scottish Musical Society who acquired the exhibits from private and institutional collections (Kirby 2019, 397). Marr also visited the International Exhibition of Music and Drama in Vienna in 1892 and published a work on the event. Marr's work (1893) is a description of him walking through the musico-historical sections in which he minutely depicts all his impressions.

In addition, Kirby points out that both the London and the Edinburgh Loan Collections were primarily for educational purposes, whereas the modern instruments that were exhibited there were assessed according to their commercial value, practical functionality, or modern aesthetic value. Moreover, an interpretation of the display of "ancient" instruments points at the adoption of Darwinian evolutionary narratives of musical forms and techniques to illustrate the "progress" of musical history. Although, neither exhibition arranged the display cases chronologically, however, they were grouped by type, maker, or country rather than by year, demonstrating a gradual development of art manufacture (Kirby 2019, 389).

Theophil Antonicek (2013, 10–15) illustrates that about a third of the objects shown at the International Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 belonged to the cultural, artistic, and didactic sectors as well as works of art from private and public collections were shown. Music only played a very small role in the history of trade and invention. Austrian aristocrats made valuable instruments available, a separate show was dedicated to violin making in Cremona and Tyrol. This department was led by Wilhelm Exner, and Eduard Hanslick was responsible for the musical instruments. In general, Antonicek also calls attention to other International Exhibitions that served as models for Vienna 1892: Vienna 1873, London 1885, Bologna 1888, and the Grillparzer Exhibition in Vienna in 1891.

As in the case of Vienna 1892 being pivotal for Theater and Drama historiography, as well as the institutionalization of theater studies as an academic discipline, likewise, this event was also crucial for the institutionalization of musicology in 1898. Although, following the principles and models of late nineteenth century international exhibitions' main efforts, the representation of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy was still one of the main objectives. Consequently, in light of this endeavor, putting a nation's musico-historical legacy on display was also part of the demonstration of political and cultural sovereignty. Staging historiography in the course of an "exhibitionary performance" is an even more powerful, pervasive means to facilitate knowledge production and anchor this knowledge in a society's cultural memory via the domains of visuality and spatial sensory experience.

The Establishment of the "Monumenta Historiae Musices"

When consulting Adler's writings, as exemplified before, the display of a scientifically accurate history of music at Vienna 1892 according to his historiographical concept was just one aspect to be pursued. Furthermore, the exhibition was also crucial for the establishment of the so-called "monumenta historiae musices" (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst Österreich*) which were launched in 1893. In his autobiography, Guido Adler points out the connection between the exhibition and the edition of the monumenta series, as well as to the acquisition of the Trent Codices (*Trienter Codices*), the most extensive collection of polyphonic, mainly sacred music of the fifteenth century: "Für die Inwerksetzung der Denkmäler waren drei Momente förderlich: die Kaiserwerke, die 'Musik- und Theaterausstellung,' und der Ankauf der 'Trienter Codices.'" (Adler 1935, 59.) (For the realization of the monumenta series three moments were beneficial: the Imperial Works, the "Music and Theater Exhibition" and the purchase of the "Trent Codices.")

In 1892, after several years of preparation, Adler applied for the edition of a selection of musical works by Emperors Ferdinand III., Leopold I., and Joseph I. The Imperial Works (*Kaiserwerke*) appeared in 1892 and 1893 in two volumes commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and Education and were presented to the emperor by the minister. They are, as it were, the prelude to the "monumenta historiae musices" and enjoyed an immensely favorable and worthy reception, and their high artistic and cultural value was emphasized everywhere (Adler 1935, 60). The first volume of the *Kaiserwerke* (Imperial Works) was exhibited at Vienna 1892 in Room I of the Interior Habsburg-Lorraine.

In April 1889, a detailed explanatory memorandum was presented to the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Culture and Education. The memorandum was at the top, which dealt with the actual musicological and general cultural aspect. The project under construction was given the title “monumenta historiae musices” and was to include, firstly, actual monuments (works of art) and, secondly, documents and source writings of theoretical and historical content. An overview of the previous attempts was given, and the time frame of the works to be edited was determined: from the first polyphonic attempts, including the *Minne* and *Meistergesang*, excluding the Gregorian chant. The great masters of the eighteenth century, to whom complete editions had not yet been dedicated, as for example, Gluck and Haydn, were assigned to specialists.

A long list of the most important names was listed including artists who were born in the two empires, especially when they had an impact on the progress of art. Adler was very adamant about avoiding the character of an anthology and that the works would be edited cohesively. With the monumenta edition, an edition of practically effective works was to go hand in hand with the purpose of performance (Adler 1918, 10–11). Oskar von Hase sent a trial volume of the “monumenta historiae musices germanieae” (*Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*) as a gift of honor to the Exhibition for Music and Drama (Adler 1918, 12).

The second “pillar” for the bibliographical preparations in the service of the monuments was the acquisition of the Trent Codices by the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Culture and Education, which were first discovered by Franz Xaver Haberl in 1885. On 1 October 1891, Adler was asked to make proposals and on 22 January 1892, the six codices were transferred to him for possible publication. The costs of editing were covered by the funds granted by the Ministry of Culture and Education for the publication of the “monumenta historiae musices” (Adler 1918, 15). Like the Imperial Works, the Trent Codices were also exhibited at Vienna 1892. Two of them were displayed in Room IV under *Niederländer* (The Dutch) referring to composers of the Franco-Netherlandish School.

The codices contain 1,500 sacred and secular compositions of the fifteenth century and were considered of great value for the knowledge of music history. They were initially set up in Inner Austria and

4 Raum I. Interieur Habsburg-Lothringen.

kannt. 31, Violoncell, bezeichnet „Antonius u. Hieronymus Amati, Cremonen. Andreae fil. 1655".
Geschenk des Herrn Erzherzogs Carl Ludwig an das Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.

32. Zither Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin. Verf.: Anton Proschek, Prag 1854. *Ah. Privatbesitz.*

Pult I.

33. Musikalische Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I., Josef I. Im Auftrage des k. k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht herausgeg. von Guido Adler. I. Band. Kirchenwerke. *Artaria u. Cie., Wien.*

34. Ebner, Wolfgang, Hoforganist (1612—1665). 36 Variationen über ein Originalthema Ferdinand III. Prag 1648. Stich mit Titelkupfer von Skreta in Prag. 2 Exemplare. *K. k. Hofbibliothek, Benedictinerstift Göttweig.*

35. Geleitbrief Kaiser Rudolf II. für die Witwe des Obrist-Trommeters Joseph Dudinelli bei ihrer Reise nach Italien. Mit eigenhändiger Unterschrift des Kaisers, datiert „Prag, den 26. April 1585".
K. u. k. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

36. Kaiser Leopold I. Eigenhändig geschriebene und unterzeichnete Verordnung für die kais. Musiker. „Punti ch'io uoglio, che siano degli miei musici sempre inviolabilmente osservati." *Dasselbe.*

37. Fux. Joh. Jos. Elisa. Theatralisches Festspiel mit Musik. Aufgeführt am Geburtstage der Kaiserin Elisabeth Katharina in dem Garten der kaiserl. Favorita auf Befehl des Kaisers Karl VI., gedruckt in Amsterdam (bei Joh. Roger) 1719. Dichtung von P. Pariati. Aus diesem Exemplare dirigierte Kaiser Karl VI. persönlich die erste Aufführung von Anfang bis zu Ende. Der Einband ist gestickt von seiner Gemahlin, Kaiserin Elisabeth Katharina.
K. k. Hofbibliothek.

Figure 6. Interieur Habsburg-Lorraine, Stand I, Object 33, Imperial Works, Volume I: Sacred Works. Source: Adler 1892, 4.

were taken along by Bishop Hinderbach, who was called to Trento. According to a provision in the peace treaty (after the World War), the codices went into Italian possession. The Italian government left the publication to the "Austrian monuments" in consideration of their special merits for the publication. The Trent Cathedral Chapter found in its possession a seventh codex and put it at the disposal of the "monumenta historiae musices."

In their structure, comprising the leading composers of all nations and works of all musical genres of the time, the Trent Codices represented a completely new type of manuscript, which differed substantially from the previous central sources whose repertoire was intended to serve only a local purpose, or a purpose limited to specific domains. They represented a vivid collection of documents of the new, universal musical spirit of the dawning humanism. Since the abundance of material contained in the codices precluded the publication of the entire contents in the foreseeable future, the principle of selecting and summarizing compositions according to specific genres proved to be particularly suitable for the editions. After the extensive first selection (Vol. VII, Vol. 14/15) offered an overview of all the stylistic forms and genres that occurred, the following ones (Vol. XI/1, Vol. 22, XIX/1, Vol. 38 XXVII/1, Vol. 53, XXXI, Vol. 61, XL, Vol. 76) were devoted above all to the historical and stylistic recognition of the individual forms, e.g. secular song, cyclical mass, motets and hymns, and early masses (Adler 1935, 66). Ultimately, the monuments were not to be considered an official publication of the Austrian government, but merely a scientific work subsidized by state funds (Adler 1918, 19).

In light of the exhibition and the monumenta edition being crucial for the founding of musicology as an academic discipline in 1898, it becomes evident that Adler tried to visualize his conception of a scientifically accurate historiography of music in the musico-historical section. In his inaugural speech in 1898 he delineates that the main task of musicology is the research of the development of music and the history thereof. Further, the knowledge of the essence of music as an art is central, especially the art of the arrangement of tones (Adler 1898, 29). Adler also points out that "science" of music is deeply related to the methods used

42 Raum IV. Theoretiker des Mittelalters, Niederländer.

25. **Anonymer Tractat** über die Mensuralmusik „Circa inicium musice mensuralis seu figurative". Papier-Handschr. XVI. Jhdt.
Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Herzogenburg.

26a. **Modus accentuandi** Monasterii b. M. Virginis in Tiernstain (Regeln über den Gesangsvortrag). Papier-Handschr. 1507. *Dasselbe.*

26b. **Anonymer Tractat**, „Etsi musica propter utilitatem". Papier-Handschr. ca. 1514.
Fürstlich Stolberg'sche Bibliothek, Wernigerode.

27. **Ramos, Bartolomeo** (spanischer Theoretiker 1440 bis 1521). Musica tractatus. Papier-Handschr. a. d. Anfang des XVI. Jhdt. *Kgl. Bibliothek Berlin.*

28. **Sammelband** mit verschiedenen Compositionen geistlicher Texte. Pgmt.-Handschr. XIV. Jhdt.
K. k. Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck.

Die zweistimmigen Compositionen zeigen die ersten unbehilflichen Versuche des Organums und Discantus (Parallel- und Gegenbewegung).

29. **Expositio hymnorum.** Pgmt.-Handschr. XIII. Jhdt.
Fürst Fürstenberg, Lanna.

Die zweistimmigen Compositionen weisen ähnlichen Charakter auf wie Nr. 28.

Pult IV: Niederländer.

30. 31. **Tridentiner Codices.** Sammelbände, geschrieben zwischen 1440—1480 von dem Trienter Bürger Johann Wiser. *K. k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht.*

Diese Codd., im ganzen 6 Stück, davon 2 ausgestellt, sind gegenwärtig der reichste Schatz kunstmäßiger Musik des XV. Jhdt. und enthalten die ältesten niederländischen und englischen Contrapunktisten (Dunstaple, Dufay, Binchois u. s. w.).

32. **Barbireau, Jakob** (Capellmeister zu Antwerpen, † 1491), Messe „Virgo parens Christi". Pgmt.-Handschr. XVI. Jhdt., Chorbuch. *K. k. Hofbibliothek.*

Die Miniaturen zeigen die Wappen von Spanien und Portugal; der kniende Ritter oben ist wahrscheinlich König Emanuel von

Figure 7. Room IV, Stand IV, Object 30, Trent Codices (two out of six codices). Source: Adler 1892, 42.

in other arts: "The research of the history of music is closely related to historical work on other arts, especially poetry. The music has had vital relationships with this art since its inception."[11]

Another important aspect on Adler's conception of "doing music historiography" is his reference to evolutionary theory and the analogies he draws between the "development of music" and biology:

> I would just like to draw attention to a recent phenomenon: the attempt to transfer Herbert Spencer's theory of evolution not only in general, as Spencer himself did, to the history of music, but also to the individual epochs and to the individual genres of music.[12]

The adoption of evolutionary theory as a scientific paradigm is found in various disciplines that actually do not fall into the realm of biology or the natural sciences in general. From the mid-nineteenth century on, evolutionary theory became increasingly popular—its main tenet being how species change over time and how this process goes about—and was, as the history of museum practice shows, one of the main classificatory organizing principles that curators adhered to.

By the same token, the philosophy of evolutionary theory had also permeated music historiography and became an archetypical form of writing about the development of music. Guido Adler's works *Der Stil in der Musik*, *Methode der Musikgeschichte*, and his *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* in two volumes are testimonies of the adoption of evolutionary theory (especially Ernst Haeckel) on musico-historical writings that go beyond classifying music according to (national) styles, epochs, and schools. Haeckel's theory is based on the Darwinian model, but more importantly, he promoted and popularized evolutionary theory

---

11 "Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Tonkunst steht im innigsten Zusammenhange mit den historischen Arbeiten über andere Künste, besonders der Dichtkunst. Mit dieser stand die Musik seit ihrer Entstehung in vitalen Beziehungen." (Adler 1898, 35.)

12 "Ich möchte da nur an eine Erscheinung der neueren Zeit erinnern: an den Versuch, die Evolutionstheorie von Herbert Spencer nicht nur generell, wie es Spencer selbst gethan hat, auf die Geschichte der Tonkunst zu übertragen, sondern auch in die einzelnen Epochen und auf die einzelnen Gattungen der Musik zu überführen." (Adler 1898, 35.)

in Germany (Darwin 1859; Spencer 1864). The influence of evolutionary theory also becomes evident in the language that is used to describe the developmental stages or the progress of music throughout the course of history (Breuer 2011; Haeckel 1866).

Conclusion

This article demonstrated how institutionalization of musicology as an academic discipline is connected to the International Exhibition of Music and Drama that took place in 1892, six years before the Department of Musicology in Vienna was founded under the auspices of Guido Adler. Further, the discussion laid bare the challenges that Adler had to face being a musicologist who also had to take on the function of a curator. Although being an erudite music historian, Adler had no curatorial experience and was confronted with the difficult task of "spatializing time" in order to create comprehensible visual narratives of music history. What is more, he had to adapt his musico-historiographical model to fit the frame of the "exhibitionary template" and conventions of international exhibitions, which were essentially not based on narratives but on classifications and taxonomic principles. For that matter, Adler was not only confronted with problems of space and using objects to represent historical facts and temporal continuities, he eventually had to succumb to the macro-structure of the event, which was after all based on the premise of "entertaining the masses."

List of References

Archival sources

Primary Sources

Adler, Guido. 1892. *Fachkatalog der Musikhistorischen Abtheilung von Deutschland und Oesterreich-Ungarn, nebst Anhang: Musikvereine, Concertwesen und Unterricht.* Vienna: Im Selbstverlag der Ausstellungskommission. Austrian National Library.

Auspitzer, Emil. 1892. *Ueber die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, Wien 1892: Vortrag gehalten in Niederösterreichischen Gewerbeverein am 23. October 1891.* Vienna: Niederösterreichischer Gewerbeverein. Austrian National Library.

Fleischer, Oskar. 1894. *Die Bedeutung der internationalen Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung in Wien für Kunst und Wissenschaft der Musik.* Leipzig: Internationale Verlags- und Kunstanstalt. Austrian National Library.

Newspapers

Neue Freie Presse 1892

Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung 1892

Letters

Letter from Alfred James Hipkins to Guido Adler, 6 August 1892, Guido Adler Papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Georgia Libraries, MS 769, Box 22, Folder 47.

Letter from Pauline von Metternich to Guido Adler, 10 August 1892, Guido Adler Papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Georgia Libraries, MS 769, Box 27, Folder 25.

Bibliography

Adler, Guido. 1911. *Der Stil in der Musik: Prinzipien und Arten des musikalischen Stils*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Adler, Guido. 1930. *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte: mit vielen Notenbeispielen und Abbildungen zur Geschichte der Notenschrift, der Musikinstrumente, der Operndarstellung und mit Wiedergaben von Autographen,* 2nd Edition, 2 vols. Berlin: Hesse.

Adler, Guido. 1919. *Methode der Musikgeschichte*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Adler, Guido. 1898. "Musik und Musikwissenschaft." *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 5: 27–39.

Adler, Guido. 1935. *Wollen und Wirken: Aus Dem Leben Eines Musikhistorikers*. Vienna: Universal Edition.

Adler, Guido. 1918. Zur Vorgeschichte der "Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich." *Studien zur Musikwissenshaft* 5: 9–21.

Antonicek, Theophil. 2013. *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892*. <http://www.dtoe.at/Infos/Ausstellung1892.php> Accessed 12 March 2017.

Breuer, Benjamin. 2011. *The Birth of Musicology from the Spirit of Evolution: Ernst Haeckel's Entwicklungslehre as Central Component of Guido Adler's Methodology for Musicology*, PhD-Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/12207059.pdf> Accessed, 4 April 2018.

Danielczyk, Julia. 2009. "Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen und ihre imagebildende Funktion." *Maske & Kothurn* 55 (1–2): 27–38.

Darwin, Charles. 1859. *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection: Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London: John Murray.

Fauser, Annegret. 2005. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Fichtinger, Christine. 2004. *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen in Wien 1892*. Master's thesis, University of Music and Performative Arts Vienna.

Fuchs, Eckehardt. 2002. “Popularisierung, Standardisierung und Politisierung: Wissenschaft auf den Weltausstellungen des 19. Jahrhunderts.” In *Die Weltausstellung von 1851 und ihre Folgen: The Great Exhibition and its Legacy*, edited by Franz Bosbach and John R. Davis, 205–221. Munich: K. G. Saur.

Gruber, Gernot. 1995. “Nachmärz und Ringstrassenzeit.” In *Musikgeschichte Österreichs: Von der Revolution zur Gegenwart,* Vol. 3, edited by Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber, 15–90. Vienna: Böhlau.

Haeckel, Ernst. 1866. *Allgemeine Anatomie der Organismen: Kritische Grundzüge der mechanischen Wissenschaft von den entwickelten Formen der Organismen, begründet durch die Descendenz-Theorie*, 2 vols. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

Hirschfeld, Robert. 1912. *Geschichte der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien: 2. Abteilung: 1870–1912 verfasst von Robert Hirschfeld*. Vienna: Direktion der k.k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

International Inventions Exhibition 1885: Official Catalogue. London: William Clowes and Sons.

Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892: Leporello-Album. Vienna.

Lauterbach, Katharina Verena. 2010. *Die Musenburg im Prater: Zur Bedeutung der Gastspiele des Internationalen Ausstellungstheaters im Rahmen der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen in Wien 1892*. Master’s thesis, University of Vienna.

Marr, Robert. A. 1893. *Musical History as Shown in the International Exhibition of Music and Drama, Vienna 1892*. London: William Reeves.

Nußbaumer, Martina. 2001. “Der Topos ‘Musikstadt Wien’ um 1900.” *Newsletter Moderne* 4 (1): 20–23.

Nußbaumer, Martina. 2005. “Identity on Display: (Re-)Präsentationen des Eigenen und des Fremden auf der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen in Wien 1892.” *Historische Anthropologie* 31 (1): 45–60.

Nußbaumer, Martina. 2007. *Musikstadt Wien: Die Konstruktion eines Images*. Freiburg: Rombach.

Schüßler, Lotte. 2019. “Curating Exhibitions, Ordering Disciplines: Theatre Studies and Musicology in the Vienna Rotunda, 1892.” *History of Humanities* 4 (2): 423–250.

Schwarz, Werner. M. 2001. *Anthropologische Spektakel: zur Schaustellung „exotischer“ Menschen, Wien 1870–1910*. Vienna: Turia & Kant.

Spencer, Herbert. 1864. *The Principles of Biology*, 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1864.

Wassilko, Theophila. 1959. *Fürstin Pauline Metternich*. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik.

