



UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM



Rethinking the Dynamics of Music and Nationalism

University of Amsterdam, 26-29 September 2017

Conference Booklet

Organizational committee:

Prof. dr. Joep Leerssen, Professor of Modern European Literature, University of Amsterdam

dr. Kasper van Kooten, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Amsterdam

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Schedule:

Tuesday 26 September

Opening of Conference

Location: Vlaams Cultuurhuis De Brakke Grond, Nes 45, 1012 KD Amsterdam (close to Dam Square)

18.30	Registration, coffee and tea
19.00	Kasper van Kooten , Postdoctoral research fellow, Modern European Literature, University of Amsterdam – <i>Welcome and introduction</i>
19.05	Katharine Ellis , Professor of Music, University of Cambridge – <i>Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Third Republic's Folk Music Problem</i>
19.50	Joep Leerssen , Professor of Modern European Literature, University of Amsterdam – <i>The Persistence of Voice: Instrumental Music and Romantic Orality of the Late John Neubauer (1933-2015)</i>
20.10	Krisztina Lajosi-Moore , Assistant Professor in Modern European Literature and Culture, University of Amsterdam, and Kasper van Kooten – <i>Opera and National Identity-Articulation in Germany and Hungary</i>
20.30 – 21.15	Audience questions and panel discussion – <i>The Outer Edges of National-Classical Music: Territory, Society, Tradition</i>
21.15 - 22.00	Drinks

Wednesday 27 September

Location: De Rode Hoed, Cultureel Centrum, Keizersgracht 102, 1015 CV Amsterdam

Room:	Vrijburgzaal	Banningzaal
09.00-10.00	Keynote: Graeme Skinner, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney: <i>Australian Fugitive Pieces; National Romanticism, National Music, and Colonial Nationalism</i>	
10.00-10.30	Coffee/Tea	
10.30-12.30	Music and Nationalism in the Far East (Chair: Joep Leerssen) meLê Yamomo, Freie Universität Berlin: <i>The volatile Sonus of the Nation: Listening to Three Shifting "Philippine" Regimes in the Philippine Constabulary Band</i> Rachel Campbell, University of Sydney: <i>The Transnational Sounds of Settler Society Nationalism: Peter Sculthorpe's "Truly Australian" Music.</i> Shensi Yi, University of Sydney: <i>Rivalry on another Front: The Musical, the Musician and the Parties in 1940s China.</i> You-Kyung Cho, University of Tokyo: <i>Transnationalism out of Nationalistic Musical Elements: To the Cultural Hybridity in Korean Contemporary Art Music.</i>	
12.30-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-15.30	Anglophone Musical Nationalism around 1900 (Chair: Stuart Campbell) Matthew Riley, University of Birmingham: <i>Popular and Canonical Nationalism in Edward Elgar's Choral Cantatas</i>	Iberian Music and Nationalism (Chair: Joep Leerssen) Xavier Andreu Mirallas, Universitat de València: <i>Between Exoticism, Nationalism and the 'Fear' of Popular Success. Spanish Music in the Romantic Era</i>

	<p>Ross Cole, University of Cambridge: <i>'The Natural Musical Idiom of a National Will'? Vernacular Song and the Folkloric Imagination in England at the Fin de Siècle</i></p> <p>Ryan Weber, Misericordia University, Pennsylvania: <i>Cosmopolitanism and Its Nationalist Discontents: Grainger and the fin-de-siècle Search for Belonging</i></p>	<p>Rui Pinto Magno, Universidade Nova de Lisboa: <i>Symphonic Rhapsodies and Paraphrases as Tokens of Portuguese Musical Nationalism</i></p> <p>Isabel Pina, Universidade Nova de Lisboa: <i>Viriato: A Nationalist Symphonic Poem by Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955)</i></p>
15.30-16.00	Coffee/Tea	
16.00-17.00	<p>Music and Nationalism in The Americas</p> <p>(Chair: Douglas W. Shadle)</p> <p>Vera Wolkowicz, University of Cambridge: <i>'Nationalizing the Continent': National and Continental Discourses in Latin American Art Music at the beginnings of the Twentieth Century (1900-1930)</i></p> <p>Emily MacGregor, Harvard University: <i>'I don't get any kick out of so-called European modern composers...': Pan Americanism and Transnationalism in Aaron Copland's Short Symphony</i></p>	<p>Scottish Music and Nationalism</p> <p>(Chair: Kasper van Kooten)</p> <p>Stuart Campbell, University of Glasgow: <i>Musical Nationalism – Between Intention and Reception, Between Nation and State: The Case of Scotland</i></p> <p>Elizabeth Ford, University of Glasgow: <i>Not Scottish Enough?: The Flute's Place in Scottish Music</i></p>
17.00-17.40	<p>Lecture Recital</p> <p>(Chair: Kasper van Kooten)</p> <p>Katharina Uhde, Valparaiso University (piano accompaniment by Michael Uhde): <i>Rediscovering two lost Works: Joseph Joachim's Hungarian and Irish Fantasies</i></p>	

