Danish Yearbook of Musicology

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Contents

'The times they are a-changin'': Bob Dylan has just been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature 2016, and *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* is now an online publication. From this issue and onwards, the yearbook will be published by Danish Musicological Society as an online publication on www.dym.dk, where the full volume will be available from the moment it is published. The one-year delay of the digital issue compared with the printed volumes has thus been abolished. Aside from the fact that the demand for printed copies has been steadily in decline while the number of readers of the online version has expanded significantly over the latest years, it has become clear that the scholarly community of musicology has adapted to the digital world and finds it of greater value to have articles at hand online at all times with open access for all readers than to restrict access in order to maintain the printed copies for the bookshelf.

Despite the change in media, the quality of the contributions and of the work of the editors is essential and will not be neglected. This yearbook as well and those in the future will be handled with the same amount of careful editorial work, including the anonymous peer review process of all articles, and with the same quality of meticulous layout and proof reading. Another advantage will be that the editorial process might run a bit faster. It will be possible to publish a volume of the yearbook in more than one issue which will add up to a full volume for the year. This will make the editorial process easier because the editors are not compelled to wait for the very last contribution in order to publish what is already edited. Thus, the editors have provided two deadlines for contributions for vol. 41 (2017), 1 January and 15 April.

As our readers will have noticed, the concept of a yearbook has been violated, as vol. 39 was published in 2012. We are the first to regret this but a number of obstacles have collided with heavy workloads for all of the editors. We are very grateful that the Danish Council for Independent Research | Humanities has prolonged the grant and accepted the new concept of online publication only. As a consequence there will be no printed copies to distribute which means that our relationship with Aarhus University Press will change as well. This situation calls for a sincere thanks to the distributors for a very smooth and valuable cooperation over the years which will now be scaled down. Older printed issues are still available from Aarhus University Press at www.unipress.dk.

Danish Yearbook of Musicology vol. 40 (2016) contains six articles of which three are included in a special section of papers from a session of the LARM conference 'Digital Archives, Audiovisual Media and Cultural Memory' at the University of Copenhagen, November 2013. This session, RadioMusic, was organized by the music and radio research project RAMUND, which is also presented with a report in this volume. Two articles are related to questions of critical editing of music, discussing how modern scholarly editions might approach critical editing in new ways. The last article discusses the ways in which the question of 'art and commitment' is negotiated in modern Arab settings in the Middle East. In addition, this issue brings a number of reports on research projects and Ph.D. projects, three obituaries

– as three of the significant professors of Danish musicology, Jan Maegaard, Finn Mathiassen, and Frede V. Nielsen have passed away – and (just) three reviews. The bibliography by Anne Ørbæk Jensen contains information for three years of publications related to Danish music and musicology, 2012–2014, and she has also been of a significant and indispensable assistance to the editors in order to get this issue ready for which we are most grateful.

Copenhagen and Århus, October 2016
Michael Fjeldsøe, Peter Hauge & Thomas Holme Hansen

The Critical Editing of a Musical Work on the Basis of Incomplete Performance Material

Scheibe's Second Passion Cantata, 'Sørge-Cantate ved Christi Grav' (1769)

Peter Hauge

The often mentioned concepts in critical music editing, 'authorial intentions' and 'final intentions', are somewhat challenging to employ when it comes to establishing a convenient methodology which is employable in practice. Many scholars today, specializing in text criticism, have indeed drawn attention to the intricate problems concerning the concepts but they are still rummaging in the minds of music editors in particular. The concepts are centred on the author as the ultimate *authority* for producing an *authentic*, modern critical edition.[1] It seems obvious, however, that the point of departure for a critical editor cannot automatically be the above-mentioned concepts, for what happens if there are no sources at all reflecting immediate authorial intentions? Does that mean that producing a critical edition is impossible? And what do we do with those musical works which have only survived in a set of performance material, for instance (that is, been the basis for a performance), and which have no immediate connection to the composer?

A more feasible and more practical approach is to argue that it must be the available sources (the surviving sources) – whether that be an autograph ink fair copy, sketches, or rough drafts for instance – which dictate the chosen methodology and hence are decisive for the outcome of the modern edition: different sources – that is, different modes of presentation of the musical work – give different results. A score does not necessarily contain the same set of information as the performance material, for the two different types of material address two distinct audiences and with two distinct purposes: in the Baroque and at least well into the mid-nineteenth century, the score which is most often an autograph ink fair copy was the composer's

1 For various approaches to music editing, see in particular James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music* (Cambridge, 1996); an extensive bibliography is available on the website of the Danish Centre for Music Editing (DCM), http://www.kb.dk/en/nb/dcm/udgivelser/bibliografi.html, accessed Jan. 2015. For a general discussion, see the guidelines of DCM, *Retningslinjer for nodeudgivelser*, http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/dcm/udgivelser/retningslinjer/DCM-retningslinjer.pdf, 10–28, accessed Dec. 2014. On specific problems regarding music editing, see Peter Hauge, 'Masking the Sleeping Pillow: Nielsen's Opera *Maskarade*', in *Nordic Music Editions: Symposium 1–2 September 2005*, ed. Niels Krabbe (Copenhagen, 2006), 45–50; and Peter Hauge, 'Sources, Authenticity, Methodology, and (Complete) Editions', *Jahrbuch 2014 des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (2014), 245–73.

personal score usually employed for producing the part material and remained in private ownership. Transcripts (apographs) of the composer's private score were indeed produced, but they were frequently employed outside the composer's realm of influence for events in which he was not participating. Often the transcript may be defined as a score for orientation or perhaps a presentation copy and is not a copy reflecting *per se* immediate authorial intention. Since the autograph ink fair copy exposes authorial intention, it is this source that editors tend to choose as the principal source for a critical edition of the work.[2] Another, equally important aspect that the critical editor must reflect on is what the aim and purpose of producing a modern edition is as well as its intended audience: whether it is possible to combine a critical scholarly edition with a practical one and what that might entail in terms of feasibility and outcome. These considerations also play an important role in setting up a viable method.

One of the aims of the present article is to find some convincing arguments in favour of also employing – or at least not to forget – the apparently 'less important' types of presentation as principal sources for the editing, in this case the performance material.[3] The idea of the *autograph* ink copy placed on the pedestal of fame, on exhibition in the musical museum, is here relegated to a lock-up in the dusty vaults, as it were. My argument is that, though an autograph ink copy is highly relevant for defining the work and the composer's possible notational intentions and to a lesser extent also aspects of performance practice, it does not by design have anything to do with a performance or interpretation of the musical work – it is 'merely' a personal copy reflecting the composer's intentions before a realization.[4]

2 This is evident in many of the complete editions of eighteenth-century composers, such as J.S. Bach, C.Ph.E. Bach, and G.Ph. Telemann; see e.g. editorial guidelines to the C.Ph.E. Bach edition, at http://cpebach.org/description.html, accessed Dec. 2014. However, it is also clear that editorial approaches have become more differentiated and open towards employing new methodologies, especially when the definition of the musical artefact has to take into consideration the plurality of authorship; cf. the project, OPERA (Spectrum of European Music Theater in Individual Editions), http://www.opera.adwmainz.de/en/information.html, accessed Dec. 2014; and the brief discussion in DCM's guidelines, *Retningslinjer for nodeudgivelser*, 15–18. However, it should also be noted that the first volume of the early J.S. Bach edition from the middle of the nineteenth century argues for the importance of the part material and its use in the critical editorial process even as main source or copy text; cf. Michael Fjeldsøe, 'Om videnskabelig editionsteknik', *Musik og Forskning*, 5 (1997–98), 168–69, http://danishmusicologyonline.dk/arkiv/arkiv_musik_og_forskning_pdf/mf_1997_1998/mf1997_1998_05_ocr.pdf, accessed June 2016.

3 In this context, sketches and drafts are not used, first of all due to the understanding of the terms which indeed were used differently in the early modern period and, secondly, it would lead to the discussion of genetic criticism (for its value in terms of musical works, see e.g. William Kinderman and Joseph E. Jones (eds.), *Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process: Essays from Music, Literature, and Theater* (Rochester, 2009).

4 This leads to the intricacies of understanding the work concept and how important the idea is for establishing a sound editorial methodology; see also discussion below. For a general discussion on the work concept, see Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992); but see also Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', in Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, 2000), 168–86.

At the same time it seems unlikely that a composer of the eighteenth century, for instance, would write a work setting it in score without considering its performability: he composed the work with a performance in mind. However, it is the performance material that is unquestionably related to a performance since it, by its definition, was employed for a performance of the work – perhaps even representing the work on equal terms to that of the autograph score. This does indeed create some problems that influence an editor's approach intricately connected with various and distinct contexts which are lacking when using the autograph ink copy as point of departure.[5] Producing a modern score of a work on this basis, the editor has to realize that the result will not only reflect authorial intention but also echo various societal and historical contexts connected to the performances of the work. Though historians argue that it is of paramount importance to understand and reflect on the context or contexts in which source material inevitably participates – including the numerous distinct contexts which not only the sources suggest but indeed also the contexts of which the historian clearly is part – few music editors seem to reflect on the consequences of the material's contexts in the critical editing.

Due to the idea of presenting authorial intention as the ultimate goal of an edition, modern critical editors may tend to exaggerate the importance of the autograph score, especially when it comes to composers of the early modern period – an importance the autograph score never seems to have had.[6] Browsing through one of the largest private collections of late eighteenth-century music manuscripts in Denmark (the Moravian Society, Christiansfeld), one quickly realizes that there are very few full scores in the collection at all and that an overwhelming number of the musical works only survive as performance material.[7] None of the material seems to be autograph, but includes mostly transcriptions produced by copyists in the late eighteenth century, presumably in Germany. It should be emphasized that the modern understanding of 'score' is not appropriate in this context, for it is the continuo part (or the organ part) which carries the same function as the modern score (see Ill. 1): sometimes it includes cue notes and phrases as well as a short score of the vocal parts in more complex works; and around 1800 the part becomes a short score of the entire work.

5 The understanding of 'contexts' in relation to editing has often been neglected, especially when it comes to musical works; for an interesting discussion in terms of text criticism, see Jerome J. McGann's important study, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville, 1983). It is clear that Grier was inspired by McGann's work.

6 On musical sources of late seventeenth-century England and their use, see Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013); see also review of Herissone's book by Peter Hauge, *The Seventeenth Century*, 29/3 (2014), 305–7. On the Renaissance, see Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers* at *Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (Oxford, 1997). Unfortunately, no study on the eighteenth century and its understanding and use of sources has yet appeared.

7 It must be emphasized that this is quite common in music collections of the eighteenth century, and not merely for the collection in Christiansfeld.

Ill. 1. An organ or harpsichord part showing a short score with cue notes and text (top three systems), *DK-Ch*, R116 (no. 8): Johann Adolf Hasse, 'Ja, Dank und Lobelieder', section for chorus, orchestra, and continuo from Hasse's oratorio 'I Pellegrini al sepulcro di Nostro Signore' with new text; and the following piece as a bass line with figures (bottom three staves), *DK-Ch*, R611 (no. 9): Hasse, 'Wer nur um sich verlegen noch Trost', for basso solo, orchestra, and continuo.

Thus we might conclude that a full score does not per se have a practical function in terms of performability, at least in the eighteenth century, and it was most often only used to produce the performance material.[8] No leader of the orchestra or ensemble would use the score but rather employ a bass part with continuo figures (see Ill. 1, no. 9). For the modern editor this short score, or organ part, does create problems, for would it make any sense to include the short score notation as part of the continuo stave in the modern full score – that is, more or less a short score in the full score, as it were? And would it in any way reflect the work as such or have an importance for the performance of the work? The organist played the figured bass part – if the figures were notated at all – using the short score as an orientation telling him what was going on in the other parts. It is reasonable to assume that the part might contain interesting and important information for the editing such as revealing details on articulation, dynamics, slurring, and accidentals as well as interpretations of the musical notation in the other parts, but it also complicates very much the editorial process which, to a greater extent than if based entirely on an autograph score, demands an awareness of performance practice and an openness towards understanding and appreciating distinct historical contexts.[9]

The apparent problem might, however, be caused by the modern definition of the ink (fair) score, and that a composer of the eighteenth century for instance not necessarily defined his work as truly represented by the full score. It must be emphasized that the compositional technique was very different and did not entail starting off with the 'Beethovean approach' writing pencil sketches and drafts. On the contrary, a composer would start directly on the score using ink. Thus the surviving so-called autograph ink fair copies were as a matter of fact rather working scores in which one encounters an overwhelming number of corrections, additions, and cancellations making the score complex to read and interpret its notation. This was precisely one of the main obstacles which the early J.S. Bach edition encountered during the middle of the nineteenth century leading them to also use the performance material which the composer had seen through and emended.[10] Therefore, a full score in ink might be a draft rather than a nicely written fair copy. The 'sketchy-ness' of the score is our interpretation based on our idea of what a score represents and ought to contain, not necessarily the composer's understanding of the term or even that of his contemporary

8 Beethoven's symphonies often appeared as a set of printed parts only; even as late as at the end of the nineteenth century, Carl Nielsen argued with his publishers that his string quartets should not only be printed in parts but also in score, for 'when an art work is to be judged correctly, it is essential that one not only sees or hears the whole entity or the outline but that one must also examine the details' ('Naar et Kunstværk skal bedømmes rigtigt er det nødvendigt at man ikke blot sèr eller hører Helheden eller de store Omrids, men at man ogsaa undersøger Enkelthederne'), in John Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen Brevudgaven* (Copenhagen, 2005), vol. 1, 251. See also Hauge, 'Sources, Authenticity, Methodology', 255 n. 23.

9 It is evident that copyists working on organ parts made interpretations of the notation in the other instrumental and vocal parts when transcribing to short score; for examples, see Peter Hauge (ed.), *Selection of Religious Works from the Music Collection of the Moravian Society, Christiansfeld* (Copenhagen, 2015), pp. xxvi–xxvii.

10 See above n. 2.

colleagues such as copyists, musicians, and fellow-composers of the eighteenth century. It is of course also possible to find scores in ink representing a form somewhere in between these two mentioned extremes. An ink autograph score was thus a very dynamic and indeed open-ended mode of presenting a musical work. The important point here is that a different approach to composing and establishing a compositional framework consequently means that an autograph, ink 'fair' copy score might embody many distinct modes of presentation such as including drafts, extensive reworkings as well as the version to be performed.[11] Because an editor cannot determine the authorial importance (in effect, the final intentions) of a work merely in terms of the type of writing utensil employed by the composer, it becomes of paramount importance to study the internal evidence and only on that basis establish the source's position in a possible source hierarchy or stemma. Truly autograph ink fair copies were very seldom produced and very few have indeed survived.

Ill. 2 shows part of a recitative from Johann Adolph Scheibe's Passion Cantata of 1768. The composer and a contemporary copyist would have little difficulty in reading the changes. Scheibe, who led the performance from the harpsichord, would not have used his personal score but rather employed the figured bass part, changing his performance according to the immediate situation. The score presented in Ill. 2, which is the only surviving autograph of the work, includes numerous reworkings and even an additional section; it is therefore a working score rather than an ink fair copy representing the composer's final intentions. It was this autograph score that was used for producing the part material and this material would most likely contain additional or a different set of information that was to be completed (interpreted) in a performance.

The performance material is, on the other hand, basically a set of instructions telling the musicians how to play the work; and since the composer would probably be present at the event, and even in charge, any imprecise instruction would be solved immediately.[12] Thus there was a close collaboration, a close understanding, between the composer at the keyboard instrument and the other performers: musicians and singers would have immediate interaction with the composer who would most likely have composed the work keeping in mind, for instance, the abilities of the performers as well as the physical space where the composition was to be performed. It would make little sense for composers to write works which could not be performed.[13]

11 This is certainly evident in musical works of the late seventeenth century; see Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, esp. 61–115. For a twentieth-century example regarding a composer's 'misuse' of his own final, autograph ink fair copy, see Peter Hauge, 'Pigen med den skæve ryg: Carl Nielsens forkortelser af operaen *Maskarade*', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 38 (1999), 291–312; and Hauge, 'Carl Nielsen and Intentionality: Concerning the Editing of Nielsen's Works', *Carl Nielsen Studies*, 1 (2003), 68–77.

12 See also Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford, 1999), 61.

13 In the autograph score to the Passion Cantata, the names of the singers are indicated implying that Scheibe already from the start had particular singers in mind when he composed the work. Thus he may have composed the music according to the singers' abilities.

Ill. 2. Is this a fair copy or should it rather be termed a draft? Scheibe's autograph full score, Passion Cantata 'Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig' (1768), *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 24, movement 15, bb. 27–35; cf. Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe, Passion Cantata 'Our Harp Has Become Sorrow' (1768), Text by Johannes Ewald* (Copenhagen, 2012), 117.

Pushing it perhaps to the extremes: if one interprets the autograph, ink fair score as embodying the Universal Work (or Autonomous Work; that is, the common exemplar decontaminated of the work's own contexts), the performance material is circumscribed by event as it were; that is, the material refers to a specific time in history and includes instructions addressed specifically to a performance at that time. Hence, performances are no more than instances.[14] From this viewpoint, the editor today needs to understand the elected source's purpose, its audience, and the consequences of choosing that particular source. A modern critical edition based on the composer's personal ink score will most likely be different from an edition employing contemporary performance material as principal source and might indeed reveal an approach which basically states that the artefact (the musical work) is less important than its creator (the composer). Thus a close study of the source types and their function, in addition to a close examination of the palaeographic evidence, shifts focus away from the usual composer-centeredness. This leads to a better understanding of the external relationships, that is, the societal and historical contexts of which the work necessarily was – and is – part; but more importantly, the approach also leads to a much better understanding of musical invention outside the sphere of authorial intention and the traditional conservative (that is, modern) notion of the work concept which evolved in the early nineteenth century and according to which musical works are individuated and clearly defined artefacts.[15] At least in the early modern period, composers most likely saw their full scores as a prescriptive set of information open to many distinct interpretations.

It should be noted, however, that Scheibe might indeed be a very exceptional case. During the 1760s there are suggestions indicating that he sought to establish a library of his more important musical works consisting of ink fair copies based on his so-called working scores in ink. These fair copies – all presumably written on the same good quality paper, in the same size and in the same grey limp binding – were produced *after* the work had received its first performance. Unfortunately only few of these autograph ink fair copies have survived.[16] That Scheibe took the time to write ink fair copies following the performance of the work and hence possibly include changes made at the rehearsals suggests a conscious and, for that time, a highly original understanding of the work concept and final authorial intention – a consciousness that was not to be recognized until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In Scheibe's case there are three distinct types: 1) the ink working scores; 2) performance material; and 3) the final ink fair copies. It is apparent that an ink score's relation to performance material depends very much on the score's func-

14 For a more detailed description of this idea, see Hauge, 'Sources, Authenticity, Methodology', 248–49.

15 Cf. Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 205–42.

16 That they were made after the performance and based on the working scores is evident from a comparison between the source types, and that Scheibe wrote notes in the fair copies indicating, for instance, that after the performance he decided to include revisions or suggestions pertinent for a future performance. This will be discussed in the forthcoming *Descriptive Catalogue of Johann Adolph Scheibe's Works*, Danish Centre for Music Editing, 2016.

tion: during this period an ink score was normally a working score often including numerous revisions and was the basis for the production of part material. In this context the performance material becomes highly relevant for a modern critical edition. Though neat autograph ink fair scores do exist, they are rarely found in today's libraries; and in particular ink fair autographs produced after the performance material had been transcribed and following a performance are indeed exceptional.

One might argue that a modern edition, in order to embrace as many aspects and contexts of the work as possible, ought to reflect both the autograph ink copies as well as the performance material in addition to other relevant sources. However, that might unfortunately lead to a so-called eclectic edition, an edition that might even expose contradictory contexts and information.[17] The complexity of the musical work, containing both the composer's possible intended meaning conceived in the study room and the 'practical' outcome of that authorial intention audible in a performance, is a problem not easily solved. And perhaps the dilemma should not be solved, but rather accepted and presented to readers and players. It seems that the ultimate and perfect modern critical edition is indeed entrenched in an intricate web of difficulties.

Scheibe's Passion Cantata of 1769

Following a very successful performance of a passion cantata in 1768, Scheibe decided to produce yet another one. Contrary to his first passion cantata, only the complete set of performance material has survived, though a solo tenor part is missing. A modern edition of the work will therefore have to be based on a set of orchestral and vocal parts, and the solo tenor must somehow be reconstructed. The performance material, which was used at least three times during Scheibe's lifetime, shows clear signs of wear: the right-hand corners are greased due to many page turns; quite a few of the parts have stains and splashes from candles, and the right margin of one of the oboe parts as well as one of the flute parts has been too near a candle: that is, some of the edges are burnt.[18] Scheibe was apparently a demanding leader of the performances of his own works, and with a keen eye to detail he went through all the parts, proof-reading them, adding and changing elements, many of which at first sight are not of a primary concern for the modern editor (page turns, for instance).

Ill. 3a–b reveals that in one of the second violin parts the copyist had unfortunately made a bad page turn since the numbers of rests to carry out the turning of the page were too few. Instead Scheibe transferred the two staves from the verso to the empty staves at the bottom recto page also adding 'Volti subito'. The staves on the verso have been cancelled in ink. It is also evident that Scheibe added some

17 'It attempts to bring many versions of a text into a single form which it never had', Hauge, 'Carl Nielsen and Intentionality', 48. For extensive discussions on these aspects of editing, see in particular Thomas Tanselle, 'Historicism and Critical Editing', *Studies in Bibliography*, 39 (1996), 2–61.

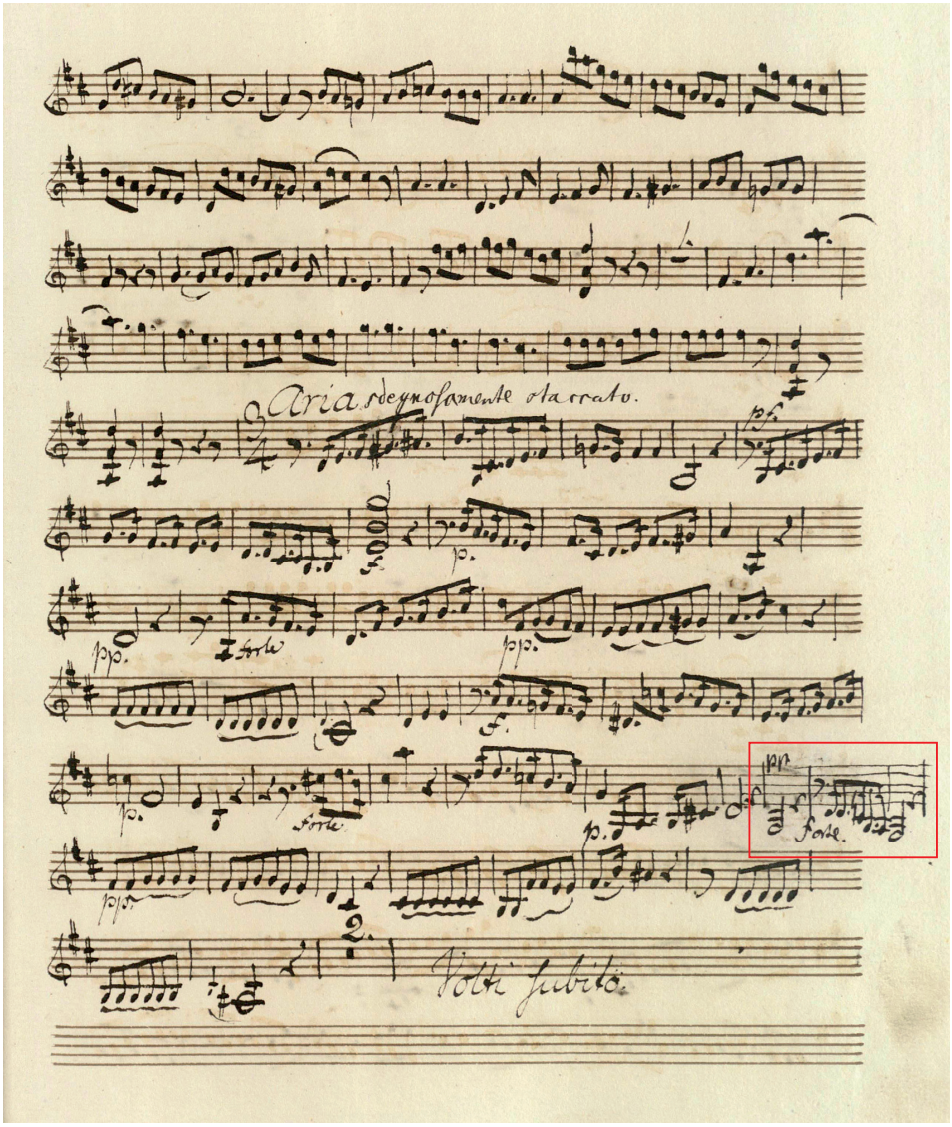
18 See, for example, fl. 1, fols. 1v, 2v (wax); ob. 1, fol. 4v (wax); fl. 2, fol. 6r–v (burn); and ob. 2, fols. 1v, 2r (burn); http://img.kb.dk/ma/danmus/scheibe_cant_1769_EA_inst-m.pdf, accessed Jan. 2015.

Ill. 3a–b. Scheibe has changed the page turn in one of the vl. 2 parts which was most likely employed by the leader of the second violin group; the other vl. 2 parts do not contain the change. Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 18, vl. 2 (3), fol. 17r–v.

extra details such as dynamics and expression markings (e.g. Ill. 3a: 'dolce & piano cresc | Aria'; 'forte'; 'pp:'). Missing bars, of which there only are very few, have also been added in Scheibe's characteristic hand (see Ill. 4).

The editor may therefore conclude that the performance material is a source material closely connected to the composer, and hence besides many different contexts it also reveals an authorial one. Scheibe wrote extensively about the working process in an unknown, yet highly important response which he published as a vindication against what he considered an unfavourable review of one of his cantatas performed in 1764. He argues that when the composer has presented the work for an audience of friends and considered their judgement then he may continue:

> When, finally, his piece has endured this last kind of criticism, then he must not let himself be annoyed by the effort of writing out once again his score in his own hand; and since he now, as it were, brings it in order then this work indeed takes more time from him than the drafting itself has cost him. But thereby he will maintain the important advantage of examining and emending all movements, sections, notes, harmony, and melody by themselves and in context. When, finally, his piece has been transcribed correctly by the copyist – the composer, however, having carefully seen through the transcribed parts – and when the first rehearsal is being held, he must pay attention to himself and his piece, in particular at this first rehearsal. This must be the final test,



Ill. 4. Scheibe has added a missing bar in one of the vl. 2 parts; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 18, vl. 2 (2), fol. 17r. The bar, which has also been added in vl. 2 (3), fol. 18r, is correct in vl. 2 (1).

and hence he shall know whether there still might be something to bring to perfection. This test will be better or more reliable when he accompanies from the score at the keyboard and at the same time listens with all possible acuteness. Although during the performance of this first rehearsal many errors, both in the vocal parts as well as

> in the instrumental ones and also some copyist errors, may still be emended, they will nevertheless also teach him what he has yet to notice. They will indeed be offensive to the audience, yet teach him, and present him the final touch in order to achieve the perfection of his piece, especially concerning the convenience of the performance. It is therefore best that no audience is admitted at the first rehearsal so that they, due to the inaccurateness of this rehearsal, do not draw any unfavourable conclusions regarding the nature of the piece. You see, gentlemen, that is the way which I have been working for several years, and which I recommend all composers as a proven model.[19]

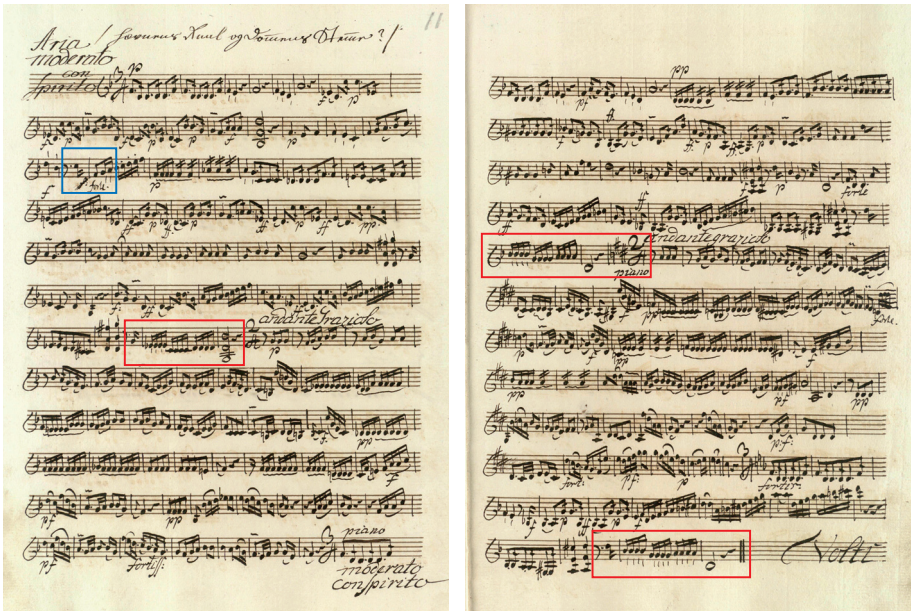
Thus the full score is employed at the first rehearsal and may still have to be revised or emended depending on the outcome of the performance; but the revisions might not occur in the composer's personal score but rather in the part material. The very few corrections one finds in the performance material of the eighteenth century suggests that either there were only few corrections to be made or that Scheibe's proposed practice, which he himself had used for 'several years', was an ideal situation. Setting up a full score of the work without either Scheibe's working copy or the fair copy produced after the performance seems fairly straightforward for the modern, critical editor: one simply takes each instrumental and vocal part adding them when establishing the full score. However, there are intricate complications which need to be considered thoroughly. The performance material consists, for example, of three identical first violin parts. 'Identical' is a rather qualified truth for there are indeed variants between the three parts forcing the editor to somehow decide which of the variants to trust.

19 Scheibe, *Schreiben an die Herren Verfasser der neuen periodischen Schrift, die in Sorøe unter der Aufschrift: Samling af adskillige Skrifter til de skiønne Videnskabers og det danske Sprogs Opkomst og Fremtarv* (Copenhagen, 1765), 22–24: 'Wenn nun endlich sein Stück diese letzte Art einer Kritik ausgestanden hat: so muß er sich die Mühe nicht verdriessen lassen, seine Partitur noch einmal eigenhändig abzuschreiben; und da er sie nun gleichsam ins reine bringet: so wird ihm diese Arbeit zwar mehr Zeit wegnehmen, als ihm die Ausarbeitung selbst gekostet hat; allein er wird dadurch den wichtigen Vortheil erhalten, alle Sätze, Züge, Töne, Harmonie und Melodie an sich selbst und im Zusammenhange noch einmal zu prüfen und verbessern. Wenn nun endlich sein Stück durch den Notisten gehörig ausgeschrieben ist, der Componist aber die ausgeschriebenen Stimmen genau durchgesehen hat, und die erste Probe gehalten wird: so muß er vorzüglich in dieser ersten Probe auf sich selbst und auf sein Stück Achtung geben. Diese muß die letzte Prüfung seyn, und daraus wird er erkennen, ob darinn noch etwas zur Vollkommenheit desselben beyzutragen seyn mögte. Diese Prüfung wird desto bewährter oder zuverläßiger seyn, wenn er auf dem Flügel aus der Partitur selbst accompagniret, und zugleich mit aller möglichen Genauigkeit zuhöret. Obschon in der Ausführung dieser ersten Probe sowohl in den Singstimmen, als in den Instrumenten viele Fehler vorgehen, auch noch einige Fehler des Notisten zu verbessern seyn können: so werden ihn gleichwol auch alle diese Fehler selbst lehren, was er noch zu bemerken hat; sie werden zwar den Zuhörern anstößig seyn, ihn aber unterrichten, und ihm die letzten Züge zur Erreichung der Vollkommenheit seines Stücks, vornehmlich, was die Bequemlichkeit der Ausführung betrift, an die Hand geben. Es ist daher auch das beste, daß bey dieser ersten Probe keine Zuhörer zugelassen werden, damit sie aus der Unrichtigkeit dieser Probe auf die Beschaffenheit dieses Stücks keine nachtheilige Schlüsse machen. Sehen Sie, meine Herren, das ist die Art und Weise, wie ich seit einigen Jahren arbeite, und die ich allen Componisten als ein bewährtes Muster vorschlage'.

Ill. 5a. In one of the vl. 2 parts, Scheibe has moved a *forte* from one bar to the next one; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 1, vl. 2 (1), fol. 1v; vl. 2 (2), fol. 1v; and vl. 2 (3), fol. 1v.

Ill. 5b. Notation of slurs in a contemporary eighteenth-century interpretation; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 1, vl. 2 (1), fol. 2r; vl. 2 (2), fol. 2r; and vl. 2 (3), fol. 2r.

6a



6b

Ill. 6a–b. a) articulation in a vl. 2 part (and a *forte* has been moved), and b) comparison of the articulation in all three vl. 2 parts; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 9, vl. 2 (1), fols. 6v–7r; vl. 2 (2), fols. 6v–7r; and vl. 2 (3), fols. 6v–7r.

In Ills. 5a and 6a (blue square), the placement of the *forte*, for instance, has been moved in one of the second violin parts and hence the question arises as to which of the three parts the editor should follow; in this case, the problem does not seem too difficult to solve as the variant is added in Scheibe's hand – but what would the editor do if a musician had made the change? And why hasn't Scheibe changed it in the other two parts? The next example (Ill. 5b) shows a similar problem: according to modern notational practice, Scheibe's slurs very often seem rather sloppy; it is not an obvious error similar to pitch or rhythm, but the notation is not self-evident for the modern performer today and needs to be clarified. The example shows a practice often encountered in Scheibe's works: the wavy line notated in one of the parts is written in distinct ways in the two other ones (that is, alternative interpretations

Ill. 7. The leader's part in which Scheibe has transposed one of the movement's final phrases down an octave; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 4, vl. 1 (3), fol. 4r.

by an eighteenth-century copyist), suggesting that in reality there is no variation though differently notated.[20] The copyist wrote the same slur in two distinct ways: the notation, that is the sign, meant the same thing. This instance helps the editor to transcribe the notation into modern practice. Keeping in mind Scheibe's eye for detail, it seems highly likely that if the transcription of these slurs did not agree with his understanding of them he would have rectified the transcription accordingly.

The notation of articulation is yet another problem (Ill. 6): in the penultimate bar of the second violin, the articulation is more extensive in one part than in the other ones. An editor would presumably consider that this part is the most complete of the three, though it is also possible that the copyist merely made his own interpretation of the score or unconsciously added the articulation, for why has it not been added in the two remaining second violin parts? In the other instances, they all agree suggesting that it might be the extensive one which is in error. This conclusion is in fact supported by the first violin parts which luckily have the same phrase. The last example (Ill. 7) shows that Scheibe has transposed the end of a final phrase down an octave. The change occurred before the first rehearsal when the composer went through the

20 Cf. Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe, Passion Cantata*, pp. xxiii–iv.

performance material. The other first violin parts are already transposed suggesting that they must have been copied after the change was carried out; however, it is possible that initially the leader's part was different – that is, an octave higher.

Though the complexity of the Passion Cantata is far greater than the works surviving in the musical archives of the Moravian Society in Christiansfeld, Scheibe does not seem to have used any kind of short score when leading the performance from the harpsichord, and the few cue notes in the continuo part would have been sufficient for a performance of the work. The composer of the work, who was leading the performance as well as being a performer, did not need more detailed information than what was notated in the continuo part. There is no reason to believe that he would have employed a now lost autograph full score for the actual performances.

Finding such variants in part material is, of course, not at all exceptional, and is certainly not so in performance material of a more recent date. The problem is that we have only got the part material and cannot collate it with a full score of any kind. A more serious problem is that the critical editor somehow has to elect a principal source among equally important parts, such as the second violin parts in the abovementioned example. An editor's immediate response would most likely be that we are rather lucky since Scheibe has gone through all the parts adding corrections, and that we are able to recognize his hand thus at least revealing authorial intention.[21] But that, of course, only leads us back to square one. The idea of authorial intention therefore inclines to play an important role as soon as it is recognized, and very often it becomes a critical factor in establishing an editorial method. The case would be entirely different if the performance material did not contain any signs of authorial intervention hence forcing the editor to rely on the performance material and only on the performance material. Then the editor would be compelled to find convincing arguments not exclusively relying on authorial intention in order to establish a hierarchy of the equally important parts. Indeed, this approach, that is avoiding the concept of authorial intention, would also be very instructive to employ even in cases where the composer himself has worked on the performance material, since it will induce the editor to consider arguments outside the sphere of immediate authority which usually are unobjectionable unless they are far from reasonable: thus an editor might argue that if the composer has added the information, it is because he found it pertinent and necessary for a correct interpretation. It must therefore be included though we today cannot see the immediate relevancy of it. If, however, the information was added by a foreign hand we, as critical editors, would be obliged to investigate the matter further also considering issues such as performance practice, cultural traditions, local styles, and so on. Hence the editor's arguments would be well founded, based in a broader context and not merely referring to authorial intention. It is indeed the editor's task to question authorial intention.