Zankl, Franz. R. 1975. *Das Personalmuseum: Untersuchung zu einem Museumstypus*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Part III
Musical Institutions and Power

Salons, Conservatoires, Restaurant Orchestras: Women Musicians and Cultural Institutions in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe

NUPPU KOIVISTO-KAASIK

This article tackles the position of Finnish women musicians and composers inside, outside and in-between cultural institutions during the late nineteenth century. I will examine this problematic through the life and career of four different women—orchestral musicians Fredja (1875–1934) and Miriam Sahlman (1880–1962) as well as composers Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt (1866–1933) and Laura Netzel (1839–1927).[1]

All these musicians had close family ties to Finland but worked and studied abroad—in Paris, Saint Petersburg, Stockholm and Amsterdam. In the spirit of intersectional feminism, I aim to find out how gender, class, and cultural background affected their professional careers and their role in the institutionalizing field of professional music-making (see, e.g., Ege 2018; Ege 2020 and Powers 2012). I investigate the socioeconomic status of these musicians, asking if they attended a conservatory or studied privately, if they were able to publish their works, and if they were marginalized or celebrated in music historiography. Chronologically, the analysis covers the latter decades of the

---

1 There is some unclarity regarding the precise birth and death dates for Fredja and Miriam Sahlman (see Koivisto 2019a, 233, footnote 1080). I have done previous biographical research on all of the aforementioned four musicians and already published some of the results (see Koivisto 2019a, 2019b, 2020, and 2022; Koivisto-Kaasik and Rantanen 2023, forthcoming).

long nineteenth century, from the 1870s until the end of World War I. Its geographical scope, in turn, entails not only the Grand Duchy of Finland—at that time an autonomous part of the Russian Empire—but the international careers of the studied musicians.

Methodologically, I will be following traditional micro-historical methods, picking up "clues" from the fragmentary source materials (see, e.g., Peltonen 1999, 28; Ginzburg 2007). In practice, this means directing the researcher's and the reader's attention into previously marginalized or unnoticed details that might seem trivial at a first glance but end up telling us a great deal about wider socio-historical currents (see, e.g., Zemon Davis 1997; Ginzburg 2007). Thus, my approach is a source-oriented one, which is why the term "cultural institution" is used as a broad concept referring to certain social systems, which include their own norms or codes of conduct (Sevänen 1998). Special attention is paid on three crucial new institutions in music history during the second half of the nineteenth century: the salon, the conservatoire, and the restaurant orchestra. My key argument is to illustrate differences and intersections between the social classes that took part in the life of the aforementioned institutions, affected them and were, in turn, influenced by them. As this article demonstrates, women musicians came from and operated within a variety of class settings—from aristocratic and intellectual élites, like Netzel and Zheleznova-Armfelt, to the lower middle classes and craft professions, like the Sahlmans.

In previous research, women musicians have typically been described as inbetweeneers in the field of cultural institutions (see, e.g., Mustakallio 2003; Reich 1993). As Erkki Sevänen (1998, 26–27) has noted, this is why the role of different kinds of institutions forms an interesting question for gender historians in general. I might add that the topic is especially crucial for historians working on women as performing artists. The negative moral connotations associated with a woman literally taking up the stage are firmly rooted in the institutional framework of the cultural world. Such stereotypes still thrive in the Western art world, especially in the field of so-called classical music (see, e.g., Scharff 2017). Thus, my combination of micro-historical perspectives and analyses of cultural institutions also draws on feminist research that stresses the agency of women musicians rather than treating them as passive victims of patriarchal power structures (see, e.g., Citron 1993 [2000]; McClary 1991).

The source material consists of various strains. Archival material, retrieved from Finland and abroad, such as judicial documents, passport registers, manuscript scores, printed sheet music and newspaper clippings are used. Digitized newspapers in Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands form another key group of sources. Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, potential archival material from Russia has been inaccessible for the purposes of this article.

As for previous research, Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt and Laura Netzel have attracted attention in Sweden, where especially Netzel's life has been studied by, for example, Eva Öhrström and Camilla Hambro (Öhrström 1987; Powers 2012; Hambro 2014). Currently, in Finland, I am studying together with Susanna Välimäki the lives and careers of Zheleznova-Armfelt and Netzel for a joint project on historical Finnish women who wrote music (see, e.g., Välimäki and Koivisto 2019). As Netzel lived in Stockholm since her childhood, she has historically been much better known in Sweden than in Finland, although there has been a lively interest in her work across Finnish towns during the last year.[2] Zheleznova-Armfelt's work, in turn, has been documented and promoted by her grandson Vsevolod Rukopolev (1993), although the information provided is, at times, imprecise. Her creative output has also been presented in a concert by singer Alexandra Huhtala-Labzounov and pianist Tatjana Veinstein at the Helsinki Music Centre in 2015 (see Granberg 2015). As for Fredja and Miriam Sahlman, they have not been credited academic attention so far, apart from a few short mentions (Björkstrand 1999, 108–109; Hirn 1999, 119; Myers 1993, 294–295, 299; see also Koivisto 2019a, 232–241).

The article is divided in three parts, each one addressing one case

2 Netzel's piano concerto was edited and performed in two different versions both in Norrköping and in Eastern Finland during the autumn of 2020. Furthermore, violinist Mirka Malmi and conductor Emilia Hoving performed Netzel's Suite for violin and string orchestra, op. 83, in November 2020 in Helsinki. At the time of writing (November 2020), Camilla Hambro's thorough biography of the composer was also about to be published.

study. First, the Sahlman sisters and their role in the variety and restaurant show business are examined. Second, Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt and her position within the Russian intelligentsia is analysed. Third, some light is shed on Laura Netzel's influential career as a pianist-composer and a concert organizer. To summarize the findings, some general conclusions are presented at the very end of the article.

Fredja and Miriam Sahlman: Women Musicians in Restaurant Orchestras

Fredja and Miriam Sahlman are, so far, the only late nineteenth-century Finnish women to have worked in ladies' restaurant orchestras that I have been able to identify. These small salon ensembles—usually called *Damenkapellen* or *Damenorchestern*—were very much in vogue all over late nineteenth-century Europe. Their revenue logic was based on touring and performing in hotels, cafés, and restaurants in urban areas, providing entertainment for the customers. Despite their name, the ensembles usually included a couple of male musicians for practical reasons. Most of the orchestras branded themselves on national, regional, or exoticizing terms, using different kinds of costumes or even theatrical elements in their shows. Thus, ladies' restaurant orchestras formed an important part of the entertainment business and variety show industry of the era and could be considered as a cultural institution of their time (for further information on ladies' orchestras, see e.g. Kaufmann 1997; Myers 1993; Bagge 2018; Babbe 2017; Keil 1998).

How did these two musicians, then, end up in this unusual musical career in late nineteenth-century Finland? They were born in Helsinki and Viipuri, respectively, to the family of the tailor Ilya (Elias) Sahlman and Helena Bernstein (Student registers of the Helsinki Music Institute, 5/3 & 5/4, Archives of the University of the Arts Helsinki; Registers of foreigners 1849–1922, 5225/933, Amsterdam City Archives). The family was part of the small Jewish community in the Grand Duchy of Finland, where Ilya Sahlman had arrived with the Russian army as a seventeen-year-old apprentice in 1865 ("Utvisning af judar ur landet," *Nya Pressen* 1 July 1888). In other words, Fredja and Miriam Sahlman's family background was a typical one for Jewish people living in Helsinki at the time—due to restrictive and discriminatory laws, garment-making was one of the few industries in which Jewish professionals could earn a living (see Ekholm 2013, 15, 41, 59).

In due course, Ilya Sahlman rose to the position of a foreman and even founded his own tailor's shop in the late 1880s. However, his business was soon filed for bankruptcy, resulting in financial difficulties for the family with its five underage children to feed (Bankruptcy records, Efa:172/52, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, The National Archives of Finland; "Utvisning af judar ur landet," *Nya Pressen* 1 July 1888; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 4 July 1888).[3] This was probably one of the reasons why, interestingly, all the girls in the Sahlman family trained for a practical profession starting from the early 1890s. The oldest, Bertha, and youngest, Esther, chose a medical career as midwives and physical therapists, whereas Alexandra became a newspaper correspondent (Archival cards 1939–1994, 30208/1777, Amsterdam City Archives; *Päivälehti* 27 October 1893; *Adressbok och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors* 1908, p. 694, 1912, p. 759, 1914, p. 688; see also Ekholm et al. 2006, 110).

Fredja and Miriam Sahlman, in turn, chose music as their profession. They both studied at the prestigious Helsinki Music Institute—nowadays called the Sibelius Academy—which had been founded by Martin Wegelius in 1882 (see Dahlström 1982). Both were string players—Fredja, a violinist, and Miriam, a cellist and double bass player. Both excelled in their studies, and their teachers included notable musical figures such as the renowned cellist Georg Schnéevoigt and the violinist-composer Johan Halvorsen (Student registers of the Helsinki Music Institute, 5/3 & 5/4, Archives of the University of the Arts Helsinki). Thus, the Sahlman sisters were able to get a thorough and solid musical education.

3 The family's youngest daughter, Ester, had not yet been born at this point (see genealogical documents included in Bertha Sahlman's inheritance records, Ec:585 & B3 227/3, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, The National Archives of Finland).

Even though the majority of students at the Helsinki Music Institute were women (Björkstrand 1999, 106–113), Fredja and Miriam Sahlman differed from their female colleagues in certain crucial respects. Granted, the violin and even the cello had gradually become more popular with women musicians, but the Sahlmans' instrument choices were still somewhat of an anomaly. Singing and piano-playing were considered the "proper" forms of music-making for middle- and upper-class women, and symphony orchestras were still an almost exclusively male field (see, e.g., Neuls-Bates 1987, 326–332). Furthermore, most of the women students did not or could not pursue a public musical career, whereas Fredja and Miriam took up professional orchestral jobs straight after or even during their studies.

As the older sister, Fredja was the first one to enter the restaurant music industry. The exact details of the beginning of her career are yet to be discovered, but we know that by 1894, she was working as the lead violinist of the ladies' orchestra Flora in Helsinki (*Nya Pressen* 7 October 1894; see also Koivisto 2019a, 235). A few years later, Miriam Sahlman joined her, and the two performed in the same ensembles in, for example, Saint Petersburg (Six: "Brefkort från Helsingfors," *Östra Finland* 20 January 1897). After a few years of orchestral experience, Fredja Sahlman married the Polish-Austrian violinist-conductor Josef Silberman (*Der Artist* 5 March 1899; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 23 December 1897). The couple founded their own orchestra—the "Fennia" ladies' orchestra—and relocated to Sweden (Myers 1993, 299; "Det 'finska' Damkapellet i Stockholm," *Hufvudstadsbladet* 26 August 1902; *Falukuriren* 2 January 1901), probably because of legal reasons. Finnish discriminatory laws made it impossible for Jews to apply for citizenship, obliging them to renew their residence permits every six months. Furthermore, Jewish children born in Finland were only allowed to remain in the Grand Duchy until they became engaged to be married or entered military service (Torvinen 1989, 24–31). Miriam Sahlman joined her sister at the turn of the century, moving to Sweden and making a living as a music teacher as well as, apparently, taking up employment in her sister's orchestra (Lists of Helsinki-based Jews 1877–1905, Bk:1, Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department, The National Archives of Finland).

Figure 1. Conductor Josef Silberman's (standing in the middle) ladies' orchestra in the Netherlands, 1915. Fredja Silberman (first row, second from right) and, possibly, Miriam Sahlman (second row, first from right) are also featured in the photo. Source: SFA022826349, Het Leven / Spaarnestad Photo.

During the early 1900s, which could be called the golden era of ladies' salon orchestras, the Fennia ensemble toured widely in Scandinavia and Finland. The orchestra was valued and appreciated for its high-quality performances, and Josef Silberman even became somewhat of a local celebrity in certain Swedish towns (see, e.g., "Joseph Silbermann på Blanchs," *Svenska Dagbladet* 13 October 1907).[4] It was even advertised as specifically "Finnish," and the repertoire included pieces by contemporary Finnish composers such as Robert Kajanus and Jean Sibelius (Koivisto 2019a, 237). During this busy time, Fredja and Josef Silberman's family was enlarged with four children (Koivisto 2019a, 241). Contrary to many other late nineteenth-century women musicians, marriage, pregnancies and childbirths did not end Fredja's career. She continued touring after short leaves of recovery, while her children were fostered by their grandmother and aunts in

4 The Fennia orchestra did not perform in circuses. Instead, Josef Silberman tried to raise money for helping fellow musicians who had lost all their sheet music in Malmö, as a local circus burned down.

Helsinki (Inhabitant records of the Uusimaa region 1902, U:189, The National Archives of Finland; *Falukuriren* 2 January 1901; "Benedict Silberman—Turk, Fin en Oostenrijker—is op en top Nederlander," *Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant* 3 January 1962).

At the turn of the 1910s, the Sahlman-Silberman family—including Miriam, Fredja, and her children—emigrated to the Netherlands for more lucrative career opportunities (Registers of foreigners 1849–1922, 5225/933 & 5225/939, Amsterdam City Archives; see also Myers 1993, 294). The Fennia orchestra continued to perform until the turn of the 1920s, when Josef Silberman purchased a variety theater in Amsterdam, starting a different type of entrepreneurial career (Lelieveldt 1998, 71, 112). At least for Miriam Sahlman, however, financial prospects within the musical profession were faltering as orchestral positions for double-bassists and cellists were scarce, whereupon she made the decision to return to Finland and re-train herself as a nurse (Miriam Sahlman's personal records, 10201, I Archive of the central detective police, The National Archives of Finland). Fredja Sahlman, in turn, stayed in Amsterdam until her death in 1934, although she visited her relatives in Helsinki at least on one occasion (Lists of residence permits for Russian citizens, Baa:12, Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department, The National Archives of Finland; *Algemeen Handelsblad* 20 September 1934).

In examining Fredja and Miriam Sahlman's careers in light of musical institutions, especially those of the restaurant orchestra and the conservatoire, the researcher's attention is drawn to three important matters. First, they had the chance for an institutionalized conservatoire training, which was not the case for many other European entertainment musicians who learned their "trade" informally from relatives or local bandmasters (see, e.g., Kaufmann 1997, 84–90). However, whether this was typical of Finnish or Nordic musicians on a larger scale would require additional archival work. On the other hand, they built their career as performers within the blooming entertainment industry, not in "serious" symphony orchestras, from which they were by default excluded by their gender. Third, the Sahlmans' cultural, linguistic, and religious background made it difficult for them to forge a musical career in Finland, where they were treated on racialized and even antisemitic terms in the press (Six: "Brefkort från Helsingfors," *Östra Finland* 20 January 1897). This is not to say that antisemitism was not just as widespread in other parts of Europe—and even in the international ladies' orchestra industry. Rather, the specific legal system enhanced with prejudice and the smallness of the Finnish musical circles made it virtually impossible for Fredja and Miriam Sahlman to settle down earn their living.

Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt (1866–1933): The Composer-Countess

Pianist-composer Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt's career gives us a different example of women's work in late nineteenth-century music. Born in the late 1860s, she belonged to an old family of nobility originating from Sweden and extending its branches to Finland and Saint Petersburg. Several of her forefathers—such as her great-grandfather Gustav Mauritz—had held key positions in the Grand Duchy's government, making the family markedly influential.[5]

This type of background made it possible for Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt to get a thorough education in arts and languages, although she seems to have studied privately, as did many other aristocratic women of her time. Zheleznova-Armfelt's hometown was the imperial capital, Saint Petersburg, which offered excellent possibilities for this. Furthermore, Zheleznova-Armfelt's mother, Alexandra von Bilderling, who came from Baltic-German nobility and belonged to the Empress' court, was an avid pianist and helped her daughter to learn the basics of music-making. Zheleznova-Armfelt's interest for music and, especially, composition, was noted in the family circle early on. Thus, she was able to continue her studies with renowned teachers at the Saint Petersburg conservatoire, such as Carl Cesi (Rukopolev 1993, 68).

According to Zheleznova-Armfelt's grandson Vsevolod Rukopolev,

---

5 On the Armfelt family, see *Finlands adelskalender* 1890, 30–31; 1897, 25–26; 1900, 28–29; 1906, 32–33; 1912, 34–35; 1917, 36–37; 1923, 26–27; 1926, 27–28; 1929, 24; 1932, 24.

the composer got in contact with music publishers through her networks in the 1890s. Thus, she was able to get her music printed in renowned publishing companies such as Jorgensson's and, later, Julius Heinrich Zimmermann's firms in Moscow. Rukopolev recounts her first steps in publishing as follows:

> During the summer of 1893, the Armfelt family was staying in Peterhof as usual. The music publisher Jorgensson, who had been invited and had just arrived from Moscow, was among the guests. It was during this event that Alexandra sat by the piano and played something from her favorite composer, Chopin. / After Chopin Alexandra took a break and continued with a new melody. Jorgensson, who had been markedly impressed by the music of Chopin, came back to himself and asked: 'I do not recognize this piece of music. Who has composed it?' Alexandra was forced to reveal that the piece was hers. Jorgensson liked the melody and asked Alexandra to play it one more time. The music publisher asked that the manuscript be left with him on the spot and promised to get the music printed by his firm in Moscow. / Jorgensson kept his promise. Alexandra's music came out in 1894. This was the young composer's first printed work. The cover read: 'Etude. Opus Nr 1. A piece for piano composed by Countess Alexandra Armfelt. Jorgensson's publishing house. Moscow. 1894.'[6]

---

6 "Under sommaren 1893 bodde familjen Armfelt som vanligt i Petershof. Musikförläggaren Jorgensson hade precis ankommit på inbjudan från Moskva var bland gästerna. Det var vid detta tillfälle Alexandra satt vid flygeln och spelade något av sin älsklingstonsättare Chopin. / Efter Chopin gjorde Alexandra en paus och fortsatte med en ny melodi. Jorgensson som hade tagit ett starkt intryck av Chopins musik hämtade sig och frågade: 'Jag känner inte till det här stycket. Vem har komponerat det?' Alexandra var tvungen att avslöja sitt auktorskap. Jorgensson tyckte om melodin och bad Alexandra att spela den en gång till. Musikförläggaren bad att manuskriptet skulle överlämnas till honom med detsamma och lovade att ge ut det på sitt förlag i Moskva. / Jorgensson uppfyllde sitt löfte. Alexandras musik blev utgiven 1894. Det var den unga tonsättarens första tryckta verk. På titelbladet stod: 'Etyd. Opus Nr 1. En stycke för piano komponerat av grevinnan Alexandra Armfelt. Jorgenssons förlag. Moskva. 1894.'" (Rukopolev 1993, 68.) 'Jorgensson' probably refers to P. Jurgenson, a well-known music publisher in the Russian Empire.

Whether or not this anecdote holds true, it is evident that salon culture, family connections and an aristocratic background helped her create at least a semi-public career. In the case of women composers, this was not self-evident—many were not able to get their works published during their lifetime. It is notable that Zheleznova-Armfelt used her own name rather than a *nom de plume*, which was a relatively common strategy among women artists, writers, and composers (Rukopolev 1993, appendix, 78–79).

Through her studies, Zheleznova-Armfelt had also created strong networks within the intelligentsia of Saint Petersburg. She knew the composer Mily Balakirev, who is said to have recommended her works for the Zimmermann publishing house, and dedicated some of her works to key musical figures such as the singer Nikolay Figner (Rukopolev 1993, 69–70). As for potential contacts with other Russian women who wrote music, such as Valentina Serova or Ella Adayevskaya (on Serova and Adayevskaya, see Ivanova 2010 and Hüsken 2005, respectively) no direct evidence has been found so far.

Zheleznova-Armfelt's body of work mostly consists of vocal music, such as romances and melodeclamations,[7] although it should be noted that a significant part of her music manuscripts was burnt during the Leningrad siege and has thus not survived (Rukopolev 1993, 75). However, she seems to have taken special interest in the vocal format. This interest extended to folk music, especially after her marriage to the officer and amateur musician Vladimir Feofilaktovich Zheleznov in 1893 (*Finlands adelskalender* 1897, 26). Zheleznov's family background was in the Ural region, and the couple combined their musical interests in collecting and editing a volume of Cossack songs together (Rukopolev 1993, 70).