20.00-22.00

Piano Recital Sara Crombach at the Uilenburgersjoel, Nieuwe Uilenburgerstraat 91, 1011 LM Amsterdam

Thursday 28 September

Location: De Rode Hoed, Cultureel Centrum, Keizersgracht 102, 1015 CV Amsterdam

Room:	Vrijburgzaal	Banningzaal
09.00-10.00	Keynote: Douglas W. Shadle, Vanderbilt University: <i>Dvořák and the Contests over American National Identity.</i>	
10.00-10.30	Coffee/Tea	
10.30-12.30	<p>Panel: ‘French Music Publishing and (Trans)Nationalism: the Édition classique Durand (c. 1915–25) of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Piano Repertoire’</p> <p>(Chair: Deborah Mawer)</p> <p>Rachel Moore, University of Oxford: <i>Marketing National Identity: ‘French’ Editions and the Mobilisation of Music Publishing, 1914–1918</i></p> <p>Deborah Mawer, Birmingham Conservatoire: <i>Charting the Édition classique Durand (c. 1915–25): Musical Nationalism–Transnationalism</i></p> <p>Graham Sadler, Birmingham Conservatoire: <i>Francophone Perspectives on an Eighteenth-Century French Musical Past</i></p> <p>Barbara Kelly, Royal Northern College of Music: <i>Debussy’s French Accent on Chopin</i></p>	<p>Eastern-Mediterranean Music and Nationalism</p> <p>(Chair: Rutger Helmers)</p> <p>Anna Babali: <i>Transnational folk music elements creating a Balkan musical landscape: the works for the piano of the Seven Balkan Dances, by Marko Tajcevic, the Shumen Miniatures, by Pancho Vladigerov and the Greek Dances, by Georgios Kasassoglou.</i></p> <p>Christina Michael, City, University of London: <i>From Marginal to National: The Greek Art-Popular Tradition</i></p> <p>Artemis Ignatidou, Brunel University London: <i>Music in 19th-century Greek nationalism</i></p> <p>Krisztina Lajosi, University of Amsterdam: <i>The Gypsy in Hungarian Music. Romantic Nationalism and Cultural Imagination</i></p>
12.30-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-15.30	<p>French-German Transnational Dynamics in Opera</p> <p>(Chair: Barbara Kelly)</p>	<p>Nationalism in Childrens’ Music Education</p> <p>(Chair: Shobna Nijawan)</p>

	<p>Kasper van Kooten, University of Amsterdam: <i>“Blondes et rêveuses primes donnes” and “Allies from Abroad”; Tracing the Forgotten History of German-Language Opera Companies Abroad during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century</i></p> <p>Megan Varvir Coe, University of Texas, Arlington: <i>Caught Between Aesthetics and Politics: French Nationalism in the Reception of Two Salome Operas in Pre-War Paris</i></p> <p>Amanda Hsieh, University of Toronto: <i>The ‘German Debussy’? — Masculinity in Franz Schreker’s Die Gezeichneten</i></p>	<p>Sylvie Noreau, Université de Fribourg: <i>Songbook for school in French-speaking Switzerland: Musical nationalism propaganda?</i></p> <p>Mårten Nehrfor, Stockholm University: <i>Canonical considerations – Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s songs for children and the late eighteenth century German national community</i></p> <p>Mila Stojadinovic, Academy of Arts Novi Sad, New York: <i>Creating National Identity: Primary School Music Textbooks in Yugoslav/post-Yugoslav Serbia</i></p>
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19.00 Conference Dinner at Indonesian Restaurant Indrapura, Rembrandtplein 40-44, 1017 CV Amsterdam