Furthermore, the editor has constantly to keep an open mind towards a complex set of different arguments since variants might arise due to a wide array of pos-

21 This is the argument which the early Bach edition makes in the introduction to the first volume; cf. above n. 2.

sible situations. Scheibe's changes in the material might have been added at one of the other performances taking place in the following years rather than at the premiere. Variants might reflect distinct contexts and hence are not really compatible or comparable. Only a closer palaeographic study of the manuscripts, such as time-consuming ink analyses in order to establish a chronology in the additions of variants, will reveal whether it is possible to draw any further conclusions.

A pitfall which many editors experience is to rely too much on what seems to be a more complete notation: though one can argue that to write an instruction demands a conscious assessment of its relevancy before noting it down, it is also possible that a copyist or the composer did so unconsciously. Thus the editor has always to consider the opposite possibility: do more staccatos, for example, imply that the composer is more precise in the notation or simply that he was falling asleep with the manuscript in front of him? It should also be kept in mind that solving disagreements sometimes entails a discussion ending in a compromise that neither reflects authorial intention nor societal and historical contexts, arriving at an agreement which reflects a work that has nothing to do with the original. This is similar to eclectic editing.

Reconstructing the solo tenor part

Though the solo tenor part is missing, it is possible to reconstruct it by studying the instrumental parts, especially the strings parts, as they include cue notes referring to the tenor. Also the continuo part is helpful though it does not always include the text (see Ill. 8a–b).

It should be kept in mind that there might be differences between the tenor's cue notes in the instrumental parts and those occurring in the figured bass part: cue notes are merely an orientation for the accompanying musicians and hence dynamics, articulation, and phrasing might have been left out or be incomplete when seen from the tenor's point of view. The figured bass part from which Scheibe played and led the performance is more likely detailed, though, since he wrote the music himself, he might of course have omitted details which he found self-evident: why should he add instructions in his part which he thought were obvious? Similarly, the continuo stave in a vocal part is of secondary importance as it is only a point of reference for the singer. Yet an editor with knowledge of performance practice of the late eighteenth century – that is, aware of the transient borders between the explicit notation and implicit knowledge employed by Baroque musicians to realize the written musical signs – will be able to produce a critical edition. The task would involve a close analysis of the other vocal parts in order to disclose the composer's intentions and the relationship between the time's idiomatic writing and performance practice conventions.[22]

Slurring and beaming practice in vocal parts was seldom notated melismatic as we do today but might just as often reflect articulation and accentuation (see Ill. 9;

22 For a detailed exposition of performance practice of the late eighteenth century, see in particular Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*.

Ill. 8a–b. a) The leader's violin part includes cue notes to the solo tenor part (top stave), and b) the continuo part with the solo tenor (top stave); note the different slurring in the cue notes in the first violin part and the continuo part. Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 8, vl. 1 (3) fol. 6v, and harpsichord, fol. 9v.

it is evident that the slurring in this instance reflects accentuation since the beaming is concerned with the placement of syllables, that is, the notation of melismas); hence reconstructing the missing solo tenor part would therefore also entail reconstructing such details as slurring and beaming in accordance with the other vocal parts – that is, the modern edition would not reflect a modern notation of vocal parts but rather reflect a late Baroque practice since this is what the edition would seek to present.[23] A collation between the vocal parts and the figured bass part as well as the string parts would presumably also help in understanding the kind of information and the level of information included in the vocal parts. With this in mind, it would be possible to reconstruct the tenor part.

Among the information that most certainly would not have been included in Scheibe's original ink fair score, one might mention pronunciation of the Danish text and embellishment of the vocal parts. One of the vocal soloists was a German bass singer who had just arrived in Copenhagen and recently employed at one of the city's churches.[24] To help the singer, the copyist or the singer himself indicated in several places how the Danish words should be pronounced, and in the solo canto part

23 A similar problem occurs in Scheibe's 1768 Passion Cantata which includes an extra movement in the transcription; see Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe, Passion Cantata*, 164.

24 Johann Gottfried Hanke was employed as cantor at the St Petri Church, Copenhagen; cf. Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe, Passion Cantata*, p. xiii.

Ill. 9. Slurring practice in vocal parts; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 9, basso solo, fol. 6r.

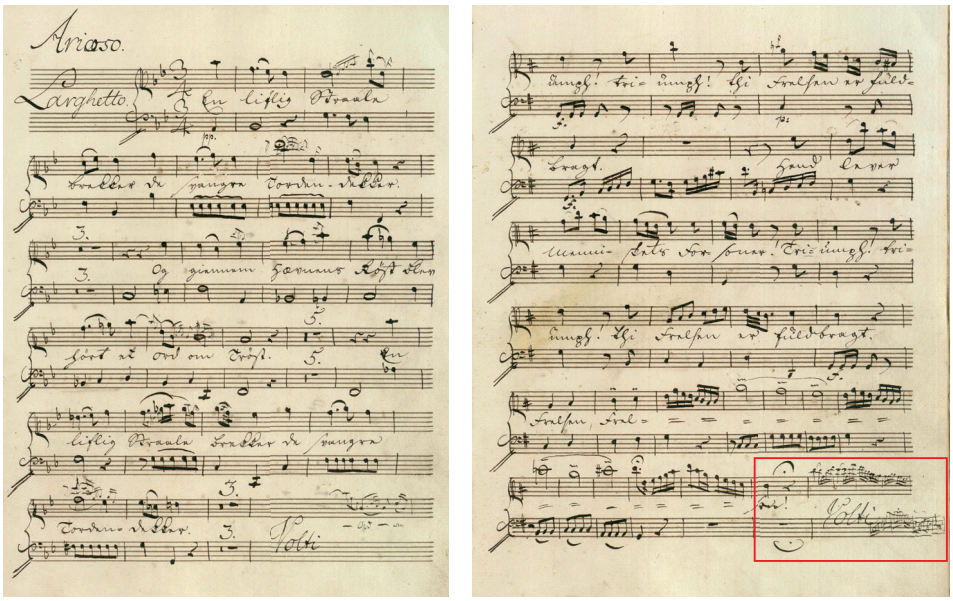
Scheibe added embellishments. These issues are part of performance practice which an editor might consider less relevant for the definition of the work and hence excluded from the full score; yet the details are essential for the performance of the work.

Embellishments

The numerous embellishments in the canto solo part have been added in ink by Scheibe suggesting that they were carefully considered even before rehearsals took place (see Ill. 10). However, it is possible that the vocal parts were composed with specific singers in mind. Thus the canto part, sung by 'Madam Knudsen' a pupil of Sarti's, would reflect her talent and abilities – in particular whether she was able to embellish the part according to Scheibe's wishes or not. Since she was young and rather inexperienced as a singer she would probably need more guidance than many of the other vocal soloists.[25]

The part also includes an insertion by Scheibe (Ill. 11) implying that changes were made after completing the performance material. The ornaments in the insertion are added in pencil, and because they are rather faint it is unfortunately difficult

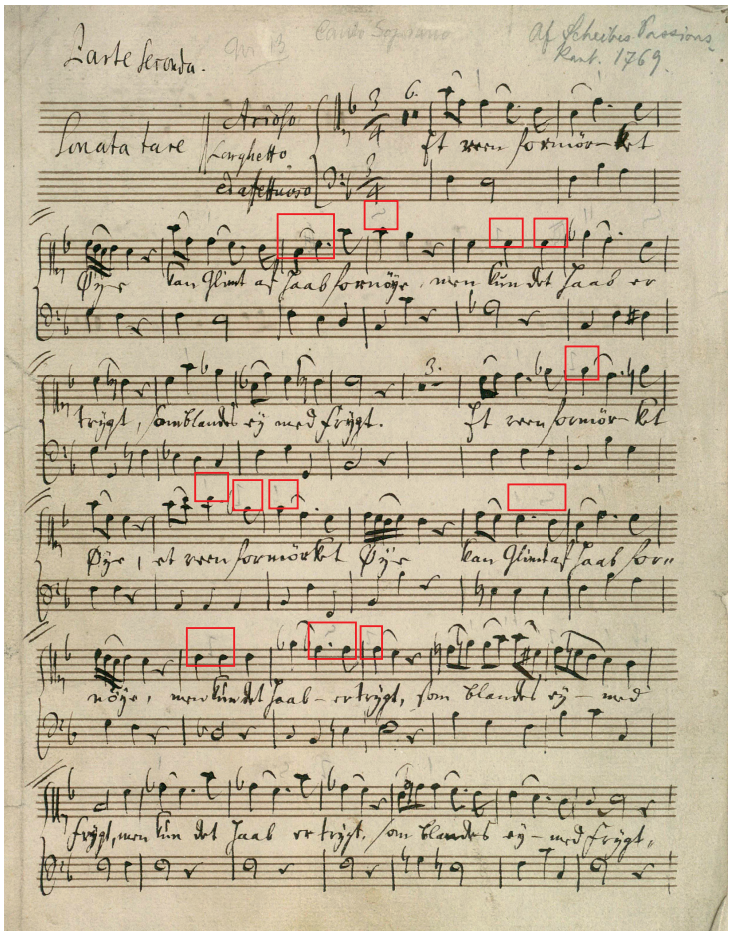
25 See also above n. 13 and below concerning the bass singer's part. Later Johanne Sofie Knudsen would become a famous actress at the Royal Theatre, see e.g. *Den dramatiske Journal*, 1772, nos. 9, 12, 20. She was 27 when she sang in the Passion Cantata of 1769.



Ill. 10a–b. a) Canto solo part with embellishments added in ink by Scheibe, and b) the cadenza added by Scheibe in ink to be sung on the fermata, penultimate stave, bar four; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 10, canto solo, fol. 6r, and movement 17, canto solo, fol. 14r.

to determine whether they were added by the composer, the soloist, or a third party. The additions certainly suggest that embellishments were cautiously thought through prior to the performance. Though there are quite a substantial number of embellishments, they are not highly virtuosic as one finds in operas of the time; rather, they are small, subtle ornaments emphasizing particular words and phrases (see Ill. 10; the only exception is the embellishment occurring at the cadenza). It is surprising, however, that there are so many ornaments. The surviving choir parts do not contain any sort of ornaments, but one wonders whether the missing tenor solo might have included some, similar to the canto solo. The written-out ornaments would not have appeared in Scheibe's working copy – and perhaps not even in the final post-performance fair copy – since they were an essential part of performance practice conventions, even though they were carefully considered before the first rehearsal. A modern critical edition reflecting the performance material would mean including such details. It seems somewhat extreme to omit them, arguing that they would not have appeared in Scheibe's autograph score of the work.

There is no doubt that the tenor part would have contained information not available in the other orchestral material. Since the level of information in the surviving instrumental parts – that is, they include the tenor as cue notes, thus not comprising all information – is most likely not the same as that of the now lost

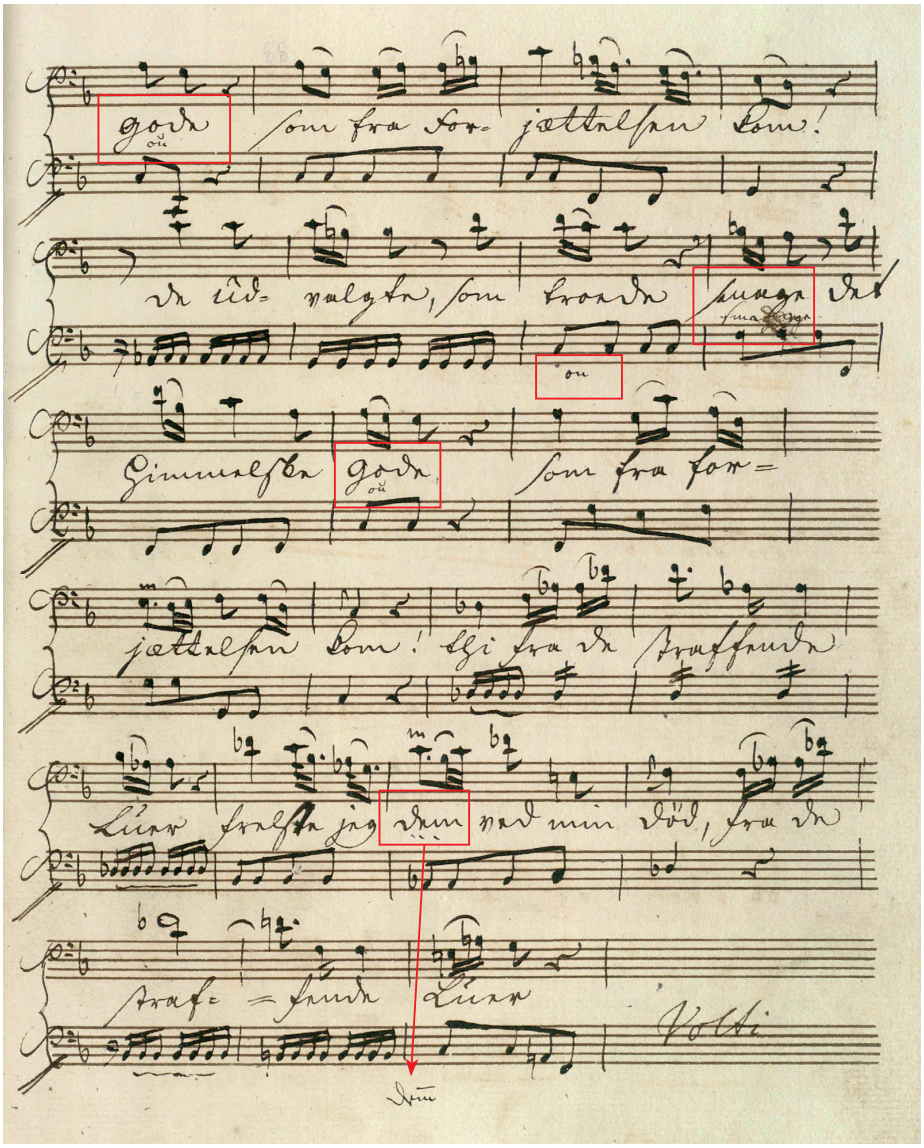


Ill. 11. Insertion in canto solo with hardly visible embellishments added in pencil; Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', *DK-Kk*, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 12, canto solo, fol. 1r (inserted between fols. 7v–8r).

original vocal part. The modern score will reflect this inconsistency presenting the Passion Cantata as a work with a minor handicap: the edition will reflect that the cantata was performed with carefully thought through embellishments in the canto solo, and that the tenor solo has not survived.

Pronunciation

One might question the relevancy of reproducing how a German singer was to pronounce the Danish text in 1769 (see Ill. 12). Since the transcription of sounds (pronunciation) were added in the performance material by the composer, they are variants and would therefore be included in the list of variants; anyone interested



Ill. 12. Pronunciation of Danish notated in the basso solo: 'gode' = '[g]ou[de]'; 'smage' = 'smaagge'; 'dem' = 'demm'; and 'troede' = '[tr]ou[de]'. Other examples are: 'vort' = 'worrt'; 'svagt' = 'swakt' (in margin: 'schwacht'); 'formørkede' = 'formürkede'; '[for]giæves' = 'gähves' or 'gäfves'; 'Seÿer' = 'Sejer' (later also: 'Seier'); 'Dom' = 'Daam';'[ud]valgte' = 'walte'; 'Røst' = Rüß[t]'; 'et' = 'it'; 'trygt' = 'trücht'; 'lagt' = 'lacht'; 'Fiender' = 'Fihnder'; 'men' and 'Haand' (words underlined but no solution indicated);'tör' = 'tür' (?); 'Sjæl' = 'Själ'; 'o-ver' = 'Hohe[-ver]' (two notes slurred on first syllable). Scheibe, 'Sørge-Kantate ved Christi Grav', DK-Kk, Gieddes Saml. XI, 25, movement 9, basso solo, fol. 6r.

may find them there. As one might define this kind of information as of secondary importance, it seems reasonable to exclude the information from the modern full score or performance material, though it is a detail which certainly should be reflected on in the introduction. This is an instance in which the editor presumably would omit information, relegating it to the list of variants.

Conclusion

As the nineteenth-century Bach edition promotes, performance material may be used in order to establish a musical work. It will certainly not be a universal, autonomous work cleansed of the various historical and social contexts. On the contrary, basing a modern critical edition on this kind of material, suffused in a complex web of contexts, will merely reflect brief instances, particular events bound with practice and performability at precisely those moments in history when the work was performed. The work is dependent on and inevitably bound to a whole range of contexts. When it comes to the present Passion Cantata of 1769, the performance material is the only source that has survived, and to gain insight into Scheibe's cantata the editor is forced to employ the instrumental and vocal parts for establishing a critical edition. Problems do arise such as some part material may reflect one particular context while other parts reflect a different one. The critically established, modern score might thus show aspects which are incompatible – a problem that somehow needs to be solved.

It would have been easier if a contemporary eighteenth-century full score had survived. Yet, as I have argued, it is not necessarily the autograph ink score which is the most interesting source, and certainly not *per se* the principal one representing the work. It is evident that we have to be careful not to impose definitions and interpretations on to an array of sources: an autograph ink fair copy might indeed have had another purpose, another audience, as it were: it seems that what we term 'ink fair copy' would often not reflect a discrete stage in the compositional process but rather reveal a dynamic or prolonged creative activity including reworkings of the music even after the completion of score.[26] The work's main features were retained but the details – the background noise or variation as it were – were variable and might reflect specific performances or changes added at the whims of the composer. The work concept of the eighteenth century is much more dynamic, leading us as editors to an approach that is not exclusively focused on the composer's intentions. At the same time, it is evident that Scheibe emphasizes the importance of the autograph ink fair copy since he apparently took the time to produce them after the works had been presented to an audience, thus acknowledging that changes made to the performance material at the proofreading stage or even during rehearsals were important for the final authoritative version. Scheibe's detailed explanation regarding his working process producing score and performance material is interesting and may explain some of the inconsistencies encountered in the surviving material.

26 See Ill. 2.

However, Scheibe is a highly exceptional composer of the eighteenth century in that he sought to promote the idea of final intentions – an idea that is very seldom found among other composers of the time; and regarding the vast majority of these composers, one might provocatively argue that choosing the ink working score as principal source is the simple solution avoiding all the additional contexts thus keeping the work within an easier manageable framework. The performance material does insist on a much more complex set of contexts due to the fact that the full score's 'incomplete' notation was copied out in parts often adding more information. Based on the working score, the copyist interpreted its notation when producing the instrumental and vocal parts; this material was read and interpreted by singers and musicians, and the performance was most often led by the composer.

Summary

When dealing with the critical editing of music of the eighteenth century, it seems fairly easy to select the composer's ink fair manuscript as copy text – that is, if such a manuscript has survived. In a few cases, however, also the original performance material is available. The article argues that it is important to take into account the instrumental parts and use them actively in the editing process as they reveal a different set of contexts to that of the ink fair copy scores. Scheibe's Passion Cantata of 1769 is used as an example of the various problems an editor encounters for, since a contemporary score has not survived, it is necessary to employ the performance material. In addition, the set of parts is incomplete forcing the critical editor to reconstruct the tenor part basing it on the cue notes in the harpsichord and violin parts, for instance. Overall, the material creates a number of intricate problems since it contains contradictory information on performance practice, and the editor has therefore to make some difficult choices.

Editing Niels W. Gade's Cantata *Comala*
Some problems regarding final intentions

Axel Teich Geertinger

Editorial concepts which strive at presenting final authorial intentions in some form, including the concept of *Fassung letzter Hand* (final authorized version) inherited from German philology, have long been commonly accepted among editions of musical works, not least in Scandinavia.[1] In the field of textual criticism, however, such concepts have been heavily criticized and have been on decline for decades. Nevertheless, they are to a large degree still governing the critical editing of music in Denmark as well as other countries. The article discusses some of their inherent problems, and the case study used is Niels Wilhelm Gade's Cantata *Comala*, published in 2013 as part of the complete edition of Gade's works.[2]

Final authorial intentions and *Fassung letzter Hand*

Various editorial concepts employ the latest, authorized state of a work as the point of reference for an edition, though the applied methodologies and the arguments involved may differ. Editions in line with the Anglo-American 'copy-text' tradition, for instance, usually aim at presenting final authorial intentions in some form. A characteristic feature of the copy-text approach as originally proposed by Walter W. Greg is the distinction between the text's 'substantives' and 'accidentals'.[3] The term 'accidental' in this case is not to be understood in the musical sense, of course; rather, it defines the variable elements of a text not influencing the text's meaning – that is, elements such as spelling and punctuation – whereas 'substantives' are elements making up the meaning, in essence the words. A source close to the author serves as the copy-text, providing not only the base text for the edition but also the accidentals. Using the copy-text's accidentals ensures that some original characteristics or idiosyncrasies such as the author's spelling are retained in the edition. In order to represent the latest authorized state of the text, however, the base text is emended where later sources authorized by the author provide differing substantives – readings distinct in substance such as additions, cuts, or different wording.

1 Among Scandinavian editions explicitly aiming at presenting final intentions or final versions are the editions of works by Edvard Grieg (published 1962–92), Franz Berwald (published 1966–2013), Niels W. Gade (published since 1995), Carl Nielsen (published 1998–2009), and Johan Svendsen (first preliminary edition published 2011).

2 Axel Teich Geertinger (ed.), *Comala* (Niels W. Gade, Works IV:1; Copenhagen, 2013).

3 Walter Wilson Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography*, 3 (1950–51), 19–36. Greg's ideas have been further developed by a number of other theorists, not least G. Thomas Tanselle; see for instance Tanselle, 'The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention', *Studies in Bibliography*, 29 (1976), 167–211. An excellent overview of the theory and history of critical editing is given in Johnny Kondrup, *Editionsfilologi* (Copenhagen, 2011).

An underlying assumption is that readings are freely exchangeable between the texts of different sources; that is, they are regarded as independent from each other and from the text they are part of as a whole. Obviously, this approach leads to eclectic editions, mixing readings from various sources. Thus the copy-text method does not aim at presenting the text as it was intended at one particular moment, but rather at establishing what is assumed to be the work's ideal shape, usually meaning a compilation of the most mature readings. The most obvious problem with the eclectic approach is that it produces a text that has never existed, probably not even in the author's mind. Hence, it cannot be claimed to have a reception history, and the edited text does not reflect the state of the text at any particular point in the work's genetic history: it produces a historically blurred construct. This objection may, of course, be raised against all modern editions to the extent that any editorial change in a text, even a small correction, may produce a variant version of the text that has not existed before. Even a diplomatic transcription retaining both substantives and accidentals from the base text changes the appearance of the text and thus creates a new manifestation of the text different from its model by introducing certain elements of its own time such as typography. However, these are deviations at a more subtle level than the combination of symbols that constitute the text and will not be taken into account in the following discussion.

Contrary to the copy-text tradition, the *Fassung letzter Hand* or *Ausgabe letzter Hand* principle is almost exclusively connected with editorial methods that involve the election of a single source as the base text, correcting it only where the text is judged to be in error. It is basically anti-eclectic and ideally produces a coherent version of the text as it was – or as it was intended to be – at the time the author left it. The examination of other sources only assists the editor in detecting errors and finding the most plausible solution to them. In other words, the editor's focus is on the state of the integral text at a certain point in its history rather than on the chronology of individual readings.

Both the approaches of 'final authorial intentions' and *Fassung letzter Hand* tend to have a strong focus on the author (or, when editing music, the composer) in the narrow sense as the single person originally having conceived the work. The individual author is regarded as the only legitimate authority by which the various sources' readings are measured: the closer to the author a reading (or source) can be proved to be, the more weight it receives in the process of assessing the different readings (or sources) against each other. Even if *Fassung letzter Hand* does not *per se* imply an intentionalist concept, in practice the emendations made in such editions will usually also be motivated by the search for what the author had intended. However, in fact the concept only aims at presenting the final *version* – an actual, historical state of the text – whereas the concept of final authorial intentions by definition may go beyond any historical versions in its quest for the ideal text, that is, the text as it is assumed to have been intended by the author.

A general criticism of any editorial principle aiming at reconstructing authorial intentions – whether final or not – has been put forward, though in some cases

this criticism appears to be based on a misunderstanding of what the concept of 'intentions' implies in an editing context. James Grier, for instance, claiming to be leaning on the writings of Jerome McGann, dismisses final authorial intentions as being 'a psychological endeavour (in which the editor attempts to determine the author's intentions)'.[4] But even if editing to some extent must inevitably involve a certain amount of interpretation and hence subjectivity, the process of establishing the 'intended text' in practice has nothing to do with psychology or guessing what the composer might have been feeling or thinking. Establishing the text is a process based on the evidence provided by the available sources combined with the editor's awareness of style, genre, performance practice, historical and social context, etc. The question may in fact be whether 'intentions' is a misleading term for the editorial concept rather than whether the concept itself is illusory.

A more serious criticism of the single-person intentions perspective than the one based on the psychology (mis-)interpretation is that it tends to prohibit understanding 'authorial intentions' in a broader sense or, in other words, as the general but to a large extent non-coordinated striving of a collective of persons involved in the shaping of the work. This collective may include a broad range of individuals such as copyists, publishers, conductors, performers, librettists, censors, critics, stage directors, and choreographers representing an equally broad range of interests. Jerome McGann has strongly advocated editorial approaches aware of this social nature of the work.[5]

The perception of the author as an autonomous individual reveals an inner conflict inherent to the concept of final authorial intentions, basically because the terms 'final' and 'authorial' represent divergent forces which the editor has to balance against each other in the choice between variant readings. 'Final intentions' obviously has to do with temporality: the assumption is that the later a reading is proved to be, the better it is. But over time, the original author gradually loses control over his work. The principle of final authorial intentions may work fine up to the time of the text's delivery to the publisher or of its first performance. From the moment it is handed over to the public or to agents preparing it for the public, external influence on the work's further development is unavoidable and continuously increasing. Copyists, publishers, performers, and others contribute to shaping the work, with or without the original author's knowledge and acceptance. Thus the last version of the work published in the author's lifetime may be quite far from the author's own intentions. Even the fact that the author had a copy of this edition does not automatically mean he had authorized each of its readings, but only that he was aware of its existence. Thus, when trying to determine authorial intentions, the author's actual degree of involvement in the publishing process must in each case be subject to close investigation by the critical editor in order to evaluate and rank the available sources appropriately. In this process, the editor is, more often than not, forced to compromise or to choose between finality and authority, revealing the delusive

4 James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music* (Cambridge, 1996), 17.

5 See, for instance, Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago & London, 1983), 42 ff.

nature of final authorial intentions – at least as long as the author is defined as a single individual rather than a collective of persons involved in the work's creation.

Despite their differences, the principles of final intentions and the *Fassung letzter Hand* share the basic assumption that changes introduced by the author are improvements to the text; in other words, the text tends to converge towards its ideal state over time – at least as long as the author is in control. This assumption is rarely questioned in music editing, though a revision may in fact leave the work in a heterogeneous, aesthetically less satisfactory state than the original version.

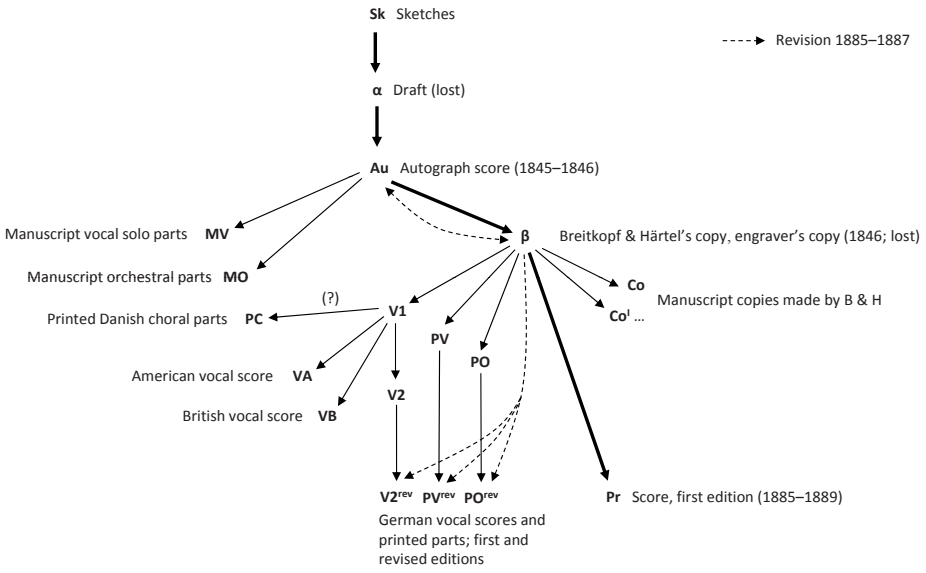
Another general objection against 'final intentions' or 'final version' is that their focus on the chronology of the readings may obscure the fact that variations between different sources to a large degree may simply reflect that they have been produced for very distinct purposes. For instance, a dedication copy not intended for performance is likely to give priority to graphical appearance over detailed dynamic marking, while performance material probably is more concerned with musical accuracy. When it comes to opera, and especially early opera, searching for final intentions is probably not useful at all. An opera is a fluctuating work connected so intimately with the circumstances of the individual performances that the simple chronology of sources may not be correlated to increasing aesthetical quality or the convergence towards the composer's true (or final) intentions at all.

Gade's *Comala*

As stated in the general preface to each volume, the edition of the Works of Niels W. Gade explicitly aims at presenting *Fassung letzter Hand*. As a rule, Gade's copy of the printed score is to be elected the principal source. The general preference of the printed score over the autograph as the principal source is first of all based on the logical assumption that the print(s) will postdate the autograph(s) and thus be closer to final intentions; in other words, finality is given priority over authority. Implicitly, however, this advice also testifies to the edition's awareness that a musical work is not only shaped by the composer's personal artistic intentions but also by its social and institutional context: preferring a printed edition also implies accepting that the engraver's changes may very well be indirectly intended by the composer (by delegated authorization, in essence, the composer trusts that the engraver will improve his work by correcting any errors he may find and accepts that certain changes will be made); the work is considered a product of the intentions of a number of persons. Hence, the edition favours a state of the work that has actually met the public and thus has had a historical impact rather than canonizing a composer's personal or imagined version. Also the *Comala* volume follows these guidelines by electing the printed score as its principal source, even if the question what Gade's final intentions really were turns out to be rather complex on a closer examination.

Gade's cantata *Comala*, a 'dramatic poem for soloists, choir and orchestra', composed in 1845–46 during Gade's stay in Leipzig, is based on an Ossianic poem of the

same name.[6] It was first performed at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig in March 1846 and received more than 80 performances in Germany during Gade's lifetime.[7] Probably the same year a manuscript copy was made for the Leipzig publishers Breitkopf & Härtel, but the work was not engraved and printed until some 40 years later. In the meantime, the publishers sold manuscript copies made from their copy when needed.



Ill. 1. Filiation of selected sources. Based on the stemma in the Gade Edition, p. 213.

Ill. 1 shows a stemma with the most important sources. A few sketches (labelled **Sk** in the stemma) have survived. A now lost draft of the score (**α**) probably existed. Gade's extant autograph fair copy (**Au**) is obviously a source of major importance. From the autograph, the publisher's copy (**β**) was made, which unfortunately is lost. However, some of the manuscript copies of it, sold by Breitkopf & Härtel, have survived (**Co** and a number of similar copies). Also a number of vocal scores (**V1**, **V2**, **VA**, and **VB**), German vocal parts (**PV**), and orchestral parts (**PO**) were printed.

When the first edition (**Pr**) was finally engraved and printed in the years 1885–89, it was based on the publisher's copy **β**. Following the common error method (the so-called *Lachmann* method), readings shared by the sources **Pr** and **Co** but in disagreement with **Au** show that **β** differed from the autograph in some detail right from the

6 In the second half of the eighteenth century, James Macpherson published a large number of poems, attributing them to the Celtic bard Ossian. The poem titled *Comala* was first published in *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian the son of Fingal. Translated from the Ga[e]lic Language, By James Macpherson* (London, 1762). Gade had Julius Klengel (1818–1879) prepare a German libretto for his cantata, based on a German translation of Macpherson's poem.

7 See editor's preface in the Gade Edition for details on the work's genesis and reception history.

beginning, while readings shared by **Au** and **Co** witness a number of details in **β** that were changed or forgotten by the engraver when preparing the printed first edition.

In 1848, Gade returned to Denmark, taking the autograph score with him from Leipzig. He used it for all his *Comala* performances in Denmark (in 1850–51, 1856, 1871, and 1887), and he appears to have made minor changes in it on most of these occasions. In Copenhagen, manuscript orchestral and vocal solo parts (**MO** and **MV**) were copied from the autograph, and for the 1871 performance also choral parts with Danish text were printed (**PC**). As a result there is a minor transmission of the work in Denmark which is distinct from the main transmission in Germany and other countries. The last changes in Gade's autograph score were apparently made in connection with the performances in December 1887 – that is, while the printed score was already in preparation. A letter from Gade to his publishers testifies that he had sent a score with a number of corrections – probably a proof – back to Breitkopf & Härtel around early December 1887 which was at exactly the same time as Gade's last performances of the work in Copenhagen. Hence, none of the two sources **Pr** and **Au** can be clearly identified as the one representing Gade's final intentions alone.

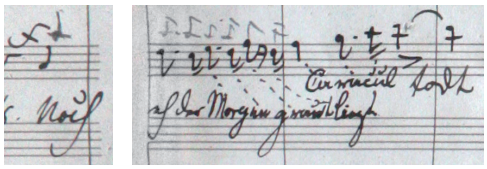
The situation is further complicated by the fact that Gade decided to revise the work in 1885 when the decision was made to print the score. Among other alterations, the revision involved a number of deletions in the brass parts. It appears that changes were made in **Au** and copied from there to **β**, but not all changes were accurately and completely copied in the process. Apparently however, Gade actually intended to include all the changes he had made, since no particular type of changes seems to have been left out. Also, Gade does not seem to have made a distinction between changes made in connection with particular performances (that is, early changes made long before the revision, recognisable as readings in **Au** also found in the Danish performance material – sources **MV**, **MO**, and **PC**) and those made with the print in mind. The fact that not all differences between **Au** and **β** were eliminated on that occasion suggests that Gade sanctioned – at least passively – some of the original readings in **β** (identifiable as the ones shared by **Pr** and **Co**) as well as a number of new ones probably introduced by the engraver. Perhaps Gade did not compare the two scores in every detail, or he did not consider the differences to be sufficiently important to eliminate them in each case.

The revision and proofreading processes considerably delayed the printing of the score, which was not published until early 1889. The revision of the score also caused Breitkopf & Härtel to publish revised versions of the German vocal score (**V2**$^{\mathbf{rev}}$), the printed vocal parts (**PV**$^{\mathbf{rev}}$), and the printed orchestral parts (**PO**$^{\mathbf{rev}}$).

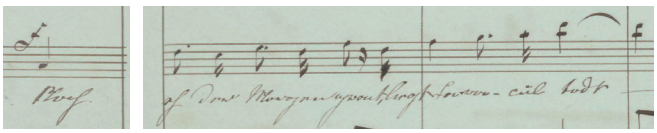
For about 40 years, *Comala* survived in two distinct transmissions: a Danish one embodied by the autograph; and one abroad, embodied by **β** and its descendants. Eventually, however, these two transmissions crossed their paths again, exchanging a number of readings (most changes apparently copied from **Au** to **β**, but possibly also vice versa) during the process of preparing the first edition **Pr**. As a result, the sources leave the work in a blurry state in the sense that some late changes in **Au** did not make it into the first edition, while, on the other hand, new readings were

introduced by the engraver or by Gade himself in the proof, but not copied back into Gade's autograph score.

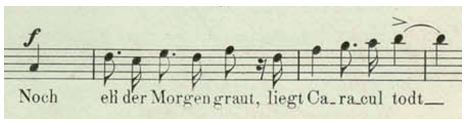
Au: Autograph score (*DK-Kk*, C II, 6)



Co: Copy as sold by Breitkopf & Härtel (*D-DT*, Mus-n 1493)



Pr: Printed first edition (*DK-Kk*, Gades Samling 32)



Ill. 2. *Comala*, No. 2, bb. 94 ff.

An example of the former situation is found in No. 2, in Fingal's part (Ill. 2). Gade obviously transposed the part to a higher pitch in **Au**, but the change was either not copied to **β** or a change in **β** was ignored by the engraver. In this case, we must assume that the autograph represents Gade's final intentions.

Au: Autograph score

Co: Copy as sold by Breitkopf & Härtel

Pr: Printed first edition

Ill. 3. *Comala*, No. 1, bb. 20 f.