Zheleznova-Armfelt was firmly rooted in her hometown of Saint Petersburg, even during times of social unrest and financial difficulty.

---

7 The term melodeclamation, also sometimes called melorecitation, refers here to a piece that combines reciting texts with musical—typically piano—accompaniment. This format seems to have been especially popular among Finnish women composers (see, e.g., Koivisto 2021).

She refused to emigrate abroad, even after losing her ex-husband and all her sons in the bloody civil war of 1918–1922, and even when her friends and colleagues, such as the composer Alexander Glazunov, emphatically advised her to do so.[8] Life under the Bolshevik regime was not easy for an ex-countess, who had lost all her economic and social capital. For the remainder of her life, Zheleznova-Armfelt supported herself and her daughters as an accompanist for silent movies as well as a children's music teacher. According to her grandson, however, she never stopped composing, even during difficult circumstances (Rukopolev 1993, 72–75).

In summary, Zheleznova-Armfelt's relationship with cultural institutions remarkably changed during her lifetime. The start of her career was characterized by avid networking within the music publishing industry, the salons and the intelligentsia. Interestingly, this networking was markedly oriented towards Russian institutions and Russian culture. It seems that Zheleznova-Armfelt's work was not known or publicly recognized the Grand Duchy of Finland, where a nationalist take on music-making was gaining popularity. Radical changes in society brought by the October revolution, in turn, led to Zheleznova-Armfelt's marginalization in public cultural life, and she had to earn her living by turning to different types of cultural institutions, such as the silent movie theater.

Laura Netzel (1839–1927): Workers' Concerts and Parisian Influences

Laura Netzel's career, in turn, forms a slightly different example of an aristocratic woman composer's work in late nineteenth-century Sweden (on Netzel's career and social class, see also Powers 2012). Historiographically, she is probably the best-known figure out of the four people examined in this article, as her compositions have gained significant popularity both in Sweden and in Finland during the last

8 The Zheleznovs had divorced in 1912 (*Finlands adelskalender* 1917, 36–37).

couple of years. It should also be noted that she belongs to a slightly earlier generation compared to the other three musicians. However, there are interesting similarities and points of comparison between Netzel and Zheleznova-Armfelt. Both belonged to Finnish aristocracy but forged their careers outside the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Laura Netzel was born to the Pistolekors family of nobility in 1839 in Rantasalmi, Eastern Finland (HISKI database of Finnish church books, http://hiski.genealogia.fi/, used on 25 November 2020). Tragically, her mother died in childbirth, and the family relocated to Stockholm, when Laura was still an infant. Although she never moved back to Finland, Netzel remained proud of her Finnish ancestry and its achievements in the thirty-year war throughout her life (Tobeck 2015; *Finland* 25 May 1887; Genealogical documents relating to the Pistolekors family, Biographica Collections, Uppsala University Library).

Figure 2. Laura Netzel née Pistolekors, composer and pianist, painted by Maria Röhl. Source: Nationalmuseum, Sweden.

From an early age, Laura Netzel showed considerable interest in music, which her family encouraged. Thus, Netzel became not only an eager concert- and opera-goer, but she also studied piano and singing privately with renowned teachers such as Julius Günther. Her public debut as a pianist occurred as she was only eighteen years old. However, her marriage with Doctor Wilhelm Netzel in 1866 put an end to her career as a publicly performing pianist, as was often the case in late nineteenth-century Europe (*Idun* 4/1891, p. 25–26; Hambro 2014; Öhrström 1987, 218; Tobeck 2015).

Although Netzel had been drawn to composition in her childhood, her career as a composer did not kick off until the 1870s. During the later decades of the nineteenth century, she started more specialized studies in composition and music theory with Wilhelm Heintze and started publishing her work (Hambro 2014; Tobeck 2015). As a mother and a married woman, she was somewhat of an exception among the other women composers of the era. The gendered norms for middle- and upper-class women were still strict, and many of Netzel's colleagues either remained unmarried or abandoned a public career in music after marriage (see, e.g., Välimäki and Koivisto 2019). Similarly to the case of Zheleznova-Armfelt, the support of Netzel's husband was apparently a key factor in this respect (Tobeck 2015).

In the early 1890s, Laura Netzel started regular stays in Paris, where she took composition lessons from the renowned organist and composer Charles-Marie Widor. This marked the launch of her international career, which took off in France, Germany and other parts of Europe at the turn of the century. Not only was her music played in Parisian and Swedish salons, but it was appreciated and performed, for example, in Romania and Belgium (for further information on the composer's international career, see Laura Netzel's memory album and scrapbook 1891–1911, Hdskr. 4, Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library). As a whole, Netzel's body of work is versatile—she composed orchestral and chamber music, choral pieces, songs, and character pieces for solo instruments. Netzel continued her musical career until the late 1910s and 1920s, when she gradually retired from public life (on Netzel's works and their reception, see Laura Netzel's scrapbook

1891–1911, Hdskr. 4, Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library; Hambro 2014).

In addition to her work as a composer, Netzel organized concerts for the working classes and even conducted her own choral music (Hambro 2014; Öhrström 1987, 155–156; Concert programme for 16 February 1899, Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library). She was also socially active and helped organize charity fundraisers for, e.g., the foundation of a children's hospital and the Skansen open-air museum in Stockholm ("Husmoderns porträtt—En åttiofemoåring", 1924; "Laura Netzel (Lago) 80 år," *Aftonbladet* 1919, newspaper clippings, Biographica Collections, Uppsala University Library). Due to her solid networks both in Sweden and abroad, she was able to secure first-rate musicians for her events and concerts (see, e.g., Concert programme for 16 February 1899, Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library). As an aristocratic woman and because of her husband's profession, Netzel was also relatively close to the royal family of Sweden and was a welcome guest at the king's private musical soirées. She even set some of his verses to music in her *Adaptation symphonique* (op. 77), which he favorably received (see, e.g., Oscar II to Laura Netzel, Stockholm 3 October 1902, Uppsala University Library).

Although Netzel had to balance between private and public musical institutions, such as the artistic salon, the conservatoire and the public concert, she was able to gain considerable foothold and international recognition in European musical life. Her networks both within intellectual and cultural as well as aristocratic circles created significant social capital and made it possible for her to exert her musical talent on many levels in different cultural institutions—first, as a performing artist, and later as a composer, conductor, and concert organizer. In her work for cultural and musical events, she was also able to combine the traditional expectations of charitable work required from upper-class women with her profound expertise in music. However, her career did not remain untouched by gendered prejudice—especially during her early career, she published her works under the androgynous pseudonym "N. Lago" (see Hambro 2014; *Idun* 4/1891, p. 26).

Conclusion

As we have seen, the four women studied in this article had to apply various professional strategies in order to access a variety of cultural institutions. These strategies, in turn, were affected by the musicians' socioeconomic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. There are some overlaps, of course, especially concerning Laura Netzel and Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt, both of whom belonged to the aristocracy.

It should be emphasized that although, for example, Netzel's work was appreciated already during her lifetime, none of the four musicians had official, state-subsidized professional positions or posts. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society, they were considered as mothers, wives or working women first and foremost. This meant that they had to forge their careers from a marginalized perspective by default and that they subsequently ended up excluded from the canon of "classical music."

Originally from relatively modest social conditions, the Sahlman sisters were able to attend a conservatory but had to earn their daily bread by music-making. Since it was not possible for a woman to get a permanent position in a symphony orchestra, Fredja and Miriam Sahlman turned to the cultural institution of the restaurant or salon orchestra. Zheleznova-Armfelt and Netzel, in turn, were able to use their aristocratic social status to access important educational and professional institutions, such as the musical salon, music publishing as well as musical and philanthropic societies. It is also noteworthy that Fredja Sahlman, Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt, and Laura Netzel continued their public careers even after their marriages, thus challenging the prevalent gendered prejudices of the era.

All the four women created cosmopolitan careers and mostly worked outside the borders of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Travelling was a key element in their musical work: Zheleznova-Armfelt headed to the Ural region, Netzel to Paris and the Sahlman sisters toured in Scandinavia as well as Central Europe. This goes to show both the transnational and transcultural character of different musical institutions and networks during the nineteenth century as well as the possibilities they offered women musicians and composers.

In fact, it could be argued that transnational networks offered women musicians an important way for gaining access to the male-dominated cultural institutions of late nineteenth-century Europe. Indeed, based on the findings of other researchers, such as Annkatrin Babbe (2017) in Germany and Eva Öhrström (1987) in Sweden, it seems that these transnational strategies were by no means unique to the women musicians examined here but reflected more widespread practices within European musical cultures during the late nineteenth century. For this reason, the relationship between the development of musical institutions, women's work in music, and transcultural exchanges is a key theme that should be developed in future research, as it would certainly offer fruitful new perspectives for both feminist musicologists and nineteenth-century music historians.

List of References

Archival Sources

Amsterdam City Archives (Stadsarchief Amsterdam), Amsterdam. Archival cards (Archiefkaarten)1939–1994, 30208/1777.

Amsterdam City Archives (Stadsarchief Amsterdam), Amsterdam. Registers of foreigners (Vreemdelingenregisters)1849–1922, 5225/933 & 5225/939.

Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library (Stockholms Musik- och Teaterbibliotek). Documents on Laura Netzel. Laura Netzel's memory album and scrapbook 1891–1911, Hdskr. 4.

Stockholm's Music and Theatre Library (Stockholms Musik- och Teaterbibliotek). Documents on Laura Netzel. Concert programme for 16 February 1899.

The National Archives of Finland. Archives of the Helsinki District Court. Bankruptcy records, Efa:172/52.

The National Archives of Finland. Archives of the Helsinki District Court. Bertha Sahlman's inheritance records, Ec:585 & B3 227/3.

The National Archives of Finland. Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department. Lists of Helsinki-based Jews 1877–1905, Bk:1.

The National Archives of Finland. Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department. Lists of residence permits for Russian citizens, Baa:12.

The National Archives of Finland. I Archive of the central detective police (EK-Valpo). Miriam Sahlman's personal records, 10201.

The National Archives of Finland. Inhabitant records of the Uusimaa region 1902, U:189.

Archive of the University of the Arts Helsinki. Student registers of the Helsinki Music Institute, 5/3 & 5/4.

The Sibelius Museum Archive. Granberg, Jan: “Vem var grevinnan Alexandrine Armfelt?,” *Hufvudstadsbladet* 29 March 2015 (newspaper clipping).

The Uppsala University Library (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek). Biographica collections. Genealogical documents relating to the Pistolekors family & newspaper clippings on Laura Netzel.

The Uppsala University Library (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek). Laura Netzel’s correspondence.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Algemeen Handelsblad 1934

Der Artist 1899

Falukuriren 1901

Finland 1887

Finlands Allmänna Tidning 1888

Hufvudstadsbladet 1899, 1902

Idun 1891

Nya Pressen 1888, 1894

Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant 1962

Päivälehti 1893

Svenska Dagbladet 1907

Östra Finland 1897

Other Printed Sources

Adressbok och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors 1908

Finlands adelskalender 1890, 1897, 1900, 1906, 1912, 1917, 1923, 1926, 1929, 193

Internet Sources

HISKI database of Finnish church books <http://hiski.genealogia.fi/> Accessed on 25 November 2020.

Tobeck, Christina. 2015. “Laura Netzel född Pistolekors.” 4-part radio series, P2, Sveriges radio. <https://sverigesradio.se/avsnitt/496194> Accessed on 28 November 2020.

Bibliography

Babbe, Annkatrin. 2017. “Von Ort zu Ort: Reisenden Damenkapellen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.” In *Populares und Popularität in der Musik, XLII Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 6. bis 8. Mai 2016*, edited by Christina Philipsen and Ute Omonsky, 303–317. Michaelstein: Augsburg & Blankenburg.

Bagge, Maren. 2018. "'am besten, wie Sie sehn, tut uns die Pfeife stehn:' Werbung und Inszenierungsstrategien von Damenensembles um 1900 auf Postkarten." In *Wege: Festschrift für Susanne Rode-Breymann*, edited by Annette Kreutziger-Herr et al., 5–29. Hildesheim: Georg Olms 2018.

Björkstrand, Carita. 1999. *Kvinnans ställning i det finländska musiksamhället: utbildningsmöjligheter och yrkesvillkor för kvinnliga organister, musikpedagoger och solister 1890–1939.* PhD diss., Åbo Akademi.

Citron, Marcia J. 2000 [1993]. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Dahlström, Fabian. 1982. *Sibelius-Akatemia 1882–1982*. Helsinki: Sibelius Academy.

Ege, Samantha. 2018. "Florence Price and the politics of her existence." *The Kapralova Society Journal* 16 (1): 1–10.

Ege, Samantha. 2020. "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship." *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 24: 7–27.

Ekholm, Laura. 2013. *Boundaries of an Urban Minority: The Helsinki Jewish Community from the End of Imperial Russia until the 1970s.* PhD diss., University of Helsinki.

Ekholm, Laura et al. 2006. *Lechaim! kuvia Suomen juutalaisten historiasta*. Helsinki: Helsinki Jewish Congregation.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 2007. *Juusto ja madot: 1500-luvun myllärin maailmankuva.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Hambro, Camilla. 2014. Laura Netzel, *Levande musikarv (Swedish Musical Heritage)*. <https://levandemusikarv.se/composers/netzel-laura/> Accessed 5 November 2020.

Hirn, Sven. 1999. *Populärmusikens pionjärer: en studie i den populära musikens kulturhistoria i Finland fram till 1917*. Vasa: Finlands svenska folkmusikinstitut 1999.

Hüsken, Renate. 2005. *Ella Adaïewsky (1846–1926): Pianistin, Komponistin, Musikwissenschaftlerin*. Köln: Dorn.

Ivanova, S. V. 2010. "Русские женщини-композиторы XIX века." *Известия Самарского научного центра Российской академии наук* 12/5 (2): 563–566.

Kaufmann, Dorothea. 1997. *"...routinierte Trommlerin gesucht." Musikerin in einer Damenkapelle zum Bild eines vergessenen Frauenberufes aus der Kaiserzeit*. Karben: CODA Verlag.

Keil, Ulrike B. 1998. "Von Wandermusikanten zum Damenorchester: Professionelle Damenkapellen und Frauenorchester um die Jahrhundertwende." *Das Orchester* 46 (11): 18–25.

Koivisto, Nuppu. 2019a. *Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle: naisten salonkiorkesterit ja varieteealan transnationaaliset verkostot Suomessa 1877–1916*. PhD diss., University of Helsinki.

Koivisto, Nuppu. 2019b. "A celebration of historical Finnish women who wrote music, Part 3: Laura Netzel." *Finnish Music Quarterly*, 9 August 2019. <https://fmq.fi/articles/a-celebration-of-historical-finnish-women-who-wrote-music-part-3-laura-netzel> Accessed 29 September 2020.

Koivisto, Nuppu. 2020. "A celebration of historical Finnish women who wrote music, Part 5: Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt." *Finnish Music Quarterly*, 23 January 2020. <https://fmq.fi/articles/alexandra-zheleznova-armfelt> Accessed 29 September 2020.

Koivisto, Nuppu. 2021. Sundblad-Halme, Heidi (1903–1973), in *The National Biography of Finland.* <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/10169> Accessed 9 December 2020.

Koivisto-Kaasik, Nuppu. 2022. Silberman, Fredja (1875–1934); Sahlman, Miriam (1880–1962); Silberman, Benedict (1901–1971), in The National Biography of Finland. <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/10227> Accessed 5 September 2022.

Koivisto, Nuppu and Saijaleena Rantanen. 2023 (forthcoming). "Cosmopolitan Vyborg A Lost Finnish Cultural City at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." In *Cultural Transfers and Exchanges: Popular Entertainments in Northern, East-Central and Southern Europe, 1870s–1930s*, edited by Antje Dietze and Alexander Vari.

Lelieveldt, Philomeen. 1998. *Voor en achter het voetlicht: Musici en arbeidsverhoudingen in het kunst- en amusementsbedrijf in Nederland, 1918–1940.* PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht.

McClary, Susan. 1991. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*. Minnesota & Oxford: University of Minnesota Press.

Mustakallio, Marja. 2003. *"Teen nyt paljon musiikkia:" Fanny Henselin (1805–1847) toiminta modernisoituvassa musiikkikulttuurissa.* PhD diss., Åbo Akademi.

Myers, Margaret. 1993. *Blowing Her Own Trumpet: European Ladies' Orchestras & Other Woman Musicians 1870–1950 in Sweden.* PhD diss., Göteborgs Universitet.

Neuls-Bates, Carol. 1987. "Women's Orchestras in the United States, 1925–1945." In *Women Making Music: the Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick Urbana, 349–369. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Öhrström, Eva. 1987. *Borgerliga kvinnors musicerande i 1800-talets Sverige.* PhD diss., Göteborgs universitet.

Peltonen, Matti. 1999. *Mikrohistoriasta*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Powers, Katherine. 2012. "Class, gender, accomplishment: Laura Netzel in nineteenth-century Sweden." In *Sleuthing the muse: Essays in honor of William F. Prizer*, edited by Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith, 271–284. New York: Pendragon Press.

Reich, Nancy B. 1993. "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class." In *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scolarship*, edited by Ruth Solie, 125–146. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rukopolev, Vsevolod. (ed. Öhrström, Eva.) 1993. "Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt—rysk tonsättarinna med rötter i Sverige." *Svensk Tidning för Musikforskning* 1993/1: 63–83.

Scharff, Christina. 2017. *Gender, subjectivity, and cultural work: the classical music profession*. London: Routledge.

Sevänen, Erkki. 1998. *Taide instituutiona ja järjestelmänä: modernin taide-elämän historiallis-sosiologiset mallit*. Helsinki: SKS.

Torvinen, Taimi. 1989. *Kadimah: Suomen juutalaisten historia*. Helsinki: Otava.

Välimäki, Susanna and Nuppu Koivisto. 2019. "1800-luvun perintö suomalaisessa säveltaiteessa." *Kompositio* 2019/2: 13–15.

Zemon Davis, Natalie. 1997. *Kolme naista: kolme elämää 1600-luvulla*. Helsinki: Otava.

Mediating between Music and Society: Semi-Colonial Ideology in the Early History of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra

IRENE PANG

This chapter focuses on the social and cultural aspects arising from the early history of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, which is one of the earliest orchestras in East Asia and reputedly the best of the time in the region (Jones 2001, 32). The term "orchestra" is a purely Western concept, for nothing comparable could be found before in China (Provine and Witzleben 2001).[1] The use of the term reflects the unique context in which the orchestra was born, Shanghai during its semi-colonial period in the late nineteenth century (Osterhammel 1997, 20; S. Shi 2001, 30–40).[2] The orchestra, which started as a Public Band, usually took multiple guises in its early years and served various functions in the Western community living in the foreign settlements of Shanghai since the mid-nineteenth century. To begin with, I examine the meaning of the term semi-colonialism and the social and historical background associated with nineteenth-century Shanghai. The early history of the orchestra is then placed in this context, where the ideology of semi-colonialism emerged. By comparing the similarity

---

1 Traditional Chinese instrumental music is in the form of ensemble. Some examples include *Jiangnan Sizhu* ("silk and bamboo" music from "south of the river"), *Guangdong yinyue* (Guangdong instrumental music), *Zhedong luogu* (Zhedong gong and drum music) and *Sunan chuida* (Sunan wind and percussion music).

2 Osterhammel defines the relation between the Western powers and the Chinese Manchurian government as quasi-colonial control (informal empire), while Shi used the term "semi-colonialism" to describe and explain in detail the relationship between China and the Western powers.

between the institutional structure of the Public Band and the social structure of the settlement, the band could be seen as a cultural mediation of the city's semi-colonialism. Here, the orchestra, in the form of a public band in its early years, is not only a cultural product of the semi-colonial ideology, its omnipresence in the daily lives of the foreign settlement suggests that it also served as a tool that circulated ideology in the city.