Friday 29 September

Location: De Rode Hoed, Cultureel Centrum, Keizersgracht 102, 1015 CV Amsterdam

Room:	Vrijburgzaal	Banningzaal
09.00-10.00	Keynote: Bob van der Linden, Independent Scholar, Amsterdam: <i>Music, Culture and Nationalism: India and Empire in Global History</i>	
10.00-10.30	Coffee/Tea	
10.30-12.30	<p>Music and Nationalism in India, Pakistan and Central Asia</p> <p>(Chair: Joep Leerssen)</p> <p>Shobna Nijhawan, York University Toronto: <i>Music and the Nationalization of Hindu Culture in a Hindi literary periodical (1920s-1930s)</i></p> <p>Yousuf Saeed, Independent Scholar and Film Maker, Delhi: <i>The Impact of the 1947 Partition on Classical Music in Pakistan</i></p> <p>Sara Crombach, University of Amsterdam: <i>Uzeyir Hajibeyov's Contribution to National Identity in Azerbaijan</i></p> <p>Artemy M. Kalinovsky, University of Amsterdam: <i>Opera as the Highest Stage of Socialism</i></p>	
12.30-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-15.30	<p>Music and Nationalism in Eastern-Europe</p> <p>(Chair: Krisztina Lajosi-Moore)</p> <p>Rutger Helmers, University of Amsterdam: <i>Rethinking Russian Musical Nationalism through César Cui</i></p>	<p>Early Twentieth-Century Music and Nationalism</p> <p>(Chair: Kasper van Kooten)</p> <p>Benedetta Zucconi, Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG) Mainz: <i>Recorded Music, italianità, and the Appropriation of Culture</i></p>

	<p>Stephen Downes, Royal Holloway University of London: <i>Longing to Belong: Nationalism and Sentimentalism in the Second Violin Concertos of Bartók and Szymanowski</i></p> <p>Claire McGinn, University of York: 'Who are the Balts to us?': 'Estonia's time' and Finno-Ugric modes of seeing in music by Veljo Tormis</p>	<p><i>for Nationalistic Purposes.</i></p> <p>Roberto Scoccimarro, Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln: <i>Leone Sinigaglia's Activity as an Arranger and Composer of Folk Songs in the Context of Nationalist Culture in Italy, 1900-1914.</i></p> <p>Giles Masters, King's College London: 'Ich reise aus, meine Heimat zu entdecken': <i>Remembering Schubert and Discovering Austria in Ernst Krenek's Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen (1929)</i></p>
15.30- 16.30	Closing Drinks	

Abstracts:

Katharine Ellis:

French Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Third Republic's Folk Music Problem

For most of the Third Republic (1870 – 1940), the official French attitude to folk music was one of unease. With its 'crude' instruments, rural dances, lyrics in local languages or dialects, and references to Catholic tradition, folk music challenged several strands of Republican policy. Chief among them was 'unity-in-uniformity' as a necessary condition for a stable national identity. Potentially secessionist regions such as Brittany received aggressive treatment on the premise that non-French ethnic identity was dirty, even revolting: hence the educational reforms of Jules Ferry in the 1880s resulted in schoolroom posters warning that 'Speaking Breton and spitting on the ground are forbidden.'

Some of the most influential cultural-historical work in this area has come from the literature scholar Anne-Marie Thiesse. Her revisionism produces a different picture – of enthusiastic assimilation of pan-French diversity by the Republican centre, detectable in the 1870s and culminating in the 1930s. Based on documentary evidence relating to French Catalonia, Brittany, Provence-Languedoc and Paris, I argue instead that any such assimilation in music was strictly circumscribed, was dependent on use of the French language if it involved a text, and came at the price of infantilization or, at least, trivialization. Moreover, political regionalists (though not ethnic nationalists), were often complicit.

Ultimately, my paper helps explain why French composers from Massenet to Poulenc sought to evoke national identity more via historical-courtly *_topoi_* than folk-like ones, and why in French national terms, folk-based musical expressions of regional identity remained marginal, or oppositional, or both. At the same time, a consideration of this history from the point of view of participants, rather than just commentators, suggests we should be looking for a nuanced and layered account of this powerful vehicle for the expression of belonging.