The latter situation is visible in a number of instances, for example in the trombones in No. 1 (Ill. 3). Gade's revision included numerous cancellations in the brass parts, but in a few cases – as in this example – such changes are only found in the print. Apparently, Gade did either make this particular change in **β** only, but not in the autograph score, or introduced it at a very late stage directly in the proof without copying it back into his own score (the pencilled dynamic markings in this passage in the autograph score were most probably added at an earlier date and thus are not to be seen as part of the 1885–87 revision). In this case, the print most probably is in agreement with Gade's final intentions.

The *Comala* sources illustrate some of the problems related to finality: Both sources **Pr** and **Au** are the result of Gade's revision of the work; each of them contains a number of readings from the original version and a number of readings originating from the revision, yet **Pr** and **Au** are not identical. Insisting on representing the latest reading in each case would be problematic, not only because the result would be an eclectic edition, but also because the revision of **Au** and the engraving of **Pr** are intertwined in a way that makes it impossible – perhaps also futile – to determine which readings are 'final' in a strictly temporal sense. As already mentioned, the printed score serves as the principal source for the edition of *Comala* in accordance with the Gade Edition's guidelines, though from a strictly chronological point of view it could just as well have been the autograph.

Either way, at least two weak points of a *Fassung letzter Hand* edition of Gade's *Comala* remain. First, the revised *Comala* is a combination of original readings and readings introduced with the revision. In general, a revision is likely to affect only those passages which the composer feels most urgently need to be changed, while many other passages and details will be left untouched, especially when making changes in an existing source rather than making a new copy in the process. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that Gade would have written exactly the same in the untouched passages if he were to compose the work from scratch in his mature age. The revised work as a whole represents, therefore, neither the young nor the mature Gade, but a patchwork of both. There is no guarantee that such a mixed work would be aesthetically more satisfying than the original, coherent version.

Second, the fact that the score was not revised and printed until 40 years after its premiere, indeed an unusual situation in Gade's *oeuvre*, illustrates that the latest – or final – version is not necessarily the one that had the greatest impact. From the viewpoint of reception history, the most significant version is the one embodied by **β** since it served as the base text for all scores used for performances of the work during Gade's lifetime except those conducted by Gade himself.

Both of these issues would be arguments for choosing *Ausgabe erster Hand* – the first public version – rather than *Fassung letzter Hand* as the governing principle. From this point of view, **β** would be the best candidate for a principal source in the *Comala* case, but as already mentioned **β** itself is lost. In principle, using the common error method, the readings of **Pr**, **Au**, and **Co** would allow a rather reliable reconstruction, especially if the collation would include as many of the

other copies similar to **Co** as possible, even if this laborious approach may not be realistic for practical reasons.

The example may serve as a contribution to the discussion of editorial principles of future critical editions of music. It illustrates some of the implications of choosing a principle such as *Fassung letzter Hand* and points out some of the alternatives. Aiming at a work's final version may be a reasonable choice in some situations, but it may not be the best in all cases. There seems to be a potential conflict between the desire to apply uniform editorial principles to all volumes of a collected edition and the diversity of possible source situations, some of which may suggest alternative approaches. It may be worthwhile considering – as indeed some editions already do – whether complete editions could improve by allowing the decision, which version to publish, to depend on the available source material and the work's history in each case. Instead of aiming at the same version or state of the work throughout the edition – whether final, original, or first public version – the overall guideline could be a certain perspective: for instance, an edition could place its main emphasis on the composer's authority, or on reception history, or even on aesthetical quality. Then the sources would need to be evaluated in each case according to this overall perspective and the principal source would be elected in accordance with it, even if as a result the edition would contain final versions of some works, and earlier versions of others.

Summary

The attempt to represent final authorial intentions in some form is still a common principle in Scandinavian music editions, despite the fact that similar principles have long been criticized in the field of textual criticism. The article points out some of the general problems of such concepts, including the divergent forces of authority and finality. The recent difficulties of editing Niels Wilhelm Gade's cantata *Comala* under the Gade Edition's *Fassung letzter Hand* perspective illustrate these problems. The article suggests that aspects such as reception history or the composer's authority alone may be better points of departure for future editions than concepts focusing on temporality.

Mahmūd Darwīsh and Marcīl Khalīfa: Art and Commitment

Søren Møller Sørensen

We are in a stadium somewhere in the Middle East.[1] A dark night, spotlights, and the singer, composer, and musician Marcīl Khalīfa alone on the stage with his Arab lute:[2]

I long for my mother's bread
My mother's coffee
My mother's touch
The childhood grows in me
Days in the arms of the days
And I love my life
For if I had died
I would be ashamed of my mother's tears.

The fully loaded stadium knows the poem and answers the singer, partly singing and partly reciting:

I'm getting old
Give me back the stars of childhood
So that I together with the small birds
May take the road home
... to the nest of your waiting.[3]

The text of the song *ilā ʾummi* (To my Mother), which Marcīl Khalīfa is singing and which he has sung at numerous similar events, is by the Palestinian Maḥmūd Darwīsh (1941–2008).[4] The poem is from the collection *ʿāshiq min filisṭīn* (A Lover from Palestine); it was published in 1966[5] and includes the most important poems which made

1 *Marcel Khalife. Voyageur*, DVD, ch. 19 'Ma Mere/Mother', Sabbah Media Production, 2004. The material includes neither information on author nor place of production.
2 He is playing on a modernized version of the short neck Arab lute *al-ʿaūd*.
3 Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Arabic are by the present author who therefore also bears the sole responsibility for them. However, I am indebted to my linguistic advisors, Daro Hansen and Sawsan Kassis, for patient help with the translation.
4 The transliteration from Arab has been done according the *IJMES transliteration system*. In quotations, titles etc. the transliteration follows the source. Some names are spelled according to commonly used Latinized forms.
5 Home-page of Mahmoud Darwish Foundation gives 1966 as the year of publication. The earliest edition I can verify is Mahmūd Darwīsh, *ʿāshiq min Filisṭīn* (Beirut: Dar al-Adāb, 1968).

Mahmūd Darwīsh known and loved in the Arab world as the voice of the Palestinian cause and which are still loved by a large audience: *jawāz safar* (A Passport), *rītā wa-l-bunduqīyya* (Rita and the Gun), and *wu ʿūd min al-ʿāṣifa* (Promises of the Storm). These poems operate within the traditional poetic gamut of emotions on love, loss, and longing and relate this gamut with the political, moral, and existential themes associated with Palestine's recent history following the founding of Israel and the expulsion of Palestinians from the territory of the new state after the first Israeli-Arab war in 1948. Darwīsh has retained his popularity also in later, less explicit nationalistic and political phases of his authorship. He died in 2008, fifty-seven years old, but even today many in the Arab world hear his voice as containing a special moral authority.

There are many good reasons to assume that for modern Arab audiences there are strong political-moral elements in their resilient, emotional response to his poetry. In the case of the poem *ilā ʾummi* there is a story included: the poem was written while Darwīsh was living in Israel and was part of the Palestinian opposition or resistance movement. It was composed during one of Darwish's jail terms in Israeli prisons at that time. Thus the poem's yearning for *home* – that is, mother's bread and coffee and touch – is also the yearning for political freedom, and the yearning for childhood is also the yearning for the lost country. For the Arab audience the song is weaved in a political-emotional community connected with *al-qadīyyā al-filisṭinīyya* (the Palestinian issue) and oriented between on the one side *al-ghurba* (expatriation) and on the other *ʿawda* (return).

The singer, musician and composer Marcīl Khalīfa (b. 1950) is Lebanese. He studied the Arab lute at the Academy of Music in Beirut and composition at the conservatory in Moscow and had his breakthrough in the 1970s as an artist with a political agenda, a kind of Arab 'protest singer'. The lyrics to his most loved songs are the poems by Darwīsh mentioned above. Many have become acquainted with Darwīsh's poems through these songs, and for many Khalīfa is a 'Mahmūd Darwīsh singer'. Darwīsh has acknowledged that Khalīfa has played a crucial role in the dissemination of his poetry:

> Marcel Khalife's song may be one of the few remaining songs of our spiritual enlightenment ...
>
> In Khalife's song there is useful beauty and clear purposefulness. When I wrote about my love for my mother from the prison, neither she nor I realized the effectiveness of this declaration until Marcel's song announced it beyond the personal relationship and the moment of prison. Khalife narrowed the gap, ever made wider by poets, between poetry and song. He brought back the absent emotional space needed to reconcile poetry with its alienated audience. Thus, poetry developed Khalife's song, while the latter mended people's relationship with poetry. Now, the streets sing with Marcel and the words need a podium no longer.[6]

6 Mahmūd Darwīsh on Marcel Khalīfe: http://www.rockpaperscissors.biz/index.cfm/fuseaction/current.alt_press_release/project_id/185/alt_release/83.cfm, accessed 2 Oct. 2012. Concert programme note on Saturday 16 October at the University Music Society, University of Michigan; accessed at http://ums.aadl.org/ums/programs_20041015b.

From a western point of view, Khalīfa is, moreover, a musician with an exceptionally wide range. His production spans from simple, popular songs to Mahmūd Darwīsh's early poems via orchestral music of various degrees of oriental local colouring to *oriental jazz*.

There are obvious parallels between the two artists. Both are known and loved by a wide, popular audience, both are connected with what in Arab is called *al-fan al-multazim* – the committed art, and in their production and public statements we find traces of a rather complex negotiation of the relationship between political and moral engagement and artistic autonomy. But basically the cultural status of the arts that they represent differs. The art of poetry possesses an undeniable cultural legitimacy, and in both traditional and modern Arab cultural-heritage structures it is assigned the role as *the* central vehicle for cultural recollection and reflection. The music has a stronger need for a justification. Its cultural legitimacy as such is partly challenged by Islam,[7] partly it cannot – as its European counterpart – refer back to a long evolutionary history of written culture.[8] The two artists relate to the same current set of political problems, and the same aesthetic and principal questions. However, as poet and musician respectively, they have very distinct historical premises.

The poem and the poet's role

In the international scholarly literature, which I have been able to consult, it is more or less agreed that in Mahmūd Darwīsh's poetic production we find traces of an artistic acted-out conflict between his role as a Palestinian national symbol and his role as a modern free artist who develops in dialogue with the sophisticated world literature of his time. The viewpoints presented in this literature are, of course, influenced by western academic agendas, but parts of the premises for the described conflict are related to conditions that are specific for the modern Arab literary 'institution'. It is partly concerned with the hierarchy of genre in which the poem – contrary to the novel and other prose genres – is celebrated in the Arab cultural heritage discussion as the old and endemic literary art form; and it is partly about the form and extent of the art of poetry's presence in the cultural field.

Poetry is simply present in the modern Arab everyday life, which I have studied on visits to Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt during the last years and by listening daily to Arab radio, in a different way than what we know from the modern western society, and Arab poets play a different prominent role as cultural icons. On the Syrian state radio, short spots, in which the voices of well-known poets recite pieces of their celebrated poems, interrupt the transmissions. And in 2013, while I was working on the present article, Bashār al-Assad's official Syria was burying the poet Sulaımān il-ʿīsā, who was closely associated with the regime and the Bath-party celebrating him as one of the great sons of the country ravaged by civil

7 For an insightful account of the theological dispute regarding the music (the so-called *samaʿ*-discussion), see Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001 (1985)).

8 H.H. Touma, *Arabische Musik und Notenschrift* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1996).

war.[9] Poems and poets play a different, more prominent role in the modern Arab culture than they do in western culture, both in terms of the official as well as the dissident culture.

Also a different emphasis on the performativity belongs to this view regarding poetry's different placement in the cultural landscape. Poetry on the modern Arab literary stage is to a much greater extent than in the western world a performative genre. The poet is in a different way intimately connected with his voice; the ability to convincingly recite own poems is an integrated part of the profession of being a poet, and *al-umsiya al-shaʿriyya* (poem recitation evening) is a deep-rooted and living tradition cultivated in all shapes, from the most humble to the most pretentious such as in the national opera houses of Cairo and Damascus. Thousands of fans gathered when Mahmūd Darwīsh recited his own poems, and his voice and supreme command of the art of recitation may be heard and seen on numerous videos on the Internet. Incidentally, the Internet and the Arab satellite channels play a particular role in connection with the maintenance and dissemination of the art of poetry. The most striking example is the competition, *amīr al-shuʿara'* (Prince of the Poets), taking place in Abu Dhabi: the poets recite their own works to a very enthusiastic audience and are subjected to strict judges' assessment in a scenography very similar to that which we know from X Factor.[10]

The poem's or the poet's special status in contemporary Arab culture may be explained historically. In the Arab world the novel is a relatively new phenomenon linked with the efforts of modernization, reform, and revitalization that began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which the Arab speaking refer to by employing the concept *al-nahḍa*,[11] while poetic genres such as the qasida and ghazale may be traced back to the pre-Islamic age. It is said that since this remote past the poets have acted as the nation's voice, recollection, and conscience. The idea of poetry's central identity-forming importance is expressed in the saying, *diwān al-ʿarab*, which may be translated as 'the chronicle' or 'the register' of the Arabs. The entry 'Arabic Literature' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* explains:

> 'The register of the Arabs' (dīwān al-ʿarab) is the age-old phrase whereby Arabs have acknowledged the status and value that poetry has always retained within their cultural heritage. From the very earliest stages in the Arabic literary tradition, poetry has reflected the deepest sense of Arab self-identity, of communal history, and of aspirations for the future. Within this tradition the role of the poet has been of major significance. The linkage between public life and the composition of ringing odes has remained a direct one from the pre-Islamic era – when the poet was a major verbal weapon, someone whose verses could be invoked to praise the heroes of his own tribe and to pour scorn on those of their enemies – through the pre-modern period – when poetic

9 Syrian Free Press Network: 'Poet Sulaiman al-Issa Laid to Rest', 12 Aug. 2013, http://syrianfreepress.wordpress.com/2013/08/12/poet-sulaiman-al-issa-laid-to-rest/, accessed 5 Sept. 2013.

10 Blog: The Saif House: 'The Prince of Poets: Arab Poetry's Answer to American Idol', 10 Sept. 2007; http://3quarksdaily.blogs.com/3quarksdaily/2007/09/the-prince-of-p.html, accessed 5 Sept. 2013.

11 *Al-Nahḍa*; the literal meaning is 'awakening'.

> eulogies not only extolled the ruler who patronized the poet but reflected a pride in the achievements and extent of the Islamic dominions – to the modern period – in which the poet has felt called upon to either reflect or oppose the prevailing political mood. In times of crisis it has always been, and still remains, the poet's voice that is first raised to reflect the tragedies, the anger, the fears, and the determination of the Arab people.[12]

The idea that the art of poetry has a historically conditioned special status is also cultivated among distinguished representatives of the younger generation of Arab intellectuals such as the political scientist, Tamīm al-Barghūthi (b. 1977), who develops the idea by explaining its origin in the pre-Islamic nomadic culture on the Arabian Peninsula. According to Tamīm al-Barghūthi there is a simple, causal relationship between the nomadic life and the special significance of the poet's words as the central factor for collective memory and identity formation. Nomadic people cannot make use of permanent buildings and monuments as symbols for a collective memory and identity. The poet's words, which merely require a good memory, a good voice and an animal to ride on in order to be transported from camp to camp, receive therefore a central place in the culture.[13] In addition, Tamīm al-Barghūthi embodies the role of the poet in which he describes and combines the role of an academic and intellectual with that of a politically committed poet. He received his popular breakthrough in 2007, when he won the fifth prize at the above-mentioned competition, *amīr al-shuʿaraʾ*, with the poem *fī-l-quḍs* (In Jerusalem).[14]

The trend – that is, that current cultural phenomena are interpreted in the light of ancient culture historical occurrences, here represented by Tamīm al-Barghūthi – is so typical in contemporary Arab culture-theoretical discourse that the trend in itself requires reflection. In this context it is worth noting that the long historical perspective was also a factor in the establishment of the Arab modernism, which was one of the points of orientation in the literary circles of Beirut in the 1960s. It is significant of this particular kind of historical consciousness, characterizing modern Arab art theory, that a leading Arab modernist such as the Syrian-born Adonis (b. 1930)[15] established his own artistic position in direct dialogue with the ancient layers of literary history. His dissertation, *The Stable and Variable*,[16] focuses on the first three centuries after Islam's emergence, arriving at the viewpoint that the best poetry from the distant past embodies a time-independent modernity of immediate present relevance. This is a view which he expounds on in *An Introduction to Arabic Poetics* (1990), adding, however, that an inherent modernity in poets and canonized cultural icons, such as ʾAbū Nuwās (756–814) and ʾAbū Tammām (*c.* 796–845), was

12 Roger M.A. Allen, 'Arabic Literature', *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* http://www.academicroom.com/topics/arabic-definition, accessed 11 Dec. 2012.

13 Tamīm al-Barghouti, *The Umma and the Dawla. The Nation State and the Arab Middle East* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 8–10.

14 Listen to the poem on youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7GGP89OhAaU&index=140&list=FLyh4O8_X_UM0qLZi1SdQRTg.

15 Pen name for *ʿalī Aḥmad Saʿīd ʾisbur*.

16 Adonis, *al-thābit wa-l-mutahawwil baḥth fi-l-ʾittiāʿ wa-l-ibdāʿ ʿind al-ʿarab* (Beirut, 1986).

not available to him until he came into contact with western modernism and western literary theory and applied its viewpoints.

Mahmūd Darwīsh. Art and politics

Mahmūd Darwīsh was born in 1941 in Al-Birwa, one of those villages destroyed during the war in 1948. In his youth he actively participated in the internal Palestinian opposition to the state of Israel, and he let his first poems publish in the literary magazine, *Al Jadid* (The New), of the Israeli communist party. After several terms of imprisonment he left Israel in 1970, and after a year of studies in Moscow he settled first in Egypt and then in Lebanon. In 1973, Darwīsh joined the PLO later becoming a member of the organization's executive committee. He stepped down in 1993, however, dissatisfied with the Oslo-agreements. In 1995, he got permission to settle in Ramallah, the administrative capital of Palestine. He died in a hospital in Houston, Texas, following an unsuccessful heart surgery in 2008.

Darwīsh's early political marks of orientation are thus evident: the Palestinian cause, the communist party, and Moscow. It is more difficult to set his stylistic inclinations on a formula. Apart from some early works in classical Arabic style with the qasida's characteristic and fixed rhyme and metre, he expresses himself in what is termed 'free stanzas' which must not be mistaken for prose. Darwīsh works very consciously with poetic devices such as metre, rhyme, and assonance – in a dialogue with tradition, but freed from the conventional patterns.[17]

The language of his poems is often called 'classical Arabic' but a better term is 'modern standard Arabic' or *al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣhā* which is a common language dominating literature and sciences and used in official political discussions. It joins the Arab countries together into a large language community though always distinct from the Arab vernacular language or dialects, spoken everyday in the different countries and areas.[18]

The question regarding literary influences is, of course, controversial. Among Arab literary models, I have seen the popular Syrian poet Nizar Qabbani mentioned side by side with the great Iraqi modernist ʿAbd al-Wahāb al-Bayāti. Of names that are better known in the West, I have seen proposed Aragon, Neruda, and Lorca.

The young Darwīsh established himself on the literary stage which was not only influenced by politically committed literature but also on which the concept of the socially committed literature was a central and pivotal point in the art-theoretical discussions. The concept *al-adab al-multazim* (the committed literature) is still employed in conversations on art's role, although the younger generation today associ-

17 Subhi Hadidi, 'Mahmoud Darwish's Love Poem: History, Exile and the Epic Call', in Hala Khamis Nassar and Najat Rahman (eds.), *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet. Critical Essays* (Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2008), 95–122.

18 For an insightful analysis of the cultural implications of the Arab *diglossia* (the relation between the local Arab popular languages and the modern standard Arab, which is only mastered by well-educated elites), see Walter Ambrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 37–62.

ates it with the spirit of – from their point of view – a finished phase characterized by Marxism, socialism, and pan-Arabism. In its original contexts, it was marked by a strong conviction that the social and political commitment was a driving force in the renewal processes of art; its commitment to the social and political presence necessitated and conducted a break from effete and conventional forms. Thus the point of departure was not the idea of an antithetic relation between commitment and artistic freedom; on the contrary, art liberated itself from the convention and developed new forms of expression when it reached out towards new subject matters and committed itself to social change.

It is impossible to know to what degree the young Mahmūd Darwīsh experienced such a balanced relationship between politics and aesthetics. However, there is evidence to suggest that his role as the voice of Palestine became a problem for him later in life, and that the matter was integrated into his poetry in various ways and made subject to poetic reflection. It is this development in his authorship which usually is pursued in research literature dominated by western scholarly discourse. In this literature, there is a strong consensus to describe Darwīsh's development as a gradual liberation from the problematic binding to a political and nationalistic agenda; but there are different proposals as to the character and chronology of this process. Some point out that the Oslo-agreements in 1993 were a decisive turning point. As mentioned earlier, these agreements, which meant PLO's recognition of Israel's right to exist and which led to the home-rule agreement that is still in force, had two consequences for Darwīsh: 1) the break with PLO; and 2) the possibility to return to Palestine, settling in Ramallah. This seems to have led to a soul-searching and to the acknowledgement that the former mythical, romanticizing notion of Palestine had prevented a sober look at the realities of life and a free poetic reflection on them. In an interview from 1997, he said:

> Peace was supposed to resolve the tension of Palestinian identity, to withdraw us from our mythical existence, to remind us of our real condition, and to teach us that reality is richer than any text. We effectively began to ask questions about how to move away from a mythic text of victims and executioners to a commonplace history, to a common people worried about their everyday life. ...
>
> I ... don't know if we would be able, once return is possible, to continue to oppose exile to homeland. It is still too early to raise these questions and to answer them; Palestine has to be entitled to a homeland that they will curse or hate in their own way. As for me, I cannot praise exile as long as it is impossible for me to curse the homeland. But, the dreamed Palestine comes to my mind more readily when I write than real Palestine.[19]

The possibility to return home, which became a reality for Darwish though he never acquiesced the premises of the Oslo-agreements, appears here as the big trouble-maker, as the prosaic reality querying the dichotomous constructions behind the mythologising exile poetry: *ghurba* and *'awda*, expatriation and return, victim and

19 Mahmūd Darwīsh quot. in Hadidi, 'Mahmoud Darwish's Love Poem', 108–9.

executioner. It forces Darwish to a poetic self-reckoning or, as he mentions, to write 'better poetry'. As Subhi Hadidi underlines, the late poems are characterized by a new autobiographical orientation or, as Angelika Neuwirth explains, they constitute a 'poetic rewriting of his past' linked to an explicit renunciation from '... his rank of the mythopoeic poet of his people' and questioning '... an essential part of his own mythic production'.[20]

The tendency towards a critical poetic, autobiographical rewriting is explicit and clearly present in Darwīsh's late production characterized by a distanced, critical self-reflection that impairs the poetic knack commonly found in the early production. Faysal Darraj calls the knack 'romantic' and describes it as relying on a poetic identification between the exile poet's lost home country as the object of love and the poet as the coveting lover; thus the poem *qasīdat al-arḍ* (The Poem about the Land): 'I am the land / and the land is you ... / – the Galilee air wants to speak on my behalf / the Galilee gazelle wants to break my prison today / ... / The smell of the land / in the early morning / awakens me, my iron chains / Awakens the land in the early / evening / ... I am the awakened land ... plough my body. /... I am / ... / the family apricot blossom / ... / I am the hope of the vast meadow / ... / I am the land awakening / ... / I am the eternal lover / I am the witness of the massacre.'[21]

Mahmud Darwish's final long poem *lāʿib al-nard* (The Dice-Player) is explicitly autobiographical and spoils effectively the romantic mechanism of identification. Now it is about the random and porous relation between the poet and his world. The twenty-seven page long poem is a melancholic, at times ironic ambiguous retrospect on life as a series of accidental events with a poetic effective tension between the prosaic sensing and the thick layers of literary and religious references which still come into play. It starts pathetically and beautifully with the words 'man ʾanā li-ʾaqūla lakum mā ʾaqulu lakum?' (Who am I to tell you what I tell you?) And continues: 'I'm not a stone sanded by water / so that it became a face / or a reed in which the wind / wore holes / so that it became a flute / I'm nothing else than a dice-player / One time I win / the next I lose / I'm just as you / or perhaps a little less!'[22]

Edward Said has suggested that we may understand Darwish's late poem by employing Adorno's concept, *Spätstil*, which he developed in connection with Beethoven's late works. According to Said's interpretation this implies the combination of 'the conventional and the ethereal, the historical and the transcendently aesthetical' leading to an 'astonishingly concrete sense of going beyond what anyone has ever lived through in reality'.[23] In my opinion this suggestion makes

20 Angelika Neuwirth, 'Hebrew Bible and Arabic Poetry: Mahmoud Darwish's Palestine – From Paradise Lost to a Homeland Made of Words', in Nassar & Rahman (eds.), *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet*, 170–71.

21 Quotation in English translation according to Faysal Darraj, 'Transfigurations in the Image of Palestine in the Poetry of Mahmoud Darwish', in Nassar & Rahman (eds.), *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet*, 60.

22 The poem is published in a bi-lingual German–Arab edition with translation and foreword by Adel Karasholi; Mahmoud Darwish, *lāʿib al-nard/Der Würfelspieler* (München: A1 Verlag, 2011).

23 Edward Said, 'On Mahmoud Darwish', *Grand Street*, 48 (Winter 1994), 112–15.

sense artistically as far as the late poems are concerned which strangely combine a form of objective soberness with poetic pathos, creating a metaphysical place of resonance for the described occurrences in life. Referring to Adorno, however, also pushes the critical questions on context of interpretation and the right to interpret to the extreme. The invocation of Adorno's aesthetic theory was and is linked with the great symbolic power in the western dominated academic world in which Said was active.

This opens up to a type of meta-critique: the story about Darwīsh's development as it is told here is shaped on the basis of the narrative of liberation in which the artist gradually liberates himself from the straitjacket of political commitments, while his art develops its modes of operation from the appeal to emotional response and identification to critical self-reflection and detachment. But it is not reflection and detachment which Darwīsh's audience is searching for, and it is not what they get at the concerts or arrangements of poem recitations which I mentioned in the introduction. Other contexts of interpretation are at play here, and other cultural needs are met. For many, Mahmūd Darwīsh – his (mythical) character, his poems and his voice – is still a meeting point for a political-moral-emotional community, strengthened and confirmed by the familiarizing oneself with the early poems' amalgamation of sound and meaning.

Different and heterogeneous reasons, such as the literary quality of his poems, the great symbolic importance in the Arab world regarding the Palestinian cause, the Palestinian diaspora and the many Palestinian intellectuals living in Europe and the US, have provided Darwish with a special position, both in the Arab world as well as in the western. This also implies that the right to interpret, both in terms of his person and his literary work, is in particular subject to conflicts of interest. Where should we turn if we wish to understand Darwīsh's cultural importance – to his mass audience who use him in their daily political-moral-emotional economy? Or should we turn to literary scholars who downplay the importance of the political commitment and the popular appeal? The question cannot be answered, but it may help us to realize that the mass audience has already lost if we uncritically accept interpretations based on a narrative of liberation in which the art frees itself from its societal obligations, developing as art. Alternatives are sought for, and in that connection one may find inspiration in Subhi Hadidi who suggests that we look at the matter as a question of negotiating the relation between two sets of equally legitimate rights: the poet's, who rightfully demands his artistic freedom; and the audience's, who in difficult times rightfully claims a poet in the 'Arab sense' of the word:

> It was a time when Arabs considered poets as prophets, when Arabs identified themselves with the unique voices of their poets, trusting their prophecies in order to contemplate their own past and prepare for the future. It was a time when Arabs made poets their guides and followed them down the roads of the unknown that only poets knew how to travel. Whether in victory or in defeat, it is to the poets the crowds turned. All cultures, like Arabic culture, attributed a special role to their poets at particular moments in their history. It became incumbent upon poets everywhere to speak

> for their communities, to find answers to existential questions, to give poetry a power that was national, cultural, spiritual and material and informative.
>
> Circumstances, both personal and impersonal, have led Darwish to occupy a position of significance similar to the great poets of the Arab past. Perhaps the reader is obligated to defend the unique position granted to the poet, as the voice of Palestine ... , the lover from Palestine ... , the steadfast one form Palestine, and the transcendent symbol ...[24]

Marcīl Khalīfa

Khalīfa became famous in the middle of the 1970s, that is a few years after his studies at the Academy of Music in Beirut which he finished in 1971 and supplemented with composition studies in Moscow. At the same time, he established the close link with Mahmud Darwish that since then has been his trademark. The first compositions with text by Mahmūd Darwīsh were *Aḥmad al-ʿarabi* (1973) and *ʾaʿrās* (Weddings) (1973) which both are for soli, choir, and orchestra and both linked with the Palestinian case. Angelika Neuwirth reckons the poem *ʾaʿrās* among Darwīsh's 'most overtly mythopoetic poems'. The subject is the Palestinian freedom fighter who 'through his self-sacrifice qualifies as a sacred, superhuman figure, the true lover of the homeland, indeed her bridegroom, who through his violent death consummates a mythical marriage with her'.[25] The freedom-fighter martyr and his heavenly bride is a returning subject in Darwīsh's poetry and a key symbol for the Palestinian resistance movement.

From the outset, Khalīfa was a politically committed artist in a politicized cultural environment, and his works, actions, and opinions are constantly subjected to political interpretations. A couple of his songs, including the song *ilā ʾummi*, have been downloadable from Hezbollah's website.[26] As UNESCO's World Artist for Peace, he travels around the world promoting music's humanistic importance and peace-making role. His name became internationally known and linked to the resistance against Islamic motivated suppression of free speech when he, at the court in Beirut in 1991, had to defend himself against charges of blasphemy due to having set music to and sung Darwīsh's *ʾanā Yūsuf, yā abī* (I'm Josef, Father) which contains a stanza from the Koran.[27] Many western commentators view in Marcel Khalīfa a spokesman for the most esteemed humanistic values; thus Pierre Dupouey for instance. In the booklet to the documentary film *Marcel Khalife Voyageur*, Dupouey depicts Marcel Khalīfa as 'an artist rooted in his culture', and

24 Hadidi, 'Mahmoud Darwish's Love Poem', 97.

25 Neuwirth, 'Hebrew Bible and Arabic Poetry', 179.

26 http://forum.qawem.org/showthread.php?15493; according to the information on the home-page, the songs were uploaded in May 2009. The dead links are gathered under the heading 'The most Beautiful of the Fantastic Marcīl Khalīfa's *anāshīd*.' *Anāshīd* is the common word for religious and political songs or 'hymns'.

27 Marcīl Khalīfa won the trial and was acquitted; regarding the reasons for the judgment, see Jonas Otterbeck, 'Battling over the Public Sphere: Islamic Reactions to Music of Today', *Cont Islam*, 2 (2008), 211–28, DOI10.1007/s11562-008-0062-y. In spite of the outcome of the court case, the desire for a censorship intervention has gained ground. On the compilation CD, 'The Best of Marcel Khalife', the section with the Koran-stanza has been removed.

> a deep innovator … [i]ndependent of factions scattering this region, an unwary fighter for democracy and freedom in a region where exclusion, fanaticism and intolerance seldom [sic] rule. His fights are for us to share.[28]

The American right-wing commentator, Debbi Schussel, has another view. She comments on one of Khalīfa's visits to the US under the heading 'Singer/Composer/Playwright of Islamic Terrorists Hosted by Tax-Funded Arab Museum/Social Agency'.[29] According to Schussel, Khalīfa is an accomplice of the most arrant Islamic terrorism, and she presents him as 'a pan-Islamist version of Wagner', whose anti-Semitism in passing is held responsible for the Nazi genocide on the Jews.

In Lebanon, too, his political position is still discussed. On the Lebanese blogger Atallah al-Salim's blog, a post of August 2011 reports about a crisis in the relationship between Marcīl Khalīfa and his traditionally left-wing audience. 'No other artist's name', the blogger explains, 'is so closely connected to a political current as Marcīl Khalīfa's to the Lebanese communist party'.[30] In recent years, however, he has moved away from his political line arguing that 'music in itself is a humanistic issue'. [31] It is also explained that the crisis in the relationship between the left-winged audience and Khalīfa – who earlier had been 'the revolutionary voice' whose songs 'echoed'[32] at the left wing's (and in particular the communist party's) demonstrations – must be seen in the light of the Left's general decline following the Lebanese civil war. The blogger hopes, however, that a close relationship between Khalīfa and a political committed mass audience will rise again when he appears at the celebrations of the twenty-ninth anniversary for the establishment of the 'Lebanese National Resistance Front'. It was a military organization founded in 1982 by the Lebanese communist party and other left wing groups.

Promises of the Storm

Khalīfa is very visible in the Arab media where his extensive international touring activity is noted and commented on, but Khalīfa's music has not been subjected to a scholarly, critical analysis influenced by western academic agendas similar to Darwīsh. There are, however, abundant Arabic sources on the composer's own interpretation of the works' genesis, their purpose, and their place in music history. This fact, which from the viewpoint of the history of science is interesting, forces me to a rather radical change of perspective: with a few exceptions, the second half of my article is based on Arabic sources including a couple of the many interviews which Khalīfa has given to Arab newspapers and journals throughout the years, as

28 *Marcel Khalife. Voyageur*, DVD, booklet notes. The French text reads 'l'intolérance sont souvent la règle'.

29 Debbie Schlussel, http://www.debbieschlussel.com/3097/marcel-khalife-islams-wagner-singercomposerplaywright-of-islamic-terrorists-hosted-by-tax-funded-arab-museumsocial-agency/, accessed on 1 Aug. 2013.

30 http://atallahalsalim.wordpress.com/2011/08/17/, accessed on 1 Aug. 2013.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

well as hour-long programmes of conversation on Arab TV channels. But even if the sources change character, the basic structure of the discussion remains the same. It is still the complexity of problems of 'the committed art' that is negotiable.

The genesis of the album *wuʿūd min al-ʿāṣifa* (Promises of the Storm) is a recurring theme in the interviews of Khalīfa. In one given to the Lebanese journal *al-mustaqbal al-ʿarabī* (The Arab Future) in 2003, Khalīfa tells about his lonely life in Paris in the years after the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war, and how with 'caution bordering to fear' he approached the modern Arab art of poetry which Darwīsh represents and tried to set it to music: '[I] had nothing with me in my retreat at this time at the beginning of the Lebanese civil war but my lute and a collection of Mahmūd Darwīsh's poems. From time to time I opened one of them and found a suitable piece or sentence making comparisons between the linguistic and signifying rhythm and the musical rhythm'.[33] Still, according to Khalīfa's testimony in this source, the songs were recorded an early morning in August in *Le Chant du Monde*'s studios, and they were performed for an audience for the first time at a festival arranged by the newspaper of the French communist party. It was 'on the scene in the Lebanese pavilion in the beginning of September 1976 by the celebration of the newspaper *l'Humanité* close to stalls with hummus and *ful* [spiced horsebeans] and falafel'.[34] The audience consisted mainly of young Arabs who stayed in Paris for various reasons.

These flashes of memory provide valuable information on the political and cultural landscape in which the young Khalīfa put himself. The connection to the political left wing is apparent, and so is the address to one of the Arab immigrant communities which throughout his career was one of his fixed points. A certain connection to the area, which we later have been accustomed to call 'world music', is also implied by the name of the record company, *Le Chant du Monde*: they helped channel 'third world music' to the politicized western youth culture at that time. They also suggest how Darwīsh's modernity[35] has involved a compositional-technical challenge. Neither the character of the challenge nor the technical solution is explained; but the work process is suggested: the composer reads through the texts and gradually finds the musical phrases that correspond to the poems' linguistic and 'sense-related' rhythm. This procedure, reflecting music's heavy dependence on the text (that is, both formally and semantically), does not deviate much from the classical Arab *tarab* tradition from which Khalīfa in other instances distances himself. However, Khalīfa apparently felt that Darwīsh's free stanzas – poems without a fixed metre and strophic framework – did not, at first, offer a basis for satisfactory musical form.

In the case of the song *ilā ʾummi*, Khalīfa solves this problem by dividing the poem into four stanzas and by providing the work with a short instrumental introduction which together with parts of the text and music to the first stanza is used as a refrain

33 The interview has been reissued with the title 'ḥiwār mʿa Marcīl Khalīfa' (conversation with Marcīl Khalīfa) in *silsila kuttab al-mustaqbal al-ʿarabi (37): al-musīqa al-ʿarabiyya ʾasʿīlat al-ʾaṣāla wa-l-tajdīd* (The book series of the Arab future (37): The Arab music: question about authenticity and renewal); quot. from this version, p. 22.