The Concept of Semi-Colonialism

The main theme of this study is semi-colonialism, the meaning of which is rooted in the terms imperialism and colonialism. According to Edward Said, imperialism is the "practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory," and colonialism is "the implanting of settlements on distant territory" as a consequence of imperialism (Said 1994, 9). Hobsbawm further explains that empires are "territories under the formal rule or informal political domination [i.e. zones of influence]," suggesting the political significance of the issue (Hobsbawm 1989, 57). Here the notion of informal empire, which is closely related to the concept of semi-colonialism, is brought to light for the current discussion.

In *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Osterhammel offers a useful classification of three different forms of colonialism based on the following power relations: 1) colonial rule, 2) quasi-colonial control and 3) non-colonial determinant influence (Osterhammel 1997, 20–21). He explains that in colonial rule, "[i]ndigenous rulers are replaced by foreign rulers" and this results in the establishment of a formal empire (Osterhammel 1997, 20). This form of colonialism can be illustrated by the control exercised by the British government over India. In the second type, quasi-colonial control, "[t]he weaker state remains intact as an independent polity with its own political system [...]. There is no colonial administration, but occasionally especially in the area of finance—a mixture of foreign and indigenous administration" (Osterhammel 1997, 20). Here, Osterhammel suggests that the formation of informal empire as a result of this quasi-colonial control is more or less an economic phenomenon: "Informal empire, unlike colonialism (formal empire), presupposes a distinct economic superiority of Big Brother" (Osterhammel 1997, 20). In the last form of colonialism, non-colonial "determinant" influence, "the economic superiority of the stronger national partner or of its private enterprise and/or its military protective function confers upon it opportunities to influence the politics of the weaker partner" (Osterhammel 1997, 21). Putting Shanghai in the above classification, we shall see that quasi-colonial control would be the most relevant to my discussion of the foreign administration of the concessions.

On the cultural facet of semi-colonialism in China, Shi Shumei provides a thorough discussion in *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937.* She uses the term "semi-colonialism," a concept that evolves from the quasi-colonial control above, to "describe the specific effects of multiple imperialist presences in China and their fragmentary colonial geography (largely confined to coastal cities) and control, as well as the resulting social and cultural formations" (S. Shi 2001, 31). She enumerates some important features of semi-colonialism in China, including the "rivalry" and "cooperation" among the foreign powers, "the multiple, layered, intensified, as well as incomplete and fragmentary nature of China's colonial structure," and "a lack of cohesion and an abundance of strife within the cultural sphere" (S. Shi 2001, 31–40). For the purpose of this chapter, the concept of semi-colonialism is borrowed from Hobsbawm's "informal political domination" and Osterhammel's "informal empire." In addition to the features described by Osterhammel and Shi above, the notion also involves the fissure (that is, inconsistency and rivalry) between the government in the home countries and the municipal government of foreign concessions in Shanghai. The emergence of the ideology in the late nineteenth-century became a critical factor that facilitated the city's development towards modernity and cosmopolitanism in the next century.

Historical and Social Background

The character of the orchestra emerged in a city where there were over 5,000 people from as many as 20 European and American countries and 300,000 Chinese in the late nineteenth century (M. Shi 2001, 114–118).[3] The earliest batch of foreign residents arrived Shanghai in 1843 after the end of the First Opium War (also First Anglo-Chinese War, 1839–1942), which was concluded by the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. Under the treaty, Shanghai and four other Chinese cities (Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Ningbo) were opened to Britain as treaty ports. In the next two decades, Shanghai witnessed the establishment and expansion of the British Concession, American Concession, French Concession, as well as the merging of American and British Concessions into the International Settlement (Figure 1).

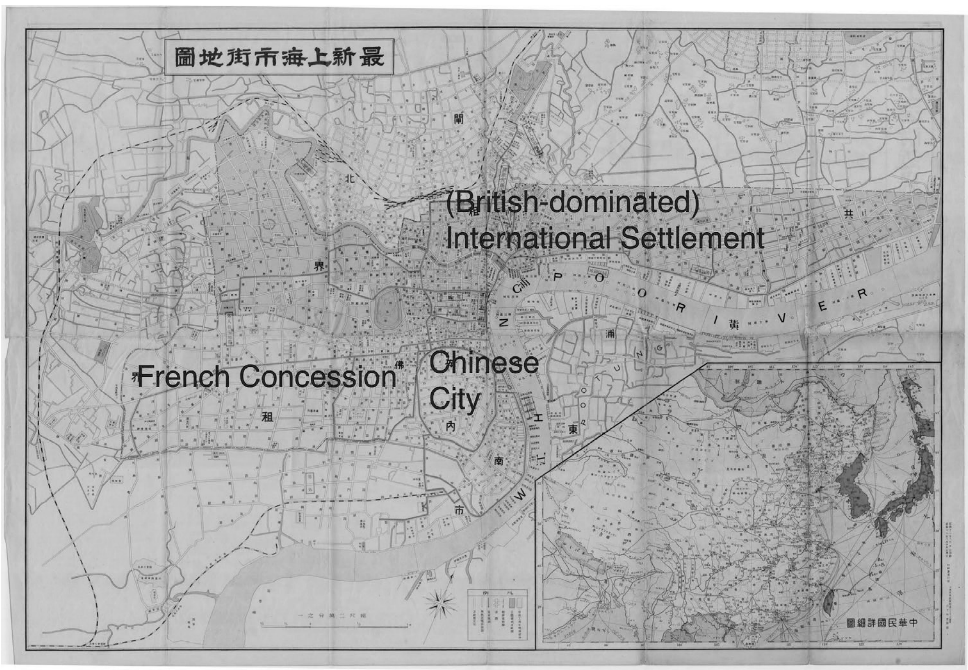


Figure 1. Map of Shanghai 1937.

Foreigners living in Shanghai assumed a special status in the city and were ruled or "protected" under the law of their own countries.

3 These figures refer to the population in the international settlement and the French Concession in 1895.

The British and French were the two dominating forces in this region, and they formed two separate councils, which were independent of the Chinese Manchurian government. The Municipal Council dominated by the British was set up in 1854 and continued until 1943, while the French Consul-General created the Municipal Administrative Council in 1862 to preserve the independence of the French Concession. The political structure in Shanghai, as we can see, meets the definition of Osterhammel's informal empire under quasi-colonial control, since the Chinese Manchurian government, although lost its control over the concessions, remained as an independent polity (Osterhammel 1997, 20). The divided foreign concessions administered by multiple Western powers (mainly British, French and American) are also the characteristics of semi-colonialism as suggested by Shi Shumei (S. Shi 2001, 31).

In the early decades of the settlement, Shanghai was not an exciting place of residence for the foreigners (Bickers 2001, 840; Sinclair 1973, 345). Leisure activities were very limited, not to mention musical ones. The favorite pastimes of the settlers in Shanghai were social clubs, sports and theater. Musical events were lacking, although music could be heard in churches or outdoor concerts given by amateurs such as the Philharmonic Society and the Amateur Wind Instrument Society (Han 1995, 147; Lang 1875, 51). If anyone wanted to hear professional performers playing, s/he had to wait for the visiting opera troupes and musicians from overseas who seldom paid regular visits to the city (Crompton 1904, 643). Hence, the establishment of an orchestra in Shanghai fulfilled the demand of the community for a professional performing group in residence.

Establishment of a Public Band in Shanghai

The history of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra is generally divided into three periods (Table 1), and discussion in this chapter focuses on its early years in 1878–1906. The orchestra was founded as a Public Band consisting of 14 Filipino musicians led by a French flutist, Jean Rémusat (1815–1880) (Bickers 2001, 842; Crompton 1904, 642; Han 1995, 149; Lang 1875, 51; *North China Daily News* [hereafter *NCDN*] 2

September 1880, 219; Shanghai Municipal Council Annual Report 1878 [hereafter SMC AR year], 6; SMC AR 1879, 110). Before the service of the Public Band, the Municipal Council maintained a Volunteers Band serving the Volunteers parades (SMC AR 1878, 6). The Public Band, which was replacing the Volunteers Band, was established with an additional function of "promot[ing] public interests" (SMC AR 1879, 111). Advertisements in a local newspaper, *North China Daily News*, show that in early 1879 the Public Band also played incidental music for the theatrical performances of the Amateur Dramatic Club of Shanghai and in other public events, such as horse races.

	Formative period	**Transitional period**	**Mature period**
Years	1878 – 1906	1907 – 1918	1919 – 1942
Names	Public Band and various names	Varied	Municipal Orchestra and Band

Table 1. History of Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1878–1942.

The band was initially funded by the private Shanghai Recreation Fund and managed by a Band Committee comprising eight members, with the chairmen of the two Councils as ex officio members (SMC AR 1879, 110–111). The Municipal Council paid an annual subscription of taels (Tls), the Chinese currency of the time, 1,000 to the band for playing in the Volunteers parades and an additional Tls. 100 for the summer open-air concerts (Darwent 1920, v–vii). In April 1878, the Band Committee announced the plan of weekly evening summer concerts in the Public Garden, with the wish of meeting the public demand: "[t]he new Band has already proved in many ways that it satisfactorily meets a want, which has been long felt in Shanghai, but the Committee believe that its value to the Community at large will be most appreciated by its performances at the Summer Concerts" (*NCDN* 2 April 1878, 389).

The semi-private Public Band Committee retired after two years, and its function was passed to a sub-committee under the Municipal

Council (SMC AR 1881, 132). The new committee consisted of two members from each of the two Councils and two to three ratepayers interested in music (Bickers 2001, 843; SMC AR 1900, 137).[4] As the management of the Public Band, it took full control over all the band matters; and submitted an annual report to the British-controlled Municipal Council, the major sponsor. The Council initially contributed over Tls. 4,000 per year and subsequently supplemented all of its deficits. In contrast, the French Municipal Administrative Council contributed a small, fixed lump sum of Tls. 1,000 and exercised limited influence (SMC AR 1881, 133).[5] The British maintained its dominance in the Band Committee through chairmanship and majority representation and assumed more power until the next few decades.

Bandmasters and Musicians

The composition of the management suggested that the Public Band was either a British or a French construct, or a mixture of both; but the identity of the bandmasters and bandsmen told us another story. During 1878–1906, the Public Band had been led by four European musicians with different nationalities, including French, Spanish, German and Italian (Table 2). Here, the nationalities of the bandmasters implied that the band neither succeeded from any single national tradition nor possessed any country-specific character. What created further confusion were the makeup and the skin color of the bandsmen.

As aforesaid, the Public Band began with 14 musicians recruited from Manila, although it was often assisted by a few European amateur players from the Amateur Wind Instrument Society. The Band

4 Ratepayers were owners of land in the International Settlement who were required to pay rates to the Chinese government for use of the land. They were mainly Westerners living in Shanghai. The rates, however, were paid to the Municipal Council without forwarding to the Chinese government. The money was used for building facilities in the settlement. Only those who paid higher rates had voting rights in the general meetings of the Municipal Council.

5 Contribution made by the French Municipal Administrative Council has been increased to Tls. 1,500 since 1886.

Years of Service	Bandmaster	Nationality
1878-1880	Rémusat, Jean	French
1881-1898	Vela, Melchior	Spanish
1899-1900	Sternberg, F.	German(?)
1901-1906	Valenza, M. A.	Italian

Table 2. Bandmasters of the Public Band, 1878–1906.

Committee announced in *North China Daily News* on 29 April 1879 that "a number of Amateurs have kindly promised their assistance, so that the orchestra will consist of about twenty-five instruments" (*NCDN* 29 April 1879, 389). The participation of the European dilettanti made the Public Band a hybrid of Filipino and European players with varied abilities. With such a multi-ethnic, semi-professional setting, the nationality and the institutional identity of the Public Band appeared to be unclear.

Similar to Rémusat, the second bandmaster, Melchior Vela, also recruited 21 Filipino musicians soon after he joined in May 1881 (Bickers 2001, 843; SMC AR 1881, 132–133). At first glance it may appear strange for the Public Band to recruit Filipino musicians. In fact, budget constraint always hindered the band from employing expensive European musicians, leaving the cheaper Asian players as the only possible option. When Rémusat searched for professional musicians in 1878, he first attempted Hong Kong and Macau but could not make a success until he visited Manila (Bickers 2001, 842; M. Shi 2001, 221). It is not surprising that the Filipinos were suitable for the job, for they had been nurtured by the Western musical culture for over 400 years when they were under Spanish rule. There was thus a general belief that they "would be familiar with European classical music" (Bickers 2001, 844). For these reasons, it became more practical for the Public Band to recruit Filipino players.

Compared with Rémusat, Vela was almost ignored in the history of the Public Band, although he had served the band for 18 years

(Bickers 2001, 843; Han 1995, 150; Liu 2009, 25; Wang 2007, 23).[6] One major contribution of Vela is that he expanded the strength of the band and turned it into an orchestra by teaching some wind players to play string instruments (Bickers 2001, 845). In the 1882 report, the bandmaster described his effort in training six musicians to play violin and his plan to train some of them to play viola and violoncello (SMC AR 1882, 102–103). He reported in the following year that the structure of an orchestra was complete (SMC AR 1883, 178). The first performance of the Public Band in the form of an orchestra was given in a Grand Concert on 3 December 1883 in Masonic Hall, where it played the works of Delibes and Rossini (*NCDN* 30 November 1883, 522).[7] With enhanced capability, the band could now be converted into an orchestra whenever necessary and engage in more private functions. Yet, its role and identity as a band/orchestra in the Western community turned out to be even more ambiguous.

Despite the endeavor of Vela, it seemed that the Public Band hardly met the expectation of the Western community. In the report of 1884, the Band Committee responded that "the Manilla [*sic*] bandsmen they have been able to import—and then only after much trouble—are not approved or highly qualified musicians, indeed in some cases have not been much superior to raw material on their arrival. To expect from a band composed solely of these men the degree of excellence in performing which the community apparently demanded, was to ask more than it was able to render [...]" (SMC AR 1884, 189). As a remedy, a Portuguese cornet player, da Costa, and Hegrat (nationality unknown) were em-

6 Bickers suggests that Vela was a Spanish musician, while the 130th anniversary album of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra purports that he was an Italian. Han missed out Vela while Wang failed to identify that Valenza worked after Vela in the Public Band.

7 In the advertisement, the Public Band was refer-ed to as "Town Band Orchestra," suggesting that the new string section also participated in the performance. Wang Zhicheng mentions that the Public Band made its debut after re-organization in Lyceum Theatre in 1883. With no further details given, it was not certain which performance he is referring to. Newspaper clippings from the *North China Daily News* show that the Public Band only gave one performance in Lyceum Theatre in 1883. That was the brass band (rather than the orchestra) playing the grand march in the comic opera *Iolanthe* (1882) by Loftus Troupe on 15 September (*NCDN* 10 September 1883, 241; 14 September 1883, 259; SMC AR 1883, 177; Wang 2007, 23).

ployed in late 1883 and February 1884 respectively (SMC AR 1884, 189). They were the first professional European players of the Public Band noted in written documents, rather than the eight European musicians joining the band in late 1906/early 1907 as discussed in many literatures (Bickers 2001, 843; Enomoto 2009, 33; Han 1995, 150–151; Wang 2007, 23).[8] While the settlers measured the Public Band against orchestras in Europe, the underlying conflicts between classes and races gradually emerged from the desire to improve the quality of the band. Here, Bourdieu's theory of culture as a marker of social distinction applies and is extended to racial difference and inequalities. As we shall see, tension between the Filipino musicians and the European bandmasters gradually grew out of the band structure and social situation of the time.

The words "import" and "raw material," and the tone of the Band Committee's report, treat the Filipino musicians as if they were goods. This reveals the general attitudes of the Western residents of Shanghai towards their "neighbors." Members of the band were often called "Manilamen," a term that appears to be negative (Enomoto 2009, 23; Wang 2007, 23). They were often poorly treated and received a lower salary when compared with their European fellows (Bickers 2001, 844; SMC AR 1883, 179; SMC AR 1884, 191, 194).[9] By the end of the nineteenth century, many of them were unwilling to stay, causing a high personnel turnover (Bickers 2001, 843). For those who continued to work in the band, they sometimes argued with the bandmaster, and the conflicts became more frequent and severe, particularly in 1899–1900.

The discipline of the Filipino musicians, as commented by the Band Committee, was always excellent until 1897, when the committee first reported that "[t]he conduct of some of the musicians has not been entirely satisfactory, and it has been found necessary in several instances

8 Both Bickers and Enomoto noticed that there had been at least a European player in the band since 1883. For the annual band committee reports, see SMC AR 1883, 176; SMC AR 1884, 189; SMC AR 1907, 109.

9 An estimate based on the total pay to musicians and head count in 1883 and 1884 shows that the average pay of Filipino musician was Tls. 194 per year, while the European were receiving Tls. 273.

to inflict fines for neglect of duty" and "[o]ne of the musicians absconded last August and has not since been heard of" (SMC AR 1897, 305). Vela even complained that he "[has] been obliged several times to deal severely with some of the musicians who, owing to their peculiar race, are very often lazy and do not pay sufficient attention to their business, given continual trouble to their Conductor" (SMC AR 1897, 307). Here, Vela associated the poor conduct of the Filipino players with their race, a disparagement towards the colonized that was common of the time. In 1899, the committee faced further challenge when the musicians "declined to renew their agreements, except under conditions it was considered impossible to accept" (SMC AR 1899, 122). Vela also experienced difficult times with the bandsmen who challenged his authority, and he eventually resigned and handed his duty to the next bandmaster (Bickers 2001, 845; SMC AR 1899, 122).

Facing the same problem as his predecessor, Sternberg still failed to maintain a good relationship with his bandsmen (Band Committee Minutes [hereafter BCM] 7 July 1899).[10] Two years later, he was replaced by Valenza, an Italian musician recruited from London (SMC AR 1900, 140; SMC AR 1901, 162). The new bandmaster expanded the repertory and the strength of the band, providing a good foundation for the future development of the Public Band into a Municipal Orchestra (SMC AR 1900, 140; SMC AR 1901, 162).

Performances

The Public Band participated in almost every part of the cultural life of the International Settlement. The performances it took part in can be classified into three main categories: 1) regular open-air and indoor concerts, 2) participation in the Volunteers (military) parades and 3) private engagements. The band was organized differently in these per-

---

10 An incident where Sternberg argued with a horn player was discussed in the minutes of the Band Committee meeting, which are now kept in the Shanghai Municipal Archive [hereafter SMA]. File number (year): U1-1-128 (1881-1900), U1-1-129 (1908-1918), U1-1-130 (1919-1935), U1-1-131 (1936-1941), U1-1-132 (1941-1942).

formances, which were held at various venues, with slightly different audiences, advertising and programming. The multipurpose Public Band, when placed in the context of semi-colonial Shanghai, reveals not only the mixed social structure of the foreign settlements, but also an ideology specific to the city.

The premiere of the Public Band was held in the Public Garden on 4 June 1879 (*NCDN* 4 June 1879, 513). Promotion for the concert first appeared as local news in *North China Daily News* on 13 May, which reported a rehearsal of the band with a few amateurs (*NCDN* 13 May 1879, 439). The free concert attracted numerous people, "including a large number of ladies and children," but probably not the English-illiterate Chinese (*NCDN* 5 June 1879, 519). This was in contrast to the "considerable number of Chinese" visiting the Flower Show, in which the band took part earlier in the year (*NCDN* 16 May 1879, 451). The programme of the band's debut included two overtures, two waltzes, two galops and a polka, mostly written by nineteenth-century composers of various

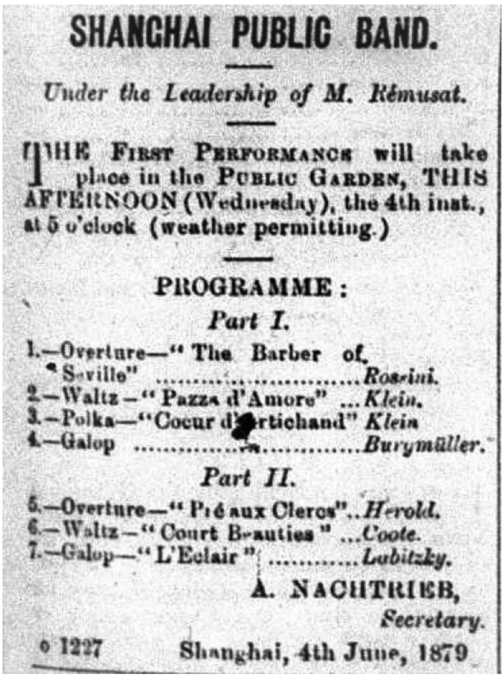


Figure 2. Advertisement of First Garden Concert, *NCDN*, 4 June 1879.

nationalities (Figure 2). It was also an example of a typical programme of the Public Band in its early decades.