Biography: Katharine Ellis has held Lectureships at the Open University and Royal Holloway, and chairs at the Universities of London and Bristol. A cultural historian of music in France during the 19th and early 20th centuries, she studies music ranging from medieval plainchant to Stravinsky. She seeks to explain the cultural import of musical tastes and practices, while also asking how those in the art-worlds of music negotiated France's complex aesthetic, social and regulatory frameworks. Her books embrace canon-formation in the press (*Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 1995), the early music revival (*Interpreting the Musical Past*, 2005), and the tangled web of Benedictine musical politics and Church/State relations c.1900 (*The Politics of Plainchant in fin-de-siècle France*, 2013). Her current, Leverhulme-funded project, reappraises the history of French musical life

from provincial viewpoints. In 2006, Katharine became inaugural Director of the Institute of Musical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London. Elected to the Academia Europaea in 2010, she became a Fellow of the British Academy in 2013, and was elected a Member of the American Philosophical Society in 2017.

Graeme Skinner

Australian fugitive pieces: national romanticism, national music, and colonial nationalism

In this presentation, I offer for consideration a selection of short musical case studies, to exemplify ways in which European romantic notions of nation and national music were redeployed in generating a new representative musical economy in the settler colonial context of 19th-century Australia. Objectively, colonial Australia (1788-1900) produced no internationally significant composers or romantic musical works. Much music is lost, and the best local compositions that do survive, even those by notable residents like William Vincent Wallace and Isaac Nathan, are mostly sentimental, patriotic, functional, or fugitive (occasional) pieces. Rather, the distinctive colonial achievement of Australian performers and audiences was in the creative re-mustering of romantic attachments to native and appropriated European national music traditions (especially Irish, English, Scottish, Welsh, and German), the repurposing of imported institutions, and the selective transplantation of imported musical repertoires, thereby engendering a new collective colonial musical sociality, distinctive to place, "the land that we live in". Yet some early possible musical futures were squandered, as, by the second half of the century, the globalizing colonial musical economy was too enthusiastically embracing European imports, classical and popular, while effectively undervaluing new local productions, and systematically overlooking the musical culture of the Indigenous owners of the land. Ultimately, having displaced one ancient musical tradition, and failed as yet to produce an identifiable modern settler Australian national music in its stead, they did at least finish the century by exporting one great colonial musical star, Melba, back to Europe.

Keywords: Australia colonial music, European romantic music in a settler colonial context, national music, romantic nationalism, colonial nationalism, William Vincent Wallace, Isaac Nathan, Nellie Melba

Biography: Dr Graeme Skinner is an independent scholar, musicologist, and historian of Australian music. He is author of the biography *Peter Sculthorpe: the making of an Australian composer* (University of New South Wales Press 2007; new edition 2015), and has published academic book chapters, and peer-reviewed journal articles in both of his ongoing areas of research, the history of Australian music, and the historic polyphonic and plainsong choirbooks of Toledo Cathedral, Spain. He is an Honorary Associate of the University of Sydney at Sydney Conservatorium of Music (<http://sydney.edu.au/music/staff-profiles/graeme.skinner.php>), and is curator of *Australharmony* (<http://sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony>), an online open access resource toward the history of music in colonial and early Federation Australia. Under the username "australharmony", he also

curates a public virtual archive on Australian colonial music inside the National Library of Australia's digital repository Trove (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/result?!-publictag=Australian+colonial+music>), currently consisting of over 11,500 items.

meLê Yamomo

The volatile sonus of the nation: Listening to three shifting "Philippine" regimes in the Philippine Constabulary Band

Fin de siècle Manila was a nexus in the re-imagining of the collapsing archaic Spanish Empire, the American experiment on imperialism, and the embryonic Filipino modern nation-state. In this paper, the three different stages in the history of the military in the Philippines will be analyzed: its entanglements with the archaic Spanish empire, its role in the assertion of the first Philippine nation-state, and its part in the US imperialist agenda. Within these historical contexts, I will investigate the Filipino military musicians whose soni and embodiment of modernities became the very juncture where simultaneous claims and contestations of national, imperial, and global imaginings of modernity were silenced and resounded. In investigating these sonic assertions of empire and nations, I propose the framework of "Anthropology of Sound" which I synaesthetically draw from Hans Belting's (2001, 2005) iconology theory to map the relationship of the sound medium, the body, and the sonus. In this methodology, I tune-in to the sonic investigation of the act of embodied and mediated listening and performance of sound to analyze the movements of ideas between bodies and music as media.