34 Ibid.

35 Khalīfa includes Darwīsh's poems under *al-shiʿr al-ʿarabi al-ḥadīth*' (The modern Arab poetry).

enforced with an added, stepwise descending fourth, C-G, to the words *ʾummi, ʾummi, ʾummi, ʾummi* (my mother, my mother, my mother, my mother). The resulting musical form is supported by the tonal disposition. The tonal material of the introduction and the first stanza – and hence also in the refrain – is borrowed from maqam[36] nahawand (here it corresponds to C minor), while stanzas two and three borrow their tonal material from maqam bayati on the dominant G (here it corresponds to G minor with the second step approximately a fourth whole tone lower). Furthermore, the dynamism of the form rests on a gradually increasing melodic activity and a gradual extension of the gamut upwards. This simple form provides abundant possibilities for instrumental and vocal improvisation. The improvisational aspect reaches a climax in stanza three where the fundamental note G of the bayati sections is stressed as a pedal-point, and Khalīfa improvises in a style with references to the classical tarab-tradition's *mawwāl*.[37]

The musician as a committed artist

'Marcel Khalife's song may be one of the few remaining songs of our spiritual enlightenment ... In Khalife's song there is useful beauty and clear purposefulness' – big words that Darwīsh threw at Khalīfa's songs which, in spite of the different mode of production, have superficial similarities to the *sing-a-song* genre and which by western distributors were promoted as *folk*. There is, however, a good correlation between the thematic and rhetorical level of style in Darwīsh's approving words and Khalīfa's own explications on his cultural role and significance. 'Useful beauty' and 'clear appropriateness' are the committed art's features, and Khalīfa is convinced that his music holds a special form of rationality and contributes to a project of enlightenment.

Khalīfa's own aesthetic interpretations are characterized by a certain rhetorical weight which is not unusual in modern Middle-Eastern cultural criticism and art-theoretical discourse. It is also burdened by a precarious assignment which Khalīfa has taken on. He wants to show himself as a modern, committed Arab artist with a clear humanistic message, and at the same time he wants to distance himself from the music culture with focus on vocal music, preferring music aesthetics with emphasis on the text-less music's independent articulateness.

> Arab art or the Arab artist has two roles: the artistic or aesthetic role and a moral role; that is to say, if I ask an American artist 'what is your role', he would say 'my task is the artistic work, I develop my artistic tools and I have no moral role'. No, the Arab artist is always held answerable – or the poet or the erudite – for a humanistic moral role and an artistic role ...[38]

36 An introduction to the concept 'maqam' is outside the aim of the present article. The concept is central for modern Arab music's self-perception and identity construction and as such subject to conflicting interpretations.

37 *Mawwāl* is a traditional, rhythmical free, vocal improvisation.

38 Interview with Marcīl Khalīfā, *Al Jazeera*, 8 Oct. 2012. *Dawr al-fan fī zaman al-thaurāt* (The role of art in the times of revolutions); here quoted from a transcription downloaded from Al Jazeera's home page http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/pages/3d970136-290f-46da-bae8-394dd7456121, accessed 30 June 2013.

Khalīfa presents this statement in an interview with the title, *dawr al-fan fī zaman al-thaurāt* (the role of art in the times of revolutions), broadcasted on the Qatar-based Arab Satellite channel Al Jazeera on occasion of his US tour in 2012 with new songs to texts by Darwīsh.[39] The interview refers back to the starting point of the 1970s' 'committed art' and thus also to the question concerning the relationship between music and politics in a specific Arab context including, now as ever, the large Arab immigration communities outside the Middle-East.

On one of the concert recordings edited and included in the interview, we hear a piece of *rīta wa-l-bunduqīyya* (Rita and the Gun) which is one of the chart songs from *wuʿūd min al-ʿāṣifa* (Promises of the Storm). It is about the Palestinian poet's relationship with his Israeli sweetheart of his youth.

> The town swept all its singers away. And Rita.
> The town swept all its singers away. And Rita.
> Between my eyes and Rita is a gun.
> A gun, a gun.

Resting assured that the viewers' familiarity with this song and those that are included on the album, the interviewer continues:

> In relation to these concepts – the longing for the homeland, the longing for the mother, the longing for mother's bread, for a passport – do they all interact in the mind of the people that live in the exile and remind them that perhaps some of them feel that they have found a citizenship abroad and more than in the original homeland, even if they long for the original homeland?[40]

Khalīfa answers this somewhat linguistically vague question affirmatively:

> It is true that these feelings or sentiments are always present ... That is to say, I never enter the stage except when I have something that needs to be revealed to the audience ... And at the same time, the thing that I say corresponds to the feelings of the audience. And for that reason you see this bond and this unity between the stage and the audience; that is: the members of the audience are not just ordinary recipients that with their cravat enter and sit down in their official dress, No! They return to the squares of their villages, the plazas of their towns, to their memories. The longing is not, for example, I am also from Lebanon; the longing is not after the *kibbeh* mortar and the village well, No, no! It is a longing for the true homeland, a longing for the true beauty ...[41]

According to Khalīfa, the artist fulfils his moral duties when he is united with his audience of Arab immigration communities in a common understanding of feelings centred on *ghurba* (expatriation), *hanin* (yearning), and *ʿawda* (return/homecoming) – the latter concept of Khalifa's characteristic rhetoric unites real political, utopian,

39 The album *An Arab Coffeepot* which includes among others the above-mentioned song 'I'm Josef'.
40 Khalīfā, *dawr al-fan fī zaman al-thaurāt* (The role of art in the times of revolutions), 4.
41 Ibid.

and metaphysical visions of homecoming in vague combinations. *al-ʿawda* is a key concept in the Palestinian, political discourse, and *ḥaqq al-ʿawda* [the right to return] is a maintained political demand of the Palestinian part in the conflict with Israel. But in Khalīfa, it is just as much about the yearning for a utopian, democratic, and cultural thriving Arabia or about an abstract, existential yearning for 'the true fatherland ... the true beauty'. The problems associated with this combination of political and historical conditions – that is, the yearning of the exiled – with a metaphysical and religiously coloured dream of redemption – that is, with Palestine as the lost Paradise – is a recurring theme in the academic literature on Darwīsh. And it is a literary theme in both Darwīsh's production and in that of the poet and politician, Murīd al-Barghūthi. In his novel, *raʾaytu Rāmallah* (I Saw Ramallah),[42] al-Barghūthi reflects on the relation between immigrant communities' idolization of Palestine, the remembered Palestine from before 1948, and the Palestine he experienced himself in 1996 when he had the opportunity to visit the Palestinian home-rule territory after thirty years in exile. In Khalīfa, however, the metaphysical nuances of meaning, which in the quotations are linked to the concepts of yearning and homecoming, are not subjected to criticism. They remain as a kind of metaphysical sounding board in the compound set of ideas that he develops in defence of music's cultural mission and his own dignity as an artist.

'Art is always above and beyond all barriers', Khalīfa explains, and he continues after having rejected that the Arab spring should have had any direct influence on his art:

> That is, the artist does not wait for a political role in the sense that he waits to see the way politics goes so as to see what he shall do. As I told you in the beginning, I want to tell something, I have something that I want to reveal. It is not the audience that teaches me. I speak, and, of course, the thing that I consider to be the sources of my project or the sources of my inspiration do not come from the music, they are present in the life, present in the child ... present in the revolution, present in the resistance, present in many things, present in nature ...[43]

In his own understanding, Khalīfa is a committed artist who focuses on people's life by employing means special to music and hence contributes to enlightenment, development, and democratization of the Arab societies. But as the blogger Atallah Salim rightly noted, the moral engagement, which according to Khalīfa characterizes the Arab artist, is not necessarily linked to an explicit political art. The humanizing role is up to the music *per se*, though under certain particular conditions.

The authenticity construct and the theory of realism

I Khalīfa's own interpretation of his aesthetic position, which is apparent in the various interviews and statements, the question regarding authenticity is constantly present. And the question on *artistic* authenticity, on the artistic expression's validity

42 English translation by Ahdaf Soueif, *I Saw Ramallah* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005; Cairo: Cairo University Press, 2000).

43 Khalīfā, *dawr al-fan fī zaman al-thaurāt* (The role of art in the times of revolutions), 8.

and genuineness, is constantly coupled with the issue concerning *Arab* authenticity – that is, on the 'origin'[44] of the expression in Arab culture and history. It is a version of those modern Arab notions of authenticity which, as Christa Salamandra notes in a brief summary of the problem, reflect 'the perceived failures of Enlightenment rationality and modernization projects'.[45] Also when in strong opposition to the West, 'were [they] constructed within and from an intellectual climate engendered and strongly influenced by European thought'.[46]

The view on Arab music history that Khalīfa presents in support of his assertion of authenticity and his project of modernization combines two relatively disconnected perspectives. A long historical perspective is present as a relatively unspecified reference to Arab musical, cultural heritage. This aspect is obvious in, for instance, his comments to the work, 'The Andalusian Symphony', celebrating the memory of the Arab music culture's late flowering in Andalusia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A shorter historical perspective refers to the beginning of the twentieth century and the Egyptian singer-composer Sayyid Darwish (1892–1923) who falls within a story-telling context which is basically a joint ownership for the *insiders* of modern Arab music culture. In its more specific shape, it is found in the works of the Lebanese music critic Nizar Mruwwas (1931–92). He was a strong advocate of the Rahbani brothers and their music theatre which he inscribed in an Arab music historical narrative with clear nationalistic goals and with surprisingly clear echoes of J.G. Herder's ideas on the people and its authentic expression in the popular languages and popular art of poetry that mingled with evidence of influence from the Soviet doctrine of realism.[47] In Mruwwas' perspective, Sayyid Darwish – and in particular Sayyid Darwish's music theatre – is the first part of a musical reform liberating the Arab music from Turkish influence, breaking with the *ṭarab* aesthetics' one-sided focus on expression of emotions and emotional response, and making the music favourable towards the people's needs for expression. This is accomplished partly by referring it back to the sources of popular music and partly by developing the popular exemplar, so that it may meet the needs of the music theatre for a musical characterization of person and situation. Moreover, in Mruwwa's musical modernization project, the Arab music theatre is intended the role as a necessary part of the development which, when the time is mature, will lead to an authentic Arab symphonic music.

The main elements of the music aesthetics which appear in Mruwwa's historiography is also found in Khalīfa's exposition of himself. The claimed Arab authenticity is thus not an 'authenticity for the sake of authenticity' but rather an 'authenticity serving expression'. For instance, he explains the role of the Arab instruments and traditional forms on the recording *wuʿūd min al-ʿāṣifa* in this way:

44 The Arab word for authenticity, *ʾāṣala*, derives from the stem *ʾa-ṣ-l*, the meaning of which includes concepts such as 'origin, source, descent and root'; the adjective, ʾaṣli, signifies 'authentic or genuine'.

45 Christa Salamandra, *A New Old Damascus. Authenticity and Distinction in Urban Syria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 17.

46 Ibid.

47 Nizār Mruwwa, *fi-l-mūsīqa al-lubnāniyya al-ʿarabiyya wa-l-masraḥ al-ghinaʿi al-Raḥbāni* (On the Lebanese-Arab music and the Raḥbanis' song-theatre) (Beirut: Dar al-Farābi, 1998).

> The present changes that confront the Arab man of our times force us to define our position towards Arab music in general and how to make it a music that has a contemporary language and at the same time is distinctive and able to embody the ambitions of the present and future generations. From the beginning, therefore, and even before the first album 'Promises of the Storm', I devoted myself to writing music for the ensemble *Karakalla* from the early '70s for the Arab lute and the other Arab instruments such as the *qanūn* and the *nay* using the traditional forms. And the high ideal that called me to compose music wasn't the ideal of a pure aesthetics or the musicians' desire to express themselves. Before all this, it was an observation of the life surrounding me, and the imitation of it. I tried to depict the East in an authentic way.[48]

This idea about the authentic Arab material's special ability to authentically express Arab popular aspirations works in connection with the concept on the popular music tradition's particular needs for the development of a form of musical realism:

> And perhaps all this has brought the music closer to the living reality that I experienced from close quarters. The thing that was important for me to highlight through these works was the melodies of life, not the classical melodies – melodies that I remember from the first days of my childhood, when I with passion and mighty love listened to hymns and carols and recitation of the Koran. And this love was an indescribable pleasure and joy, and when I looked at this artistic heritage I tried to unearth it and to transform this musical civilisation into a vibrant musical moment and to place it where it could represent the personality of the contemporary Arab human being and the cultural changes in the world.[49]

Realism and 'the pure music'

In light of Khalīfa's association with the communist party and Soviet's great influence in the Middle-East between the end of World War II and Soviet's disintegration, it seems reasonable to inquire about the extent and character of the influence that Soviet cultural politics and aesthetic doctrines exerted on contemporary Lebanese musical life. The material, which I have had opportunity to study for the present article, clearly reveals a coincidence between parts of the aesthetic positioning, both in Mruwwa and Khalīfa, and central elements of the Soviet doctrine of realism. In both cases, a project is framed in which a classical musical heritage with the incorporation of folk-musical elements is transformed to a kind of musical realism; in both cases, the music is intended an educational role; and in both cases, it is concerned with a very conscious use of music as a means of establishing a modern national awareness. The latter issue points specifically to having been influenced by Soviet cultural politics in the non-Russian – and in particular the Muslim – Soviet states where the culture was an important tool for Soviet nationality politics. The means was establishing national institutes and ensembles, and the development of national influenced idioms with 'ethnic markers' imported from local traditions. According to Dorotea Redepenning, the result was an area of style in which 'das

48 'ḥiwār mʿa Marcīl Khalīfa' (Conversation with Marcīl Khalīfa), 17.
49 Ibid.

Mugam, die dazuhörende Vortragsart, Instrumente, Klangfarben, Rhythmen' became a 'Couleur locale im Ensemble der sowjetischen Kultur'.[50]

I am not aware of any academic work investigating the extent and character of the Soviet influence on Middle-East musical life. Hints in theory and practice, however, call for further investigation. [51] One of these hints leads, via the folkloristic stylized Lebanese folk dance of the Rahbani brothers' music theatre, to the Soviet use of folkloristic dance performances in order to present national characteristics and 'harmonize' them within the Soviet popular community. Christopher Stone draws attention to the Rahbani brothers' creating a style of the Lebanese folk dance, *al-dabka*, that happened through an immediate participation of the Soviet educated dancers. Mruwwa mentions a visit by the 'great Soviet artist, Igor Moiseyev' and his dance company, claiming that it was he who drew attention to the Lebanese *dabka*'s 'expressive and performative possibilities'.[52]

But this aspect of realism, closely linked to the concept of the politically and morally committed art (*al-fan al-multazim*), is in Khalīfa connected to the idea of a music historical development that will free the music from its dependency on the poetic text and displace its domain of expression from the emotional towards the rational.

In one of the articles from the 1970s, in which Nizar Mruwwa praises Khalīfa as one of the rising stars in the tradition of the Rahbani brothers, a section is written with the motto: 'A project that will overcome the external oriental *tarab*'.[53] It is explained how the vocal and instrumental parts of the composition for choir, *ʾaʿras* (Weddings), are integrated and united in terms of motif 'under the control of the musical composition'. According to the author '... these structural forms [are] part of Marcil's project to defeat the usual external ṭarab in present Arab music and transform it to a rational ṭarab that provokes the listener to be aware of what the vocal text intends to make him understand of new information and an intensive awareness of the world.'[54]

As already mentioned, the *ṭarab* tradition emphasizes music's reliance on the poetic text. The interpretation of the text (*tarjamat al-naṣṣ; tarjamat al-kalimāt*: interpretation/translation of the text; interpretation/translation of the words) as regards the

50 Dorotea Redepenning, *Geschichte der russischen und sowjetischen Musik. Band II. Das 20. Jahrhundert* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2008), 321.

51 This also pertains to questions regarding the development of modern institutions for cultivating Arab national musical heritage. It was a surprise for me when visiting the place to learn that the department for Arab music at the academy of music in Damascus is modelled on the Soviet republic Azerbaijan, and that the academy's leading professor is the Azerbaijanian-born Askar Ali Akbar. In a concert brochure one may read about the history of the academy: 'The Higher Institute of Music sought help from professors of oriental musical instruments from Central Asian countries (previous USSR, Azerbeidjan in particular) which had already developed their own music of Arabic origin on a modern and systematic basis'; quot. from *The First Annual Gala Concert of Arabic Music* (Damascus 2008).

52 Mruwwa, *fi-l-mūsīqa al-lubnāniyya al-ʿarabīyya*, 123; Christopher Stone, *Popular Culture and Nationalism in Lebanon. The Fairouz and Rabhani Nation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 64–65.

53 Mruwwa, *fi-l-mūsīqa al-lubnanīyya al-ʿarabīyya*, 23.

54 Ibid. 240.

elaboration and variation of the emotional content is music's main task as well as that of the musician and vocal soloist, who in composed genres also have a great freedom for improvising. The purpose is to affect the audience producing visible and audible expressions of elevation, rapture, or ecstasy which are central elements of meaning on the Arabic word, *ṭarab*. But Khalīfa wants more than that: he wishes to go beyond the tradition from inside and transform the 'external' and the emotional *ṭarab* to an 'internal' and 'rational' one. It is not absolutely evident what the latter means; yet, it is fairly obvious that it is about an arbitration of the relation between the emotional and the rational, and that Khalīfa wants more of the latter. The desire for a 'rationalized *ṭarab*' is a recurring theme in Khalīfa who associates it with the wish for a stronger focus on music's independent power of expression. In an interview from the middle of the 1990s, he explains that he believes to have realized some of this in the little song on Darwīsh's poem, 'Rita and the Gun', in which we find more '… musical composition and less reliance on the *Mawal*, which causes listeners to utter cheers after each section'. In this work, *ṭarab* 'is internal both in spirit and idea'.[55]

Thus yet a thread of discourse is added to Khalīfa's colourful web. The mind-sets that Khalīfa is working out are remarkably similar to the set of ideas which the German musicologist, Carl Dahlhaus, summarized as 'Die Idee der absoluten Musik'.[56] Dahlhaus relates it to an episode in German cultural life around 1800 when part of the cultural elite sought to promote a new understanding of music with two main elements: 1) that pure instrumental music, music without text, can be a valid artistic expression; 2) that music is not only an expression of emotions but equally a tool for the thought. In the specific cultural-historical context (the German Romanticism) these two points were associated with the notion of music's 'transcendental' qualities. 'Absolute music' was not only to be a self-contained, text-less artefact of thought; it should also have a metaphysical direction towards 'the absolute'.

Khalīfa repeats the basic features of this mind-set. In Germany around 1800, it was, however, the vocal music's emotional aesthetics of the eighteenth century which was criticized, while it was the Arab vocal music's oriented *ṭarab* aesthetics in Lebanon at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century that came under fire.

For the audience, who primarily knows Khalīfa as a figure on the Lebanese left wing and as the committed musician who set music to Darwīsh's poetic contribution to the Palestinian resistance in the 1970s, it is perhaps surprising to see his 'Rita and the Gun' as included in an ideology of reform aiming at an authentic Arab *pure*, *wordless*, or *'absolute'* music. But Khalīfa insists that 'Rita and the Gun' has a special value as a musical *composition* in relation to *improvised*, text-dependent genres such as the *mawwāl*; and he insists on seeing this popular work as part of a process,

55 The interview given to the Lebanese newspaper, *al-nahār*, is referred to in Elia Chatala, 'Marcel Khalife Discusses the New and the Old in Arabic Music in a Leading Literary Supplement. The Rationalizing of Arabic Music', *Al-Jadid Magazine*, 1/1 (Nov. 1995), on the home-page http://www.aljadid.com/content/marcel-khalife-discusses-new-and-old-arabic-music-leading-literary-supplement-rationalization, accessed on 17 Oct. 2013.

56 Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978).

which gradually liberates Arab music from being dependent on text, and developing it from being limited to expressing emotions to being an art-form with independent cognitive potentials. A large, and an increasing part of Khalīfa's production of the last decades, is instrumental music. In the interview of 2003 appearing in the journal *Arabia's future*, he is asked whether it may be interpreted as indicating an aesthetic change of position in favour of a 'pure', 'abstract', or 'absolute' instrumental music (*mūsīqa mujarrada*).[57] The interviewer explains that Khalīfa's turn towards instrumental music is not surprising, since also Khalīfa's vocal music 'provides ample space to the instrumental music' and because Khalīfa has sought to 'integrate "song" in "music"' and transforming the concept of song itself by letting its structure be subservient to the 'demands of the musical composition'. He continues:

> ... the tendency to compose pure instrumental music [*al-naṣṣ al-mūsīqi al-mujarrad*] has become more dominating in later years. Allow me to remind you that in the last six years – for instance – one record with vocal music (An Arab Coffeepot) was released, while three records with instrumental music were. Have you begun gradually to distance yourself from vocal music?[58]

Khalīfa responds in detail, and his wording makes it clear that according to his opinion it is more than just about personal preferences: it is a matter of cultural mission to lift Arab music and its audience from the lower cultural stage of vocal music to that of instrumental music. 'Any attempt to diagnose the situation of Arab music' must necessarily take its point of departure from vocal music and the human voice's central position, he explains, continuing: the Arab music is focused on 'the glorification of the human voice with all its contents and in all its forms without giving the instrumental side – the music liberated from the word – the same degree of artistic appreciation'. Khalīfa therefore sees Arab music constrained to developing the vocal focus: '[T]he Arab ears' relate to 'the material meaning [*al-mʿana al-madīa*] of the content of the songs', and 'has not transcended [*lam yasmū*] ... to the level where the abstract [*tajrīdī*] and illustrative [*taṣwīrī*] meaning gain artistic appreciation'.[59]

The words link the music to the matter while the wordless instrumental music has the possibility of transcending to an unspecified higher realm. Here we are very close to the German Romanticism's notion of absolute music. Without wanting to imply anything about a connection of influence, I am tempted to say that it *is* the notion of absolute music which Khalīfa has formulated based on his Arab mother tongue's concepts. As his German predecessors, Khalīfa gets hooked on the idea of a music which is not only able to manage without words as an expressional crutch but is also able to do something other and more than merely words.

57 The critical adjective, *mujarrad*, important for my exposition, derives from the stem *j-r-d* with the basic meanings 'to peel off', 'to liberate from', 'to make nude'. According to Hans Wehr's Arab–English dictionary, *Mujarrad* may be translated as 'denuded, bare, naked, freed, free (from), pure, mere, nothing more than, sole, very absolute, abstract, selfless, disinterested'.

58 'ḥiwār mʿa Marcīl Khalīfa' (Conversation with Marcīl Khalīfa), 16.

59 Ibid. 16–17.

Commitment and reform ideology

How does this strong adherence to instrumental music, which is standing on its own legs, harmonize with the duty to engage in society and the moral role in which all Arab artists ought to participate according to Khalīfa? Poorly, one should think. The movement away from the conceptual seems indeed to be a movement away from the negotiation of the world-view's moral and political problems.

But there is a way between the two opposing poles. It leads over the narrow – yet in the edifice of Arab art-theoretical discourse strongly built – bridge named 'reform'. The interviewer draws attention to the Arab audience associating Khalīfa's production with 'the concept of commitment to the national and Arabic identity', asking whether he should rather be seen as 'committed to the ideas he fought for?' Khalīfa responds:

> Allow me to approach the question from another side and to clarify that it is not justified to describe a song as political ... only because it deals with a hot, political or national issue. And this is because all the jumps to a better intellectual or musical stage done by Arab music are political jumps – also when we do not take into consideration direct political statements in the content of the songs, and this because they happened through hard labour and struggle to overcome traditional forms.[60]

The power of conviction in Khalīfa's answer depends on the perceptiveness of the reform ideology which is behind it. Basically, Khalīfa is arguing that artistic renewal is *per se* political, since it has the same form and condition of creation as the political renewal ('they happened through hard labour and the struggle to overcome traditional forms'). This thinking does not see art as a subject with an autonomy permitting it to function as counteractive to the societal development and the wise or unwise of politics; rather, it sees it as a contribution to a common project of reform containing elements of *taṭwīr* (development), *tanwīr* (enlightenment), *nahḍa*, and *bath* (awakening, reborn, renaissance). The mind-set is a strong integrating factor in a wide field of discourse on modern Arab art.

It is also the subject of a recurrent disagreement between the cultural agents from Europe and the Arab countries. Ali Jihad Racy noted how already the renowned congress on Arab music in Cairo 1932 was marked by a controversy between the Arab scholars and musicians, for whom the aesthetic discourse was coalesced with a discourse on renewal or modernization, and European scholars (primarily German music ethnomusicologist of the comparative school) insisting that artistic development had to be self-growing and organic.[61] The European scholars vehemently opposed the common idea suffusing modern Arab musical life on the necessity of rationally conceived reforms based on a cogent understanding of the historical conditions and of music's current societal role.

60 Ibid. 28.

61 Ali Jihad Racy, 'Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo 1932'; in Stephen Blum, Philipp V. Bohlman, and Daniel M. Neuman, *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 68–91.

'It was a coincidence that I was …'[62]

Where poetry is cultivated as a performative art, the affinity with music is emphasized. When the sound of language and the voice is physically present, we are physically exposed to all that which the language is besides being a system of arbitrary signs. Arab culture has a profound historical sounding board of thinking and practising the affinity.

Hence, it is striking and thought-provoking that the scholarly literary discourse concerning Darwīsh is not in a direct dialogue with the musical discourse. I have already called it 'interesting from the viewpoint of the history of science' that the source situation forces me to write two very distinct histories. The quantity of Western language literature on modern mainstream music in the Arab world is still small, and only seldom does it offer detailed analyses of the scenes' theoretical and aesthetic discussions in question. In the context of the present article, the differences might have been reduced, if it had been possible to compare the reading of English-language literary criticism with a selection of Arab language sources on Arab reception of Darwīsh's works. However, that would most likely have diminished but not put an end to the differences. In spite of the variances, there is nevertheless a connection. Both histories are basically about a negotiation of the art's societal obligation.

Khalīfa handles the question on political commitment and societal relevance rhetorically. Hence the development of an authentic Arab music with an independent 'pure musical' power of enunciation appears as an integral part of a planned societal improvement, leaving the left-wing blogger bemused. Darwīsh reflects on the Arab poet's role as one of the conditions he incidentally was born into, confusing the public which only wants to know him as the voice of Palestine. Darwīsh arranges the role as a poet in the long series of coincidences which are enumerated in the late poem *lāʿib al-nard* (The Dice-Player): name, sex, love, family relationship, and family defects – all were incidents just as the ability to write poetry, life, and survival itself:

> It was possible that I didn't exist
> that our division was
> ambushed, and that the family had been
> that son less
> who is now writing this poem
> letter by letter and by drop of blood by drop of blood
> on this settee
> with black blood which neither is raven's ink
> nor its voice
> but is the night
> pressed drop by drop with fortune and talent.[63]

62 'Kānat muṣādafatan an akūn ...' is a recurring formulation with various designations in the *lāʿib al-nard* (The Dice-Player).

63 Darwish, *lāʿib al-nard*/*Der Würfelspieler*, 26.

Life's coincidences, which made Mahmūd Darwīsh a poet, made him precisely *this poet* with precisely these *life experiences*. This includes the story about the politically conditioned tragedies which Darwīsh's poems reflect in all phases of authorship, the story about his particular role as an Arab poet, and the story on the negotiation of art's societal commitment in Arab art-theoretical discourse from the 1960s until today.

Summary

The Lebanese composer, musician and singer Marcīl Khalīfa (b. 1950) has for decades been a central figure in Middle Eastern music. Early in his career he became acquainted with the poetry of the Palestinian poet Mahmūd Darwīsh (1941–2008) and set some of his most beloved early poems in music. Some of the resulting songs such as *ilā ʾummi* (To my Mother) and *jawāz safar* (A Passport) are still beloved and often played and heard.

This article takes issue with political and aesthetic positions of these two artists. Both take their point of departure in the political left and both are strongly committed to issues of modern Arab national identity and particularly to the Palestinian issue. But in their works, in their public statements, and in the critical discourses on them we also find a negotiation of the relation between political commitment and societal responsibility and modern artists' rightful claim on artistic autonomy. The article traces this negotiation in Western as well as Arab sources.

Special section: RadioMusic

Papers from the LARM conference 'Digital Archives, Audiovisual Media and Cultural Memory' Copenhagen, 14–15 November 2013

The Concept of 'Radio Music'

Michael Fjeldsøe

In the late 1920s, young composers and musicians turned towards new fields of activity and new media in order to reach a larger audience.[1] In Germany, this effort was part of the movement of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and for a short period of time, *Radiomusik* was considered the ideal means for a democratic, educational and didactic effort which would enlighten all of society. For a while it seemed that radio music was considered a genre of its own. To fulfil its function, radio music had to consider technical limitations as well as the educational level and listening modes of the new mass audience. Public radio, as discussed by Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith, was at first greeted with great expectations, but soon a more realistic attitude prevailed. Weill, himself a radio critic as well, composed *Der Lindberghflug* (1929) as a piece of 'radio music theatre', but then changed some of its features in order to turn it into a didactical play for amateurs, a so-called *Lehrstück*.[2] The article will present the concept of 'radio music' developed within German *Neue Sachlichkeit* and discuss the relevance of such a concept for current research in the field of radio and music.

German public radio was established in October 1923 and it rapidly became a nationwide net of regional radio stations.[3] Since the very beginning, the journal *Der deutsche Rundfunk* was published in Berlin with nationwide radio programmes and comments on the broadcasts.[4] Kurt Weill, one of the young composers who around 1927 played a crucial role in the attempt to redefine the role of the artist according to the ideas of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, was employed as a music critic by this journal from the end of 1924 until May 1929, writing forecasts and reviews, mainly on broadcasts of operas and music theatre. From September 1927 onwards, he mainly wrote forecasts and comments on a range of topics.[5] Thus, he was well-prepared, when he in 1927

1 This article is a revised version of a paper at the LARM conference 'Digital Archives, Audiovisual Media and Cultural Memory' at the University of Copenhagen, 14–15 November 2013.

2 For a discussion of Weill's *Der Lindberghflug* in the context of Danish musical life, see Michael Fjeldsøe, *Kulturradikalismens musik* (The Music of Cultural Radicalism) (Copenhagen, 2013), 592–99. My argument below on Weill's changing attitudes towards this piece is partly based on that section of my book.

3 29 October 1923 is considered the birthday of German public radio, marked by the first broadcast of an entertainment programme with live music and wax records by the Funk-Stunde Berlin. Cf. the programme sheet at http://www.dra.de/rundfunkgeschichte/75jahreradio/anfaenge/voxhaus/index.html (accessed 14 Oct. 2013).

4 The first issue was published on 14 October 1923, and after a short time it was changed from a biweekly into a weekly journal; http://d-nb.info/012990337 (accessed 14 Oct. 2013).

5 Kurt Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater. Gesammelte Schriften. Erweiterte und revidierte Neuausgabe*, ed. Stephen Hinton and Jürgen Schebera (Mainz, 2000), 208–11 ('Editorisches Vorbemerkung') and 412–34 ('Verzeichnis sämtlicher Beiträge von Kurt Weill für die Zeitschrift "Der deutsche Rundfunk"').

– as a composer – turned to the possibilities of 'radio music' as one of the means to get access to a larger audience for modern music.

'Radio music' in this sense was considered a specific genre, supposed to fit the technical and social demands of broadcasts. Early radio equipment had a number of technical limitations, both in the recording technique, the transmission equipment, and the receivers, which had to be addressed. It was a general belief that technical progress would eventually make such considerations obsolete, but nevertheless many composers wanted to contribute to the genre despite the difficulties of the current state of art.[6] This was a typical attitude of *Neue Sachlichkeit*; musicians strived to fulfil a task of relevance to a contemporary audience.

Social changes were discussed in different ways. At first the fact that the listener could not see the performer was considered the major change, and in public discourse radio music was classified as 'mechanical music' in opposition to 'live music' of traditional concerts. Later, along with the emergence of early radio theory, attention turned towards the composition of the mass of listeners. Paul Hindemith was among those thrilled about being able to reach 'everyone'. In the booklet accompanying the 1929 contemporary music festival in Baden-Baden, one of the first venues for a presentation of commissions of radio music, Hindemith stated on behalf of the programming committee: 'Radio music does not address a specific social stratum, it addresses man as such – it reaches also a group of listeners, in whose lives only the radio impart spiritual and artistic values'.[7] At the same time, Kurt Weill gave an account of the possibilities and difficulties presented by this situation. On the one hand, he considered it a major step towards democratization, as music could now be heard by all social classes, not just those who could afford concert tickets. On the other hand, this meant that one could not presuppose any level of culture or education on behalf of the listeners:

> Radio confronts the serious musician of our times for the first time with the task to create works to which a possible large circle of listeners is receptive. Content and form of these radio compositions must thus be able to be of interest to a large number of people of all kinds, and also the musical means of expression must avoid any obstacles for the primitive listener.[8]

6 Michael Stapper, *Unterhaltungsmusik im Rundfunk der Weimarer Republik* (Tutzing, 2001), 125–29.

7 Quoted in Josef Häusler, *Spiegel der Neuen Musik. Donaueschingen. Chronik – Tendenzen – Werkbesprechungen* (Kassel, 1996), 103: 'Die Rundfunkmusik wendet sich nicht an eine bestimmte Gesellschaftsschicht, sondern an den Menschen schlechthin – sie erfaßt auch eine Hörerschaft, in deren Leben erst durch den Rundfunk geistige und künstlerische Werte getragen werden'; all translations by the author. Cf. ibid. 102–7; Stapper, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 136–43. Except for a few singular experiments, commissions from radio stations were initiated during 1928 and the results broadcast from the beginning of 1929.

8 Weill, 'Notiz zum "Berliner Requiem"', *Der deutsche Rundfunk*, 17.5.1929, in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 410: 'Der Rundfunk stellt den ernsten Musiker unserer Zeit zum ersten Male vor die Aufgabe, Werke zu schaffen, die ein möglichst großer Kreis von Hörern aufnehmen kann. Inhalt und Form dieser Rundfunkkompositionen müssen also imstande sein, eine große Menge von Menschen aller Kreise zu interessieren, und auch die musikalischen Ausdrucksmittel dürfen dem primitiven Hörer keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten'.

Michael Stapper, in his book on popular music in the radio during the Weimar Republic, concludes by listing a number of criteria characteristic of radio-specific musical works. These criteria are mainly a reply to technical obstacles. One is the smaller size of the ensemble, as it was very difficult to handle the sound of large orchestras. Another is the composition of the ensemble, where the sinfonietta became a kind of model with its solo strings and predominance of wind instruments. Often saxophones were added and the ensembles tended towards the composition of a jazz band. A third is instrumentation and compositional technique. Often musical lines are presented in a few solo instruments, or played unisono by the ensemble; contrapuntal settings of musical lines are preferred to blended chords; pizzicato and distinct articulation are preferred, and special attention is focused on keeping bass lines audible; shorter and clear-cut forms are used, like suites or oratorios, or like those used in popular dance music. Other features contributing to a radio style were predominant rhythmic features, 'catchiness', and the choice of texts, and last but not least: a culture of interpretation demanding for strict, *sachlich*, or objective, unsentimental modes of playing, shunning all kinds of virtuosity or romanticism.[9] One could argue that all these features are common features of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and to a certain degree that is true. What does count for maintaining the category of 'radio music' is that these features are accentuated: they are *necessary* features due to a specific challenge.

How these kinds of considerations on how to arrange the score in order to provide successful broadcasts were internalized can be seen from a quite different case. In 1950, Erik Tuxen was responsible for a new edition of Carl Nielsen's Symphony No. 5. Tuxen was appointed chief conductor of the Danish State Radio Symphony Orchestra (today called the Danish National Symphony Orchestra) in 1936 and thus had considerable experience in this field. Remarkably, even with such a work, which one would suppose was sacrosanct – a major symphony by the most revered Danish composer – Tuxen made changes in the score. Some melodic lines were reinforced by adding additional instruments, phrasing and articulation were subject to changes, and even notes were changed in order to provide less blurred and less dissonant harmony. And most remarkably, Tuxen stated in an interview that these changes were made because they had proved to be appropriate for radio broadcasts and recordings: 'If Carl Nielsen is becoming world famous, it is an achievement of radio and gramophone, both of which *requires* thinning out the instrumentation'.[10] It is rare to find such a frank statement and a published score to go with it, but it is possible to

9 Stapper, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, ch. 4.5: 'Kriterien rundfunkeigener Musik', 158–282.

10 Erik Tuxen in William Haste: 'Carl Nielsen ominstrumenteret før festspillene i Edinburgh af komponistpræsten Leif Kayser' (Carl Nielsen re-orchestrated before the Edinburgh festival by the priest-composer Leif Kayser), *Ekstrabladet*, ??.11.1950, emphasis in original, quoted in Michael Fjeldsøe, 'Carl Nielsens 5. symfoni. Dens tilblivelse og reception i 1920rne', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 24 (1996), 51f. In the published score, Tuxen gives a different explanation and plays down the significance of the changes: '… we have made quite a number of dynamic alterations, which have proved to be suitable at performances with a modern orchestra with its great number of strings' (Remark in the full score, *Carl Nielsen. Symfoni no. 5*, Skandinavisk Musikforlag (Copenhagen, cop. 1950)).

use this to indicate that this was a common production practice by radio orchestras at least into the 1950s and to point to orchestral parts and conductors' scores in radio orchestra archives as source material for further investigation.