In the following year, the band started to give regular concerts in the Public Garden. A total of 24 outdoor concerts were organized from early June to mid-October. Perhaps the concert schedule was quite familiar to the public; the performances were seldom advertised in the local press, such as *North China Daily News*, the most influential English newspaper of the time. Instead, the event was listed under the section "To-day's Doings" on the day of the performance. A short report on the concert was usually given in the local news column on the next day. The report rarely commented on the performance but described only the weather and the audience size. The only two open-air concerts publicized on the front page during 1880 were those held on 9 and 23 June respectively (*NCDN* 9 June 1880, 533; 23 June 1880, 581). The programmes of both concerts were quite similar, with eight pieces presented in the order of march, overture and/or dance, two excerpts from vocal genres, quadrille and galop.

When the band was handed to Vela, the number of garden concerts increased substantially, showing the band's increasing significance in the Western community. In 1884, 87 concerts were played in the Public Garden from late April to mid-November, an average of three to four concerts per week; but the annual total number of performances almost doubled after two decades (SMC AR 1904, 148).[11] The band also assisted in many outdoor activities, including the Spring and Autumn race meetings of the Race Club, the Autumn Regatta of the Rowing Club, as well as other sport matches of the Cricket Club and the Country Club, as in a provincial English town (Woodfield 2000, 59).[12]

On the promotion and programming of the outdoor performances, there had not been many changes in the three decades since Vela. The

11 There were 21 evening concerts from early July to late September and 66 afternoon concerts between late April and mid-November 1884. Total number of open-air concerts (including Volunteers parades, usually around 12 per year) in 1904 is 167.

12 In the International Settlement, there was a racecourse where regular house races were organized by the Race Club. Refer Fig. 4 for Shanghai Race Club Recreation Ground.

regular open-air concerts were listed in "To-day's Doings" section of *North China Daily News*. Other events such as race meetings, cricket matches and regattas were advertised on the front page a few days in advance, and a report on the event with the works played by the band usually appeared in the local news column on the next day after the event. A typical programme in 1883 consisted of eight pieces, which were mainly dance or dance-related genres, a few selections from opera and an overture. Evidently, it was modeled from the outdoor concerts that were popular in nineteenth-century Europe, for the bandmaster was required to cater to the tastes of the virtually all-European audience (Weber 2008, 208–231).[13] From 1885 onwards, the annual bandmaster's report enumerated the musical genres performed during the year. The genres listed in the order of popularity are waltz, opera selection and march, with a trend of reducing number of pieces played in a concert and the phasing out of polka, galop and quadrille towards the end of the century (Table 3 and Figure 3).

As to the reception of these outdoor concerts, *North China Daily News* criticized the programmes very harshly in 1883:

> The Town Band has lately been regaling us with a *pot-pourri* of worn-out old circus-tunes which are certainly unworthy of both listeners and musicians. The selection of music for some time past has [sic] very inferior, and we venture to suggest that the *repertoire* be revised (*NCDN* 2 July 1883, 3).

Vela quickly responded to the stricture by improving the performance and the programme. In a later review, the reporter showed some appreciation of his effort, although he still could not forget the poor quality of the band and the trivial tunes played in the past:

---

13 Some examples of popular concerts in Europe include the promenade concerts in London, as well as the concerts presented by Philippe Musard and Louis Jullien in Paris and London and Johann Strauss the Elder and the Younger in Vienna. The programmes of these concerts are similar to those of the Shanghai Public Band garden concerts (overture, opera medley and dance pieces). However, many of these European concerts were performed indoors.

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>1885</th><th>1887</th><th>1889</th><th>1891</th><th>1893</th><th>1895</th><th>1897</th></tr>
<tr><td>No. of concerts</td><td>*</td><td>200</td><td>218</td><td>314</td><td>307</td><td>302</td><td>350</td></tr>
<tr><td>Overture</td><td>25</td><td>32</td><td>30</td><td>35</td><td>27</td><td>45</td><td>48</td></tr>
<tr><td>Opera selection</td><td>78</td><td>72</td><td>79</td><td>84</td><td>49</td><td>97</td><td>92</td></tr>
<tr><td>Waltz</td><td>82</td><td>107</td><td>106</td><td>128</td><td>74</td><td>115</td><td>101</td></tr>
<tr><td>Polka</td><td>28</td><td>58</td><td>22</td><td rowspan="3">63</td><td rowspan="3">30</td><td rowspan="3">56</td><td rowspan="3">61</td></tr>
<tr><td>Galop</td><td>*</td><td>24</td><td>15</td></tr>
<tr><td>Quadrille</td><td>*</td><td>22</td><td>17</td></tr>
<tr><td>March</td><td>72</td><td>83</td><td>*</td><td>69</td><td>49</td><td>85</td><td>87</td></tr>
<tr><td>Others</td><td>*</td><td>59</td><td>103</td><td>45</td><td>42</td><td>66</td><td>58</td></tr>
</table>

* No data

Table 3. Number of performances by genre in selected years, 1885–1897.

The Town Band will play the following programme in the Public Recreation Ground to-day at 4.30 p.m. :—

1.—March—“ Boccaccio ” ....Suppé.
2.—Valse lente—“ Extase ” ...L. Berand.
3.—Overture—“ Tancredi ” ......Rossini.
4.—Intermezzo...“ Pendant le Bal ” ....E. Gillet.
5.—Introduzine e Siciliana “ Cavalleria Rusticana ”...Mascagni.
6.—March—“ Heil Schlaraffia” ..Schmid.

Figure 3. Programme of open-air concert, *NCDN*, 14 May 1904.

> [...] Before we drew attention to the matter, the Band had fallen into a sadly happy-go-lucky style of playing; since then we have had a better selection of music, and a certain avoidance of the old hackneyed tunes which had done duty for so long. This evening performances of the Band bid fair to become a success (*NCDN* 13 July 1883, 43).

The above are examples of the few critiques on regular outdoor concerts. Most of the reviews in the newspaper paid attention to the special indoor concerts. On 3 December 1883, the band participated in a Grand Concert in the Masonic Hall. This concert marks a milestone in the history of the Public Band, since it was not only the first indoor concert featuring the band, but also its first appearance as a "Town Band Orchestra" (*NCDN* 30 November 1883, 522). Here, the naming of the band was intriguing, and suggested the association among the designation, instrumentation and performance venue of the Public Band—while the wind band played in an outdoor area, it was reorganized into an orchestra when it performed in an indoor venue (Polk 2010).[14] The Grand Concert offered ten pieces and the orchestra contributed two, Delibes's *Scherzzettino*, pizzicato for orchestra, and Rossini's "Inflammatus" from *Stabat Mater*. This was quite a success for the band, as the *North China Daily News* gave an affirmative comment after a few days: "it [Delibes's pizzicato for orchestra] was ably performed by the Town Band under the direction of M. Vela" (*NCDN* 5 December 1883, 539).

The capability of the Public Band to switch between different forms, resulting from the bandsmen's ability to play one string and one wind instrument, gives a special character to the Public Band. The fluidity of its organizational structure not only allowed it to adapt to the various needs of the community but also unveiled its ambiguous appearance, switching among an outdoor band, an indoor orchestra and a private ensemble. The first regular indoor concert presented by the Public Band was held in the newly constructed Town Hall in December 1899, which roughly marked the beginning of the winter concert season (SMC AR 1899, 123; Enomoto 2009, 43). Although the performance venue and instrumentation changed, programmes of the indoor concerts remained about the same as the open-air performances, featuring mainly the light, popular, Western musical genres. The participation of Chinese audience in these concerts was very unlikely, since the event was primarily aimed at the Western community.

14 Here, "band" has double meaning, brass band or band of small size, while "orchestra" suggests the inclusion of strings.

Military Band and Volunteers Parades

Perhaps the only opportunity for the general Chinese populace to hear the music of the Public Band was in the Volunteers parades. Volunteers referred to the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (S. V. C.) formed in 1853 for defending the settlement (Darwent 1920, 126). It was initially composed of British and American residents and later young men of various nationalities. As mentioned earlier, the main purpose for the Municipal Council to hire the Public Band was to fulfill the needs of the Volunteers parades. During 1887–1898, the band joined the Volunteers parades on an average of nine times each year and continued to perform its duty afterwards. Notification of the event was listed under "To-day's Doings" and briefly reported in the local news column of *North China Daily News*. The report on 23 July 1880 gave a detailed account of a "moonlight parade" (*NCDN* 23 July 1880, 79). The parade started at 9:00 p.m., with hundreds of people marching out from the Bund to the racecourse, in the order of rangers, artilleries, Public Band and infantries, along the main lines of the International Settlement, until after the midnight (Figure 4).[15] The parade probably attracted a large Chinese audience when compared with the regular concerts. The music played by the band, as one could imagine, was martial music (*NCDN* 5 October 1883, 331).[16]

The Semi-Colonial Ideology

Sociology traditionally emphasizes the close association of culture and society (Crane 1994, 164). By extending this concept, the mixed identity of the Public Band can be seen as negotiating the complexity of the ideology behind the early history of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra,

---

15 The Bund is a historical landmark of Shanghai which refers to the waterfront area along the western bank of the Huangpu River in the International Settlement. Refer to Fig. 4 for the area marked in blue.

16 There was no mention in local news about the music played by the band. With reference to other Volunteers events the band participated (such as inspecting party), however, it is not difficult to imagine that the music played by them was martial music.

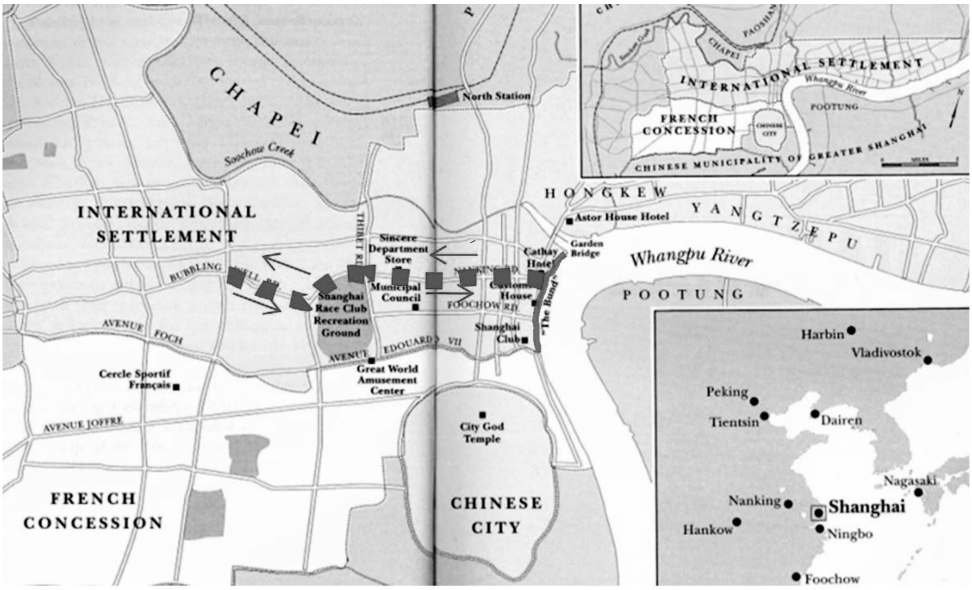


Figure 4. Route of Volunteers Parade on 22 July 1880.

which was established in this semi-colonial city. Here, I will propose several readings of the semi-colonial ideology in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, based on the activities of the orchestra constructed from the primary source of materials discussed above. This approach echoes Hobsbawm's proposition that we tend to "start with the assumption of our own time, place and situation," and "reshape the past in our own terms" (Hobsbawm 1989, 4).

As discussed, Westerners living in Shanghai had been longing for a permanent, professional music performing group to relieve their boredom. The Band Committee Report in 1906 acknowledged the value of the Public Band in providing the only "intellectual and refined pleasures" available in Shanghai (SMC AR 1906, 199). Apparently, the purpose of the Public Band could be seen as simply entertaining the settlers while they were away from home. This explains why the band was virtually omnipresent in the settlement, from the regular indoor and outdoor concerts, horse racing and other sports activities, theatrical and operatic performances, military parades, to dinners at hotels and other private functions. Similar to the churches, public gardens and buildings in European styles situated in the concession, the Public Band signifies the wish of the foreign residents to replicate their home cities in this temporary "home." The desire is ostensibly the result of homesickness, but more deeply out of the fear of being away from home and the fear of the distant land and its people. Nostalgia could also be felt from the programmes imported from Europe. Regardless of the intention of the colonists, the underlying wish to make this exotic land like the European home is conspicuous.

The ambiguity in the naming of the Public Band over the early decades reveals its positioning in Shanghai. In the nineteenth century, "Public Band" and "Town Band" were used interchangeably, both in the annual reports of the Municipal Council and local newspapers. These two designations seem to imply similar meaning—a band for the Shanghai "public" and a band for the "town" of Shanghai. Robert Bickers points out, however, that the band was a "European affectation" and questions the conception of "community" among the foreigners living in the settlements, the Shanghailanders (Bickers 2001, 846–847; Bickers 1998, 161–211). By extension, his query can be applied to the meaning behind the naming of the band. Whenever "community," "public" or "town" was referred to, the underlying thought was limited to the circle of Shanghailanders, the Chinese were always excluded. This concept became more explicit when the name "Municipal Orchestra" appeared in the *North China Daily News* in the early twentieth century (*NCDN* 19 December 1904, 1). That was the time when the Municipal Council seized direct control over the management of the band. The new designation marked the elevated status of the band and underscored its role in serving the Municipal Council, which was dominated by the British and the businessmen of other nationalities. However, the Chinese, who outnumbered the foreigners by 60 to 1, were always outside this circle.

The Public Band, as part of the semi-colonial project, probably expressed the inner voice of its patrons. Ostensibly, they could have thought of introducing Western musical culture to the Chinese out of "benevolence." The programme, which is framed by dance pieces, opera medleys and other lighter genres, not only pleased the foreign settlers but might also appeal to the Chinese. On the other hand, the Europeans might want to flaunt the superiority of their culture by creating a band of their own. Bickers doubts the participation of the natives in the music making process (Bickers 2001, 846–847). The Chinese were persistently excluded in almost every part of the Public Band's activities. They were involved neither in the management nor the personnel of the band. Advertisement of the concerts never appeared in the Chinese press until 1928 (Bickers 2001, 856). Save for the Volunteers parades, Chinese habitants of Shanghai seldom had the opportunity to listen to the performances of the Public Band, although Chinese officials or local amahs accompanying their European masters and mistresses might attend on some occasions (Bickers 2001, 847).[17] The Public Band and the European classical music, which were both unapproachable for most Chinese, signify the "status and prestige" of their participants—the colonists (Bickers 2001, 851). The accessibility to Western classical music performed by the Public Band illustrates Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, which stresses that the ability to appreciate art marks the distinctions between people with different social standings, and by extension in this case, nationalities (Webb, Schirato and Danaher 2002, 152–152, 164).

Volunteers' parades were possibly the only events where the Chinese of various social classes could hear the Public Band, for the procession marched along the busiest thoroughfare of the International Settlement and the martial music played in the streets was certainly loud enough to draw their attention. The Western music accompanying the uniformed bandsmen, together with the armed rangers, artilleries and infantries, evoked the Western military power over the Chinese. It sounded as if the Western powers were proclaiming their sovereignty over the settlements in Shanghai and celebrating their victory in the Chinese-Occidental encounter. Although a military band also symbolizes patriotism, the notion was obscure within the foreign community in Shanghai because of its very mixed demographic. For the local residents, it recalled the history of Shanghai and the

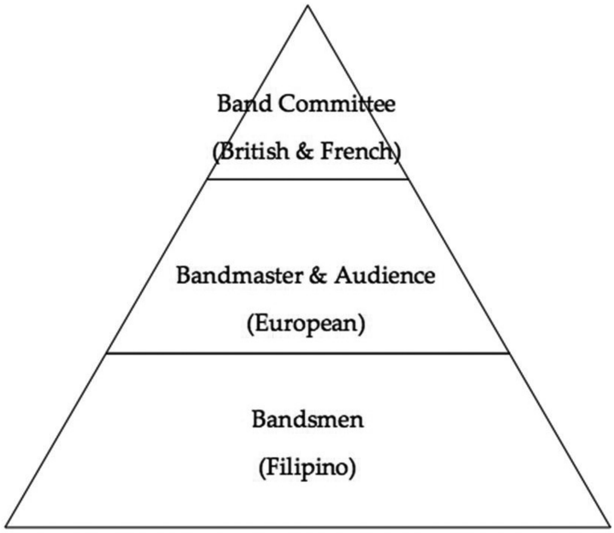
17 Amahs refer to the Chinese women employed by the foreign settler families to clean, look after children and perform other domestic tasks.

humiliation to the country and its people—the invasion of Western powers and their occupation of the city since the mid-nineteenth century. Music from the West, with the visual aid of the marching Volunteer Corps, appeared to be an invisible weapon penetrating the minds of the local people.

Although being excluded by the settler community unveils the repressed social status of the Chinese, the importing the Filipino musicians, on the contrary, suggests an advancement of their position in the hierarchy and the ambiguity of their identity. Again, this follows Bourdieu's argument on the relationship between culture and social inequalities by adding race to the discussion. In the colonial undertakings, the Filipino, like the Chinese, were the second-class citizens disparaged by the colonizers. Nonetheless, the Chinese probably perceived the Filipinos as "semi-Westerners," for the latter had already assimilated into the Western culture after a long history of Spanish rule (Bickers 2001, 844). As players in the Public Band, the Filipinos were not representing themselves but the European, joining the colonists in exerting the colonial authority over the Chinese through the Western culture. Although they were both the colonized, the Filipino musicians appeared to be socially more superior to the Chinese, who generally had no literacy regarding any European languages or Western music. The former seemed to become second-class whites in Shanghai—but they were the whites with dark skin.

From another standpoint, the organization of the Public Band could be seen as epitomizing the social structure of the city. As discussed, the Band Committee members, the bandmasters and the audience were predominantly European (the colonists), while the bandsmen were the Filipino (the colonized). The bandmaster-bandsmen relationship, when exhibited on the concert stage, could possibly be translated into a European dictator taming a group of wild Asians. In this sense, the European audience on the floor could enjoy the music at ease and feel safe from the "dangerous" natives (Figure 5). If the band could play harmoniously under a skillful bandmaster, this might also mean that the residents of various nationalities would be able to live together in concord, when they were all under the leadership of competent

Figure 5. Band / social structure.



European colonists. However, it should be noted that the Chinese (the colonized) were almost absent in all of the band's activities, as well as the settlement's social structure.

The orchestra as a representation of society can be traced back to Charles Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*, which described that "[e]veryone depends on the sovereign of the orchestra, a prince whose power is so absolute that by raising and lowering his scepter, the roll of paper that he holds in his hand, he regulates every movement of this fickle populace" (Dufresny 1699, 64, as cited in Spitzer and Zaslaw 2004, 512). Here, the prince is the conductor who possesses an absolute power and controls the members of the orchestra (populace) who are difficult to manage. Sociologists Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell explain the use of the orchestra as a metaphor for society by the similarity of the two institutions—institutional isomorphism—where different institutions in a given society tend to have similar organizational structures (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 147–160; Spitzer and Zaslaw 2004, 527). For the Shanghai Public Band, its organizational structure was introduced by the Band Committee members, who were the European businessmen administering the foreign settlements in Shanghai. When they moved from their home countries to Shanghai, they brought in their own business models and recreated the same structures for both the Municipal Council and the Public Band. As noted by Mark Clague, this organizational structure is similar to the corporate model where the orchestra formed by professional musicians is managed by a civic board of non-musicians (Clague 2012, 26–28).

An international profile also crystallized in the repertory of the Public Band, as in the band's organizational structure. Its programmes were made up of works by composers from almost all over Europe with little national emphasis, similar to those of the promenade concerts in nineteenth-century Europe. As always, the Chinese and the Filipino were silenced under this colonial construct. When F. L. Crompton reported in *The Musical Times* on the musical activities in Shanghai, he said, "[m]usic itself, the universal language, [...] is the happy medium for overcoming all obstacles and removing all difficulties" (Crompton 1904, 643). He probably forgot the underlying conflicts between parties of unequal power concealed by the deceptive harmony. According to Bourdieu, the act of claiming cultural legitimacy with the guise of a universal value constitutes a type of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu 1993, 137). The belief in the universality of Western music is not only a mere imagination of the optimistic European colonists, but a "soft" colonial strategy—cultural colonialism.

List of references

Archival sources

Band Committee Minutes 1899–1900, Shanghai Municipal Archives.

Shanghai Municipal Council Annual Reports 1878–1907, Shanghai Municipal Archives.

Newspapers

North China Daily News 1878–1904

Bibliography

Aguirre, Robert D. 2005. *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bickers, Robert. 1998. "Shanghailanders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai, 1842–1937." *Past and Present* 159 (1): 161–211.

Bickers, Robert. 2001. "The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez: The History and Politics of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Public Band, 1881–1946." In *Ershi shiji de Zhongguo yu shijie lunwen xuanji* [China and the world in the twentieth century], edited by Qixiong Zhang, 835–875. Taipei: Institute of History, Academia Sinica.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Clague, Mark. 2012. "Building the American Symphony Orchestra: The Nineteenth-century Roots of a Twenty-first-century Musical Institution." In *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Spitzer, 25–52. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Crane, Diana. (ed.) 1994. *The Sociology of Culture: Emerging Theoretical Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Crompton, F. L. 1904. "Music in Shanghai." *The Musical Times* 45: 642–643.

Darwent, C. E. 1920, 1973 (reprint). *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City*. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing (reprint).

DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality." *American Sociological Review* (48) 2: 147–160.

Dong, Stella. 2000. *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*. New York: Harper Collins.

Dyce, Charles M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870–1900*. London: Chapman & Hall.

Enomoto, Yasuko. 2009. *Xifang yinyuejia de Shanghai mong: gongbuju yuedui chuanqi* [Western Musicians' Dream of Shanghai: Story of the Municipal Orchestra]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe.

Han, Guohuang. 1995. *Shanghai gongbuju yuedui yanjiu* [Study of Shanghai Municipal Orchestra]. Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1989. *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*. New York: Vintage.

Jones, Andrew F. 2001. *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lang, Hugh. 1875. *Shanghai Considered Socially*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Liu, Xuefeng. (ed.) 2009. *Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan yibaisanshi zhounian* [130th anniversary Shanghai Symphony Orchestra]. Shanghai: Shanghai Symphony Orchestra.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. 1997. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Princeton: M. Wiener.

Polk, Keith et al. 2010. "Band (i)." In L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.grovemusic.com> Accessed 2 March 2010.

Provine, Robert C. 2001. "Musical Genres in China." In *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (Online), Vol. 7, *East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, edited by Robert C. Provine, Yosihiko Tokumaru and J. Lawrence Witzleben. New York: Routledge. <http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com/View/330896> Accessed 18 July 2010.

Said, Edward. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Random House.

Shi, Meiding. (ed.) 2001. *Shanghai zujie zhi* [Record of Shanghai settlement]. Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe.

Shi, Shumei. 2001. *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sinclair, Michael Loy. 1973. *The French Settlement of Shanghai on the Eve of the Revolution of 1911*. PhD diss., Standford University.

Spitzer, John and Neal Zaslaw. 2004. *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wang, Zhicheng. 2007. *Eqiao yinyuejia zai Shanghai* [The Russian musicians in Shanghai]. Shanghai: Shanghai Music Conservatory.

Webb, Jen, Tony Schirato and Geoff Danaher. 2002. *Understanding Bourdieu*, London: SAGE.

Weber, William. 2008. "Promenade Concerts: Rise of the 'Pop.'" In William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 208–231.

Woodfield, Ian. 2000. *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Soviet Empire, Baltic Musicological Conferences, and the Institutionalization of Alternative Knowledge

RŪTA STANEVIČIŪTĖ

Over the recent decades, historical musicologists in the USSR and the communist bloc countries have been critically revising the established approaches to the coexistence and interaction of the official doctrine and alternative discourses in the Cold War years. In the research of late Soviet art, binary oppositions such as official/unofficial and conformist/nonconformist have long been abandoned as a model formed by the totalitarian conception of the state. Such a critical view is based on the notion that the totalitarian regime is only one of many versions of the USSR's interpretation, more appropriate for examining the early historical periods of the state or for discussing the ideological origins of communist regimes. According to Zenonas Norkus, analyst of post-communist transformation, paradoxically, "the concept of totalitarianism reached the apogee of its popularity at the time of the collapse of the communist regime, when it became the 'folk sociology' of the communist and post-communist countries, a common understanding of the general public of what kind of a historical period was coming to an end"[1] (Norkus 2008, 226). He states, in that regard, that the picture of social reality in communist countries as presented by totalitarian theories refuted any alternative, including even imaginary opposition, and simultaneously "did not see any possibility for that re-

1 "Savo populiarumo apogėjų totalitarizmo koncepcija pasiekė komunistinio režimo žlugimo metais, kai ji pavirto komunistinių bei pokomunistinių šalių 'liaudies sociologija,' bendru plačiųjų masių suvokimu, kas per istorijos periodas baigiasi."

ality to be able to change from the inside in a positive direction (in the sense of liberal and democratic values)"[2] (Norkus 2008, 225).

In order to detect the driving force behind the changes in Soviet society, it is necessary to dispense with politicized Cold War images. Here it becomes important to find an approach that can reveal a less static picture of the social reality of the USSR and help to highlight the manifestations of a non-Soviet society in the Soviet system. This is one of the reasons for researchers' interest in informal networking in non-democratic societies. In communist regimes, informal cultural networking was an important pillar of cultural opposition. Although the concept of cultural resistance was different in different states of the socialist bloc, it was the anti-systemic social self-organization that ensured the cultural expression of the opposition. Scholars who systematized the legacy of anti-communist cultural opposition emphasized that:

> [...] the issue of networking was crucial to an understanding of the interactions among different actors of the cultural opposition. [...] Studies on political transition prove that the interaction between different types of actors of opposition was of central importance to the chances and modes of democratic change. [...] Personal networks were of crucial importance in the socialist social milieu. A cultural-opposition society is built around relationships among individuals, groups, and organizations expressing themselves differently in various cultural settings. The private networks overwhelmed public institutions, in part because they had more specific objectives, target groups, and communication activities. (Apor et al. 2018, 20–21.)

However, in communist regimes as well as in democracies, cultural groups are a force for social change. When discussing musical participation and experience as recourses of personal and social integration, music anthropologist Thomas Turino developed a distinction between

2 "[...] nenumato galimybės, kad ta tikrovė galėtų iš vidaus pasikeisti pozityvia (liberalių ir demokratinių vertybių prasme) kryptimi."

"cultural formation" and "cultural cohorts," "the latter being more specific interest/identity groups existing within broader cultural formations" (Turino 2008, 20). For Turino, namely the cultural cohorts have a force for social action and innovation. The concept of musical community proposed by music anthropologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay is, in part, close to the concepts of both networking and cultural groups; she said they developed in search of collectivity in musical activities and distinguished three types of musical communities:

- *Descent community*—this type of community "claims a primordial connection, whether based on historical factors or invention."
- *Dissent community*—this community is "based solidly on opposition to something. Dissent communities do generally emerge through acts of resistance against an existing collectivity; dissent communities also tend to coalesce quite rapidly, arising in response to a particular event or circumstance at a specific moment in time."
- *Affinity community*—defined largely by affinity, this type of community "emerges primarily from individual interests, quickly followed by a desire for social proximity or association with others equally enamored. Music proves to be a particularly powerful mechanism for catalyzing affinity communities, in which straightforward aesthetic and personal preferences may, but do not necessarily, intersect with other powerful diacritica such as ethnic identity, age cohort, or gender identity." (Shelemay 2011.)[3]

The classification of musical communities proposed by Shelemay undoubtedly deals with ideal types. Therefore, mixed variants or the transformation of one type of community into another are possible. The late Soviet era was particularly characterized by the intertwining of the

---

3 Accessed from Harvard's University DASH on November 16, 2017.

second- and third-type collectivities or the transformation of an affinity community into a dissent community. Researchers who have studied the origins of resistance to the Soviet regime and the political movement in Lithuania have identified the following groups undertaking anti-systemic activities, such as: underground networks for defense of human rights, members of the underground Catholic movement, artists and cultural workers, scientists, members of youth organizations for ecology and traditional culture and others. In Soviet musical cultures, similar communities were typically formed among composers and contemporary music performers or in the underground milieu, where the need to oppose the official discourse was particularly sensitive due to restrictions on public expression (cf. Schmelz 2015). However, just like in other fields, other musical workers also flocked to the field of music: that was the case of musicologist cooperation networks, which so far have seldom attracted researcher attention. Post-Soviet studies have also largely neglected transnational networking in the Soviet Union and its impact on music culture. A transnational dimension was undoubtedly characteristic of the field of Soviet musicology. In it, we can identify hierarchical relationships based on the official ideology of internationalism and developed from the centre to the periphery, while horizontal relationships formed between musicological organizations and individual musicologists either in the Soviet republics or beyond the Iron Curtain.[4]

A vivid example of such a transnational and intercultural interaction was the Baltic musicological conferences, launched in 1967 as an inter-institutional musicological research network of three Soviet republics, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which survived after the collapse of the USSR. However, as early as in the Soviet years, Baltic musicologist cooperation initiatives formed as an alternative network to the hierarchical Soviet system of musicology, based on colonial relations between the center and the periphery. The conferences were launched

---

4 For example, the horizontal relationships between Russian and Lithuanian musicologists which transformed into informal networking during late Soviet period have been analysed in an article by Gražina Daunoravičienė (Daunoravičienė 2017).

simultaneously with the formation of the national canons of music historiography in these countries. In this context, it is important to understand the significance of transnational cooperation for the development of national music historiography in the Soviet era and simultaneously to determine to what extent the network of Baltic musicologists contributed to the institutionalization of historiography, alternative to official musicology, in Soviet Lithuania. Focusing on the case of Lithuanian musicology, this article seeks to reveal how the institutionalization of alternative knowledge took place in Baltic conferences. To discuss these processes, the model of institutionalization analysis by Vicky Randall and Lars Svåsand has been applied, identifying the internal and external dimensions of institutionalization (Randall & Svåsand 2002).

Baltic Musicological Conferences: from Formal Internationalism to an Informal Network

Like most Soviet cultural cooperation initiatives of a similar character, Baltic musicological conferences were initiated as regional forums of the official culture. From the very start, science and politics were an integral part of the musicological conferences of the three Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, first launched in 1967. Officially, the first conference was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. On 26–29 September 1967, in the capital cities of the three Soviet republics—Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn—musicologists Juozas Gaudrimas, Jēkabs Vitoliņš, and Avo Hirvesoo, influential official figures, gave the same presentations, while the concert programmes consisted of symphonic and chamber compositions by Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian composers. However, even then, the organizers and participants of the conferences unofficially, in private conversations, remembered the interrupted interwar tradition of musicians' cooperation—the meetings of Baltic musicians in Kaunas in 1939 and Tallinn in 1940 that had set an example for the conferences. Latvian musicologist Arnolds Klotiņš, one of the most active members of the Baltic meetings, recalls the atmosphere of the 1967 conference:

> At our founding conference, no one mentioned those events of 1940, and few were even aware of them. But a formal curtsey to the founding of the Soviet rule ensured that our conferences could not be found guilty of what the Soviet Russian power felt biblical hatred for—namely, the cultivation of Baltic unity. By flirting with the devil, we actually again invited Beelzebub into our home, but this time—to our advantage. A paradox. (Klotiņš 2007, 98.)

The 1967 conference was the only one to be held in all capital cities of the Baltic republics. All subsequent conferences were each time organized, in turn, in the capital city of a different republic; later other cities were included as well. The musicological section of the Composers' Union of the respective republic acted as a counsel by generating ideas and then organizing and implementing the entire event. Soon the conferences became thematic, addressing the matters relevant to the musicologists of all three Baltic republics.[5]

At the same time, the most important goals in the establishment of Baltic musicological conferences were scientific exchange and professional development. As stated by Lithuanian musicologist Jūratė Burokaitė:

> In the 1960s, the Baltic musicologists who attended the plenary sessions, congresses, and seminars held for music critics by the Soviet Composers' Union, had limited opportunities to participate in discussions and voice their opinions. Secondly, a new generation of musicologists, educated at the local conservatories in Riga, Tallinn, and Vilnius, was up and coming, with their first books being published and their candidate (a Soviet equivalent for PhD) dissertations defended, establishing their careers as teachers, scholars, and critics. Observing that, their senior colleagues understood a necessity of regular meetings and closer cooperation between the

---

5 The programmes of the 1st–39th Baltic musicological conferences were published in a bilingual collection on the history and reception of the conferences. See Burokaitė 2007, 43–69, 125–154.

> nearest neighbors in order to stimulate the advancement of the music science, address the pressing issues of the day, and exchange experience as well as latest information (Burokaitė 2007, 83).

In such a way, Baltic musicological conferences very quickly transformed from official internationalism-promoting events to a milieu alternative to Moscow, the imperial center. The precondition for that was the institutional structure of musicology in the Baltic countries. In Soviet Lithuania, for example, the infrastructure of musicological research was weak and did not have a coordinating center. It consisted of merely a few institutions: the Department of Music History and the Department of Music Theory of the Lithuanian State Conservatory, folk music and music theory labs, and a modest Department of Music at the Institute of Philosophy and Art of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences. Therefore, the Division of Musicologists in the Composers' Union of the Lithuanian SSR acquired the role of a uniting and coordinating centre, simultaneously remaining beyond the field of official research and the hierarchical system of relations between the center and the periphery. It was natural that, due to that, albeit limited, autonomy, the situation of musicology as a science and the guidelines for it being updated were discussed at Baltic musicological conferences (cf. Landsbergis 1982). The desire to distance themselves from the clichés of Soviet musicology was so strong that, even in Soviet times, attendees of Baltic musicological conferences declared a need to discuss strategies for the development of national musicologies. In the mid-1980s, comprehensive overviews of the scientific contribution of Baltic conferences were published by Lithuanian Vytautas Landsbergis (Landsbergis 1988) and Estonian Mart Humal (Humal 1985). Among others, authors highlighted the following topics:

- Origins and stimuli: scientific exchange and Baltic solidarity.
- Culminations: the 5th conference (1971), the 12th–15th conferences (1978–1981).
- Thematic focus: musicological problems, national composition schools, and the new music.

- Problematic focus: the interaction of national uniqueness and cultural integrity.
- Theoretical and methodological exposures: the methodology of music historiography, theoretical national research, and comparativism.
- Scientific value: accumulation of musicological knowledge and theoretical and methodological insights.
- Cultural meaning: the discourse of liberation.

Humal believed that scientific exchange was of "great significance in the field of comparative musicology" (Humal 1985, 109), while Landsbergis was impressed by the summary of the "becoming, developing, and flourishing" of national cultures, and he was especially interested in the "historical consideration, inventory, and strategy" of national musicology as well as the integration of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian musicologies (Landsbergis 1988, 24).

To sum up the role of the Baltic musicological conferences before 1990, it should be noted that the culminations of their development, as identified by both Landsbergis and Humal, were important conceptual turning points in discarding the Sovietization of musicology. It is typical that the changes took place in the early 1970s and in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when arguments about the interpretations of musical and, more broadly, cultural heritage escalated in the USSR and new Soviet strategies of falsification of the past in the official scientific discourse surfaced (Gaudrimas 1970).

Official Music Historiography and its Critique

In her critical review of the legacy of Baltic musicological conferences from a historical perspective, Estonian musicologist Urve Lippus emphasized that, even in the 1960s, the works of musicologists from these republics differed greatly from the official Soviet musicology: "Texts written in the 1960s and later do not represent a uniform Soviet historiography, let alone Marxism." (Lippus 1999, 60.) Researchers in Soviet culture believed that the field of music, due to its specificity, had generally been less constrained than other arts or scientific disciplines. Valdemaras Klumbys in his analysis of Lithuanian politicization of culture indicated that:

> the humanities were treated differently: philosophy was particularly supervised, as well as history, while philologists were in a better position, and linguists in a still better one. In other words, the closer the science was to ideology, the more the regime was interested in it and the more rigorous control was experienced by that science. Creators in some areas of arts that did not easily yield to ideologization, and particularly musicians, found themselves in an intermediate position between the exact sciences and the humanities.[6] (Klumbys 2009, 30.)

However, it was not the references to the works of communist ideologists that allowed a person to judge the ideological supervision of musicology. In the Soviet Union, historiography was one of the most controlled areas of science. The impact of the Soviet science doctrine on music historiography manifested itself primarily through ideological schemas, defining the field of research in national cultures from the geopolitical and chronological viewpoints. It was only natural that the official discourse of the history of music in the Baltic countries was squeezed into a preferred framework for research that stretched from the mid-nineteenth century through the Soviet period, thus ignoring and severely distorting early music history and the period of independence between the first and the second world wars. Equally mandatory was the emphasis of the essential impact of Russian musical culture on national schools of composers and performers, simultaneously ranking the canon of national classical musicians in accordance with their closeness to the normative guidelines of Soviet music—links with folklore,

6 "Humanitariniai mokslai buvo traktuojami skirtingai—itin prižiūrima buvo filosofija, ne ką mažiau—istorija, kiek lengviau buvo filologams, dar lengviau—kalbininkams. Tai yra, kuo mokslas buvo arčiau ideologijos, kuo labiau rūpėjo režimui, tuo griežčiau jis buvo kontroliuojamas. Tarpinėje tarp tiksliųjų ir humanitarinių mokslų atstovų padėtyje buvo kai kurių sunkiau ideologizacijai pasiduodančių meno sričių kūrėjai, ypač muzikai."

the commitment to social progress, and stylistic models convenient for the development of Soviet music.

Sovietization of general historiography was implemented in the early post-war period, in the years of Stalinism. However, in Lithuania, the official canons of music historiography formed as early as in in the period of political liberation. In the years from 1958 to 1967, authorial and collective syntheses of the history of Lithuanian music under the title *Iš lietuvių muzikinės kultūros istorijos* (From the History of Lithuanian Music Culture) were published (Gaudrimas 1958; Gaudrimas 1964; Gaudrimas et al. 1967), followed in the 1970s by analogous authorial and collective publications in German, Russian, and English (Tauragis 1971; Tauragis 1972; Antanavičius 1978). It should be noted that similar syntheses were at the time simultaneously written in all the republics of the Soviet Union, and Lithuanian musicologists were among the first to accomplish the task (Bruveris 1969, 166). Another paradox of the Soviet Union as an imperial state was the fact that officially declared internationalism in the area of science did not promote any real cultural comparativism. Individual histories of music of the Soviet republics were modelled after a single methodological cliché, without undertaking a comparative analysis of broader processes. Therefore, the official Soviet historiographies of Lithuanian music can be identified as typical colonial narratives that aimed to justify political colonization through the involvement of peripheral cultures in the common cultural space and emphasized their cultural dependence on the centre.

In fact, as early as in the Soviet years, the official discourse of Lithuanian historiography was sharply criticized in the works of the contemporary younger-generation musicologists (Jonas Bruveris, Vytautas Landsbergis, etc.), questioning the scientific character of the aforementioned works. In his review of the syntheses published in Lithuanian, Jonas Bruveris criticized the Soviet dogma of politically and ideologically engaged music and emphasized that such a concept of music represented the so-called formalist attitudes, on which special ideological sanctions were imposed in the post-war years. Bruveris found the Stalinism-formed ideologized concept of music as unacceptable and obsolete in Soviet Lithuania of the 1960s; he set it off against the aesthetic function of music which guaranteed the "independent value of music" (Bruveris 1969, 169).