Let us get back to Kurt Weill. In a short article written in 1929 on the occasion of the upcoming broadcast of his piece *Berliner Requiem*, a commission from the Frankfurt Radio station, he described his way into the field of radio music.

> When I, in the fall of last year, received a commission from the Frankfurt Radio station for a piece for the radio [*Berliner Requiem*], I decided to create a vocal composition of the kind that I had tried out a year earlier in the little Songspiel *Mahagonny* [1927]. We are dealing with a genre which can be performed in the form of a cantata in a concert hall, or, as well, due to the spiritual content and the clearness of its form, can be shown in a theatre. Such a form which contains both the possibilities of concert and theatrical performance would easily be equipped for the requirements of radio.[11]

He argues that since this piece can be performed as a concert piece, without sets or acting, it can easily be transformed into a radio play. He states that until now, 1929, he had written three pieces of this kind: *Mahagonny Songspiel*, which is the 1927 version of what was developed into the full scale 1930 opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, 'the cantata *Das Berliner Requiem* and the musical tableau or radio play [he uses the German term *Hörbild*] *Der Lindberghflug* … . Both of the latter are specifically intended for the radio'.[12]

What is of interest here is that he talks about these pieces as belonging to a specific genre which is related to the genre of 'music theatre turned into a concert performance', that is, the genre cantata; one step further we find the radio piece, the genre of unseen, or just-heard, cantatas. Further, it is of interest that he talks about 'the demands of the radio' and of 'radio art': a play so convincing that one does not need to see it, but can still perceive due to 'purely musical features', the scenery and the moves of the characters.[13]

He specifies the technical demands but regards them as obvious at this stage of his development, in 1929: One must know the acoustic demands of the studio, the possibilities of the microphone in regard to orchestra and instruments, the

11 Kurt Weill, 'Zu meiner Kantate *Das Berliner Requeim*', *Südwestdeutsche Rundfunk-Zeitung*, 1929, no. 20 (16.5.1929), in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 90–92, at 90f. 'Als ich im Herbst des vorigen Jahres vom Frankfurter Sender den Auftrag erhielt, ein Stück für den Rundfunk zu schreiben, da entschloß ich mich, eine Vokalkomposition in jener Art zu schaffen, wie ich sie ein Jahr vorher in dem kleinen Songspiel *Mahagonny* versucht hatte. Es handelt sich hier um eine Gattung, die im Konzertsaal in Kantatenform aufgeführt werden kann, die aber ebensogut auch durch ihren gestischen Gehalt und durch die Anschaulichkeit ihrer Form auf dem Theater darzustellen ist. Eine Form, die gleichermaßen konzertante und theatralische Möglichkeiten in sich schließt, mußte mit Leichtigkeit für die Erfordernisse des Rundfunks auszugestalten sein'. The text of this article is very similar to the article quoted above, 'Notiz zum "Berliner Requiem"'. Kurt Weill's *Berliner Requiem* had its first (and only) broadcast on the Frankfurt Radio on 22 May 1929.

12 Ibid.: 'die Kantate *Das Berliner Requiem* und das musikalische Hörbild *Der Lindberghflug* … . Die beiden letzteren Werke sind ausdrücklich für den Rundfunk bestimmt'.

13 Ibid.

distribution of high, low, and middle voices and harmonic limits required for radio compositions.[14] At this point his main considerations are the listeners or audiences. The most important thing for him was to try out an art form which actually met the requirements of 'what radio of today is in need of. First of all one must consider that the audience of the radio is composed of all strata of the population. It is impossible to apply the conditions of the concert hall to radio music'.[15] This leads to the statement already quoted: that one has to create works that are available to as large an audience as possible, choose topics which can interest most people and find a form which will create no or few difficulties to what he describes as 'primitive listeners'.

As a radio critic, Weill was already well aware of the suitability of certain pieces for broadcast. In 1925, he commented on a concert of the German *Novembergruppe*, a Berlin group of artists associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit*.[16] Considering some small pieces for string quartet by Max Butting, he remarked, 'The secure mastery of the small form met the demands of the microphone'.[17] Also the piano pieces by Heinz Tiessen 'had passed the test of broadcasting with honours'.[18] As both pieces were composed as early as 1923 they were hardly conceived as 'radio music'.[19]

In 1926, in an article called 'The radio and the transformation of musical life', Weill was considering how this new media was about to develop into a new genre: 'A specific technique of singing and playing for the aims of radio will be developed, … special instrumentations and compositions of orchestras for the acoustic demands of the radio studios will be invented … there is no doubt that the grounds for an independent and equal genre are established here'.[20] A similar stand was found in Denmark, where Knudåge Riisager in 1928 wrote a feature on radio music, suggesting that one should take on the challenge of providing 'a *specific radio music*' along such lines: 'It might at first sound strange that a composer should write for the radio, but is there a major difference between writing for that specific means of communication, the radio, and that specific instrument, for example, the

14 Ibid. 91.

15 Ibid.: '… was der Rundfunk heute braucht. Dabei war hauptsächlich zu berücksichtigen, daß das Publikum des Rundfunks sich aus allen Schichten der Bevölkerung zusammensetzt. Es ist unmöglich, die Voraussetzungen des Konzertsaals auch auf die Rundfunkmusik anzuwenden'.

16 Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart/Weimar, 1999), 42 ff.

17 Kurt Weill, '[Abend der Novembergruppe]', *Der deutsche Rundfunk* 3 (1925), No. 21 (24 May), 1323, in Weill: *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 258: 'Die sichere Meisterung der kleinen Form kam den Erfordernissen des Mikrophons entgegen'.

18 Ibid.: '[Heinz Tiessens Klavierstücke op. 31] bestanden glänzend die Feuerprobe der Übertragung'.

19 This was the first broadcast of the *Novembergruppe*, which had until then organized 12 'ordinary' concerts; cf. Martin Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben bis 1933* (Bonn, 1995), 606–8.

20 Kurt Weill, 'Die Rundfunk und die Umschichtung des Musiklebens', *Der deutsche Rundfunk*, 4 (1926), no. 24 (13 June), 1649–50, in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 312: 'Es wird sich eine besondere Technik des Singens und Spielens für Funkzwecke entwickeln, man wird … beginnen besondere Instrumentationen und neue Orchesterkombinationen eigens für die akustischen Erfordernisse des Senderaums zu erfinden. … es unterliegt schon jetzt keinem Zweifel mehr, daß hier die Voraussetzungen zur Entstehung einer selbständigen und ebenbürtigen Kunstgattung gegeben sind'.

piano?'[21] At this stage, both Weill and Riisager considered the technical demands (or lack of quality) of the broadcasts and the fact that there was no interaction between musicians and audience to be the main concerns. And also in Denmark, radio or 'mechanical' music was often perceived as a threat to concerts with live audiences.[22] But another, more optimistic note is also to be seen: Weill regarded radio as a media which can reach 'that utmost broad public which is the future audience for art' with 'a valuable and genuinely productive mass art'.[23] This was a pedagogical project targeted at the audience and meant to create a new audience able to appreciate valuable music, including contemporary music.

Der Lindberghflug was Weill's most ambitious attempt to fulfil this optimistic prospect, but it was also a sobering experience which eventually made him change his strategy and abandon the idea of being able to reach 'everyone' through the means of radio.[24] Instead, Weill's final version of this piece became his first attempt in the genre school opera or *Lehrstück*, and it was followed up by the paradigmatic 'school opera', *Der Jasager*, which was premiered in June 1930.

Der Lindberghflug was a commission for the 1929 Baden-Baden festival, which, as already mentioned, had radio music as one of its featured themes. In the call for the festival, the category of radio music was subdivided into chamber music, music for chamber orchestra, vocal music, and 'musical radio plays' [musikalische Hörspiele], and *Der Lindberghflug* was intended for this last category.[25] The text was provided by Bertolt Brecht. It is the story of the famous Charles Lindbergh who as the first pilot ever made a one-man, non-stop flight from America to Europe. In later versions of the text, Brecht changed his attitude towards Lindbergh, who in the 1930s supported pro-fascist views, but in this first version Lindbergh was presented as a hero along with the other protagonist, his airplane. Initially it was planned that

21 Knudåge Riisager, 'Radiomusik' (Radio music), *Radiolytteren*, 4, no. 1 (22 Sept. 1928), 1: 'Det lyder muligt i første Øjeblik mærkeligt, at en Komponist skulde skrive for Radioen, men er der større Forskel mellem at skrive for det særlige Meddelelsesmiddel Radioen og for det særlige Instrument, f. Eks. Klaveret?' He suggested a competition to supply such pieces, but that came to nothing. Stapper provides an appendix with quite a long list of radio music by mainly German and Austrian composers, but such an investigation regarding Danish music has not yet been performed. There are examples, though, of Danish 'radio music', for example a piece by Otto Mortensen, *Ouverture for Kammerorkester (Radiomusik 1934)* (Overture for chamber orchestra (Radio music 1934)).

22 See, for example, Karl Larsen, *Levende musik. Mekanisk musik* (Live Music. Mechanical Music), (Copenhagen, 1929), which reprinted a number of newspaper chronicles by Karl Larsen and added comments by Finn Høffding and Jørgen Bentzon and a foreword by Carl Nielsen, published by Dansk Tonekunstnerforening.

23 Weill, 'Die Rundfunk und die Umschichtung des Musiklebens', 313: 'jener breitesten Allgemeinheit, die das Kunstpublikum der Zukunft bildet'; 'eine hochwertige und wirklich fruchtbare Massenkunst'.

24 This is not the place to work out the differences between the strategies of Brecht and Weill; it is during this period around 1930 that they part ways. For a discussion of Brecht's position, see, for example, Peter Groth and Manfred Voigts, 'Die Entwicklung der Brechtschen Radiotheorie, 1927–1932', *Brecht-Jahrbuch*, 1976, 9–46, or Dieter Wöhrle, *Bertolt Brechts medienästhetische Versuche* (Köln, 1988), esp. 45–60.

25 Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, 210.

Weill would compose the music alone, but in the end Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith each composed half of the music for this version, which was premiered on stage on 27 June 1927 and broadcast on German radio two days later.

Already prior to the premiere, Weill found Hindemith's contribution 'superficial' and 'too tame for Brecht's texts' and thus he decided to present his own full version.[26] This second version of the piece was presented to the public at a concert in Berlin on 5 December 1929. In the process of composing this second version, Weill made it *less* a piece of specific radio music. Working over already composed numbers as well as composing the remaining parts, he removed some of the most 'radio-specific' features of instrumentation by enlarging the ensemble and giving the sound a more symphonic touch by removing the banjo and the saxophone and giving the strings a more prominent role.[27] This makes it a textbook case for identifying how Weill rearranged a specific sample of 'radio music' into a piece intended for other purposes, first as a concert cantata, then as a school opera for pupils.

In the second version, it was a piece intended for concert performances. He wrote to his publisher that it was 'a distinct concert piece' and that he was convinced that it would be performed by a large number of orchestras in Germany and abroad, but at the same time he stressed that he was keen on bringing this piece into the schools as well.[28] At this moment, though, this was more of a declaration of intent than a fact. What he presented in Berlin was a fully professional concert performance at the Berlin Kroll Opera House conducted by Otto Klemperer. Still, his text for the programme leaflet is revealing because it presents his (and Brecht's) new line of thought, promoting the idea of providing *Lehrstück* school operas, that is, didactical plays for pupils, intended to be performed in a group for the sake of educating the group members rather than being delivered to an audience. Thus, the concert version is a momentary form for a certain purpose, open for further adaptations. It is worth noting that he at this point talks of the radio play as a former version:

> *Der Lindberghflug* by Brecht, which in a former version was composed as a radio play [Rundfunk-Hörspiel], is here present in a musical version which ultimately is intended for performances in schools. In that case the part of Lindbergh must be sung by several boys simultaneously in order to avoid the appearance of a single Lindbergh-performer's personal attitude … The play in this form is, regarding the music, deliberately designed so simple that the music with sufficient time can be rehearsed by pupils. For this reason, the orchestra, too, is composed in a way which makes it possible to re-

26 Letter from Weill to Hans Curjel, 2.8.1929, quoted in David Farneth (ed.), *Kurt Weill. A Life in Pictures and Documents* (New York, 2000), 95: 'Hindemith's work on Lindberghflug and on the [Hindemith] Lehrstück was of a superficiality that will be hard to beat. It has clearly been proven that his music is to tame for Brecht's texts. What's amazing is that the press has discovered this as well, and they now present me as the shining example of how Brecht should be composed'. His decision to compose the full version was made already in the beginning of June, cf. letter to his publisher, 4.6.1929, in Kurt Weill, *Briefwechsel mit der Universal Edition*, ed. Nils Grosch (Stuttgart/Weimar, 2002), 168.

27 Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, 212.

28 Weill, *Briefwechsel mit der Universal Edition*, 205.

> arrange it according to the possibilities of a school orchestra. The concert hall is turned … into a sort of showroom. Thus shall for example *Der Lindberghflug* be 'exhibited', that is: the performance shall prepare for that other application where the piece is no longer presented to an audience but instead is satisfying its practical didactic aim.[29]

Although signed by Weill, this statement resounds with the diction of Brecht. This is, in fact, the point where Weill and Brecht part, at least regarding *Der Lindberghflug*. Brecht reworked the text several times, stressing the *Lehrstück* features, first as *Der Flug des Lindberghs*, referring to the 'collectivization' and typification of the part of Lindbergh mentioned by Weill, and later in a version called *Der Ozeanflug*. Weill, however, did not compose any of these later texts, nor did he publish any arrangements for school orchestra.

Instead one must regard the next Brecht-Weill piece, the school opera *Der Jasager*, composed in the spring of 1930, as a piece working out those intended simplifications. *Der Jasager* is in fact drawn up in a way, which can be handled by musically trained pupils and a school orchestra, and, contrary to *Der Lindberghflug*, it was used for a large number of amateur performances, also in Denmark.[30] But still, the use for radio broadcasts was not ruled out. Actually, it should be noted, *Der Jasager* was premiered as a live broadcast on 23 June 1930 and given its first stage premiere the next day.[31]

In a radio broadcast discussion on school operas in the spring of 1930, Weill reflected on the reasons for turning towards school opera, and it is remarkable that a major argument was his loss of faith in radio music. He no longer considered it possible to reach and, which is the crucial point, to influence such a large and diverse radio audience:

> Exactly because the school is composed by different elements, circles and talents, which are compelled to influence each other, schools are in a more advantageous position. It is difficult but it is indeed worth engaging such a pool of maturing attitudes and positions at a meeting point, and while they are still developing. This is why, when I was listing different possibilities for dissemination of music, I left out the radio. Because in the radio you are approaching an anonymous community of adults from highly

29 Kurt Weill, 'Notiz zum *Lindberghflug*', programme note for the concert 5.12.1929, in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 100–1: '*Der Lindberghflug* von Brecht, die in einer früheren Fassung als Rundfunk-Hörspiel komponiert worden war, liegt hier in einer musikalischen Fassung vor, die in ihrem Endzweck für Aufführungen in Schulen gedacht ist. Dabei soll der Part des Lindbergh von mehreren Knaben gleichzeitig gesungen werden, um die private Haltung eines einzelnen Lindberghdarstellers auszuschalten. … Die musikalische Anlage des Stückes, wie sie jetzt vorliegt, ist aber mit voller Absicht so einfach gehalten, daß die Musik bei genügend Studierzeit von Schülern gelernt werden kann. Auch das Orchester ist aus diesem Grunde so besetzt, daß es den Besetzungsmöglichkeiten eines Schülerorchesters entsprechend arrangiert werden kann. Der Konzertsaal wird … zu einer Art von Ausstellungsraum … . So soll zum Beispiel der *Lindberghflug* durch die Konzertaufführung gewissermaßen "ausgestellt" werden, d.h. die Aufführung soll jene andere Verwertung vorbereiten, in der das Stück nicht mehr einem Publikum dargeboten wird, sondern in der es seinen praktischen pädagogischen Zweck erfüllt'.

30 Fjeldsøe, *Kulturradikalismens musik*, 564–72.

31 Farneth (ed.), *Kurt Weill. A Life in Pictures and Documents*, 111.

> different circles, to which there is hardly anything to be done. … There is no point of connection there and development is no longer possible.[32]

It is this disappointment, following the high hopes for radio just one or two years earlier, that gives Weill's (and Brecht's) efforts to influence an audience a new direction. But this should not lead to the conclusion that the idea of providing specific radio music had no consequences.

What seemed to be the beginning of a new genre eventually dissolved into other genres defined not by the media, radio. But still, the awareness of the technical difficulties and the urge to overcome such problems in order to be able to communicate to a large audience point to the dialectics of production practices within the radio and the work of composers. It is interesting to note that Knudåge Riisager pointed to the production practice of gramophone recordings, when he was looking for a model for specific radio music – it was common practice in 1928 to rearrange musical scores in order to provide good recordings. One must adapt the technology to the music, he stated, or, if that is not possible

> one must in similar ways as it is the case with gramophone recordings, rearrange and adapt existing scores for the specific purpose of radio broadcast. I am aware that it will be considered heresy to interfere here but on second thoughts one might admit that on the contrary it is suggested to find an adequate representation which exactly covers the original idea.[33]

It is revealing that such practices were still considered acceptable in 1950 when Erik Tuxen commented on his new edition of the Nielsen symphony. Thus, it seems that the concept of radio music does have relevance, not just as a genre that did not really succeed; to music radio research it might be more significant to consider it a concept that provides *criteria* for compositions meant for radio broadcast and thus points to the field in which the production practice and the work of the composer are mediated.

32 'Aktuelles Zwiegespräch über die Schuloper zwischen Kurt Weill und Dr. Hans Fischer' (Apr. 1930), in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater*, 447–54, at 449 f.: 'Gerade weil die Schule aus verschiedenen Elementen, Kreisen und Begabungen zusammengesetzt ist, die gezwungen sind, aufeinander einzuwirken, hat sie die größten Vorteile. Es ist schwer, aber sehr lohnend, eine solche Vielheit der allmählich ausreifenden Meinungen und Ansichten im Schnittpunkt und noch in der Entwicklung zu treffen. Deshalb nannte ich vorhin, als ich die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten zur Verbreiterung der Musik aufzählte, nicht den Rundfunk. Denn im Rundfunk ist eine anonyme Gemeinschaft von Erwachsenen aus verschiedensten Kreisen vorhanden, mit der wenig anzufangen ist. … Da ist kein Schnittpunkt mehr vorhanden und keine Entwicklung mehr möglich'.

33 Riisager, 'Radiomusik': '… eller ogsaa maa man paa lignende Vis, som Tilfældet er med Hensyn til Grammofonindspilningerne, instrumentere og tilrettelægge den bestaaende Litteratur for det specielle Radioformaal. Jeg ved godt, at det vil blive betragtet som Helligbrøde at gribe ind her, men ved nærmere Eftertanke vil det dog sikkert indrømmes, at der tværtimod er Tale om at finde en Gengivelsesform, der netop dækker den oprindelige Tanke'. Cf. Mark Katz' argument that also early jazz recordings adapted to the limitations of recording technology and required bands to alter their instrumentation and playing styles. As records became the main source for disseminating jazz, these adapted versions came to define how jazz was expected to sound; Mark Katz, *Capturing sound. How technology has changed music* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 2004), 81–84.

Summary

In the late 1920s, young composers and musicians turned towards new fields of activity and new media in order to reach a larger audience. In Germany, this effort was part of the movement of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and for a short period of time *Radiomusik* was considered the ideal means for a democratic, educational and didactic effort which would enlighten all of society. For a while it seemed that radio music was considered a genre of its own. To fulfil its function, radio music had to consider technical limitations as well as the educational level and listening modes of the new mass audience. Public radio, as discussed by Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith, was at first greeted with great expectations, but soon a more realistic attitude prevailed. Weill, himself a radio critic as well, composed *Der Lindberghflug* (1929) as a piece of 'radio music theatre', but then changed some of its features in order to turn it into a didactical play for amateurs, a so-called *Lehrstück*. The article presents the concept of 'radio music' developed within German *Neue Sachlichkeit* and discusses the relevance of such a concept for current research in the field of radio and music.

Radio Within and Across Borders

Music as national and international in interbellum Danish radio

Morten Michelsen

Between the two world wars radio landed like a UFO in the midst of cultures more or less nationally defined all over the world.[1] The beginnings were quite humble, but as the new medium caught on after 1925 it grew with an almost feverish speed. Radio came about mainly due to private initiative, but from 1922 onwards still more European countries defined radio as state monopolies (France and Spain being exceptions) and channelled huge sums into the new broadcasting corporations in order to develop the medium. By the mid-30s national broadcasting corporations had become the all-powerful cultural institutions in their countries.

In Europe this UFO landed in a large number of countries, many of which were only a couple of years old.[2] One of the important driving forces behind the Great War had been nationalism, and the peace treaties did not really alter that, even though the political context had changed a lot, especially in the Eastern parts of Europe. On the other hand, international cooperation grew immensely in the wake of the war. Internationalism was important to the workers' movements, and at the Paris peace negotiations US president Woodrow Wilson argued for establishing the League of Nations (1919–1946) to prevent future wars.

Radio became part of these struggles, mainly supporting the nation-building forces, but also engaging in European collaboration through the IBU (International Broadcasting Union, 1925) following the lead of the League of Nations. In the following I will discuss some aspects of interbellum radio's double nature with regard to supporting nationalizing and internationalizing tendencies and how music and the principle of transmission contributed to this. It seems that radio could easily support the heightened sensitivity to both nation- and continent-building and, by presenting 'the other' acoustically, make the world a little less strange. My comments are based on an analysis of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation's (DR) daily radio programmes, especially the ones from the first week of November 1925–40, and other contemporary written sources.[3]

1 This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the LARM conference 'Digital Archives, Audiovisual Media and Cultural Memory', University of Copenhagen, 14–15 November 2013.

2 Ireland (1919), Finland (1917), Estonia (1918), Lithuania (1918), Latvia (1918), Poland (1918), Hungary (1918), Czechoslovakia (1918), Yugoslavia (1918), Austria (1918) became individual nation states, while Denmark regained parts of Southern Jutland (lost to Germany in 1864).

3 Recently, the research infrastructure of LARM made it possible to access detailed information on all DR radio programmes since its first broadcasts. Surviving recordings of programmes have become available to students and researchers as well. This only amounts to approximately 150 recordings for the period in question, though (see http://larm.sites.ku.dk/).

There was an abundance of discourses linking music and nationality or music and universality, and they were propagated in various radio programmes. Such contextualisation often marked music as national or international, and if you look at programming in general, there is no doubt that the DR applied both discourses. Series of programmes celebrating the nation's great musical and literary sons and the playing of the national anthem at the end of each day were two obvious examples supporting the national perspective, while the many music transmissions from other countries supported the international perspective. In between was a large grey area where questions of national belonging could be answered in different ways according to circumstance. For example, does the large repertoire by Austro-German composers led by Johann Strauss Jr. indicate an internationalising tendency? The answer to this question is probably yes, as it mirrors the centre–periphery structure of musical life which developed in the nineteenth century and was accepted by most European countries. But this is a general convention; it does not apply to radio in particular. On the other hand, radio saw to it that this convention became more widely known. Dreaming of a blue, musicalized (and maybe slightly exoticized) Danube became possible for most Danes during the 1930s. If listeners knew this waltz – and they probably did, because 'An der schönen, blauen Donau' was played at least once every fortnight on average in the years 1930–1935 – we may presume that they had been introduced to it several times and, thus, that they at least knew the title and maybe stories about waltzing, Vienna, the river, or the Strausses.

From the other side of the national fence we may question whether anyone would have recognized Danish Strauss sound-alike Hans Christian Lumbye's music as Danish if they were not already familiar with it. Lumbye's music is primarily a part of the great European tradition for what DR labelled 'old dance music'. But then again, Lumbye was one of the most popular composers on Danish radio; one of his works was played at least once every three days in the same five-year period. Thus, most listeners would have been aware that Lumbye was Danish and able to make the connection between Lumbye's music and Danishness, even if the music did not in any way support such associations.

The main point here is that radio in a broad sense created new, different, and more communicatively effective types of contexts for stressing and understanding more music than ever before in national and/or international perspectives/frames. I am thinking of verbal explanations on the air, the pontificating style of address, written explanations and pictures in print (dailies and radio magazines), the staging of the medium as world-encompassing, and the ability to transmit in real time from specific places, be they within or outside of Danish borders. All this contributed to the contextualisation. The last example, transmission, points towards a main media specificity of radio: its ability to relay.

Heikki Uimonen has developed the concept of transphonia as the positive equivalent of R. Murray Schaefer's concept of schizophonia. Both concepts address the division of sound from its source, and transphonia refers more specifically to the 'mechanically and electroacoustically relocated sounds' that emphasize 'how sounds

are being used individually and communally'.[4] Different versions of the phonograph became the first medium for such mechanical relocations, and the telephone could transport sounds from one place to another in real time. Radio took all of this to another level by combining the two and by doing so with no strings attached, so to speak, from a single place to many places simultaneously. In time, radio also performed such transphonia at a low price.

In radio's early years the 'trans' of transphonia became concretized in transmissions, first from point to point, then from point to many points (the idea of broadcasting). Indeed this became the great marvel of radio: through the air it transmitted live sounds made by someone in one place to someone in another place. As radio developed and the signal chain became more complex, point-to-points transmissions were joined by point-to-point-to-points transmissions. That is, the popular meaning of the term transmission changed from transmission from the studio to listeners to transmission from events like football matches, concerts, or bridge openings attended by the royal family and the cabinet *via* the radio to the listeners. This notion and practice of transmission became an important means for nation-building and for opening up towards the rest of the world (mainly Europe, but also faraway places like Australia or the US).

I would argue that despite being placed at specific locations the radio studio was not localized in an actual or genuine sense. It was an abstract place, the place of ether and radio waves from where named voices without bodies sounded. Transmission, on the other hand, became a mediation of a concrete place inhabited by concrete people. Even if hardly any listeners had actually been there, the point of a transmission was to mediate for example a specific evening in a specific restaurant with Kai Ewans and his orchestra. Via the radio system you listened in on what was happening somewhere in the world. Transmission made places and spaces meaningful. The radio cliché 'and now back to the studio' illustrates the movement from existing places and people to the abstract space of radio.

Paradoxically, radio and transmissions both established and transcended distance, often at the same time. Geographically, the paradox could be experienced in (re)transmissions from the US, which came from far away, but could nevertheless be heard in your living room. Socially, the paradox could be experienced when the king or the prime minister would speak to you in the privacy of your living room. In both cases you could hear many of the details of the sound production, perhaps even more than if you had been present in the room with the speaker. The experiential schema for sound and distance broke down; or rather it was complemented by a completely different electro-acoustic sound schema.

4 Heikki Uimonen, 'Senses and Soundscapes' (PowerPoint presentation), https://noppa.aalto.fi/noppa/kurssi/01247/materiaali/01247_senses_and_soundscapes.pdf, accessed on 10 Nov. 2013, p. 34. R. Murray Schafer, *The New Soundscape: A Handbook for the Modern Music Teacher* (Ontario: Don Mills, 1969).

Radio's structuring of national and international spaces

At a national level radio defined centre and periphery along the lines of capital versus province. Such structuring was hardly new, but as the number of listeners grew it became much more effective than any previous efforts at creating a national and hierarchical, imagined community. Until 1928 Copenhagen was at the absolute centre of radiophonic space. Dialect, musicalized time signals, and general discourse in news and cultural programmes stressed that. After 1928 it became easier to transmit from the province, as a net of local radio studios was built all over the country and the number of music transmissions from the province increased. Having been granted radiophonic existence the province also got a voice, although a small one. The net of studios and transmissions together with the playing of the national anthem each night, the radiophonic and -genic construction of a canon of great Danish musical and literary artists, and finally the proximity of the voices of king and cabinet ('the state') were among the main building blocks in the renewed branding of the Danish nation.

At an international level (mainly Europe) the emerging radio structures did not adhere to the centre–periphery principle, but to a network principle. The IBU was established in 1925 and soon saw it as its main job to coordinate the construction of a European radio infrastructure.[5] Contrary to nation-building this 'continent-building' was new and followed in the footsteps of the League of Nations, which had been founded in 1919. It was based on technological coordination and distribution (e.g. transmitting frequencies) and the ideology of the peaceful modern man.[6] In this sense Europe became ordered geographically according to frequency. In addition, having a national radio station was important to the new post-war countries in Europe. Like the older countries they got an ether voice and could partake in the democracy of the air.

The ordering became visualized on the radio dial. It could be round (Europe as a globe) or a horizontal line (Europe as a scale). Well-known cities were lined up on the dial together with rather obscure places (e.g. Königs Wusterhausen, Kalundborg, Monte Ceneri), which thus became new European geographical points of reference. Also, in local news-related radio programmes (news, weather, shipping, market) the strangest places might be mentioned (e.g. Utsira), and on the short wave band you could pick up foreign languages you had never heard before. Such orderings were accidental, but via transmissions the national radio stations could also transport you to well-known places (the US or Australia), demonstrating that the world was becoming still smaller and that people actually existed 'out there'.

In the early years the radio medium as such was considered international. Using crystal sets young men roamed the airwaves searching for signs of life. 1920s-radio

5 Andreas Fickers and Suzanne Lommers, 'Eventing Europe: Broadcasting and the Mediated Performances of Europe', in Alexander Badenoch and Andreas Fickers (eds.), *Materializing Europe: Transnational Infrastructures and the Project of Europe* (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2010), 314.

6 Suzanne Lommers, *Europe – On Air. Interwar Projects for Radio Broadcasting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 84–85.

amateurs were thrilled if they could find a clear signal, and written documentation of contact was an important trophy. In *Radiolytteren*'s mast head the listener listened to two worlds (the West and the East), and the Blaupunkt advertisement below stresses the notion of world-embracing radio waves and radio products emanating from one point (see Ill. 1).

Ill. 1. The front page of Danish radio magazine, *Radiolytteren* (The Radio Listener), 15 Sept. 1928. Notice also the male listening to the world in the logo.

Radio practices delimiting and transcending borders

Throughout the interbellum period the IBU organized series of concerts produced by one member station and transmitted to the others (*Nuits Nationales* 1926–31, *Concerts Européens* 1931–39).[7] The logistics of the technological aspect of these transmissions was extremely complex, and the concerts became major tests of practical European cooperation. They also contributed to the mapping by giving specific places within Europe a sound and/or a music. The IBU transmissions were quite spectacular, but more simple binational transmissions took place almost on a weekly basis. Acoustically Berlin, Stockholm, and London became well-known places, and through retransmissions via the BBC even North American radio stations reached Danish homes.

From the point of view of Danish radio programming it was a fact that international musicians were better than the Danish. Special concerts became special because of foreign performers. For example, Martin Granau has documented how the conductors Nicolai Malko, Fritz Busch, and Egisto Tango supplanted local conductors at more prestigious concerts.[8] Such performers demonstrated that Denmark (i.e. the national radio) was part of an international circuit of musical stars, and by being part of international concert life Denmark earned its place among its peers – the other European countries.

As indicated in connection with the remarks on Strauss and Lumbye above it is hard to decide whether or not music has national marks. Questions of context and reception are more important than nationally defined styles or composers' and performers' national backgrounds. This is also true of the interbellum years, but it does not reflect how the radio programmers thought about music. To them music reflected nationality to a very high degree (even though it might be universal as well), as can be gathered from the numerous Italian, French, German, and Danish nights. From this point of view it makes sense to point out that the majority of the music played on the radio was not Danish. Danish music was used, among other things, to stress national pride, and the international repertoire complemented this by stressing Denmark's place in a larger community.

Language was, of course, the most important indicator of nationality. But this was complemented by the frequent broadcasting of foreign tongues, mainly German, English, and French. Early on language tuition became a main stay in Danish radio. Most days there would be tutorials around dinner time. What is more surprising to a contemporary listener is that in the early years you could even find full 20-30-minute lectures in the language in question.

Radio magazines and newspapers also contributed to radio's international dimension by publishing the programme schedules of several European radio stations throughout the period. This contributed to the feeling that you could entertain the whole of Europe in your living room, if you wanted to. It is difficult to say how

7 Fickers & Lommers, 'Eventing Europe', 309–24.

8 Martin Granau, *Holms vision. Radiosymfoniorkestret 75 år* (Copenhagen: DR, 2000), 71–137.

many actually listened to foreign radio stations and whether the double-spread articles of *Radiolytteren* with pictures of the buildings and announcers of foreign radio stations were intended for existing or future listeners.[9] Nevertheless, receiving radio signals from faraway places confirmed their existence in other ways than written reports could do, as you could actually hear them speak in their own tongue.

Internationalism came just as naturally to Danish radio producers as did nationalism. I have mentioned radio's contribution to the Danish infrastructure. Apart from that, DR carried on the musical nationalism of the nineteenth century and pointed to the discursively constructed national music heritage, which included symphonies by Gade, Hartmann, and Nielsen and art songs with Danish lyrics (especially Lange-Müller). Such music was played in programmes that combined literature and music, using the affective aspects of music and the semantic aspects of literature to create an effective message concerning the nation's great sons.

More popular music traditions took up broadcasting time as well. Popular songs from the folk high school tradition (a word not used by the radio) were quite frequent, while popular music with lyrics from the North American tradition did not emerge until the 1930s. Folk music, the radio's term for small instrumental bands performing traditional dance music repertoire, could be heard as well.

Daily transmissions (sometimes even twice a day) from a relatively small number of Danish restaurants contributed to a sense of everyday Danishness not based on the 'nation's best', but on popular culture. Danish conductors and their bands played one to two-hour shows, at first only from Copenhagen, but soon restaurants in provincial towns also became involved. Transmissions from other music localities (i.e. the music conservatory in Aarhus, the regional symphony orchestras, the Copenhagen music societies) also appeared, creating general knowledge about what was going on in bourgeois music circles.

Music was also used to mark the passing of radio time. The national anthem closed each day, while the Copenhagen Town Hall carillon marked when the clock had struck noon, six pm and midnight.[10] The pause signal, the first station indicator (the jingle), appeared in 1931. The signal was the allegedly oldest notated Danish melody: 'Drømte mig en drøm' ('I had a dream').[11]

Conclusions

Through its programming practices the Danish national radio sometimes stressed the national, sometimes the international. It was not a question of either or. Both discourses made sense, maybe even at the same time. I have pointed to a few central programme activities to support the claim that radio music (and other) contributed extensively to a heightened sensibility towards the national and the international.

9 One example is 'Stationer vi hører I: Berlin–Zeesen', *Radiolytteren*, 3 (1931), 24–25.

10 The carillon played a watchman's song pastiche composed by P.E. Lange-Müller (cf. http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/tema/fokus/raadhus.html, accessed on 3 Dec. 2013).

11 Torben Sangild, 'Jingler – radioens lydlige indpakning', *Seismograf/DMT* (special issue on radio), 2013, http://seismograf.org/artikel/jingler-radioens-lydlige-indpakning, accessed on 20 Oct. 2014.

I have also argued that a specific radio format, the transmission, was an important reason for this heightened intensity.

Like the Internet today, interbellum radio made it possible to listen to immense amounts of music, but unlike the Internet it became contextualised – not necessarily explained in detail, but at least framed by the programme flow, institution, presenter, and newspaper publicity. Radio helped people (i.e. license holders) make sense of a world which many considered to be modern. The apparatus was welcomed into the home as entertainment, as newsagent, as teacher. Furthermore, radio helped listeners take part in public life, or rather to follow its development, and radio presented 'the other' within the nation state, taking on many different forms: other provinces or completely different cultures. In this way certain genres of music and radio in general helped build the imagined community of the nation and, at the same time, to view this community as part of something even larger.

Summary

Politically, Europe was dominated by both renewed national movements and tendencies towards internationalism in the decades following World War I. As a new and strong medium, radio became a tool for supporting nation-building in individual countries and for developing international relations, for example through the International Broadcasting Union (IBU). In this article I look at this apparent paradox by investigating a few aspects of the Danish music repertoire and the principles for radio transmission. I demonstrate how the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) practised both principles in their programming without seeing it as a problem in any way. The enormous amount of music, which radio made it possible to listen to, contributed to this – not least because the music always became more or less contextualized thanks to radio's many metatexts. In this way music in early radio contributed to a certain understanding of the modern, the 'other', and the new, making them less strange. At the same time radio articulated a well-known, 'homely' music background as the basis for understanding the new.

Sounds and Voices from the Past
Using archive material in radio music shows

Mikkel Vad

This article is written from two points of view, as I am a musicologist who also happens to work as a radio presenter.[1] Naturally, radio presenters are notoriously preoccupied with what they say on air, just as scholars are notoriously preoccupied with critical investigations into discourses of music. In this article I hope to use this degree of self-awareness and critical thinking in a positive way and to combine these two points of view to reflect on my work at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR). I will focus on the two shows I produced on DR's two music genre channels P2 (which is the station for classical music) and P8 Jazz. Both shows make extensive use of archive material and this article will analyse how music and, more particularly, archive material with music and musicians are presented on radio. As such, I wish to investigate how the imagined value of archive material is connected to the values of the music presented.