Baltic musicological conferences became a milieu for the younger generation of musicologists to form narratives on the development of national cultures as opposed to Soviet historiography. By opposing the imposed Sovietized approach to the development of national culture, Baltic musicological conferences were expanding the geopolitical and chronological research field of their national music. First, the research focused on the "rehabilitation" of the interwar period: three conferences on its critical reconsideration were held (1978, 1979 and 1989). In the late Soviet era, the historical musical heritage and the music of emigration were actualized, although in the concerts accompanying the conferences the music of émigré composers was performed as early as in the late 1960s. The geopolitical and chronological expansion of research opened up the space for comparative studies. Efforts were inspired to identify the similarities and differences in the transformation of the institutional structure of music culture and the stylistic changes in music composition, educational systems, and musicological discourses in a broader historical context than proposed by the official music historiography. The comparative perspective was particularly characteristic of the presentations of Arnolds Klotiņš, Mart Humal, Vytautas Landsbergis, and Algirdas Ambrazas, who summarized their fundamental research in the fields of music as a cultural practice and music styles. However, even in the works of these musicologists, a more universal aspect was overshadowed by the conception of the expression of nationality in music. Thus, at a conference in 1979, Vytautas Landsbergis presented a sketch of the theory of music historiography, which was formulated as a methodological tool for tracing the fundamental history of Lithuanian music from its origins (i.e., the traditional music of the Baltic tribes). The periodization of the history of Lithuanian music as proposed by Landsbergis and special attention to the period of Lithuanian history which highlighted the narrative of the political liberation of a modern nation (the mid-nineteenth through the twentieth century) proved that he continued to use ideology of cultural nationalism (Landsbergis 1982).

Another influential model of Lithuanian music historiography was developed by Algirdas Ambrazas. His version of the relationship between tradition and modern expression was dominated by an institutional framework, that is, the concept of a national school, inseparable from the concept of a national style (Ambrazas 1989). In his musicological research, Ambrazas attached great importance to the Lithuanian composers who predetermined the development of the Lithuanian national composition school, both in terms of the national music style as a sustainable set of rules to follow and an institutional network (transfer of professional composing skills and competencies). In the context of the twentieth-century music research, his concept of a national music school can be considered a unique version of the search for mainstream, accentuated by a specified conception of composers' folklorism as the prevailing trend of Lithuanian music (Daunoravičienė 2007). According to Ambrazas, the places composers occupied in the composition school were predetermined by their creative biography, professional qualifications (the dimension of modernization), and commitment to national culture (the dimension of national values). Nationality here was perceived as the denominator of the uniqueness of style, mostly based on the innovative incorporation of folklore into the universal rules of the music language, which extended and complemented the compositional procedures or musical systems discovered by composers from other countries. The cultural mission of music was ensured and consolidated by its artistic achievements, but not by additional extra-musical elements or messages.

The fundamental views and works of Ambrazas and Landsbergis were formed during the Soviet occupation. The political regime and ideological climate had undoubtedly, albeit in different ways, been an important context in defining values and developing musicological research based on those values. Ambrazas took the road of de-ideologization, trying to distance himself from the political-ideological context and remain within the framework of an artistic ideology alone, while Landsbergis used musicological discourse for the political and cultural opposition.

Internal Institutionalization of Alternative Knowledge

In his analysis of the implementation and collapse of the communist utopia, Boris Grois argued that, in the Soviet Union, the state disseminated its political power through the verbal medium: "That's why it [the communist state] invested so much effort and energy in the formation and maintenance of the official ideology, while the slightest deviation from the official language caused the deepest annoyance. The state knew it only had the language—and should it lose the control over the language, it would lose everything"[7] (Grois 2014, 14). The discourse control covered all the areas that manifested themselves in the public space, and therefore, according to Grois, the development of any alternative was primarily a discursive act. In the space of Soviet musicology, musicologists of the Baltic countries not only created a public space of scientific exchange, that is, joint continuous conferences, but also began to form an independent musicological discourse. The need for such an alternative discourse was stimulated by both political and professional factors. During the Soviet era, the relationship between musicologists of the Baltic countries and Russian and other research centers in the USSR had been changing. With the onset of the "Thaw", the forced implementation of "Moscow-centered" paradigms of research had already passed (Bumblauskas 1999, 10–11).[8] In the evaluation of Lithuanian musicology from this viewpoint, it can be seen that—just as in many other fields of Lithuanian humanities —strict subordination-based hierarchical relations were increasingly influenced by vertical ones at the institutional level, and by horizontal ones at the private level. The development of relationships as well

---

7 "Поэтому оно инвестировало так много сил и энергии в формирование и поддержание языка официальной идеологии и поэтому малейшие отклонения от этого языка вызывали у чего глубочайшее раздражение. Оно знало, что не имеет в своем распоряжении ничего кроме языка - и, если потеряет контроль над ним, то потеряет и все остальное."

8 The Soviet Thaw refers to the period from mid-1950s to mid-1960s when the political liberalization was initiated by Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

as the changed nature of scientific exchanges was important here. I will draw on a few examples from disciplines close to musicology, in which the subject under discussion was dealt with in a more detailed way and not merely factually analyzed and critically reviewed from a time perspective. Relations with the University of Tartu and Yuri Lotman School were fruitful for many Lithuanian literary studies scholars (Savukynas 1999; Zaborskaitė 2007). Historians recall the important role played by the "windows" of ideas from Warsaw and Moscow, simultaneously noting that, after the 1950s, the vertical relations and even "[...] attentive and versatile supervision from Moscow not only hindered the genesis of bolder insights, but also [...] prevented local 'caretakers' from fully caricaturing the image of the history of Lithuania"[9] (Švedas 2009, 76).

Baltic musicological conferences were open to colleagues from other republics, but the latter seldom attended them. However, the ideas developed in Soviet musicology were much more often the focus of conference presentations and discussions than the works of foreign musicologists. Therefore, we can argue that the relationship of Baltic musicologists with the centers of Soviet musicology was ambivalent, although the "invisible distinction" (Santos 2016, 20) between the imperial centre and the colonial periphery remained. For example, that kind of difference was felt in musicology when interpreting the nationality of music, a category important for both the official Soviet doctrine of music and its alternatives. The Soviet concept of musical nationalism was most clearly revealed through the definition of socialist realism in art: socialist in content and national in form. Although the model of socialist realism was based on Russian Romantic music (Frolova 1998, 340), the adaptation of that model to the music of the Soviet republics was pervaded by the imperial relationship of the centre with the national regions. Therefore, before the late 1950s, the doctrine of the USSR, which it was obligatory to follow, promoted a decorative treatment of

9 "[...] dėmesinga ir įvairiapusė priežiūra iš Maskvos ne tik stabdė drąsesnių įžvalgų genezę, bet ir [...] neleido vietiniams ‚prievaizdams' visiškai sukarikatūrinti Lietuvos istorijos vaizdinio."

the national style, which often coincided with the search for national colour. Moving away from the dogmas of official Soviet musicology, Baltic musicological conferences were deeply concerned with finding a unique solution to the issues of national uniqueness and identity. As noted by Estonian musicologist Urve Lippus:

> Discussions about the essence of national individuality of some composer and descriptions of a national style were among the favorite themes at the Baltic conferences. It is clear that many musicologists avoided going directly into ideology and aesthetics. Those fields had double censorship—official doctrine from the outside and the need to support, but not to question, national values from inside. (Lippus 1999, 58.)

As early as in the 1980s, the interest in the subject began to wane, while in the post-Soviet period, Soviet era attempts to define national identity became irrelevant and were considered to be historically limited. However, those concepts, which were undoubtedly strongly influenced by the historical and political situation, were among the most productive attempts to form alternative knowledge in the Baltic conference environment.

In order to explore the concept of Baltic music nationality, it is useful to refer to the concept of the expression of nationality in music formulated by Polish musicologist Mieczysław Tomaszewski at a similar time, which generally defined national creation as such which, first, expressed a certain society as a collective entity; secondly, united it on the basis of values; and thirdly, pulled it out of stagnation. The definitions presented by Tomaszewski were derived from Roman Jakobson's theory of the functions of language, identifying the *expressive* (identity), *phatic* (integrating), and *appellativ*e (activating) functions in the *expression of nationality*. Given those moments that expanded the most general provisions, it seemed rational to relate the definition of "national colour," promoted by the official doctrine of socialist realism, to the phenomenological aspect, supplementing the expressive function as identified by Tomaszewski, which usually manifested itself through an illustrative relationship (Tomaszewski 2000, 101–111). In the wide range of interpretations of nationality presented by speakers at Baltic musicological conferences, we shall focus on the deliberations of Vytautas Landsbergis, who had studied those topics very intensively. Landsbergis addressed the issues in the early 1970s, in response to local debates and simultaneously with emphasis placed on the need for a new, critical approach to the expression of nationality in music:

> Now in concerts we listen and discuss what can be received through combining ancient melodies or their structural cells with the most modern means of expression. We refute, congratulate, hesitate, get angry, and expect [...] Shall we evaluate the phenomenon as an effort of communication, the illusion of a 'genuine decision,' a temporary stage in our music, analogous to the already criticized romantic quote of melodies, or else? We can continue to watch what comes out. Only let's not forget that the position and function of composers are twofold—not only do they work in a given cultural environment, but also, in accordance with the power of their talent, they change it and thus create a new environment. A certain contradiction is inevitable.[10] (Landsbergis 1971/1990, 41.)

Landsbergis contrasted several dimensions of the expression of nationality in music with the universalization of the romantic approach, established in the Lithuanian cultural environment of that time; to discuss them, we shall once again use the classification of the "nationality syndrome," structured in Tomaszewski's concept. Landsbergis's attitudes and the arguments he provided at Baltic musicological conferences turn into a more general understanding of the expression of

---

10 "Dabar koncertuose klausomės ir svarstome, kas išeina, jungiant senovines melodijas ar jų struktūrines ląsteles su moderniškiausiom išraiškos priemonėm. Neigiame, sveikiname, abejojame, pykstame, tikimės [...] Vertinti šį reiškinį kaip komunikacijos pastangą, ‚tikrojo sprendimo' iliuziją, laikiną mūsų muzikos etapą, analogišką jau nupeiktam romantiniam melodijų citavimui, ar dar kitaip? Galima ir toliau pažiūrėti, kas išeis. Tik nepamirškime, kad kompozitorių padėtis ir fukcija dvilypė—jie ne vien veikia duotoje kultūrinėje aplinkoje, bet ir pagal savo talento jėgą ir patys ją keičia, kuria naują aplinką. Tam tikras prieštaravimas neišvengiamas."

nationality, characteristic of the cultural environment and simultaneously matured by the changes in Lithuanian music:

- The phenomenological aspect: a composition may represent nationality not because it seeks the "colour" representing it in various ways, but because of the close relationship with the national worldview and the cultural environment, which is made meaningful in music.
- The semiotic aspect: nationality is not necessarily ensured by recognizable (denotational) elements of music language (such as the rhythms of the polyphonic multipart songs called *sutartinės* or chord structures), but it can be revealed by musical messages that do not contain declarative references and acquire a symbolic dimension in the cultural context.
- The structural aspect: its heritage is very important for national culture, but while preserving tradition, we must not prevent innovation and openly accept new forms of expression of nationality; in the course of history, what used to be considered a foreign substance often over time turns into a typical example of national art.
- The aesthetic aspect: for the expression of nationality, it is not emphatically such elements as national themes or storylines referring to the history of the nation that are more important, but the power of talent, the persuasiveness of the artistic image, and the affectiveness of the world reproduced by music.
- The ethical aspect: the commitment to national culture does not manifest itself through conventional means, but rather unfolds through the correlation of authentic individual experience with social identities.
- The "biological" aspect: artistic isolation or avoidance of modernization do not in any way illustrate establishment in the tradition, which can also evolve through openness to the world.
- The "symbiotic" aspect: musical works composed of "local" musical material as well as invariants of "imported" stylistics can become examples of national expression; something

unassociated with national origins begins to symbolize nationality ("after all, the world is trying to create even national jazz styles")[11] (Landsbergis 1971/1990, 41).

- The functional aspect: the commitment to national culture can be "spontaneous, immanent, and can also be consciously pursued. [...] Fashion affects the outside; responsible actions (and therefore the most important part of creation) tend to reveal the essence"[12] (Landsbergis 1971/1990, 38).
- The space and time aspect: the need for more open articulation of nationality is not only an immanent pursuit of creative expression (an aesthetic dimension), but often a boost to the historical situation and the state of culture conditioned by the social and other functions of art.[13]

In his writings Landsbergis focuses on charismatic personalities, cult figures or "maverick" composers (Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, Bronius Kutavičius, Feliksas Bajoras, Osvaldas Balakauskas), who invent the tradition *ex nihilo*, or break the existing rules. Such artist always steps over the artistic context of the time, defeats the standing rules and stereotypes. Nationality here emerges as an ineffable insight into the nation's spirit, traces of which can be found in mysterious imprints—details, musical gestures, atmospheres and symbolism of musical works.[14]

The fundamental ideas substantiating the conception of Vytautas Landsbergis were the national music tradition as a project of modernization and the possibility to define national identity through the means of music. At the same time, the said conception of music nationality was

---

11 "[...] juk pasaulyje mėginama kurti net nacionalinius džiazo stilius."

12 "[...] savaiminis, imanentinis, o gali būti ir sąmoningai siekiamas. [...] Mada veikia išorę; atsakingi poelgiai (taigi ir svarbiausioji kūrybos dalis) labiau išskleidžia esmę."

13 The aspects were identified by the author of the article, based on the model of W. Tomaszewski.

14 For a comprehensive bibliography of Vytautas Landsbergis' publications from 1956 to 1996 (including over 700 positions), see Vytautas Landsbergis, *Kultūros darbai: bibliografija*. 1956–1996 [Research on Culture: Bibliography. 1956–1996]. (Vilnius, 1999).

influenced by specific political conditions and geo-cultural contexts: it was underpinned by the provision of the safety of a small culture that was inserted between large cultural areas and imperial formations. Similarly, Tomaszewski linked the safety of the expression of nationality in music composition to marginal situations and marginal localizations of culture (Tomaszewski 2000, 111).

Baltic Musicological Conferences as a Cold War Construct

In 1986, when the conferences were only gathering pace and political and cultural changes were beginning to take shape, Vytautas Landsbergis shared his reflections:

> One can speak of tangible and obvious results, such as the perception of music and diverse musical and musicological ideas generated in neighboring republics [...], the feeling of professional solidarity, and the mutual perception of a musicologist's lot in a given environment and time. Today we are happy not only about our own achievements, but also about the Latvian and Estonian ones. That is different from the way we were in the past. And, respectively, we are saddened not only by our own failures and difficulties. However, even if we look at the two recent decades self-critically and acknowledge myriads of unsolved questions, our life is dominated by moderate joy. We existed, and we were doing something. (Landsbergis 1986/2007, 96.)

One of the sharply debated and yet unresolved issues was the development of regional history and Baltic comparativism. Even though Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had often been considered as a homogeneous region, the cultural traditions and geo-cultural identifications of the three countries were different. The linguistic and religious identity differences there were complemented by different centres of cultural attraction, predetermined by political history: Germany and Northern Europe in the case of Estonia and Latvia, and Eastern and Central

Europe in the case of Lithuania. Still, the dependence on the Russian Empire in the long nineteenth century and the Soviet occupation encouraged the musicologists of the three Baltic countries to look for similarities in their cultural development during both the periods of oppression and of independence. The efforts to develop the regional history of Baltic music or to discover the dimensions of the cultural unity of music in those countries had been unsuccessful because, due to their political and cultural isolation, a scholarly breakthrough was prevented by a lack of theoretical and methodological novelty. Therefore, the approaches formed at the Baltic musicological conferences in the post-Soviet period did not become a tool for writing a de-Sovietized history of music. The initiative of the late Soviet era to institutionalize the Baltic Musicological Conferences as the Association of Baltic Musicologists and the Regional Music Research Centre also failed. At the 23rd Baltic Musicological Conference held in Kaunas in 1989, the joint declaration to found a non-governmental organization—a Baltic Musicological Association—was accepted by the representatives of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; however, the declaration was never implemented (Goštautienė 1989, 70). This was partly due to the view gaining strength in the post-Soviet period that the Baltic region was an artificial Soviet structure, a geopolitical product of the Cold War. Therefore, it did not make sense to look for the cultural unity of those countries.

After the restoration of independence of the three Baltic States in 1990, Soviet era works of musicology were often criticized for their cultural isolation and defensive position, which, in the opinion of critics, undermined the theoretical insights and methodological potential of the subject. The position of a scientific periphery and a cultural colony severely limited and distorted the development of Baltic musicology and simultaneously left traces on its postcolonial transformation. However, to evaluate the cultural significance of the Baltic conferences, the development and establishment of a transnational platform that contributed to the institutionalization of the discourse of musicology opposed to the official doctrine of Soviet music comes to the fore. The *internal institutionalization* was ensured by the systematic organization of conferences (the structural dimension) and the rearrangement of values, especially in the treatment of the expression of nationality in the music of the Baltic States (the attitudinal dimension). *External institutionalization*, meanwhile, benefited from the opportunity to shape the development of the conferences and the topics discussed at them independently of the centre as well as public recognition of transnational networking, even if it was cautiously masked as Soviet internationalism in the early days.[15]

List of References

Ambrazas, Algirdas Jonas. 1989. Юозас Груодис и формирование литовской композиторской школы [Juozas Gruodis and Formation of the Lithuanian School of Composition. Hab. PhD dissertation]. Вильнюс: Литовская Консерватория.

Antanavičius, Juozas (ed.). 1978. Из истории литовской музыки, *III. 1941–1975* [From the History of Lithuanian Music. III. 1941–1975]. Ленинград: Музыка.

Apor, Balázs, Péter Apor, Sándor Horváth and Tamás Scheibner. 2018. “Cultural Opposition: Concepts and Approaches.” In *The Handbook of COURAGE: Cultural Opposition and Its Heritage in Eastern Europe*, edited by Balázs Apor, Péter Apor and Sándor Horváth, 9–26. Budapest: Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Bruveris, Jonas. 1969. *Seniai laukta knyga* [Long Awaited Book], *Muzika ir teatras* [Music and Theatre]. Vilnius: LTSR Kompozitorių sąjunga, LTSR Teatro draugija. 166–169.

Bumblauskas, Alfredas. 1999. “Ar korektiška skaitymus, vadinamus Zenono Ivinskio vardu, skirti sovietinės istoriografijos svarstymams?” In *Lietuvos sovietinė istoriografija* [Is it Appropriate to Devote Readings named after Zenonas Ivinskis to Deliberations of Soviet Historiography? Lithuanian Soviet Historiography], edited by Alfredas Bumblauskas and Nerijus Šepetys, 10–19. Vilnius: Aidai.

Burokaitė, Jūratė. 2007. “Preface.” In *Baltijos muzikologų konferencijos. Istorija ir tradicijos. I–XXXIX Baltijos muzikologų konferencijų programos, prisiminimai, komentarai / Baltic Musicological Conferences. History and Traditions. 1st–39th Baltic Musicological Conferences. Programmes, Recollections, Reflections*, edited by Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Jūratė Burokaitė, 83–87. Vilnius: Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjunga.

Daunoravičienė, Gražina. 2017. “Muzikos teorijos diskurso atsinaujinimas vėlyvojo socializmo Lietuvoje: modernėjimo procesas ir profesinės partnerystės tinklas [The Battle for New Music in Lithuania of Late Socialism: The Process of Modernization and a Network of Intercultural Partnership].” *Lietuvos muzikologija XVIII*: 10–45.