Basically, both of these shows are concerned with moving recordings from what Aleida Assmann calls storage memory to functional memory.[2] The realm of storage memory is 'uninhabited memory', which is disembodied from time, and which has lost its living relevance to the present. These are the unheard sounds on the recordings – 'memories of past memories' that exist like an 'amorphous mass'. Functional memory, on the other hand, is 'inhabited memory'. It builds bridges between the past and the present by investing memory with cultural meaning and relevance. This is music of the past that flows from the loudspeakers and is reinterpreted by the listeners in the present. Assmann describes these two types of memory:

> On the cultural level, storage memory contains what is unusable, obsolete, or dated; it has no vital ties to the present and no bearing on identity formation. We may also say that it holds in store a repertoire of missed opportunities, alternative options, and unused material. Functional memory, on the other hand, consists of vital recollections that emerge from a process of selection, connection, and meaningful configuration … . In functional memory, unstructured, unconnected fragments are invested with perspective and relevance; they enter into connections, configurations of *meaning* – a quality that is totally absent from storage memory.[3]

1 This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the LARM conference 'Digital Archives, Audiovisual Media and Cultural Memory', University of Copenhagen, 14–15 November 2013. Mikkel Vad was employed as a radio presenter at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation until 2014.

2 Aleida Assmann, *Cultural memory and Western civilization, functions, media, archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 119–34.

3 Ibid. 127; Assmann's italics.

Storage memory, however, does not represent a contrast to functional memory. In fact, the strength of this theoretical duality is that it not only allows us to identify the contents of the different areas of memory, but also to track the processes in which storage memory crosses over and becomes functional memory. In Assmann's words, these are not two dimensions of a binary opposition, but should be conceived of as 'creating a perspective, separating a visible foreground from an invisible background'.[4]

The two radio shows analysed in the present article are examples of how the dynamic relationship between functional memory and storage memory is performed, as it were, by the radio presenter. The two shows are highly aware of and rely on the archive material's position as cultural memory. Thus, the presentation on the shows constitutes a performance of historical consciousness, where the most important role of the radio host is to frame the archive material in a time space. In other words, the goal of the presentation is to create a perspective in which the relationship between the foreground of functional memory and the background of storage memory is heard.

However, the two shows use somewhat different strategies to highlight or eliminate the historicity of the recordings they present. In the following these different ways of presenting archive material in music shows will be analysed in order to show how memory is performed.

The 'P2 Gold Concert'

P2 Guldkoncerten, literally the 'P2 Gold Concert', presents and broadcasts historical concert recordings. These recordings may come from the archives of DR or the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) or from commercially released concert recordings. The 'P2 Gold Concert' is broadcast once a week as part of continuing daily series of concerts on the classical station P2 (*P2 Koncerten* or the 'P2 Concert'). However, while a typical show will include a live transmission or recently recorded concert (often produced 'quasi-live' or live-to-tape, i.e. presented as if it were live), the 'P2 Gold Concert' always constitutes a historical recording.[5] The fact that the concerts are from the archive and not contemporary, let alone live, is of course the premise of the show. This is also made clear in the presentation which stresses the

4 Ibid. 126. Here I should also mention that while Assmann may be correct in arguing that the dual structure of functional memory and storage memory is only thinkable if it uses writing, I will for the purpose of this article view the recording as a form of text or, perhaps more correctly, as a 'script', cf. Nicolas Cook, 'Music as Performance', in Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (eds.), *The Cultural Study of Music* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 184–94.

5 Although interesting, the problem of determining when a recording becomes 'historical' is beyond the scope of the present article. It will suffice to remark that discussions among editors and presenters on the issue have not arrived at a conclusion, but there is nevertheless a practice of excluding recordings which are less than ten years old, as they are regarded as non-historical, so to speak. To avoid confusion I will refer to these so-called 'historical' concerts as 'archive concerts' for the remainder of this article.

historical importance and context of the concert and its performers. However, in the presentation we also find elements that are usually reserved for live transmissions. Before we return to this point, we must therefore briefly consider an important aspect of P2 concert presentations: the so-called 'ringside presentation'.

In the working editorial concept description of the P2 Concert used by the editors and the presenters it is continually stated that 'focus is on the unique character of the live concert …'.[6] It is important to note that emphasis is firstly on the concert and only secondly on the works and their historical context. The most important element in achieving this goal is the 'ringside presentation', where the radio presenter is situated in the concert hall and, much like a sports commentator, 'conveys the particular concert's special energy and intensity. … The presentation is characterized by the particular host's personal style and by improvisation based on the mood of the moment and the specific events that characterize each concert'.[7] While this concept is developed mainly to describe the presentation of live concerts, it is nowhere stated that the 'P2 Gold Concert' is not subject to these guidelines. In reality there are some obvious differences, seeing as the 'P2 Gold Concert' is not live and the presenter is not present in the concert hall. On the other hand, though, aspects of the 'ringside presentation' can be found in the presentation of archive concerts (and in many ways these recordings are no different from when we are 'quasi-live', i.e. record a concert and presentation live-to-tape, or broadcast a concert from a venue abroad, where the Danish host presents the show from a studio in Copenhagen with an incoming transmission link).

Most importantly, the *liveness* of each concert can be evoked in the presentation of the concert. As Phillip Auslander has suggested,[8] Walter Benjamin's notion of mass desire for proximity and it alliance with reproduced objects is useful in understanding the interrelationship between the live and the mediatized. Paraphrasing Auslander I will say that with our radios turned on we are trying to achieve the kind of aural intimacy that can be obtained only from the reproduction of sound. The kind of proximity and intimacy we can experience through the radio, and which has become a model for close-up perception, but which is traditionally absent from these performances, can be reintroduced only by means of their audio reproduction in the radio.[9]

One of the most obvious ways of indicating liveness is for the presenter to change from the past to the present tense. In the following example my colleague, Mathias Hammer, does so within a single speak leading up to a concert recording of Sviatoslav Richter:

> And then he entered the stage. Slowly, treading with an introvert gaze and a concentration so powerful that the world could tumble down around him without him noticing.

6 Esben Tange (ed.), 'Koncept P2 Koncerten 2013', (unpublished editorial guidelines; Copenhagen: DR, 2013), 2; my translation.
7 Ibid. 1–2; my translation.
8 Philip Auslander, *Liveness, performance in a mediatized culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), 37–40.
9 Ibid. 39.

> He sits down. He takes a deep breath and begins, in the most difficult manner, with a sonata by Haydn, so transparent and light-footed that it will fall completely apart if one does not keep the hands steady.[10]

We are not only presented with a historical, canonical recording; we are encouraged to witness a live performance. That is not to say that the listener is made to believe that he or she is actually listening to a live broadcast, but it is evident that the simple shift from the past to the present tense in this commenting is a way of changing the perspective of the listener. By presenting the music like this the presenter is moving Richter's performance from stored to functional memory. It is no longer only a shadow of a past performance; it has become a palimpsest, where the aesthetic values of the live performance are reinvested into the recording.

It is also telling that Hammer uses our general knowledge of Richter as a performer to create a picture of his entry onto the stage. Hammer has no way of knowing how Richter in fact entered the stage on that particular day, but he nevertheless constructs a small narrative to create a sense of iconic presence and embodiment. This is made possible by the recording, but this at the same time feeds into a discourse of liveness where technology may be considered the antithesis of an experience of autonomous art.[11]

Much the same can be said of the next example, which is one of my own speaks. It follows a performance of Verdi's *Requiem*. You will notice that I have some slips in this speak, where I accidentally refer to the concert as a past event (ironically this is due to the fact that I improvised this speak in order to achieve a greater sense of liveness than would have been possible from a written manuscript). However, my overall aim here was to convey a sense of presence and almost give the listener the impression that he or she is listening to a live broadcast:

> A roaring applause to the National Symphony Orchestra and Choir under the direction of Lamberto Gardelli. And not least to the four soloists: Sylvia Sass, soprano; Julia Hamari, alto; Peter Lindroos, tenor; and Yevgeny Nesterenko, who sang the bass part. The air is electric, the atmosphere ecstatic. The music in Verdi's *Requiem* has filled the old hall in the Radio Hall on Frederiksberg. And the audience, they love Lindroos, the Finno-Swedish tenor, who was almost considered a Dane, because of his successful roles at the Royal Theatre. Lamberto Gardelli, the experienced opera conductor, who also has a Danish connection. He was married to a Danish singer. At rehearsals he communicates in half-Italian, half-Danish to the orchestra. At the concert here, he of course hasn't said a word. He has been standing on the podium and has led singers and musicians safely through Verdi's *Requiem*. Outside, the December frost is biting, but inside the hall the warmth flows towards the stage. An enormous applause fills the Radio Hall, here on the 19th of December 1979.[12]

10 Mathias Hammer presents the P2 Gold Concert, *DR P2* (DR, 05.12.2013); my transcription and translation.

11 This is my paraphrase of Tony Whyton, although he is concerned with jazz: Tony Whyton, *Jazz Icons, Heroes, Myths and the Jazz Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 42.

12 Mikkel Vad presents the P2 Gold Concert, *DR P2* (DR, 10.06.2013); my transcription and translation.

Here I in fact did have eyewitness accounts that informed some of the things I said. I could have interviewed those people to tape and let them appear in the show, but instead I used the information they gave me to create a presentation that was similar to true ringside presentations. Furthermore, some of the things I said were guesswork and assumptions, at best, and other things were made up: all for the sake of adding a sense of liveness to the recording.

By using a presentation form that emphasises the liveness of the concert and, to a degree, eliminating the historicity of the recording by framing it as functional memory we try to solve the problem Benjamin described when he wrote that '[t]he whole sphere of authenticity eludes technical … reproducibility'.[13] Although I do not necessarily agree with Benjamin in this regard, it nevertheless seems to be a premise or at least a paradox of the particular show: how to insist on the unique character or 'aura', so to speak, of a particular 'live' concert, while relying on technical reproducibility to broadcast it? In this case the answer is to insist that we are broadcasting a concert and not a recording. It nevertheless remains a paradox, because this is only possible because of the recording, and the presentation reinvests the archive concert with a constructed 'aura' and liveness of the live event. The lines between the live and the mediatized are blurred, as are the lines between storage memory and functional memory.

'From the Archive'

Fra arkivet, literally 'From the Archive', is a show on DR's jazz station P8 that re-airs material from DR's archives. Originally the show was meant to be similar to the 'P2 Gold Concert', only with jazz music, but due to issues of copyright almost none of DR's concert recordings could be rebroadcasted. However, interviews, reports, features, and ordinary DJ shows are not covered by the same copyright limitations. Accordingly, the concept of the show was changed to showcase these types of archive material, and consequently, the historical focus of the show also changed. In 'From the Archive' it is not the music in the form of performances or recordings of music which is at the centre. Instead it is the people talking about the music on the archive material that are of interest. Thus, the show has also become a sort of media history project, where a piece of archive material is seen in the light of intellectual or political views on jazz in Denmark and in DR in particular, or it emphasises the role of specific radio presenters. Seeing as the series of shows are only connected by the fact that they are recordings from the archives, these radio personalities have become the recurring stars of 'From the Archive' rather than the jazz musicians they interviewed or the music they presented.

What we may call the historicist economy of the archive also appears to hold sway in the show. Because preserved recordings in general and jazz material in particular

13 Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Technological Reproduction', in Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin (eds.), *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2008), 21.

become rarer and rarer the further you get from the present, the oldest material found in the archive more or less automatically gains value; the older it is, the better it must be. Even if much of the material found in the archive may actually be there by chance or because of choices unknown to us today, this material gains authority because of its rarity, rather than because of the quality of its content. As Arved Ashby has pointed out, this is based upon a linear conception of history, where the paradox is that rarity is 'prized according to its chronological distance from the present yet at the same time must be made available to the here-and-now'.[14]

I find myself caught in this paradox and subscribing to this belief in the value of archive material when I plan and present the show. If I find something old and rare I am more likely to air it, even though it is not of a quality that is desirable. It may be incomplete or unedited, or it may simply fail to meet the overall profile of the particular station (P8 Jazz), e.g. it may contain too much talk against the ratio of music. Nevertheless, it gets re-aired on account of its rarity simply because it is available in the present. I even find myself feeling some pride in rescuing the almost lost material from the scrap piles of history and presenting it to the listeners.

The following example is exactly such a case. In my presentation you will hear me emphasizing that the recording is incomplete, as if this was a virtue.

> As mentioned [previously], we are now going to listen to an interview from … I'll just check the year on the tape box … We are going back to 1964. Monica Zetterlund talks about a production of *The Threepenny Opera*, Bertolt Brecht's play, which is being staged in Stockholm, where she sings 'Pirate Jenny'. And among other things, it [the interview] will be about 'Moritat von Mackie Messer', which you may know as 'Mack the Knife'. And unfortunately we jump into the middle of the show, where the radio presenter is talking about the position of this song in jazz history.[15]

Here you may also notice another key element in 'From the Archive': the soundscape or mise-en-scène of the show (unfortunately the transcription does not do justice to the point I am trying to make). Before and after each speak, clip, or piece of music the sound of rolling tapes and machines indicates that what you are hearing is being played on old, non-digital machines. Furthermore, background noise from the reel-to-reel tape machine fills the soundscape and the presenter talks about the archive as the place from where the show is actually broadcast; this is evident from the following example:

> [Blow of air, chough] Woo, well it's been a long time since someone has had their hands on this. The dust settles between the books, boxes, and tapes down here. I haven't used a broom here in the archive of P8 Jazz recently. [Cough/clears throat] My

14 Arved Ashby, *Absolute Music, Mechanical Reproduction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), 71. While Ashby is concerned with classical music, I believe that jazz' position as an art music, which as an aesthetic idea can be traced back to at least the forties, makes this observation applicable to jazz as well.

15 Mikkel Vad presents 'From the Archive', *DR P8 Jazz* (DR, 06.22.2013); my transcription and translation.

> name is Mikkel Vad and luckily the dirt does not prevent me from finding this super cool programme for today. And I think I have brushed the worst bits of dust off this old programme and now I can put it in the tape machine. [Sounds of tape going into the machine] Today it [the show] will be about music and words, jazz and poetry. It will be about beat literature. More precisely, the author Allen Ginsberg. In 1983 he visited Denmark. The jazz staff [of DR] was on the spot, and not only did they get a nice long interview with Allen Ginsberg, who actually knows quite a bit about jazz, they also got a poetry recital or performance or whatever you might call it, and this is where the show begins. [Sound of tape machine being turned on].[16]

However, the archive that you hear in 'From the Archive' does not exist outside the sounds of the show. The entire soundscape is created with an editing programme on the computer. This not only serves the function of giving the show a distinct sonic identity, it also creates a sense of nostalgia by using the sounds of rolling tapes and old (i.e. non-digital) glitches. The sonic mise-en-scène of an archive quite literally amplifies its status as a site of memory,[17] not only by virtue of using actual archive material, but by creating an imaginary archive around the sound artefacts from the archive.

The historicity of the recordings is stressed in a way that speaks to the retromania and nostalgia of jazz, in a way that parallels the fetish character that jazz aficionados give to recordings. Even though improvisation is considered one of the defining features of jazz, recordings fix performances in time. It is a paradox that recordings are the primary means of canonizing jazz, which Jed Rasula has called 'the seductive menace of records in jazz history'.[18] While he was correct in his criticism of the undertheorized role of recordings in jazz historiography, his analysis points to the fact that jazz culture relies heavily on recorded material to form the basis of its history. In this light, the particular use and editing of the archive material in 'From the Archive' speaks directly into that ideology.

In 'From the Archive' the use of a virtual soundscape mimicking the technology of the past also serves to create a disjuncture between past and present. In this way not only the recorded music becomes disembodied,[19] but also the voices from the past. This may place 'From the Archive' firmly within the framework of storage memory. On the other hand, the very sounds that aim to give the listener the sense that the voices that appear on the show are well-preserved relics from the past also point to the opposite fact: that the archive material presented on the show is heavily edited. The tape begins and ends at a particular point, which consequently means that something is left out. Something happened before and after the time

16 Mikkel Vad presents 'From the Archive', *DR P8 Jazz* (DR, 04.06.2013); my transcription and translation.

17 This concept was coined by Pierre Nora, but I refer to it here in the broader and more flexible sense of cultural memory studies; see e.g. Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2011), 22–27.

18 Jed Rasula, 'Media of Memory: The Seductive Menace of Records in Jazz History', in Krin Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz Among the Discourses* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 134–62.

19 I take my cue here from Tony Whyton's analysis of Coltrane and the disembodied voice: Whyton, *Jazz Icons,* 38–56.

captured on tape. While the material used in 'From the Archive' may not yet have fully entered functional memory, it is important to note that the show is not in itself a process of storing. It is a process of remembering, and as such it represents the perspective in which the relationship between storage memory and functional memory can be seen. The design of the show reveals a central characteristic of memory: 'Remembering is basically a reconstructive process; it always starts in the present, and so inevitably at the time when memory is recalled, there will be shifting, distortion, revaluation, reshaping'.[20] The sounds of rolling tapes and machines are in fact signs of forgetting.

Concluding remarks

Although the strategies regarding archive material in these two music shows are quite different, they both use performative rituals in the presentation which rely heavily on the archive material.

Through the presentation and conceptualisation of the 'P2 Gold Concert' as a live event it seems to resist its own historicity, but it is exactly through this mediatized process that a move from stored to functional memory is made possible. The ritual of liveness that is performed by the presenter helps place the 'P2 Gold Concert' in the category of 'cultural memory'.[21] As opposed to the everyday-like and informal manner of 'communicative memory', the ritualized presentation in the formation and organisation of the archive material as a live concert establishes the almost timeless character of the 'P2 Gold Concert'. Benjamin may have believed that the 'technological reproducibility emancipates the work of art from its parasitical subservience to ritual'.[22] In this case, though, it seems that technical reproduction makes the reappropriation of such rituals possible. That is not to say that this ritual of liveness in the framing of archive concerts aims at giving the listener the impression that he or she is listening to the concert 'as it actually happened'. Such insistence on the liveness of archive concerts is a construction. This should also be evident from the way the presenter more or less elegantly alternates between the position of the historian, as it were, who comments on the storage memory of the archive material and the position of the ringside journalist who engages with the concert event. Of course, this is not wholly unproblematic, because such journalistic ambiguity might confuse the listener. However, neither the 'P2 Gold Concert' nor 'From the Archive' has been subject to qualitative evaluations by the listeners (e.g. focus group analyses or other research conducted by DR), and it is beyond the scope of the present article to do such research.

Much like the presenter of the 'P2 Gold Concert' performs a ritual of liveness made possible by the mechanical reproduction, the presentation and mise-en-scène of 'From the Archive' are highly performative. The show subscribes to a belief in the

20 Assmann, *Cultural memory,* 19.

21 Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), 125–33; Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 27–37.

22 Benjamin, 'The Work of Art', 24.

intrinsic value of these archive artefacts and it constructs an imaginary archive with a soundscape of old technology. Here it is the technology itself that is used in a ritualized performance of the mediatized dialectic between stored and functional memory. This dialectic may not be unproblematic, though, because it relies on the producer's (i.e. my) construction of the sound of the archive that is in fact just that, a construction, and as such the listener may perceive of it as fake and inauthentic if he or she discovers the digital production processes of creating such a mise-en-scène. Using such fictional strategies the presentation may strengthen the dialectic between storage and functional memory. On the other hand, these mediatizing, fictional strategies may compromise the perceived value and authenticity of the archive material.

While both shows present archive material that seems to be storage memory, the strategies used in the presentation of this material and the mediatized nature of that material and the context of its broadcast show that it is on the path to crossing over into functional memory.

Summary

The article is a critical engagement with the construction of cultural memory and performance of liveness when using archive material in radio shows and is based on the author's experience as a radio presenter. Theoretically it is framed by Aleida Assmann's concepts of storage memory and functional memory.

Firstly, a show presenting historical concert recordings of classical music, the 'P2 Gold Concert', is analysed to show how radio presenters emphasize liveness to eliminate the historicity of the recording. However, such evocation of liveness is only possible because of the recorded nature of the archive material. Secondly, a show presenting archived interviews, reports, features, etc. of jazz music and musicians, 'From the Archive', is analysed with particular regard to how a virtual soundscape or mise-en-scéne of 'old' technology is created to perform an imaginary archive and how the archive is fetishized. Again, this presentation and the values it holds is only possible because of the recorded, mediatized nature of the archive material.

Thus, in both shows the presenter uses fictionalizing strategies of performance to present the archive material, and these strategies in fact highlight the disjunctures and connections between storage memory and functional memory.

Obituaries

Jan Maegaard
14. april 1926 – 27. november 2012

Den 27. november 2012 afgik professor, dr.phil. Jan Maegaard ved døden. Det stod ikke skrevet i stjernerne, at Maegaard skulle blive et af dansk musikforsknings største og internationalt mest kendte navne og tillige en produktiv og anerkendt komponist. Det festskrift, som blev udgivet i anledning af Maegaards 70-årsdag, er et vidnesbyrd om hans position som videnskabsmand.

Jan Maegaard blev født i København den 14. april 1926 som søn af senere orlogskaptajn Johannes Hammer Maegaard og Gerda Maegaard, f. Glahnson. Gennem sin far nedstammede han fra flere søofficerer, som havde indlagt sig store fortjenester; hans tipoldefar Frederik Hammer deltog som 16-årig i forsvaret af København i krigen mod England i 1807, og hans oldefar var chef for Vesterhavs-øernes forsvar i søkrigen i 1864. Selv om Maegaard kun nødtvungent talte om sin slægtshistorie, har opvæksten i et hjem med en sådan tradition for militære dyder som præcision og en høj grad af no-nonsense facon i omgang med andre uden tvivl sat sit præg på ham, både som menneske og som forsker.

På sin femårs fødselsdag mistede Jan Maegaard sin mor, og tre år senere giftede faderen sig igen. Stedmoderen var musikalsk, og en veninde til hende blev klaverlærer for Jan. Herved åbnedes en helt ny verden for ham, og han begyndte nu også at komponere. Da han var blevet kostelev på Herlufsholm, fik han som lærer i musik sangeren og organisten Andreas Larsen (1907-1997), hvis undervisning og personlige opbakning skulle blive helt afgørende for den unge mand. Maegaard har selv fortalt følgende: "Engang da han [Andreas Larsen] havde bestemt sig for at spille César Francks Symfoniske Variationer for klaver og orkester ved en skolekoncert, bad han mig arrangere akkompagnementet for 4-hændigt klaver efter et 2-hændigt klaverudtog. Den opgave påtog jeg mig med glæde og stolthed."

Maegaard tog studentereksamen i 1944. Han fik nu Henrik Knudsen som klaverlærer og blev det følgende år optaget på Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium med klaver som hovedfag. Dette valg af uddannelse fik Maegaard absolut ingen støtte til fra sin familie, men derimod fra Andreas Larsen. Efter et år skiftede han hovedfag til teori og musikhistorie. Den konservatorielærer, som fik størst og mest varig betydning for ham, også som menneske, var Poul Schierbeck. Hans undervisning i instrumentation kom til at danne et solidt fundament for Maegaards arbejde ikke mindst som komponist, og han vendte i samtaler senere i livet gang på gang tilbage til undervisningen hos Schierbeck. I 1948 tog Maegaard afgang fra konservatoriet med "store eksamen i teori og musikhistorie". Fire år senere indtraf den begivenhed, som skulle ændre hans syn på musik og blive bestemmende for hans fremtidige virke.

I 1952 fik han i julegave noderne til Arnold Schönbergs *Serenade* op. 24. Han har selv beskrevet sin første gennemlæsning af den som en "åbenbaring". Men inden han for alvor kunne kaste sig over studiet af denne for ham hidtil ukendte musik, uddannede han sig til kontrabassist med Louis Hegner som lærer. Derpå aftjente han sin værnepligt ved søværnet, hvor han deltog i opmåling af havdybder mellem Canada og Grønland. Mødet med Grønlands østkyst har han beskrevet som en af sit livs helt store oplevelser.

Hjemkommen til København påbegyndte Maegaard konferensstudiet i musikvidenskab. Magisterafhandlingen skulle handle om tolvtonemusik, og efter forgæves at have søgt forståelse for dette hos professor Jens Peter Larsen, der ikke anså det for at være

musik (!), gik Maegaard til fagets nyansatte professor, Nils Schiørring, som accepterede at være vejleder.

Afhandlingen gjorde det klart, at skulle man videre i udforskningen af tolvtonemusikkens udvikling, måtte der tilvejebringes en pålidelig kronologi i Schönbergs værker. Efter at have afsluttet magisterstudiet i 1957 søgte Maegaard derfor – og fik ved Jens Peter Larsens mellemkomst – et Fulbright-stipendium, som satte ham i stand til i ti måneder at opholde sig i Los Angeles og der studere Schönbergs manuskripter. Det var lykkedes Maegaard at få komponistens enke Gertrud Schönbergs tilladelse til at benytte manuskripterne, og da han efter ankomsten var blevet grundigt udspurgt og "eksamineret" af fru Schönberg, fik han stillet komponistens arbejdsværelse med det enestående arkivmateriale til rådighed. I 1959 vendte han hjem og benyttede herefter årene frem til 1970 til udarbejdelse af disputatsen, samtidig med at han underviste på sit gamle institut. Disputatsforsvaret fandt sted den 22. juni 1972 med de officielle opponenter Nils Schiørring og Carl Dahlhaus. Året forinden var Maegaard blevet udnævnt til professor efter Jens Peter Larsen, og i de følgende 25 år varetog han dette embede med et par afbrydelser i form af orlovsperioder, af hvilke den længste var i årene 1978-1981, da han var professor ved University of California, Los Angeles. Maegaard var selv meget opsat på at forlænge dette ophold, men valgte efter svære overvejelser, sammen med sin familie, hustruen Kirsten Maegaard og de to døtre Marina og Ursula, at vende tilbage til København.

Et karakteristisk og stærkt fremtrædende træk i Jan Maegaards liv og arbejde var den sammenhæng, der opstod mellem hans forskellige virkefelter inden for musik: komposition, forskning, undervisning og formidling. Om de to første områder udtrykte han nogle år før sin død: "… det at skabe musik i tidens ånd har altid været min primære tilgang til musikken. Det videnskabelige engagement hang – og hænger – uløseligt sammen med inspirationen fra Schönberg. Her var en komponist som begejstrede mig kunstnerisk, og som også i høj grad trængte til at udforskes videnskabeligt. Det var dette jeg havde påbegyndt i min doktordisputats, som siden er blevet et standardværk i Schönberg-forskningen. Men det har også hele tiden været hans musik der inspirerede mig i min kompositoriske skaben. Disse to sider af mit engagement i musik hænger uløseligt sammen."[1]

Disputatsen *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg* I-III (1972) er Maegaards hovedværk, og det er stadig et referenceværk i den internationale Schönberg-forskning. Afhandlingen rummer dels en kronologisk ordnet fortegnelse over Schönbergs værker til og med 1933, dels en analytisk del. Her videreførte Maegaard arbejdet, som var påbegyndt i magisterafhandlingen. Med kronologien ved hånden kunne han foretage sit omfattende analysearbejde, som mundede ud i en påvisning af, at "den sen-tonale og den tidlig-atonale musiks kompositoriske procedurer i mange henseender videreføres i de før-dodekafone og i de tidlig-dodekafone værker i stort set samme spor. – Set ud fra denne bredere synsvinkel er det endelig muligt at gennemføre en mere indgående analyse af dodekafoniens teoretiske aspekter end hidtil. Gennem de forelagte undersøgelser bekræftes og præciseres en udtalelse af Schönberg i en upubliceret artikel fra omkring nytår 1950-51: 'Man følger rækken, men komponerer iøvrigt som tilforn.'" (II, s. 632).

Herefter supplerede Maegaard dette arbejde med en række artikler om Schönbergs værker og andre Schönberg-relaterede emner. Blandt de vægtigste af disse er artiklen 'Schönbergs Zwölftonreihen'[2] fra 1976. Herudover var det især Anton Webern og senere Fartein Valen, som havde hans bevågenhed som videnskabsmand. Det bør også nævnes, at Maegaard bidrog med fire væsentlige artikler til Carl Nielsen-forskningen; karakteristisk er det, at han her dels

1 Jan Maegaard, 'Erindringer', upubliceret, upagineret manuskript dateret 2006–8.
2 Jan Maegaard, 'Schönbergs Zwölftonreihen', *Die Musikforschung*, 29/4 (1976), 385–425.

tog Nielsens sene værker under behandling, dels søgte at se hans produktion i en bredere europæisk sammenhæng.[3]

Et musikteoretisk emne, som optog Maegaard i en lang årrække, var Allen Fortes pitch-class-set analyse. Allerede i 1975 havde han anmeldt Fortes bog om emnet, og senere underviste han i denne matematisk baserede metode til analyse af atonal musik. Det er karakteristisk for Maegaards *musik*-bundne og rationelle tilgang til det komplekse emne, at han i stedet for Fortes nummerering af tonegrupper foreslog en signaturfortegnelse, hvor store og små bogstaver gav udtryk for de enkelte tonegruppers intervalstruktur. Hans forslag, der i øvrigt var baseret på det system, han havde udviklet til analyserne i disputatsen, blev publiceret i *Journal of Music Theory* 1985.[4]

Men også mere populært anlagte bøger kom fra Maegaards hånd. I 1964 udgav han *Musikalsk modernisme 1945-1962*, som blev oversat til både svensk og finsk. Den var en hårdt tiltrængt indføring i den ny musik, som i 1960'erne for alvor blev kendt i Danmark, hvor den i øvrigt resulterede i voldsomme debatter. Som en udløber af arbejdet med disputatsen kom i 1976 *Præludier til musik af Arnold Schönberg*, som var direkte affødt af en række værkintroduktioner i Danmarks Radio. Denne bog er et fornemt eksempel på en populær og samtidig seriøs formidling af et vanskeligt stof; Maegaard indleder bogens forord på denne for ham karakteristiske måde: "Dette er ikke en underholdende bog. Det er en bog om et underholdende emne." I 1981 udkom *Indføring i romantisk harmonik 1. Tekstdel*, som blev skrevet sammen med Teresa Waskowska Larsen. Ligesom i de to øvrige bøger tages læseren grundigt ved hånden i denne lærebog, som i sammenhæng med analysebindet fra 1986 giver en omfattende og nuanceret beskrivelse af romantisk harmonik. Derudover skrev Maegaard et meget stort antal artikler til leksika, og han bidrog som udgiver til såvel *Arnold Schönberg. Sämtliche Werke* og *Niels W. Gade Works*.

På det organisatoriske plan var Maegaard i mange år aktiv som bestyrelsesmedlem i og nogle år formand for Det Unge Tonekunstnerselskab, og i to perioder var han konsulent for Musikafdelingen i Danmarks Radio.

At der var en tæt sammenhæng mellem Maegaards forskning og hans undervisning, mærkede hans studerende. Undervisningen var yderst struktureret og stærkt inspirerende. Maegaard stillede store krav til sine studerende, men samtidig var han hjælpsom, når der var behov for det.

Efter at være blevet pensioneret vedblev Maegaard i en årrække at være aktiv som forsker, ligesom han fortsatte sit virke som kontrabassist i et amatørorkester. Han komponerede også langt ind i sit otium – den del af sit virke han overhovedet fandt vigtigst.[5]

I sine sidste år viste Maegaard sig sjældent ved koncerter og faglige møder, men tog man kontakt til ham, kunne man få en frugtbar drøftelse af de emner, han brændte for. Hans ofte markante holdninger blev ikke modereret, som han blev ældre, men han var glad for henvendelser og fulgte med interesse sine venners og elevers arbejde. Jan Maegaard døde i sit hjem på Duevej, Frederiksberg, 86 år gammel.

Claus Røllum-Larsen

3 Jan Maegaard, 'Den sene Carl Nielsen', *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 28/4 (1953), 74–79; 'Når boet skal gøres op efter Carl Nielsen …', *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 40/4 (maj 1965), 101–4; 'Ung komponist i Carl Nielsens skygge', *Musik & Forskning*, 16 (1990–1991), 18–24; 'The Critical Year of Modern Music', in Mina Miller (ed.), *The Nielsen Companion* (London, 1994), 96–115.

4 Jan Maegaard, 'The Nomenclature of Pitch-Class Sets and the Teaching of Atonal Theory', *Journal of Music Theory*, 29/2 (1985), 299–314.

5 Jan Maegaards kompositioner er behandlet af Peter Brask, 'Mennesket, musikken og metoderne', *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 63/3 (1988/89), 89–95, og af Erling Kullberg, 'Om komponisten Jan Maegaard', i *Festskrift Jan Maegaard*, ed. Mogens Andersen, Niels Bo Foltmann og Claus Røllum-Larsen (København, 1996), 277–300.

Finn Mathiassen

2. marts 1928 – 20. januar 2013

Finn Mathiassens far var bankmand, og der var i hans familiære ophav ikke meget, der kunne indikere, at Finns løbebane ville komme til at gå igennem et kunstnerisk område som musikken. At der dog må have været en betragtelig mængde kunstneriske gener i omløb i familien dokumenteres bl.a. af det faktum, at hans et år yngre bror blev scenograf, grafiker og arkitekt og en yngre søster keramiker.

Finn Mathiassen blev student fra Aarhus Katedralskole 1947. Han tog organisteksamen i 1950. Under musikstudiet, som han afsluttede med magisterkonferens i musikvidenskab 1956 skrev han guldmedaljeafhandlingen om Monteverdis dissonansbehandling.

Finn Mathiassens professionelle karriere fulgte to spor, et musikvidenskabeligt og et kunstnerisk/kompositorisk, og det er vanskeligt at vurdere, hvilket af de to, der betød mest for ham selv og gennem hvilket, han satte sine dybeste spor for eftertiden.

Det musikvidenskabelige spor omfattede undervisningsvirksomhed ved Det Jyske Musikkonservatorium 1953-74 og ved Aarhus Universitet siden 1959. Umiddelbart efter disputatsen, hvis forsvar fandt sted 3. september 1966, fulgte ansættelsen som professor i musikvidenskab ved Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, Aarhus Universitet, en stilling han beklædte indtil han gik på pension i 1996.

Disputatsen, *The Style of the early Motet (c. 1200–1250). An Investigation of the Old Corpus of the Montpellier Manuscript* (1966), repræsenterer på flere måder et nybrud i forskningen omkring modalepokens musik. Tidligere årtiers ofte lettere nedladende syn på denne musik bliver hos Finn Mathiassen afløst af en knivskarp stilistisk blotlægning af modalmotettens komplekse og finurlige strukturer. Modalmotettens status som en slags 'work in progress' med dens talrige lige værdige versioner, hvis eneste fællestræk er brugen af den tilgrundliggende cantus firmus, belyses her klarere og tydeligere end tidligere. Et vigtigt arbejde inden for stilforskningens område er også "Gammeldansk folketonalitet. En introduktion til studiet af de tonale forhold i Danmarks gamle folkevisemelodier (DgF XI)" (1993).

Dansk musik i det 19. og 20. århundrede udgjorde et andet af Finn Mathiassens forskningsmæssige fokuspunkter, særligt Carl Nielsen og Niels W. Gade. Om førstnævnte således 'Musik er liv. Om Carl Nielsens musiksyn' (1966), *Livet, musikken og samfundet. En bog om Carl Nielsen* (1986), 'Carl Nielsens sidste symfonisats' (1988) og 'Et strygekvartet-fragment af "den sene Carl Nielsen"' (1996). Der er her tale om arbejder, der i deres relative kortfattethed, men store indsigt og indlevelse føjer betydeligt til vores (i hvert fald min) forståelse af Carl Nielsens musik og Carl Nielsen som menneske. – Og hvad angår Niels W. Gade: '"Unsre Kunst heisst Poesie". Om Niels W. Gades Ossian-ouverture' (1971), 'Niels W. Gade og troldtøjet' (1990), 'Agnete, Havmanden og Gades *Jugendtraüme*. En indsigelse og et par supplerende bemærkninger' (1995) samt 'Niels W. Gade og hans eftermæle' (2001).

Yderligere bidrog Finn Mathiassen til den nye udgave af Niels W. Gades værker serie I bind 9 med de tre tidlige ouverturer: Ossian-ouverturen, op. 1, *I Højlandene*, op. 7 og Ouverture nr. 3 i C-dur, op. 14, samt med en facsimile-udgave af Ossian-ouverturen, alt sammen udstyret med særdeles velskrevne og interessante introduktioner.

Det andet spor i Finn Mathiassens karriere, det kunstneriske, falder igen i to grupper, komposition af folkelige melodier i korudsættelse og kirkemusik af forskellig art, mest salmer og orgelmusik. Korsangene, oftest strofiske, er fremragende små kompositioner, hvoraf mange har fundet vej til den danske sangskat og det danske korliv, hvor de indtager en værdig plads ved siden af tilsvarende sange af Knud Jeppesen, Otto Mortensen og andre fremtrædende danske komponister.

Kirkemusikken står for mig som en lidt gådefuld del af Finn Mathiassens produktion. Overbevist kommunist, som han var, har hans engagement i religiøse sager undret mig. Han var troende, noget han på ingen måde skiltede med og som måske kan hænge sammen med opvæksten hos de missionske forældre. Kirkemusikken omfatter en del orgelværker og et stort antal salmemelodier i en karakteristisk harmonisk iklædning, som hverken var rent dur/mol-tonal, eller traditionel kirketonal, men hans helt eget harmoniske idiom. Salmemelodierne blev til i et tæt samarbejde med digteren og præsten Jørgen Michaelsen. Størstedelen af kirkemusikken er uudgivet.

Finn Mathiassen var en fremragende underviser, fast i koderne uden at være dogmatisk. I satslæredisciplinerne spændende fra koralharmonisering over kirketonal harmonisering og Palestrina-kontrapunkt til dodekafon sats, var det faste fokus overholdelse af den for stilen gældende musikalske grammatik. At en eller anden student nu og da søgte at forsvare sig med, at en vending, som af Finn havde fået en rød streg, faktisk kunne optræde hos Palestrina eller hvem der nu var stilens ophav, gav han ikke meget for. Det drejede sig om at arbejde inden for de rammer, der var defineret gennem stilens regelsæt, ikke hvad forbilledet i et ubevogtet øjeblik havde ladet slippe igennem til nodepapiret.

I musikhistorie var udgangspunktet den historiske materialisme; men andre historieteorier blev berørt, et spørgsmål som Finn Mathiassen behandlede i artiklen 'Stil-, social- og andre musikhistorier – hvilken er den rigtige?' (1983). På det højere niveau – her tænkes først og fremmest på vejledning af kandidatstipendiater – havde undervisningen form af samtaler mellem ligemænd, samtaler der for det meste fandt sted under indtagelse af gode borgerlige retter på et af byens spisesteder.

Blandt Finn Mathiassens mange hverv og tillidsposter skal nævnes, at han i perioden 1967-86 var medlem af bestyrelsen for Aarhus Kunstmuseum, 1982-86 medlem af Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd og 1977-81 medlem af repræsentantskabet for Statens Kunstfond. Og i en meget lang årrække medlem af det humanistiske fakultetsråd ved Aarhus Universitet og dets forretningsudvalg.

Finn Mathiassen døde kort før han kunne fejre sin 85 års fødselsdag, og han var til det sidste rede til en rask diskussion af små og store emner. Så sent som i efteråret 2012 besøgte jeg ham på bopælen i Beder og drøftede dér udviklingen i Niels W. Gades kompositoriske stil med ham. Han vil blive savnet af alle os, der kendte ham.

Finn Egeland Hansen

Frede V. Nielsen
10. maj 1942 – 21. marts 2013

Da Frede V. Nielsen døde natten til den 21. marts 2013 efter et længere sygdomsforløb, som dog ikke forhindrede ham i at være aktiv til det sidste, mistede Danmark en meget fremtrædende skikkelse inden for det musikpædagogiske forskningsfelt.

Han var født i Idestrup på Falster og voksede op som landmandssøn i et hjem med klaver, og sideløbende med sin musikalske karriere fastholdt han gennem alle årene sin interesse for landbruget. Sammen med sin hustru boede han på og drev et halvstort landbrug i Langstrup ved Fredensborg foruden sin fødegård i Idestrup. Denne forbundethed med naturen spillede en stor rolle i hans liv og hans livssyn, et forhold han understregede ved sin afskedsforelæsning på Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet i 2012, hvor han talte om fagdidaktikkens aktualitet og kunstens nødvendighed. Dette var hans livs faglige og videnskabelige hovedtema, og han har spillet en uvurderlig rolle for det musikpædagogiske fagfelt i Danmark. Forbindelsen

til den levende musikudøvelse var en anden grundpille i hans livs- og musiksyn. Ved hans afsked blev det markeret med en fyldt festsal, hvor hovedparten af gæsterne var i stand til spontant at medvirke i afsyngelsen af en lejlighedssang på Gades syvstemmige *Morgensang af Elverskud*.

Frede V. Nielsen var uddannet i musikvidenskab fra Københavns Universitet som cand. mag. i musik og dansk og blev i 1971 ansat på Danmarks Lærerhøjskole. Udviklingen af musikdidaktik som et særskilt fagområde i Danmark var i høj grad hans fortjeneste, og det var et kerneområde i lærerhøjskolens cand.pæd.-uddannelse i musik. I 2000 blev Danmarks Lærerhøjskole omdannet til Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet og i samme omgang blev den eksisterende cand.pæd.-uddannelse nedlagt. Her var Frede V. Nielsen initiativtager til en rekonstruktion i form af en ny kandidatuddannelse i musikpædagogik. Det var ministeriets betingelse, at den kun måtte udbydes i samarbejde med et andet universitet, hvilket lagde grunden til et fælles udviklingsarbejde og en efterfølgende samarbejdsaftale med Musikvidenskab på Københavns Universitet, som også har været af stor betydning for uddannelsen på Københavns Universitet. Et af uddannelsens moduler udbydes af og på Københavns Universitet, og dette modul indgår også som en valgmulighed i kandidatuddannelsen i Musikvidenskab. Således er der opstået et miljø, hvor både studerende og lærerkræfter udveksles mellem de to universiteter. Siden 2006 har kandidatuddannelsen i musikdidaktik optaget ca. 130 studerende og færdiguddannet ca. 60 kandidater (pr. 1. september 2016).

Et omdrejningspunkt i Frede V. Nielsens forskning er hans ofte citerede teori om "musik som et mangespektret meningsunivers", en tilgang der også prægede hans afskedsforelæsning. Teorien blev udviklet på grundlag af resultater, som Nielsen fremlagde 1983 i doktorafhandlingen *Oplevelse af musikalsk spænding*. Frede V. Nielsens analytiske tilgang til musikfaget gennemsyrer lærebogen *Almen Musikdidaktik*, som gennem de seneste to årtier har været anvendt i hele Skandinavien. Bogens analyser viser, hvordan musikfaget peger ud over sig selv, og i talrige publikationer har Frede V. Nielsen vist, hvordan analyser af musikfaget også har gyldighed for forståelsen af andre fag. Frede V. Nielsens videnskabelige produktion på omtrent 200 publikationer dækker væsentlige aspekter af musikpædagogik og musikpsykologi samt sammenlignende fagdidaktik.

Frede V. Nielsen har haft afgørende betydning for udviklingen af musikpædagogik i Norden dels som medstifter af Nordisk Netværk for Musikpædagogisk Forskning og dels som hovedredaktør gennem mange år af *Nordisk Musikpædagogisk Forskning Årbog*, som han tog initiativ til i 1995. Desuden var han i 1999 medstifter og siden koordinator for Dansk Netværk for Musikpædagogisk Forskning, der er et fagligt forum for musikkonservatorierne og musikfaget på universiteterne. Endvidere var Frede V. Nielsen en markant figur i flere andre internationale netværk, herunder International Society for the Philosophy of Music Education (ISPME) og Research Alliance of Institutes for Music Education (RAIME).

Michael Fjeldsøe & Sven-Erik Holgersen

Reports

Research Projects

RAMUND: A Century of Music and Radio in Denmark. Music genres, radio genres and mediatisation

The FKK-funded research project *RAMUND* began in 2013 and will run until 2018.The project's overall research question is: in what ways have the fields of music and radio interacted since the launch of a Danish state radio in the 1920s? The question concerns the changing relations between local music culture(s) and radio(s) in a historical perspective. Music-cultural conventions such as performance formats, repertoires, genre rules, aesthetics, and presentations have been incorporated into radio practices. For the Danish Radio, the live music ethic has been all-important as seen in the tradition for transmissions, in the continued importance of DR's ensembles, and in the old and the new concert hall's central position as concert venues. At the same time, DR has influenced Danish musical life to a still greater degree throughout the period. Many of the conventions taken up and adapted by radio have been re-circulated into the musical field (formats, repertoires, presentations): radio logic became part of the 1930s' *Radiomusik* genre, 1950s' and 1960s' microphone tests influenced singing ideals, chart singles have been edited specifically for broadcasts, broadcasts have worked as commercials for music. In a complex interplay, radio has also contributed to the articulation and identity of several subcultural formations within youth culture, among music amateurs, and with respect to specific musical cultures.

Such problems are dealt with, drawing upon the broad field of cultural theory as well as theories developed within anthropology, musicology, media studies, sociology, and history. Within a historiographic framework defined by the given disciplines' uses of 'New History' two broad-range concepts will structure the theoretical field: genre cultures and mediatisation. These are informed by discussions of different ontologies of music and by the fact that questions of radio, genre, and mediatisation are related to local, national, and transnational circumstances simultaneously.

The overall research question can be divided into four: 1. What are the characteristics of music radio, its genres, its narratives, its journalistic techniques? 2. Which processes constitute music radio as a field of practices or an assemblage mediating radio and music genre cultures? 3. How does radio afford long terms changes in musical life – socially, politically, economically, technologically, geographically – and how do national and local music cultures become still more mediatised? 4. How does music as an ontologically diverse medium and developments in musical life afford long term changes on Danish radio?

RAMUND includes eleven subprojects: a full Ph.D. project, a postdoctoral project and nine relatively small senior researcher projects. These include: Anja M. Lindelof (RUC): Music, Radio, and Liveness; Charlotte Rørdam Larsen (AU): Negotiations of Professionalism and Amateurism in the Transmissions and Recordings from the Province 1925–1965; Henrik Smith-Sivertsen (The Royal Library): Music Charts and DR from the Early 1960s to the Mid-1990s; Iben Have (AU): Radio Hosts as Music Presenters; Katrine Wallevik (KU): Anthropological Study of P3; Kristine Ringsager (KU): Broadcasting Musical Alterity; Mads Krogh (AU): Genre Culture, Segmentation and Formats within Danish National Music Radio; Michael Fjeldsøe (KU): Negotiating Programming Policies for Classical Music in Danish National Radio during the Hot and Cold War; Morten Michelsen (KU): Music on

Interbellum National Radio; Nicolai Graakjær (AAU): Contemporary Sports Radio Music – An Examination of Formats and Functions; and Steen Kaargaard Nielsen (AU): DR and Phonographic Music before World War II.

The questions will be answered by carrying out a series of quantitative and qualitative content analyses using a broad range of methodologies related to cultural theory in connection with empirical materials from the entire period employing recently opened archives. Such a series of interconnected studies focusing on music radio will deliver a substantial contribution to the understanding of the workings of one of the most important mass media in the previous century and to how music has interacted in this.

RAMUND will publish three books, a popular one on Danish music radio history (in Danish), a scholarly anthology reporting from the subprojects, and an anthology dealing with the theoretical and international aspects of music radio. A Ph.D. thesis and several articles will also see the light of day, and we have already held several research seminars, presented papers at international conferences, and we will conclude with an international seminar on music and radio in 2017.

Morten Michelsen

Ph.d. Projects

Professional Music Teacher Practice

My Ph.D. thesis, *Professional Music Teacher Practice. Knowledge of profession and teacher qualifications with a special view to music teaching in primary school and music schools and education for these teaching professions*, was defended at DPU, University of Aarhus, in 2013.

The thesis examines the professional knowledge and teacher competency in music education in primary schools and music schools and the corresponding teacher training programmes. The study shows a polarization in terms of a structure in the education profile: the competence of music school teachers was predominantly subject-based, whereas the competence of primary school teachers predominantly was based on general pedagogical knowledge. A professional level of teaching competence in music was further found to require integration of the two bases of knowledge.

The polarization in the study programmes in the two areas is seen as a manifestation of an institutional closure, with inexpedient consequences for the teaching competences on a professional level in music as well in primary schools as in music schools. It is further argued that collaboration between music teachers in elementary schools and in music schools may balance and develop both profiles and contribute to the professional development as well as generation of new theory in the field.

Finn Holst

Living a Jazz Life: constructions of identity and genre in face-to-face interviews with Danish jazz musicians of the 1950s

The Ph.D. thesis, which was defended at the Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University in June 2013, is a study of genre characterizations articulated within narratives of identity. It explores how Danish jazz musicians still alive today characterize jazz of the 1950s when they were well-known practitioners. It is based on the theoretical assumption that personal and social identities are constructed in and through discourse. I have chosen to apply the

ethno-methodological approach of membership categorization analysis (MCA) complemented by conversation analysis (CA) and discourse analysis. This MCA/Culture-in-action approach informs my study of one of musicology's primary concerns – the characterization of genres.

In order to investigate identity, genre, and discourse, I carried out individual interviews with some of the living musicians of that period. These interviews were (audiotape) recorded and transcribed. The interview schedules and analyses were informed by a desire to elicit information about how respondents portray their social identity as Danish jazz musicians. Analyses of the interviews revealed narratives of local (Danish) and transatlantic (American) characterizations of jazz emerging as an important way of showing genuine membership in depicting an authentic and independent Danish jazz identity.

Jazz musicians in the 1950s in Denmark are conceptualized as participants in a youth subculture negotiating their personal and collective identities as members of a jazz community within discourses of local and transatlantic others. It is argued that 'characterizations of jazz' are central to both these positions, and that such genre-definitions are as tightly bound to social context as they are to attributes of music. It is concluded that 'characterizations of jazz' are central to how jazz musicians situate their personal identities within collective identities.

Ole Izard Høyer

'All Yugoslavia Is Dancing Rock and Roll': Yugoslavness and the sense of community in the 1980s Yu-rock

At the centre of this thesis is Yugoslav new wave and the common supranational Yugoslav youth culture that emerged with it. The overall subject is the influence of the country's rock music culture on identity-formation in the specific socio-politico-economic situation of the 1970s and 1980s. From the perspective of rising nationalism in the Yugoslav society of the 1980s, the Ph.D. thesis examines the pronounced Yugoslavness and anti-nationalism of this culture. Methodologically, the thesis comprises a series of micro-historical analyses, focusing on the local new wave scenes in the country's four principal rock centres: Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo. On this basis, the thesis seeks to answer several closely interrelated research questions, concerning relationship between the sense of community in 1980s' rock music culture and the country's unique geopolitical position, as well as its specific nationality policies. Furthermore, the thesis addresses questions concerning the anti-nationalist agency in the Yugoslav youth culture, and the origin and causality of the strong anti-nationalist sentiment that defined this culture.

The Ph.D thesis, which was defended at SAXO, the department for history at the University of Copenhagen in March 2014, demonstrates that the young urban Yugoslavs' self-knowledge cannot be fully understood without taking into account the widespread idea of Yugoslavia's uniqueness in the divided Cold War Europe and the development of a specific Yugoslav socialist self-representation in relation to this idea. Furthermore, while showing that the socialist government did not advocate the creation of a supranational Yugoslav identity, the thesis argues nevertheless that the sense of Yugoslavness expressed in the country's rock music culture did not emerge independently of Socialist Yugoslavia's nationality policies. Rather, it was very much dependent on appropriation from a larger cultural apparatus that was closely related to these policies. Finally, in relation to the anti-nationalist agency, the thesis demonstrates that the supranational Yugoslav youth culture of the 1980s helped create a common cross-republican forum and an easily recognizable and value-laden anti-nationalist reference point. Thus, Yugoslav rock music culture became instrumental in the formation of

conscious anti-national values and of the non-national ideology among Yugoslavia's urban youth. As such, it functioned integratively, strengthening the sense of community among urban youth, even in the period of growing nationalism on the general level in the Yugoslav society. Seeking ultimately to explain the anti-nationalist agency and the pronounced Yugoslavness of the supranational Yugoslav youth culture, the thesis contributes to the research on popular music by exploring the relationship between popular music culture and society.

Zlatko Jovanovic

Analytical Paradigms in Western Music Theory

Musical analysis is a basic discipline that comes in many forms with many different purposes. It is sometimes described as a sub-category to music theory, other times as a tool for collecting empirical data. It is also associated with composition theory, aesthetics, and criticism. A substantial part of the discipline deals with the analysis of harmonic and tonal relations in major/minor-tonal music. In an overall view, western musicology is divided into two methodological traditions: Anglo-American musicology is dominated by Schenkerian analysis, while European musicology – except Great Britain – is dominated by Riemannian functional analysis. Both methods were developed primarily in Germany and Austria in approximately the same period, the decades around 1900. Nowadays they are completely basic and obvious tools in the above-mentioned geographical areas, but strikingly the two traditions do not 'speak together' methodologically.

Through a comparative study of the theoretical foundations and analytical consequences of these methods, the present Ph.D. project (2016–20, Graduate School of Arts – Art, Literature and Cultural Studies, Aarhus University) is concerned with the interaction and mediation between the two traditions. In the international research environment of the 20th and 21st centuries, there has been astonishingly little dialogue regarding – let alone mutual collaboration across – the methodological borders, even though this division has considerable consequences: it leads to misunderstandings and counterproductive quarrels at international conferences; it means that research done in one tradition is more or less inaccessible to the other; and the methods' paradigmatic statuses entail that what is a valid scholarly method in one area may be dubious in the other. This forces us to ask several important questions: which analytical results are, for example, products of the method rather than of the empirical data, that is the music? My conviction is that a fuller understanding of shared and differing premises will lead to a better communication and, ultimately, to an enrichment of both traditions' analytical tools.

Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen

Music Video Today: audiovisual remediation in post-millennial music video

The Ph.D. thesis, *Music Video Today: Audiovisual Remediation in Post-Millennial Music Video*, investigates the medium of music video and the place it holds in contemporary audiovisual media culture. It was defended at the School of Communication and Culture – Department of Scandinavian Studies, University of Aarhus, in 2013. The overall thesis of the dissertation is that music video has had a substantial and largely unrecognized impact on other media while it at the same time is being digitally reshaped. In this way, the medium of music video

can be said to follow the logic of 'remediation', meaning that any medium is defined by the way it incorporates or reworks the techniques, forms, and aesthetics of other media. Music video is conceived of as a central meeting ground for the moving image and the recorded musical sound – and, consequently, it has had an enormous influence on the ways we experience moving images and recorded musical sounds (and, not least, their interplay) in most contemporary media, including cinema, popular music, and so-called 'new media'.

In order to determine the ways in which music video remediates and is remediated, the dissertation begins by defining music video historically, formally, generically, and theoretically (chapters 1 and 2). The subsequent chapters then probe the forms and functions that are characteristic of music video: the specific audiovisual relation (described as a dual remediation between sound and image in chapter 3), the tendency to operate with a multiplicity of images (chapter 4), as well as the ways in which music videos construct a hybrid representation of time and space, debasing traditional cinematic spatio-temporality (chapter 5). It is argued that these three specific traits have been remediated widely in other media, arguably assisting in a reorganization of the perceptual hierarchies of audiovisual mediation. Chapter 6 focuses explicitly on the influence of music video on other media. The chapter concludes that music video has led to stylistic changes and an increased importance of popular music in cinema, while it has also meant an increase in the use of visual elements in popular music. It is also argued that music video has importantly *prefigured* certain aspects of 'new media'. On the other hand, chapter 7 shows how music video itself is currently being *refigured* by new media, assuming radically new shapes – including interactive music videos, music video apps, music video games, and user-driven kinds of music videos, to name but a few.

The methodological approach is founded on close analyses of specific videos, and chapters 3, 4, 5, and 7 all conclude with three in-depth analytic studies. These serve the purpose of investigating and clarifying the medial forms and functions of music video. Theoretically, the dissertation is founded in a wide range of disciplines, including film studies, ('new') media studies, popular music studies, and the particular study of music video. The dissertation argues that the general convergence of media in today's culture also entails a methodological, theoretical, and disciplinary convergence. Following this argument, music video is situated as the province of *audiovisual studies*, an emergent cross-disciplinary endeavour.

To recapitulate, the main contributions of the dissertation are: 1) a new approach to the study of music videos based on notions of audiovisuality and remediation; 2) an improved understanding of the influence of music video on other media; 3) an exploration of the new forms music video has assumed in recent years.

Mathias Korsgaard

Rap, Rights, Respect. A musical anthropology of citizenship, cosmopolitanism and brown rappers in Denmark

My Ph.D. thesis, which was defended September 2015 at the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen, deals with the intersection of music and politics in relation to brown rappers in Denmark – that is, rappers with a visible Middle Eastern or Arabic appearance. From an anthropological perspective primarily focusing on the presentation of narratives collected in ethnographic field research among these visible minority rappers, the thesis gives an insight into a diasporic, post-ethnic rap scene. The empirical material is discussed and contextualized by a broad selection of literature that analyses the macro-structural contexts and the political conditions affecting the everyday of the rappers.

The thesis evolves from a discussion of the experiences of otherness that appear on a background of national identifications which are partly in opposition to the post-ethnic, transnational and diasporic space of identification, offered by hip hop culture and the rap scene. From this postcolonial outset, the discussion is expanded to ideas of globalization, localization and glocalization related to rap and hip hop cultures in a broader sense with a special focus on the Danish scene, which also is presented in a comprehensive historical review.

The rap scene under scrutiny includes the underground milieu, the music industry, and the part of the public social service sector working with rap music as a means to advance citizenship and integration. In the thesis I show how the rappers' visible otherness affects the way they navigate in the cultural space of the rap scene (as well as in society), and how they use their music to express hopes and wishes about rights and respect. This is enacted in a complex web of minority and majority processes which offer both limitations and opportunities for the rappers.

Furthermore, the dissertation addresses questions linking music, politics, and identity in a discussion of the different ways rap is activated as a resource for social change. Relating this to theories about musical agency and affective and musical cosmopolitanism, I argue that rap music is deployed in a larger complex of struggle about citizenship – partly by politically engaged rappers and producers who use the music industry as a springboard to create more inclusive and cosmopolitan understandings of being a citizen in Denmark, and partly by the public social service sector engaging rappers to work with rap music as a means to advance integration in Danish society.

Kristine Ringsager

Function of Form – Melopoetic method in song analysis with special regard to church hymns with texts by N.F.S. Grundtvig

The Ph.D. thesis, which was defended in 2014 at the Department of Arts, University of Aarhus, proposes a 'melopoetic method', i.e. a strategy for analysing song as one medium in which words and melody form a paratactic relation. Theoretical developments of the thesis are tested against church hymn texts by N.F.S. Grundtvig. It is hypothesized that form – both that of the lyrics and that of the melody, as well as the interaction between these two – has a particularly decisive function in the Grundtvig hymn, although it has received little scholarly attention.

The thesis falls in two parts. Part one presents the theoretical cornerstones of the thesis. Firstly, theories of *intermediality* serve as a backdrop for arguing that although song is heuristically divided into the entities 'words' and 'melody' in the course of the analysis, in performance it is a cohesive utterance. Secondly, *genre* theory is employed to understand the Grundtvig hymn according to its social and rhetorical function that is as part of a liturgical context. Finally, *enunciation* theory is employed to account for the many simultaneous positions of utterance in the church hymn. In the last section, an intermedial method of song analysis is proposed based on the employed theories. It is argued that the song's words and melody interact most tangibly on a rhythmic-metrical level.

Part two of the thesis consists of five analytical articles. Article 1 argues that the use of musical notation in analysis risks misrepresenting song as performance. An alternative might be poetic metrical symbols. Article 2 sketches the ideological debate on church music at Grundtvig's time and concludes that a crucial problem was the relationship between form and content. Based on sample analyses it is argued that Grundvig's texts are characterized by an extensive use of formal effects. Composers have interpreted this circumstance rather differ-

ently depending on their aesthetic ideals. Article 3 departs from genre theory in arguing that a full understanding of the Grundtvig church hymn requires the consideration of melody and the rhetorical situation. Article 4 investigates the emergence of the so-called 'kirkeromance' (church romance) and pursues the theoretical question of what happens when a fusion of ways of expression (words and music) causes a severe clash of differing genre-norms. The fifth article discusses the relation between the church hymn and the concept of aesthetics. Through analyses of two Grundtvig hymns representing differing positions in the dichotomy of aesthetic versus popular style, it is argued that the aesthetic character of the hymn not only depends on text-inherent traits, but equally depends on the effect it produces in the receiver/singer. In other words, melody proves just as important as lyrics.

Lea Wierød

Conferences

Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Certaldo, July 2013

The 2013 *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference* was held 4–7 July in the little picturesque, medieval town, Certaldo, situated on a steep hilltop, some 50 kilometres southwest of Florence, Italy.

Since Certaldo is the hometown of the family of Giovanni Boccaccio, and since 2013 marks the 700th anniversary of the birth of the famous poet, the first of the 52 sessions – each comprising on average three papers – was appropriately dedicated to 'Boccaccio e la musica'. Likewise, two of the sessions were held in commemoration of Michel Huglo and Pierluigi Petrobelli, respectively.

Not surprisingly, the majority of the sessions treated well-known subjects of the musicological sphere spanning the medieval-renaissance period. Although the themes naturally overlapped each other it is fair to say that 'concentrations' occurred around the following subjects, each comprising four to six sessions: Chant, liturgy, and early polyphony; manuscripts, prints, and transmission; music theory, terminology, and notation; Italy (e.g. 'Italy in the late 16th century'); and Spain and Portugal (e.g. 'Spain and Portugal in the late 16th and 17th centuries').

In addition, the three big Ms regarding genre – mass, motet, and madrigal – had their expected share of papers, and around ten sessions were allocated to the following composers: Antoine Brumel, Josquin des Pres, Orlando di Lasso, Jacob Obrecht, Johannes Ockeghem, and John Sheppard.

On the occasion of the 400th anniversary of his death, the other 2013 jubilarian, Carlo Gesualdo, was given due attention in the MedRen programme. Two sessions concentrated on this particular composer ('Gesualdo: chromaticism and metaphorical death', and 'Gesualdo's influence on vocal and instrumental traditions'), and the programme of one of the evening concerts was dedicated to his works.

The vast potential of modern sound technology was clearly displayed in Jonathan Wild's (McGill University) very well presented paper on 'The sonic world of Vicentino's 31-tone music'. In order to demonstrate the nuances in the 31-tone tuning system put forth in Nicola Vicentino's 1555 treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* – and in acknowledgement of the fact that Vicentino's own collection of enharmonically inflected madrigals is not handed down to modern times – Wild focused on specific musical passages in the treatise. A specially-made recording had rendered it possible to retune the individual voices of the examples to Vicentino's specifications without disrupting the vocal timbres. Thus, it was possible

to actually hear the small scale steps of fifth-tones also found in the enharmonic genera of the tonal systems of Ancient Greece that formed part of Vicentino's theoretical basis. Wild made a splendid presentation of these aural results and some similar ones produced from madrigals by Luzzaschi. All in all, the paper was a prime example of 'applied technology' that hopefully, in one way or another, can make its way into the modern music history classroom.

The programme displayed several convincing examples of computational technology applied for unmistakable practical applicabilities. In his paper 'Identifying quotations and concordances in Ars Nova music with computational methods', Michael Scott Cuthbert (MIT and Harvard University) presented the EMMSAP project (the Electronic Medieval Music Score Archive Project) that makes it possible to find hitherto hidden connections and concordances within the entire repertory of pieces and sources of the Ars Nova.

Likewise, in his paper 'Testing Tinctoris', Alexander Morgan (McGill University) presented a computer-assisted analysis of the 751 distinct interval successions found in Johannes Tinctoris's well-known 1477 treatise *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Using so-called '2-grams', the analysis was correlated to works of the eight composers singled out by Tinctoris as exemplary, enabling Morgan to evaluate Tinctoris's statements in comparison to the exact frequency of appearance of each interval succession, and – in the end – to determine if Tinctoris's treatise actually corresponds to a specific musical style. At the same session ('Composing and reconstructing music'), Julie Cummings (McGill University) presented the paper 'Another lesson from Lassus: Quantifying contrapuntal repetition in the duos of 1577', also based on computer-assisted analysis.

With approximately 200 participants from more than 20 countries, this year's MedRen was very well attended. With the local hotels of Certaldo being unable to accommodate all of the participants, several were housed in nearby towns and had to be transported to and from Certaldo on a daily basis; an inconvenience that did not go unnoticed.

The conference was held by the organization Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento (www.arsnovacertaldo.it), founded in 1959 and located in Certaldo, and the sessions took place in three halls and a *chiesetta* of the town's medieval Palazzo Pretorio. Although the venues for the sessions thus were almost adjacent, bad timing and lack of organization made it almost impossible to make up a personal 'menu' of selected papers unless one chose to attend a whole session, a constant source of irritation that also did not go unnoticed.

Even within single sessions, lack of timing occasioned circumstances short of acceptable. For example, during the sole session on 'Reception', the very interesting – but, unfortunately, final – paper on 'Ina Lohr (1903–1983): An unsung pioneer of historically informed performance practice', delivered by Anne Smith (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), was cut off prematurely, much to the dissatisfaction of both author and audience.

On many occasions – stretching from the lengthy opening ceremony of the conference that took place at the imposing Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, through papers originally announced in English, to session and concert introductions – only Italian was spoken, despite the persistently stated references to the 'international' aspects of the conference.

Rounding off on a positive note, though, lunches at one of the town's restaurants were included in the conference fee, and no doubt it will be difficult to find a more beautiful – and sunny – location for an academic gathering of this type than the town and surroundings of Certaldo.

At the usual business meeting several proposals were presented as venues for the MedRen in the upcoming years, thus emphasizing the continuing – perhaps even growing – interest in this conference, alternating every other year between Great Britain and the Continent.

Thomas Holme Hansen

Nineteenth-Century Grand Opera outside Paris, Copenhagen, December 2014.

The conference 'Nineteenth-Century Grand Opera outside Paris' picked up on the growing scholarly interest in French grand opera of the July monarchy and beyond. In recent decades, opera scholars have sought to renew our knowledge and revise our understanding of this chapter of opera's history, first of all by paying close attention to the immediate cultural, political, and institutional context for which these works were written and produced, i.e. those of contemporary Paris, investigating this from fresh methodological perspectives and in much greater detail than previously done. This conference, however, urged participants to look beyond the 'original' Parisian context, to the European and global aspects of the genre's history, both by investigating how Parisian grand operas were staged and received outside France, and also how non-French composers emulated (or, sometimes, parodied) French models in original non-French works. The conference was hosted by the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen, 10–12 December 2014, and brought together European and American scholars with a wide range of interests in and perspectives on the conference theme.

Each conference day began with a keynote lecture, followed by a series of thematic sessions. The first keynote, by Gabriela Cruz (University of Michigan), reflected on the relation of grand opera to the theme of 'escape' and to nautical drama in Paris as well as London, identifying an aspiration towards the foreign and the global as part of the very 'spirit' of the genre and its bourgeois audiences. This was followed by a thematic session on grand opera and visual spectacle at non-French venues. Giuseppe Montemagno (Academy of Fine Arts, Catania) presented a paper on the staging of erupting volcanoes – specifically: Mount Vesuvius – in Italian grand operas, 1825–1858, and Laura Protano-Biggs (University of Nottingham) spoke on the reception of Meyerbeer in London. A second session concerned Halevy's 1836 opera, *La Juive*, as it was performed in Scandinavia. Owe Ander (Stockholm University and SMI/University College of Music Education) presented sources for 19th-century performances of this work in Stockholm, and Anne Sivouja-Kauppala (The University of Arts, Helsinki), discussed productions in Finland against changing cultural and political contexts, with special attention to anti-Semitic elements of the last of the discussed productions, in 1925.

The second day, Thursday 11 December, began with a keynote paper by Sarah Hibberd (University of Nottingham), '"Cockneys in a fever": *Gustave* in London', on Auber's *Gustave III* which was heavily adapted, translated, and re-contextualised for London, with concessions to the local audience's taste for Italian opera and its aesthetics, as well as for native, English theatre. The production was planned (by Alfred Bunn) as a means of solving a financial crisis, in which both Drury Lane and Covent Garden found themselves. Hibberd argued that both commercial strategies and strategies for negotiating selfhood and communal identity were important for this English adaptation. Three thematic sessions followed. The first concerned Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*. Tommaso Sabbatini (University of Chicago) spoke of the global aspects of this work, its composition history, and the wealth of contemporary references it drew on. Next, Carlos Maria Solare (Berlin) spoke of Manuel Fernandez Caballero's zarzuela, *El dúo de "La Africana"*, in which the (then) famous love duet from *L'Africaine* forms a crucial part of the plot, and which delivered comical and topical commentary on the status and reception of *L'Africaine* in late 19th-century Spain. Next session concerned grand opera and non-French opera traditions, as Martin Knust (Linnaeus University, Växjö) examined the role of the choir in Wagner's *Rienzi* – as either a negative image of an aggressive,

revolutionary mob or a positive, legitimate representative of the people. Laura Moeckli (University of Bern) then talked of grand opera in Switzerland, with a special focus on the Theater auf dem Blömlein in Basel, a venue with a varied repertoire, where grand operas alternated with spoken theatre, *Lustspiele*, *Possen*, etc. The last session of this day concerned grand opera and 'the diva'. Ingela Tägil (University of Örebro) and Svetlana Toikvakka (University of Helsinki) focussed on grand opera in the repertoires of two important divas of the 19th and early 20th century, Swedish Jenny Lind and Finnish Alma Fohström, respectively.

Anno Mungen (Universität Bayreuth) gave the Friday keynote paper, reflecting on the relation of grand opera to issues of place, or topography and performance, within the German theatre landscape in the 19th century. Special focus was on smaller provincial theatres in Germany, where opera and spoken drama would often be interpreted by the same actor-singers. The performances and reception of Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient in the role of Valentine (from Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*) within the context of this theatrical landscape, served as an illustrative case. Then came a thematic session which focused on chosen operatic rôles and how they 'translated' to new contexts: Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen (The University of Arts, Helsinki) discussed Fenella (from Auber's *La muette de Portici*) and Valentine (Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*) as patriotic symbols in Helsinki during the culmination of what a commentator dubbed the 'opera-fury' in 1877. Jens Hesselager (University of Copenhagen) discussed how the 'diabolic' character of Bertram (in Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*) became a problematic – and problematized – locus for a strategy of adaptation and translation in connection with the Copenhagen productions of this opera in the 1830s and 1840s. The theme of the last session was 'Grand opera and the city'. Howard Bould (Hull) gave a presentation of theatres in provincial French cities where grand opera was performed, and Cesar Zayas (University of Nottingham) presented an overview of venues and operatic repertoires in Mexican cities, often hosting travelling opera companies. Finally Karin Hallgren (Linnaeus University, Vexjö) gave a presentation of the grand opera tradition at the Opera in Stockholm.

Drawing on the rich material presented at the conference, an anthology on the subject is in preparation. The conference was co-funded by Centre for Modern European Studies (CEMES), and organised as part of the NOS-HS funded research project *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries during the Long Nineteenth Century*. Programme, abstracts, and further information are available at www.grandopera.ku.dk.

Jens Hesselager

Second Congress of the Russian Society for Theory of Music (Общества теории музыки), Moscow, September 2015

The Russian Society for Theory of Music (Общества теории музыки, or 'OTM') is fairly new. It was founded on 2 September 2011 and held its first congress in St Petersburg in 2013. The second congress was held at the Moscow P.I. Tchaikovsky Conservatory, from 26 to 29 September 2015, and marked the 150th birthday of this significant musical institution. A total of 154 papers were presented at the congress, including four keynote papers as well as six master-classes. Naturally most of the participants were Russian, but Australia, Austria, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Ukraine, and USA were also represented.

Alexander Sokolov, head of the Moscow Conservatory, opened the congress with the keynote paper 'Functional Approach in Russian Music Theory', addressing the formal theory of Boris Asafiev, widespread in Russia, according to which the course of a musical piece is divided in the formal-functional 'triad' I:M:T (initium, motus, and terminus – beginning,

motion and end).[1] His presentation was followed up by yet a keynote paper by William E. Caplin (McGill University), author of *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (1998), an influential book in the US. As Caplin himself stated, his paper, 'Beyond the Classical Cadence: Thematic Closure in Early Romantic Music', primarily addressed the *terminus*-part, though this term is not used in the North American conception of 'formal function'. Together these two keynote papers provided interesting perspectives on the different ways of understanding 'function' in relation to formal analysis. To a Danish scholar to whom the term of 'function' is reserved exclusively for harmonic analysis, these functional approaches to form were new and interesting.

The opening keynote papers aptly represented the theme of the congress, 'Schools and Directions in Music Scholarship, Performance and Composition', and hence most papers addressed specific pedagogical subjects, theorists, composers, or national – even local, institutional – traditions of music theory. Numerous papers deserve to be mentioned, but from my point of view a few were particularly interesting, for example Gregory Ivanovich Lyzhov's (Moscow Conservatory) 'Yuri Kholopov's Functional Theory of Harmony'. It is worth noting that the Riemannian functional theory has evolved in its own Russian direction and thus has made an enormous impact on their method of harmonic analysis – much like in Denmark, where the theory has also been developed, and where the method has an almost hegemonic status when it comes to harmonic analysis of major/minor tonal music. Lyzhov's paper gave an interesting insight into Russian functional analysis, and, apart from the fact that Kholopov has created functional labels for chords rooted on every twelwe notes – something that sounds very unlike the Danish ideal of an *interpretative* and *not descriptive* functional analysis – it seems that the Russian and Danish theories have evolved in a similar way.