15 For a more thorough explanation of internal and external institutionalization see Randall and Svåsand 2002.

Daunoravičienė, Gražina. 2007. "Algirdo Jono Ambrazo *Opus magnum*: Juozo Gruodžio kompozitorių mokyklos genealogijos medis [*Opus Magnum* by Algirdas Jonas Ambrazas: a Genealogical Tree of Juozas Gruodis' Composition School]." In Algirdas Ambrazas, *Muzikos tradicijos ir dabartis. Studijos, straipsniai, atsiminimai* [Musical Tradition and the Present. Studies, Articles, and Memoirs], edited by Gražina Daunoravičienė, 24–41. Vilnius: Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjunga.

Frolova-Walker, Marina. 1998. "'National in Form, Socialist in Content:' Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (2): 331–371.

Gaudrimas, Juozas. 1970. "Muzikinio palikimo vertinimo problemos [Problems of musical heritage assessment]." *Muzika ir teatras*: 62–66.

Gaudrimas, Juozas et al. 1967. *Iš lietuvių muzikinės kultūros istorijos. Tarybinė muzika 1940–1965* [From the History of Lithuanian Music Culture. Soviet Music 1940–1965]. Vilnius: Mintis.

Gaudrimas, Juozas. 1964. *Iš lietuvių muzikinės kultūros istorijos. 1917–1940* [From the History of Lithuanian Music Culture. 1917–1940]. Vilnius: Mintis.

Gaudrimas, Juozas. 1958. *Iš lietuvių muzikinės kultūros istorijos. 1861–1917* [From the History of Lithuanian Music Culture. 1917–1940]. Vilnius: Mintis.

Goštautienė, Rūta. 1989. XXIII Pabaltijo muzikologų konferencija [The 23rd Baltic Musicological Conference], *Krantai* 12: 70.

Grois, Boris. 2014. Коммунистический постскриптум [The Communist Postscript]. Москва: Ад Маргинем Пресс.

Humal, Mart. 2007. "The Idea of the Baltic Musicological Association." In *Baltijos muzikologų konferencijos. Istorija ir tradicijos. I–XXXIX Baltijos muzikologų konferencijų programos, prisiminimai, komentarai / Baltic Musicological Conferences. History and Traditions. 1st–39th Baltic Musicological Conferences. Programmes, Recollections, Reflections*, edited by Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Jūratė Burokaitė, 105–110. Vilnius: Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjunga.

Humalas, Martas. [Humal, Mart.] 1985. "Bendradarbiavimo vaisiai [Results of Collaboration]." In *Muzika 5*, edited by Jūratė Burokaitė, 107–109. Vilnius: Vaga.

Klotiņš, Arnolds. 2007. "Forty Years After..." In *Baltijos muzikologų konferencijos. Istorija ir tradicijos. I–XXXIX Baltijos muzikologų konferencijų programos, prisiminimai, komentarai / Baltic Musicological Conferences. History and Traditions. 1st–39th Baltic Musicological Conferences. Programmes, Recollections, Reflections*, edited by Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Jūratė Burokaitė, 97–99. Vilnius: Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjunga.

Klumbys, Valdemaras. 2009. *Lietuvos kultūrinio elito elgsenos modeliai sovietmečiu*. Daktaro disertacija [Behaviour Models of the Lithuanian Cultural Elite in the Soviet Times: PhD dissertation]. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. 2007. "Twenty Years After... [reprint from 1986]." In *Baltijos muzikologų konferencijos. Istorija ir tradicijos. I–XXXIX Baltijos muzikologų konferencijų programos, prisiminimai, komentarai / Baltic Musicological Conferences. History and Traditions. 1st–39th Baltic Musicological Conferences. Programmes, Recollections, Reflections*, edited by Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Jūratė Burokaitė, 96. Vilnius: Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjunga.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. 1999. *Kultūros darbai: bibliografija. 1956–1996* [Research on Culture: Bibliography. 1956–1996]. Vilnius: Vaga.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. 1988. "Dvidešimties metų baras. Mintys po 20-osios Pabaltijo muzikologų konferencijos [A Field of Twenty Years. Reflections after the 20th Baltic Musicological Conference]." In *Muzika 8*, edited by Jūratė Gudaitė, 23–26. Vilnius: Vaga.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. 1982. “Основные этапы развития литовской музыкальной культуры (возможности периодизации) [The Main Stages in the Development of Lithuanian Music Culture (Possibilities of Periodization].” In *Прибалтийский музыковедческий сборник I* [Baltic Musicological Collection], edited by Adeodatas Tauragis, 117–134. Vilnius: Vaga.

Landsbergis, Vytautas. [1971] 1990. “Muzikos tautiškumo klausimu [On the Issue of Nationality in Music].” In idem, *Geresnės muzikos troškimas* [The Desire for Better Music], 38–42. Vilnius: Vaga.

Lippus, Urve. 1999. “Baltic Music History Writing: Problems and Perspectives.” *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1): 50–60.

Norkus, Zenonas. 2008. *Kokia demokratija, koks kapitalizmas? Pokomunistinė transformacija Lietuvoje lyginamosios istorinės sociologijos požiūriu*. [What Kind of Democracy, What Kind of Capitalism? Post-Communist Transformation in Lithuania from the Viewpoint of Historical Sociology]. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.

Ramonaitė, Ainė et al. 2015. *Nematoma sovietmečio visuomenė* [Invisible Soviet Society]. Vilnius: Naujasis židinys-Aidai.

Randall, Vicky and Lars Svåsand 2002. “Party Institutionalization and the New Democracies.” *Party Politics* 8 (1): 5–29.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2016. “Epistemologies of the South and the future.” *From the European South* 1: 17–29.

Savukynas, Bronys. 1999. “Lietuvių kalbotyra sovietmečiu.” In *Lietuvos sovietinė istoriografija* [Lithuanian Linguistics in the Soviet Era. Soviet Lithuanian Historiography], edited by Alfredas Bumblauskas and Nerijus Šepetys, 241–248. Vilnius: Aidai.

Schmelz, Peter J. 2015. “Intimate Histories of the Musical Cold War: Fred Prieberg and Igor Blazhkov’s Unofficial Diplomacy.” In *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 189–225. New York: Berghahn.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. 2011. “Musical communities: rethinking the collective in music.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2): 349–390. <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:8810547> Accessed 6 January 2022.

Švedas, Aurimas. 2009. *Matricos nelaisvėje. Sovietmečio lietuvių istoriografija 1944–1985* [In the Captivity of the Matrix. Soviet Lithuanian Historiography, 1944–1985]. Vilnius: Aidai.

Tomaszewski, Mieczysław. 2000. *Interpretacja integralna dzieła muzycznego. Rekonesans*. Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna.

Turino, Thomas. 2008. *Music as Social Life. The Politics of Participation*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Zaborskaitė, Vanda. 2007. “Išbandyti, iki kur galima eiti.” Vanda Zaborskaitė atsako į Aurimo Švedo klausimus [“To Check How Far You Can Go.” Vanda Zaborskaitė Answers to Aurimas Švedas’ Questions]. *Naujas židinys-Aidai* 3: 93–103.

Authors

Ardian Ahmedaja is a Senior Researcher at the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology (IVE) at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (MDW), Austria. He was born in Tiranë, Albania and first studied composition and theory of music and later European ethnology and musicology. In 2003, he initiated the establishment of the Research Centre for European Multipart Music at the IVE (https://www.msw.ac.at/ive/emm/), of which he is responsible. He is the ICTM liaison officer for Albania and Chairperson of the Study Group on Multipart Music of the International Council for Traditional Music. His further research areas include local musical practices in southeastern Europe, *maqam*, religious and secular musical practice, music and minorities, transcription and analysis, as well as theory and paradigms in ethnomusicology. He has conducted fieldwork in several Balkan and Mediterranean countries, in the European Alpine region, in Belarus, Latvia, and in the USA. His two recent publications are the edited volumes *Shaping Sounds and Values. Multipart Music as a Means of Social and Cultural Interaction* (2021, Riga: Musica Baltica) and *Playing Multipart Music. Solo and Ensemble Traditions in Europe. European Voices IV.* Musik Traditionen/Music Traditions, Band 2 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2022; co-edited with Ulrich Morgenstern).

Brandon Farnsworth is a Canadian curator and postdoctoral researcher at the Division of Musicology at Lund University, Sweden. After studying at the Zurich University of the Arts, he completed his PhD in historical musicology at the Hochschule für Musik Dresden with the publication *Curating Contemporary Music Festivals* (2020, Transcript). His current research focuses on how diversity and inclusion policies are being translated into practice at Norwegian experimental music festivals. As a curator, Brandon has worked on a range of curatorial and academic projects with Ultima Festival Oslo, Montreal New Musics Festival, Sonic Matter Zurich, and the Berliner Gesellschaft für Neue Musik.

Sarah Kirby is a research fellow at the Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne. She is a recent doctoral graduate of the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, where her PhD research explored music at international exhibitions in the British Empire through the 1880s. She has published on Australian and British music history, music and museum studies, women in music, empire, and cosmopolitanism. Her first monograph, *Exhibitions, Music and the British Empire* is out now with Boydell & Brewer. She teaches music history at both the University of Melbourne and the University of New England and is currently associate editor of *Musicology Australia*. She is also the 2022 Nancy Keesing Fellow at the State Library of New South Wales, with a project on the Sydney branch of the British and International Music Society and inter-war internationalism.

Nuppu Koivisto-Kaasik is currently employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of the Arts Helsinki. Her research project, which focuses on historical women piano teachers in Finland and Estonia, is funded by the Academy of Finland (2022–2025). Ever since defending her doctoral thesis on itinerant ladies' orchestras at the University of Helsinki in 2019, Koivisto-Kaasik has been working on historical Finnish women composers (project led by Professor Susanna Välimäki) as well as women restaurant musicians. Koivisto-Kaasik's research interests include, but are not limited to, gender studies in the history of music, the long nineteenth century, new imperial histories, and musical life in Northeastern Europe.

Daniel Moro Vallina holds a PhD in musicology from the University of Oviedo and a degree in piano from the Conservatorio Superior de Música de Asturias. His thesis on the Basque composer Carmelo Bernaola received both the Extraordinary Doctorate Award from the University of Oviedo and the Orfeón Donostiarra-UPV Award from the University of the Basque Country. His publications include two books on Carmelo Bernaola (Bilbao, 2019) and Miguel Ángel Coria (Madrid, 2022, forthcoming), as well as several papers published in musicological journals such as *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, *Perspectives of New Music*, *Revista Musical Chilena*, *Anuario Musical* or *Musica Hodie*. He has carried out research stays at the University of Bologna (2012), the Paul Sacher Foundation (2018), and the Spanish Academy in Rome (2022), financed by different organizations such as the Spanish Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. He taught at the International University of La Rioja between 2015 and 2020, and currently works as a lecturer in the Department of Art History and Musicology at the University of Oviedo. He is also director of a collection on critical music editions ("Ediciones críticas") for the publisher Libargo (Granada).

Irene Pang obtained her PhD in Musicology at The University of Hong Kong. Her dissertation, *Reflecting Musically: The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra as a Semi-colonial Construct*, examines the history of the first Western orchestra established in China, with an emphasis on its relationship with the historical and social context of semi-colonial Shanghai. She presented different parts of the project at various international conferences in the UK, the Netherlands, Taiwan, New Zealand, and Finland. She is a contributor to the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Brass Instruments* (2019), in which she introduces the historical development of brass instruments in China.

Mark E. Perry serves as Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology and Historical Musicology at Oklahoma State University. In addition, he serves as the Director of OSU's music industry program. He holds a PhD in music from the University of Kansas, and his dissertation explores Catalan nationalism in relation to the early works of Roberto Gerhard. His scholarly interests include the music of Spain, the composers Roberto Gerhard, Lejaren Hiller, and John Cage, as well as minimalism in music and electronic dance music. He has contributed to the *Roberto Gerhard Companion* (Ashgate, 2013) and written many articles for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Grove Music Online*, and *Grove Dictionary of American Music*. He has also made contributions to *American Music*, *World of Music*, *Journal of the Society for American Music*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *MLA Notes*, and *Fontes*

Artis Musicae. From 2010 to 2013, he served as the recording review editor for *American Music*. Under the moniker thund3rbunny, he deejays and produces Electronic Dance Music (E.D.M.) He owns and operates the record label Bunnyhous3 Records.

Saijaleena Rantanen works as a Professor at the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki. She is a music historian, and her research interests lie in the social, political, and cultural history of music. She is particularly interested in people and phenomena that have been marginalized in history. Her research interests include migration, labour history, and the role of women as musical and cultural influencers. In her current research project, she deepens her immigration study on the music culture of the "Red Finns" in North America and Soviet Karelia from the late 19th century until the late 1930s.

Derek B. Scott is Professor Emeritus at the University of Leeds. His research field is music and cultural history. His books include *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (2008) and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology* (2009). As the General Editor of Ashgate's Popular and Folk Music Series from 2000 to 2016, he oversaw the publication of more than 140 titles. The research for his most recent book, *German Operetta on Broadway and in New York, 1900–1940* (2019), was funded by a five-year advanced grant from the European Research Council. His musical compositions for orchestra have been recorded by Paul Mann and the Liepāja Symphony Orchestra on the *Toccata Classics* label and include a concerto for Highland Bagpipe. He has also worked professionally as a singer, pianist, and presenter on radio and TV, and in concert hall and theatre.

Rūta Stanevičiūtė is Professor of Musicology and Director of the research center at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Vilnius. Her field of interest are modernism and nationalism in 20th- and 21st-century music, philosophical and cultural issues in the analysis of contemporary music, music and politics, and the studies of music reception. She has conducted research at the universities of Warsaw University, Cambridge University, King's College London, Berlin University of Arts, CUNY, Paul Sacher Stiftung, and International Music Institute Darmstadt, among others. She is the author of a book on the ISCM and modernization of Lithuanian music (2015), co-author of books on the internationalization of Lithuanian music and the Cold War (2018), a book on microtonal music in Central and Eastern Europe (2020), as well as one on (trans)avant-garde movement in Lithuanian music (2021). She has also edited and co-edited 12 collections of articles on 20th- and 21st-century musical culture and music philosophy. In 2005–2010, she served as Chair of the Musicological Section of the Lithuanian Composers' Union. Since 2020, she has been the chief editor of the international scholarly journal *Lithuanian Musicology*. In 2020, she was awarded the National Prize of Lithuania.

Melanie Strumbl holds a PhD in Musicology and a master's degree in Gender Studies. She wrote her dissertation on the exhibiting practices at the International Exhibition of Music and Drama held in Vienna in 1892 as a part of the SNF-project "The Emergence of 20th-century Experience" coordinated by the University of Bern. Her guiding research questions were how music history was exhibited and how Guido Adler's musico-historical model was realized in the exhibition. She was also a member of the Graduate School of the Arts and Humanities at the University of Bern, where she engaged in the program Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies. Currently, she is developing a research project which explores the correlations between music, self-help apps, and neoliberal capitalism from the perspective of cultural psychology, sound studies, and digital technology studies.

Kristin Van den Buys (b. 1962) studied musicology at Ghent University (1984) and obtained qualifications in music theory and music analysis at the Royal Conservatoire of Antwerp and KU Leuven (1987–1991). Between 1990 and 2000 she worked at Radio 3, the former classical music station of the Flemish National Broadcasting Institute, VRT. Her PhD (KU Leuven 2004) dealt with musical modernism in Brussels and

Antwerp during the interwar period. Since 2006, she has been Head of Research at the Royal Conservatoire of Brussels. Since 2014, she has also been Professor of Music History, Campus Opera at VUB, the Free University of Brussels. Kristin Van den Buys has published widely on a variety of topics relating to musical life in Brussels and Belgium, and more specifically, on the history of the Belgian radio and its orchestras. She is co-editor of the Dutch-language book *Het Orkest. Van het Radio-orkest tot Brussels Philharmonic in Flagey* (*'The Orchestra. From the Radio Orchestra to Brussels Philharmonic in Flagey';* Tielt: Lannoo, 2013).

Dr **Avra Xepapadakou** is a researcher of performing arts and a faculty member at the University of Nicosia. She has taught as a lecturer (faculty or affiliated) at several other academic institutions. She is the author of the books *Pavlos Carrer* (Athens: Fagottobooks, 2013) on the Ionian opera composer and *Interspersed with musical entertainment. Music in Greek Salons of the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2017), co-authored with Alexandros Charkiolakis. She has published and lectured actively on topics related to her research interests. She has worked intensively on cultural documentation. Since 2012, she has worked on the processing of the archive of the Italian theatre director Romeo Castellucci as a documentation consultant and curator. Currently, she is collaborating with the Greek theatre director and visual artist Dimitris Papaioannou as the curator of his archive. She has conducted research as a grantee visiting scholar at CSU-Sacramento (2015). In 2016 she was awarded a research grant and status of a research visitor as part of the Balzan Prize in Musicology *Towards a global history of music*. Within this framework, she has curated a special session at the University of Oxford (2016) and conducted research at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Universität Zürich (2017).

Selected DocMus Research Publications

2. Tuppurainen, Erkki (ed.), *Codex Westh: Westhin koodeksin kirkkolaulut* (2012)

4. Anne Sivuoja, Owe Ander, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen & Jens Hesselager (eds.), *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries during the Long 19th Century* (2012)

5. Marja-Leena Juntunen, *Kaiken lisäksi nainen: Ellen Urhon ammatillinen elämäkerta* (2013)

6. Kati Hämäläinen, *Ranskan barokin gregoriaanisia sävelmiä Guillaume-Gabriel Niversin kirjoista* (2015)

7. Matti Huttunen & Annikka Konttori-Gustafsson (eds.), *Ijäisen nuoruuden" musiikkia: Kirjoituksia 1920-luvun modernismista* (2015)

8. Margit Rahkonen, Annikka Konttori-Gustafsson & Markus Kuikka (eds.), *Kartanoista kaikkien soittimeksi: Pianonsoiton historiaa Suomessa* (2016)

9. Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen & Jens Hesselager (eds.), *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century: Practices, Performers, Peripheries* (2017)

10. Peter Peitsalo, Sverker Jullander & Markus Kuikka eds.), *Liturgical Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preconditions, Repertoires and Border-Crossings* (2017)

11. Lena von Bonsdorff, *Herkulesta odottaessa. Martin Wegelius -uraauurtava musiikkipedagogi* (2019)

12. Jukka Savijoki, *'So that the soul would dance in you': The Guitar in Finland before the Twentieth Century* (2019)

13. Annikka Konttori-Gustafsson, Margit Rahkonen & Markus Kuikka (eds.), *Kartanoista kaikkien soittimeksi II: Pianonsoiton historiaa Suomessa* (2019)

14. Hilkka-Liisa Vuori, Marika Räsänen & Seppo Heikkinen, *The Medieval Offices of Saint Thomas Aquinas* (2019)

15. Markus Mantere, Jorma Hannikainen & Anna Krohn (eds.), *Ilmari Krohn: tutkija, säveltäjä, kosmopoliitti* (2020)

16. Anne Kauppala & Martin Knust (eds.), *Wagner and the North* (2021)

17. Juha Ojala & Lauri Suurpää (eds.), *Musical Performance in Context. A Festschrift in Celebration of Doctoral Education at the Sibelius Academy* (2021)

18. Markus Mantere, Elisa Järvi & Markus, Kuikka *Kartanoista kaikkien soittimeksi III: Pianonsoiton historiaa Suomessa* (2022)

19

DocMus Research Publications

This volume provides new insights into the impact of the development of institutionalization on music, musical practices, and society at large. It is divided into three thematic sections, the first of which deals with the institutionalization of musical practices. The articles move from the emergence of theater and opera culture in nineteenth century Greece to the dominance of radio in the dissemination of music at the height of the disco boom in the United States in the 1970s. The second part of the volume highlights the impact of music exhibitions and festivals on the institutionalization of music, including music education, and reflects the political power structures behind this phenomenon. Politics and power are emphasized in part three, which examines the possibilities for women musicians in the late nineteenth century, the impact of colonization and imperialism on the nature of the institutionalization of musical life, and the challenge to these political forces. The publication is based on a conference of the same name organized by the History Forum of the University of the Arts in 2018.

9 789523 292819

ISBN 978-952-329-281-9
ISSN 2341-8257

UNIARTS HELSINKI

SIBELIUS ACADEMY