Another highlight was a specific part of the tri-partite session on different approaches to musical analysis: Simon Perry (University of Queensland) showed how dramaturgical points can be read from the notation of enharmonic notes in Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Gudunov*; David Haas (University of Georgia) convincingly traced the influence of Bruckner – what he called Brucknerian devices – in Shostakovich's symphonies; and Joseph Kraus (Florida State University) used a narrative approach to the third movement of Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony.

On the last day of the conference, the debate was heated at the session 'Riemann and Schenker in Various National Traditions' featuring papers by Ildar D. Khannanov (John Hopkins University), Philip Ewell (City University of New York), Dimitar Ninov (Texas State University), Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen (Aarhus University), and Albina Vitalyevna Boyarkina (St Petersburg University). The gap between the European and Anglo-American theoretical and analytical traditions was very tangible. Disagreements aside, it is always inspiring to see the passion with which music theorists can discuss – though one could wish for a better interaction between these two traditions, instead of a more or less blind belief in a 'winning theory'.

Participants were given tickets for two concerts at the magnificent Grand Hall of the Conservatory. The first concert featured different compositions by Arvo Pärt; the second featured the cantata, *John of Damascus*, by Sergey Taneyev. OTM also arranged a tour to the Kremlin for non-Russian participants.

There were a few organizational problems: Abstracts should have been available in printed form or – considering the very low registration fee of 20 USD – at least accessible online; more than once was I surprised by the content of a paper with a title pointing in another direction. The most significant problem was the translation of Russian papers to English and vice versa – or rather the lack thereof. At some presentations, written translations were handed

1 For the entire programme, see under Events at: http://eng.otmroo.ru.

out, and at others, an interpreter sat among the listeners and translated simultaneously. Both solutions worked very well; but for the latter, only if you were able to get a seat close to the interpreter in the very small and crowded auditoriums. The real problem was however that too many papers did *not* have translations in written or spoken form at all. Considering that Russia has a very rich and impressive tradition of music theory, of which only a small part has been translated to English, it was a shame that at too many of the presentations the opportunity of cross-national interaction was wasted because of the language barrier.

Overall, the congress was very successful, especially when taking into account the young age of OTM. The society has gained a lot in a few years: Apart from organizing these congresses and publishing an online journal (accessible at www.eng.journal-otmroo.ru), OTM officially became a part of the European Music Analysis Conference in 2014. It will be interesting to follow the activities of OTM in the future.

Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen

Seventeenth Nordic Musicological Congress, Aalborg, August 2015

The Seventeenth Nordic Musicological Congress took place at Aalborg University and was co-organised by the Danish Musicological Society and the departments of Communication & Psychology (Music & Sound Knowledge Group) and Culture & Global Studies, Aalborg University. The congress gathered music scholars from the Nordic countries and scholars from other regions who work on Nordic music. This mix of people made for interesting discussions both reflecting national and regional questions for Nordic musicology as well as questions specific to Nordic music seen in a more international light.

However, the conference did, for better and worse, not have a specific topic, Nordic or otherwise. Thus, papers represented a wide range of musicological topics and concerns from early music to the contemporary avant-garde and from formal music analysis to cultural studies. Sessions were by and large not organised thematically, which at least to this participant was confusing, with papers on e.g. African-American and medieval music presented back to back, or papers using approaches of reception history and neuroscience in the same session.

Glancing over the programme one did have a hard time figuring out what the major trends in musicology, as represented at the conference, are, and if there are any trends particular to Nordic musicology. This is of course not necessarily a bad thing seeing as categorizing always bears with it a certain simplification. If nothing else one can conclude that the field is firmly rooted in music history and analysis while embracing a perpetually growing number of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of music. Musicology is reshaping itself in its own image and in the image of other disciplines.

The daily anchoring points over the four days of the conference were the keynotes and the pre-organized panels. Apart from a loosely organized panel on Nordic popular music (convened by the author of this report) these panels all presented particular projects on respectively music history pedagogy, radio research, and a music encyclopaedia. These three panels inspired interesting debate as they pointed beyond their specific subject matter and addressed more general problems in the discipline. This is what a congress, not merely a conference, can claim to and ideally should do. Such panels are not only intellectually stimulating but also professionally inspiring as they also speak to many important 'practical' aspects of musicological life.

The first keynote, which was given by Norm Hirschy (Oxford University Press), did the same. Perhaps by virtue of not being card-carrying musicologist, but representing the institution and hegemony of publishing that all scholars increasingly live under Hirschy's talk

resonated with many of the participants across their various specializations. He recognized that many Nordic scholars and Nordic musics are to a certain extent placed on the margins of English language publishing, but his message was optimistic: there is room for more Nordic scholars and Nordic music on the international musicological scene.

The other keynote speakers were Timo Leisiö (Tampere) who spoke on seeker tone theory; Tore Simonsen (Oslo) who gave a lecture on recorded music informed both by his scholarly and practical work; Derek Scott (Leeds) who amused the conference participants with an entertaining and theoretically adventurous talk on cosmopolitanism; and the neuroscientist Peter Vuust (Aarhus) who identified himself as a non-musicologist and proved that music studies is more than musicology, but also that music scholarship in other disciplines has much to learn from musicology.

The conference attracted approximately 65 scholars, which of course does not comprise the entire Nordic musicological community, so perhaps a few remarks on the notable blind spots of the conference is in order. A discussion from day one when people looked over the programme booklet was the notable lack of female representation. Out of four keynotes all were male and out of all the session chairs only one was female. At the closing plenary the conference organizers ensured us that they had reached out to female scholars and that the male dominance was largely bad luck. That being said, the main bulk of the conference participants were men. If this is indicative of the Nordic musicological academy at large one must conclude that there is a gender inequality in the representation, not to speak of other minorities. As to the disciplinary representation there was a surprising lack of — if any even remotely — ethnomusicologically framed papers at the conference.

The local organizers, Mark Grimshaw and Peder Kaj Pedersen, did a wonderful job as far as the practical aspects of the event goes, including extracurricular activities that made sure discussions continued past sunset. Selected papers from the conference will published in a special issue of *Danish Musicology Online*.

According to tradition it was announced at the end of the congress that the next one takes place in Finland, organized by the Finnish Musicological Society, probably in August 2020.

Mikkel Vad

Danish Musicological Society, 2012/2013–2015/2016

Board

Associate professor emeritus, cand.mag., Peder Kaj Pedersen (chairperson)
Associate professor emeritus, dr.phil., Peter Woetmann Christoffersen (treasurer)
Professor, dr.phil., Michael Fjeldsøe
Assistant professor, Ph.D., Sanne Krogh Groth
Associate professor, Ph.D., Thomas Holme Hansen
Senior researcher, Ph.D., Peter Hauge

The present account of the Danish Musicological Society covers three years of activities. At the general meeting which took place on 11 April 2013, the board was re-elected and consisted of Jens Hesselager, chair; Bjarke Moe, secretary; Kristoffer Brinch Kjeldby, treasurer; Thomas Holme Hansen; Peder Kaj Pedersen; and Sanne Krogh Groth. On 24 April 2014 three board members seceded, including the chairperson Jens Hesselager; following the elections, the board consisted of the members listed above. Peder Kaj Pedersen was nominated as chairperson of the Society, Peter Woetmann Christoffersen appointed as treasurer and in charge of

web site and archives, and Michael Fjeldsøe agreed to take care of incoming mail. At the general meeting on 21 April 2015, the board was re-elected and the board was nominated without changes. Audited accounts have been presented at the general meetings and approved.

The problem regarding the reduced number of members of the Danish Council for Independent Research | Humanities meant that musicology did not have a representative in the Council, and at the general meeting in 2012 the situation led to a discussion. It was therefore decided that the Society should write a letter to the chairperson of the Council, Annette Warring, addressing the concerns regarding loss of expertise within the Council to deal with applications in the subject of musicology, and whether these applications would be assessed on the basis of musicological competence. The Society was assured that musicology, as well as other subject areas not represented in the Council, would be evaluated academically by employing external assessments when necessary.

In 2012, an effort was made to develop the activities of the Society in order to make it more attractive to members; however, this has not been accomplished. Due to a declining number of members, it has been difficult to maintain a steady level of activities. Except for Michael Fjeldsøe's presentation of his thesis *Kulturradikalismens musik* (Copenhagen, 2013; 'Habilitationsschrift') which took place after the annual general meeting in 2013, there has been no membership activities or seminars during the time accounted for. At the annual general meeting in 2014, it was therefore decided that it was of vital importance to maintain the Society as a legal entity in order to fulfil the obligations of the Society in other areas: the Society is the formal publisher of the Niels W. Gade Edition funded by the Lundbeck and Augustinus Foundations; the chair of the Society is ex officio member of the Foundation for Editing the Works of Niels W. Gade; the Society is the publisher of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*; it is the Danish section of the International Musicological Society; and it is co-organizer of the Nordic Musicological Congresses of which it hosted the 13th Nordic Musicological Congress at Aalborg University in August 2015.

In accordance with this re-orientation of the activities, it was decided in 2014 to revise the statutes of the Society which would reduce the number of board members from six to four. The proposal was adopted on the annual general meeting in 2015 (and as required, confirmed at the general meeting in 2016). In order to join the rest of the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, the Section of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen was relocated in 2013, and therefore the Society's archives were transferred to The Royal Library. The formal agreement between the Library and the Society was signed on 24 June 2015. The current archive of the on-going activities of the Society has been re-organized as a digital archive.

Peder Kaj Pedersen

Katharine Leiska
Skandinavische Musik in Deutschland um 1900. Symphonien von Christian Sinding, Victor Bendix und Carl Nielsen zwischen Gattungstradition und Nord-Imagines
Imaginatio borealis: Bilder des Nordens, 22
Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012
344 pp., illus., music exx.
ISBN 978-3-631-62149-3
EUR 56.95

'Wo liegt der Norden?', asks Katharine Leiska at the beginning of the second chapter of her excellent new account of the German reception of the Scandinavian symphony at the turn of the twentieth century (the published version of her 2010 doctoral dissertation from the Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel). It is an easy question to ask, but, as Leiska's discussion quickly reveals, the idea of north points to more than simply a geographical location. 'North' more properly constitutes a 'horizon of expectation', meaning both an orientational point and a constellation or network of metaphorical categories, images, and preconceptions that shapes particular moments of cultural encounter and exchange. For Leiska, it is the desire to dig beneath this more complex and multivalent idea of north (or 'Nord-Imagines'), and to ground it within a specific material-documentary body of writing (German music criticism *circa* 1900), which provides the foundation for her rich historiographical reading of the Scandinavian symphony. And it further provides the platform for contemplating a series of broader disciplinary issues: the relationship between music and other media (especially literature); the ontological status of the musical work; and the importance of space and place in the generation and transmission of musical meaning.

The starting point for Leiska's study is the remarkably intense concern with ideas of the north in German-language writing on Scandinavian music at the turn of the twentieth century. The choice of subject is compelling. Scandinavian art, literature, and music enjoyed a particularly prominent profile in German cultural circles, and the symphony was a high-prestige artistic vehicle that had to meet conflicting demands of popular appeal, creative innovation, universalism, and local colour. It is the collision of these competing contexts that determines the framework for Leiska's project, shuttling back-and-forth, as her title suggests, 'zwischen Gattungstradition und Nord-Imagines'. The study accordingly falls into two broad halves: the first part is a detailed literature survey, devoted almost exclusively to German-language material and building particularly strongly on the research of the *Imaginatio borealis* group at Kiel; the second part consists of extended analyses of three carefully chosen case studies (Christian Sinding's Symphony no. 1 in D minor, op. 21; Victor Bendix's Symphony no. 3 in A minor, op. 25; and Carl Nielsen's *Sinfonia espansiva*, op. 27), which exemplify contrasting aspects of the Scandinavian symphony and its contemporary German reception. Two notable absences from this list, Edvard Grieg and Jean Sibelius, can be explained in different ways. Grieg did not compose a mature symphony and therefore stands slightly outside this debate, even though his music was profoundly formative for the idea of a 'Nordic-discourse' in German music criticism in the 1890s. The German-language reception of Sibelius's early symphonic works has been well documented elsewhere, for example in Tomi Mäkelä's monumental study *Sibelius:*

Poesie in der Luft (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007; revised English translation, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011). Leiska is nevertheless to be applauded for selecting two particularly thought-provoking works alongside the more well-known *Sinfonia espansiva*: Sinding's early symphonic essay, which raises problematic issues of inheritance, modelling, and canonization, and Bendix's formally innovative Third Symphony, which directs much-needed critical attention to an original and neglected figure in early twentieth-century Danish music.

The initial goal of Leiska's discussion is to identify a series of research questions that can form the basis for further enquiry. These include what position music occupied in relation to the growing German interest in Scandinavian art and literature at the end of the nineteenth century; how Scandinavian music was received in Germany; how important representations of the north were in its reception; which particular images of the north figured prominently in, and were shaped by, the 'Nordic-discourse' in Germany *circa* 1900; and what role Scandinavian music played in contemporary discussions about German national identity (p. 23). A significant starting point, to which Leiska returns at various points in her volume, is Otto Lessmann's review of Sinding's First Symphony in the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* (1895). Lessmann writes evocatively of the symphony's 'großartige Naturbilder aus dem Heimathlande des Komponisten', and celebrates the music's 'Kraft, Erhabenheit, starrer, kühner Trotz, düstere Leidenschaft, schwermuthvolle Klage[,] ... mächtiges Ringen nach Freiheit und endlicher Jubel' (p. 9), recurrent keywords in writing on the Scandinavian symphony throughout the 1890s. As Leiska notes later (p. 39), such terms had been common currency in writing on the German symphony ever since the early nineteenth-century, and stem direct from what she terms the 'idealisierenden Darstellung *der* Symphonie' (emphasis original). Lessmann's review thus indicates the extent to which the symphony was still closely bound up with notions of German cultural identity, and the urgency with which a canon of German masterworks was being actively curated in the 1890s. It also demonstrates the lofty terms against which symphonies by non-German composers in particular would be judged, and all-too-often regarded as having failed to meet convincingly (p. 40), just as Scandinavian music was effectively subsumed within a greater-German cultural practice (one that assumed a common Nordic point of historical-ethnic origin). German writing on the Scandinavian symphony thus serves what Leiska describes as two interrelated models of national identity construction (p. 306), the first built upon the assumption of a North-South dichotomy that elevates the music of the North over and above that of (for example) Italy or France, on the basis of its perceived vigour, force, and originality (Eigentümlichkeit), and the second which presupposes the universality of German instrumental music (preeminently the symphony) beyond issues of local, regional, or national identity. These two apparently paradoxical modes of identity formation co-existed simultaneously: the local, in terms of German symphony criticism, swiftly became the universal.

Such categories, as Leiska notes (p. 67), drew upon a rich vein of tourist literature, philology, archaeological research, and romantic poetry, not least in the wake of Wagner's Ring cycle and popular translations of the Icelandic Sagas. The idea of north, for many German writers, served both as a historical fantasy, the trace of a vanished golden age that appealed powerfully at a moment of intensive industrialisation and economic expansion, and also as an alternative world-view, conceived in opposition to familiar Classical models of mediterranean civilization. It is no surprise that such descriptions swiftly led, as the twentieth century progressed, in extreme right-wing political directions. In a necessary excursus, Leiska discusses the influential work of Walter Niemann, one of the most prominent promulgators of an 'idea of north' in writing on German and Scandinavian music, and whose preoccupation with race, environment, and the idea of *Heimatkunst* suggests national socialist sympathies (pp. 76–77). In the absence of conclusive documentary evidence to the contrary, Leiska remains sensibly

equivocal about the question of Niemann's actual relationship with the party, but it is nevertheless difficult to separate his promotion to a full professorship in 1937 from his immediate political environment – a point that Leiska underlines tellingly (ibid.). Sinding's unfortunate support for the regime, in the months shortly before his death in 1941, demonstrates how far the politicisation of 'Nordic music' had reached, albeit within the context of an occupied country, and had lasting implications for his critical reception in the second half of the century.

A further legacy of this political trajectory has been the critical resistance (for instance, in the writing of Adorno) to ideas of nature and landscape in Scandinavian music. Leiska nevertheless draws attention to the role that such imagery played in the construction of the 'Nord-imagines', although she does not dwell on specific points of comparison in literature or the visual arts. Lessmann's vividly pictorial account of the second movement of Sinding's symphony, for example, evokes the idea of a Nordic nature space in Sinding's music as an alterior or utopian realm. The rocking arpeggiated figuration on three solo violins over a transfigured return of the opening Allegro's second subject (b. 75) suggested 'geheimnißvollem Wellengemurmel' for Lessmann, locating the music within a nature region that is simultaneously both imaginary and real. '[M]an kann sich den Eindrück, den der mitternächtige Anblick des von silbernem Mondschein überglänzten Fjords hervorbringen muß, wundervoller in Tönen nicht ausgedrückt denken' (p. 9), Lessmann writes, aligning the music with a strongly visual tradition of landscape representation and raising the perenially difficult issue of programme versus absolute music.

It is through detailed attention to such passages that Leiska seeks to determine the extent to which individual works by Scandinavian musicians correspondended with ideas of north in the German critical and popular imagination at the turn of the twentieth century, and how deeply they were inscribed within the boundaries of this nordic discourse (p. 87). The second half of her project complements this approach with detailed commentaries on movements from Sinding, Bendix, and Nielsen's symphonies. But if Leiska's detailed grasp of reception history and her literature review in the opening chapters of her dissertation are wholly convincing, the analytical aspects of her discussion, and her attempts to locate these works within a broader symphonic tradition, are somewhat less persuasive. The commentaries themselves are detailed and admirably thorough, but the accompanying formal charts are theoretically underpowered and lack sufficient clarity of cadential function and formal articulation. Pedal points, for example, are labelled simply according to pitch (regardless of their local or large-scale function), and the summary of the underlying tonal structure is frustratingly schematic in the absence of more detailed voice-leading charts or reductions. Greater reference to recent analytical writing on nineteenth-century symphonic music could have provided a richer comparative basis for interpretation. Adopting the theoretical framework developed by Warren Darcy and particularly James Hepokoski, for example, suggests that among the key features of the opening movement of Sinding's First Symphony are not merely the use of modal mixture and thematic *Fortspinnung* (qualities that Leiska aligns broadly with the 'archaic' and 'rhapsodic' tone of the music), but the absence of a clearly defined medial caesura in the exposition: Sinding sets up a medial caesura on a modally unstable secondary dominant in bb. 49–55, and then deflects the music toward the dominant of the relative major in bb. 56–58, which becomes the key of the pastoral second subject group (Leiska confusingly calls this a third theme, but bb. 33–58 are properly a bridge passage or transition). The consequences of this gesture are significant for the remainder of the movement: the exposition, for instance, fails to attain closure, despite the energetic affirmation of the second subject at b. 85 and its subsequent sequential *Steigerung* in bb. 93–100. The result is rather a moment of structural-cadential crisis in bb. 101–2, and a juddering return to the

secondary dominant chord from bb. 49–55 which then launches the development. The return of this passage at the end of the reprise again results in a moment of crisis (b. 295) that in turn provokes an even lengthier build-up after the general pause at b. 314. The movement arguably never achieves full structural closure, despite the perfunctory cadence at bb. 356–57, the final return of the primary subject serving as a framing device rather than as a conclusive point of resolution. The Allegro remains effectively trapped within a seemingly perpetual cycle of energetic assertion and collapse, its basic structural-expressive tensions unresolved until the extended tierce-de-picardie of the finale.

It is possible to elaborate this basis harmonic-analytical summary through more extended narrative exegesis, perhaps as an allegorical account of a tragic Nordic symphonic hero struggling to achieve a stable sense of creative self. An alternative reading might look towards other European symphonic models—Leiska mentions Schumann's Fourth and Dvorak's Seventh Symphonies in passing (the parallels with Dvorak are especially striking), which share the same tonality, but not Beethoven's Ninth (almost a default point of reference for later nineteenth-century symphonies), nor the symphonies of Bruckner that evoked similar images of *Steigerung* and *Kraft* for contemporary German-language theorists such as August Halm. The opening movement of Brahms's First Piano Concerto provides an equally promising point of comparison, especially given the primary subject's prominent trill and their shared 'rhapsodic' character. By attempting to understand Sinding's creative negotiation of these complex sets of generic and topical expectation, a clearer sense of agency might emerge. Such intertextuality aside, however, the critical issue is how to mediate the distance between categories of historical reception and more recent developments in music theory and analysis. At a deeper level, this becomes a question of ontology, identity formation, and subjectivity: issues that Leiska seeks to address in her conclusion and which provide a signpost to further research.

It is the failure to negotiate these competing demands convincingly, and to develop a hermeneutic reading of Scandinavian music sufficiently grounded in historical evidence, which Leiska finds frustrating in my own work, particularly my essay 'Horn Calls and Flattened Sevenths: Nielsen and the Construction of Danish Musical Style' (p. 34). I am happy to acknowledge the weaknesses of my early writing on Scandinavian music, and hope I have met the challenges identified by Leiska more convincingly in recent works, especially my monograph *Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), which Leiska does not cite. But my aim in this earlier piece was rather different (if no less problematic): firstly, to try and create a critical space for hearing early twentieth-century Scandinavian music that reflects the instabilities inherent within the notion of identity in music more generally (the idea of Danishness which I attempted to advance in this essay was deliberately open and contingent, and anything but essentialist); and secondly, to operate within a referential framework that took as its starting point contemporary Scandinavian debates in art, literature, and music, rather than the more familiar themes of German music criticism. Indeed, a striking absence in Leiska's work is any sustained discussion of Scandinavian writing, including the composers' own correspondence. Omissions from the bibliography include John Fellow's fine edition of Nielsen's writings, *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, and the relevant volumes of the *Carl Nielsen Brevudgaven*, edited by Fellow, or even Torben Schousboe's edition of his diaries and correspondence with his wife, the sculptor Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen. Yet a cursory survey of this material demonstrates how keenly engaged Nielsen became in responding to the German reception of his work, both positively and negatively, and how this was at times bound up with a sense of difference or alterity. The *Dresdener Nachrichten* may have written, after a performance of Nielsen's First Sympony in 1896, of the music's 'Schwermuth und melancholische Träumen' (p. 257), but in a letter to his wife, Nielsen wrote

that the symphony's 'concise form and precise mode of expression will, I believe, simultaneously astonish and entice people here, and I am certain that such a piece will only do some good and open people's ears and eyes to all that German sauce and fat that one finds among Wagner's followers' (Torben Schousboe, ed. *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og Brevveksling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1983), p. 128, my translation). To silence the Scandinavian voice inadvertently, in this way, is to risk reinforcing the patterns of centre and periphery that many recent scholarly studies have sought to deconstruct, and it means that there is little genuine sense of dialogue underpinning the otherwise admirably dialectical framework of Leiska's project. Any discussion of music reception, my own included, would benefit from a greater sense of international cultural engagement and exchange, and the history of Scandinavian music in Germany is surely a two-way process.

That is not to end on a negative note. Leiska's study is consistently sophisticated, thought-provoking, and refined, and sets an impressively high standard for critical-documentary study of the German reception of Scandinavian music at a crucial phase in its development. By building further on Leiska's foundations, we can be confident that the Scandinavian symphony will attain the scholarly status it richly deserves.

Daniel M. Grimley

Ulrik Volgsten
Musiken, medierna och lagarna. Musikverkets idéhistoria och etablerandet av en idealistisk upphovsrätt
Möklinta, Gidlunds förlag, 2012
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SKR 167

'(Copy-)rights have become a commodity to be bought and sold' (p. 11). This statement can be found in the first chapter of Ulrik Volgsten's book on the relations between music, media, and the laws in contemporary Western societies. The problematic everyday confusion of *copyrights*[1] with *property rights* implied in the statement is one of the main focal points of the book. Another one is: how does copyright legislation affect our understanding of music?

Volgsten's main thesis is that the *idealistic* view on music, which (in his argumentation) is informing modern copyright legislation, a) emerged as late as the 20th century, while it b) builds on concepts from antique philosophy. The catalyst to bring a) and b) together is the reification of the musical work made possible by the phonogram and encouraged by legislation.

Who owns music? Can sound be owned at all in a world where everything can be copied digitally? And what and where is the *work* really in modern musical production?

Those are not new questions, but Volgsten seeks to actualize them by rolling out the full history behind their presence in our time. This is evident in the fact that the progression of the book is more or less chronological, starting with Plato and ending with the MP3-player, so to speak. The author presents his interpretation of the evolving Western view(s) on the musical work, covering the Antique, the Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, etc., in chapters 2 through 11, ending with the breakthrough of digitally distributed music.

1 The English word *copyright* does not entirely cover the Swedish *upphovsrätt*, which literally means 'rights of the begetter' or, more vernacularly, 'rights of the father'. The word *upphovsrätt* is a widely used legal term in Nordic countries, notwithstanding its patriarchal connotations.

In each chapter you find a discussion of how the respective periods' philosophical, juridical, and (increasingly) economical concepts of intellectual rights and ownership have interacted with 'the musical work'.

An example is the late medieval/early renaissance change in compositional method from improvisational contrapuntal 'horizontal' scoring to concurrently written 'vertical' voicing. Volgsten uses this transformation to demonstrate (via Johannes Tinctoris and modern theorists) how the results of concrete compositional work gradually became *res facta*, *opus,* and, consequently, a work that survives its maker (the score in this case). This was but one step in the process towards aesthetical objectification of the musical work as such.

The invention of printing technology was of course another, and accordingly the impact of printing is debated thoroughly in the book, the point being that piracy and plagiarism for centuries were frauds that could be committed only against a *publisher*, not a composer. The work was the *score*, the print was the product, and the composer's musical *ideas* were not acknowledged, let alone protected, in any modern sense until the Enlightenment, at the earliest. Metaphors suggesting genetic relations between composer and work came even later, according to Volgsten.

He continues through the classical era, romanticism and so on, constantly juxtaposing philosophy, law and musicology, constantly pursuing the idealistic view on the musical work; which he does not find, not even with German idealists like Schelling and Fichte.

It was only when *absolute* music, which Volgsten understands as something that demands an active *listener* in order to exist, became the compositional paradigm, that the reified immaterial musical work, the independent offspring of the solitary (male!) creator, came into being.

The *genetic function* and the notion of the musical work as an organism, which can be found in the writings of Hanslick, is seen as yet another precondition for the idealistic work and its ensuing property rights. But formalists like Zimmerman did not connect the work and the creator genetically, and so, Volgsten argues, by mid-19th century consensus regarding the ontological status of the musical work was still not to be found. This was ever more problematic, with the lack of an idealistic copyright '… becoming increasingly bothersome to the lawmaking' (p. 140).

Towards the end of the book Volgsten outlines the history of 19th-century Swedish copyright legislation in order to demonstrate how the slippery concept of 'ideal' objects (as opposed to material ones) made lawmaking difficult in a specific context. Again, he searches in vain for a clear-cut idealistic view on musical work outside the realms of legislation. In this case he finds that national romanticism with its idea of the 'soul of the people' was delaying the dissemination of immaterial musical copyrights in Sweden until the 20th century. And, importantly, he finds that the driving force behind the process was law, *not* aesthetics.

Finally, the turn from printing to phonogram is presented as a *sine qua non* of modern copyright legislation – and its business potentials. It is not only that the phonogram offers 'solidity' (p. 186) to the transitory phenomenon of music, and thus makes it easier to turn it into a commodity. More significant, says Volgsten, are the multiple slides from the composer as a provider of an immaterial service (music as activity), to the reification of this service (the phonogram), to the idea that a third party (media industries) have the right to prosper from the intellectual rights of the original creator based on an idea of the work as an *idealistic entity*.

Taken as a general history of the musical work in Western thinking, the book works very well. The author is evidently well informed on the subject, and the comprehensive walkthrough of 2000 years of thinking does not seem unnecessary long. One can always criticize musicological periodization, I guess. And, indeed, Volgsteen's rather consequent use of this device might seem a little heavy-handed. But in this case periods serve merely practical purposes, and they work well as orientation marks.

Given the title of the book, which features the word 'media' in a prominent place, I was a little disappointed with the fact that only the last pages of the book are dedicated to the latest media technologies and their impact on the ontology of 'the musical work'. While the emergence of printing technology is given firm attention in the middle sections, I do believe that many readers will feel that this relatively well-known story might have been shortened a bit to make space for a more thorough account of new digital media, something Ulrik Volgsten undoubtedly would be capable of.

Johannes Frandsen Skjelbo

Michael Fjeldsøe
Kulturradikalismens musik
Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2013
Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, 45
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DKK 498, EUR 67

Michael Fjeldsøe's dissertation, which was successfully defended for the philosophical doctorate (habilitation) at the University of Copenhagen on 17 May 2013, is an excellent effort in musicological scholarship.[1] It collects and discusses music and musical matters that have hitherto been scattered; from now on we can refer to KULTURRADIKALISMENS MUSIK (excellently transposed to graphics on the front cover, cf. above) as a well-defined phenomenon. The music of cultural radicalism as a whole can be considered a descriptively well-illuminated and well-exemplified concept. Cultural radicalism, in music specifically as well as in other spheres of art and, more generally, in society, is not and cannot be defined in a strictly theoretical sense. However, as regards musical genres, style(s), specific works and performances – both in institutions of age and tradition (mainly the Royal Danish Theatre) and in newly established, experimental institutions (for example Forsøgsscenen) – and aesthetic, pedagogic and sociological thinking and debate, students, readers and scholars from the humanities have in Fjeldsøe's book acquired an exhaustive, thorough and well-written standard volume on these issues.

The term 'kulturradikalisme' is not easily translatable into English. 'Radicalism' implies extremism, as in the following standard English definition, where radicalism is defined as 'the opinions and behavior of people who favor extreme changes especially in government: radical political ideas and behavior'.[2] The Danish concept of culture radicalism is briefly characterized by Fjeldsøe as 'a liberal left-wing cultural movement' (p. 663, my translation). He suggests that the Danish movement is 'similar to German Neue Sachlichkeit' (loc. cit., my translation), and he stresses that conceptual considerations of Danish culture radicalism have been made 'after the fact': The cultural radicalism of the 1920s and 1930s was a practical effort rather than

1 Official opponents were Professor Magnar Breivik, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim and Associate Professor, dr.phil. Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, University of Copenhagen. Opponent ex auditorio and third member of the evaluation committee was Professor Emeritus, dr.phil. Hans Hertel, University of Copenhagen. The review is a revised version of a review in Danish in the online journal *seismograf*, see http://seismograf.org/anmeldelse/fremragende-forskning-i-kulturradikalismens-musik.

2 http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/radicalism.

a matter of theoretical debate, let alone of mere speculation. It was not until the 1950s that the term 'kulturradikalisme' as a generalizing concept was applied as a label to trends seen in the inter-war period. The concept was now – in the 1950s – associated with phenomena which at that time had disappeared, a movement that had been ousted or forgotten by many, but which was now missed by others in the post-war cultural climate of the cold war.

As far as music is concerned, culture radical music is not just music composed of texts dealing with or performing themes, issues, lifestyles etc. of a culture radical nature. It is not simply accompaniment to otherwise defined activities, performances, texts etc. Neither is it per definition limited to jazz or music derived from jazz idioms, a point which will be discussed in more detail below.

The book is voluminous: approximately 650 pages of text including many illustrations – photos of important active figures in culture radical music (composers, authors, actors, organizers etc.), photos of scenes from theatre performances of central works (theatre genres were an important field of expression in culture radicalism) and a variety of examples in musical notation, mostly edited examples from scores, a couple of facsimiles and reproductions of graphically remarkable front covers of a few published works. The pedagogic, didactic aspect, central to music in a culture radical context, is illustrated with photos of two main figures in culture radical music teaching while at work: Bernhard Christensen, the main figure in jazz-based culture radicalism, and Jørgen Bentzon, the main figure in culture radicalism rooted in contemporary modernism in music.

Fjeldsøe is not aiming at developing or generalizing theory on a level above the subject matter of the dissertation. Instead, theoreticians such as Peter Bürger, Carl Dahlhaus and Andreas Huyssen support important and more general theoretical points. Similarly, Fjeldsøe is neither concerned with developing textual analysis of the music he examines. The book contains no expanded analyses of specific works and only few music examples. These examples are typically of a more illustrative nature such as the above-mentioned short, edited examples of central features of the music and reproductions of some music examples from their argumentative contexts in debate articles and other more theoretical sources from the given period.

The book can be characterized as a solid effort within the cultural history of music, a broad *reading* of the music of cultural radicalism based on primary sources and a selection of Danish and international literature. The beautiful graphic design contributes to the attractiveness of the volume. The intention is to address a wider circle of readers, not a small circle of Fjeldsøe's musicological colleagues. Thus, the text is not a speculative, internal referential discussion, but an extensive, fascinating, well-written narration on modern music, teaching, jazz and theatre in the years between the two world wars. It expands our knowledge of Danish music from the inter-war period beyond the great music of Carl Nielsen, some specks of modernism, a jazz craze that faded away etc.

Apart from musicology, I imagine that the book will be useful to a broader circle of scholars and students from a wide range of art and culture subjects – both by way of the many subject areas discussed (PH revues, *Danmarksfilm*, Forsøgsscenen, agitprop theatre, culture radical elements in e.g. the repertoire of the Royal Danish Theatre, music pedagogy based on jazz as well as other genres etc.) and by way of Fjeldsøe's approach to these subject areas. It establishes a foundation for seeing music that may sound so different and have such a wide variety of institutional or organizational contexts through a common concept.

Fjeldsøe makes it clear from the beginning that the main part of what can be called culture radical music is composed music, some of which is influenced by jazz and some by other genres (p. 13).

The concept is essentially formulated: What supports the different compositional and organisational ways of practising together is the double effort to combine the artistically modern and the socially relevant (p. 86); it is the problem of modernity and the problem of reaching the audience that have been combined to form a framework and foundation. It is interesting how this view makes it possible to see beyond the traditional division between two apparently very different wings of the young musical circle of the inter-war years. One side comprises composers such as Jørgen Bentzon and Finn Høffding, while the other consists of the composer Bernhard Christensen and his partner Sven Møller Kristensen, and they obviously disagreed on a number of aspects of the musical situation and what had to be done. In 1945 the music historian Povl Hamburger retrospectively labelled the two wings the 'folk music movement' and the 'jazz movement', respectively.[3] Fjeldsøe shows how the two approaches in fact represented two aspects of the same case, in spite of their obvious differences: Their music sounded differently and had different stylistic backgrounds, but they both articulated an awareness of the problems of modernity and of the relation to the public.

That the music of cultural radicalism includes jazz has been evident from the beginning. Fjeldsøe's book discusses the field of jazz: The PH revues, *Danmarksfilmen*, jazz-based music teaching etc. are discussed and analysed based on in-depth studies of the sources. Of particular interest is the excellent chapter on *Danmarksfilmen* (chapter 15), an original and well-written account of existing knowledge about this central work within the sphere of culture radicalism. The chapter 'From syncope to swing' (chapter 23) is also central with regard to basic – and controversial – terms within the discourse of 'rhythmic music', as the conceptual shift in terms from *syncope* to *swing* involves an important and didactically very relevant shift of focus from what can be fixed in musical notation to what is heard and what is felt physically, a critical point in the jazz-oriented circles of cultural radicalism.

Throughout the book the subject matter is seen in the light of conflicts and controversies on the political left-wing in Danish politics. During Fjeldsøe's defence it became clear that a central concept in the book, the concept of a *cultural* left wing, a concept which makes it possible to talk about cultural radicalism on its own terms and not as a movement determined by *political* views in the sense of partisan viewpoints championed by political parties (p. 33), is not recognized by all. To one of the opponents, Professor Hans Hertel, it was completely unacceptable that main figures of cultural radicalism who became members of the Danish Communist Party (DKP) could in any sense be referred to as culture radicals; because, Hertel asked, how can a communist party member in any way be said to be fighting for freedom of the individual, which is a central idea in culture radicalism? Fjeldsøe's response to this – an important point in relation to the decades between the world wars – was that Danish cultural life was much more open and explorative in this particular period than was the case after World War Two, where the Cold War narrowed the horizon of cultural life.

Finally, I am happy to acknowledge the application in Fjeldsøe's book of the work of this reviewer since the 1980s in this field, which is so thoroughly presented and understood by him – especially my research on Bernhard Christensen (portraits, obituaries, analyses of early works, surveys on jazz pedagogy etc.), but also more broadly oriented essays and articles on music and cultural radicalism. Many aspects of this work are discussed and documented in Fjeldsøe's book, and I am proud to have been one of the providers of background material and points of view for this excellent book.

Peder Kaj Pedersen

3 Povl Hamburger, *Kulturkrisen – musikalsk set* (København, 1945).

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Anne Ørbæk Jensen

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