Rachel Campbell

The transnational sounds of settler society nationalism: Peter Sculthorpe's "truly Australian" music

In the decades after World War Two musical commentators in Australia, like those of several other British-derived settler societies such as Canada and New Zealand, articulated what they felt was an urgent need for the development of national musical styles. As their nations' identities shifted from pre-war Dominion status as outposts of Empire to relatively more independent membership of the British Commonwealth, something of a crisis of national representation intensified in music. In Australia, this resulted in the folk revival of the 1950s in which leftist writers and musicians selectively anthologised a partly forgotten repertoire of colonial folk songs. At the same time, art music commentators bemoaned what they felt was the lack of a distinctive national style although many nodded to an isolated piece, John Antill's ballet *Corroboree* (1946/1950), as a step in the right direction.

The composer who most successfully took up this challenge was Peter Sculthorpe, still considered Australia's most prominent composer of national music. The works Sculthorpe initially wrote and which he promoted as "truly Australian" drew on a variety of transnational gestures. As such, their construction as Australian was a delicate performance. Sculthorpe initially followed Antill in a strategy prominent across settler-society

art forms, developing national art through representation of local indigenous people; the long-standing indigenous culture and its relationship with the land substituting for the relatively short duration of settler occupation.

The familiar auto-exoticisation evident in many nationalisms was also an exoticisation of colonialism's Indigenous Other. However, its musical means were drawn from another historical origin of the settler-Australian Self, the cultural heritage of the European metropolises. Thus the musical gestures of Sculthorpe's early work – Bartókian rhythm and harmony, semitonal inflections and 1960s eastern European texturalism – were able to connote both the settlers' fabled loneliness in the outback and the 'strangeness' of both the Indigene and Australia itself. Simultaneously, Sculthorpe, like so many national composers, needed an artistic Other against which to constitute the Self, and for him this Other was certain European styles and aesthetics such as serialism that he frequently stated were not "appropriate" to Australia, but rather oppositional to his own music.

This paper will analyse the set of seemingly paradoxical binary constructions underpinning Sculthorpe's early response to the settler-society dilemma of a perceived lack of distinctive settler musical heritage. Divergences from similar issues of centre and periphery in Romantic nationalisms will be examined as well as the multiple transnational dimensions of Sculthorpe's national project.

Shensi Yi

Rivalry on another Front: the Musical, the Musician and the Parties in 1940s China

This paper examines the fate of a popular musical in mid-1940s Shanghai, which vividly reflects not only the winding path of a Russian musician's realization of his ideal but also the drastic rivalry on another front between the two main parties: the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Guomindang (GMD). The popular musical, "Meng Jiangnü" (孟姜女), was composed by the Russian musician Aaron Avshalomov. Based on traditional Chinese folk-themes and songs, it uniquely merged Chinese and western elements. Both the CCP and the GMD supported this piece of music by providing performers and funds; both aimed to bring the musical to the world, winning the hearts and minds of the people at home and abroad. The parties each established troupes in Shanghai and obtained the support of influential figures such as Soong Ching-ling (宋庆龄) and Soong Mei-ling (宋美龄) as their respective patrons. Meanwhile, the musical appealed to the concerns of the U.S. side; it acquired the appreciation and encouragement of A.C. Wedemeyer, precipitating the musician's long-cherished American dream. By endeavoring to control the performance as well as modifying several details, the two political parties transformed this musical into a vehicle for their own respective propagandas. They manipulated the plot of "Meng Jiangnü" (孟姜女) to convey their own images, ideologies, and political values internationally. Ultimately, the Russian composer had a negligible role as a result of the escalation of the armed conflict between the CCP and the GMD. This case provides a particular example of the way in which the party rivalry influenced the art of 1940s China, and its fatal effects upon one immigrant musician, his music and dream.

Cho, You-Kyung

Transnationalism out of Nationalistic Musical Elements : To the Cultural Hybridity in Korean Contemporary Art Music

Musical ontology has been recognized in the process of merging *Style* into *Idea*, to be precise ideological aesthetic context that allows having a universal musical unity. However, the liberal and national movement in the late 19th century affected on musical nationalism, causing a breakthrough of the border of German-centered musical ontology. Correspondingly, from 1860s, Eastern and Northern Europe began to establish their own national identity in music. In the musical sense, they attempted to apply nationalistic features into Romantic musical expression. The idea was achieved by using folk tunes, borrowing the style of church music, or deconstructing tonality, etc.

Currently, however, expanding the borderline of geographical space, musical nationalism appears as disguised form such as cultural hybridity between Western Art Music (WAM) and Eastern Orientalism. As composers seek for a tangible solution to negotiate such cultural differences, another type of facet has emerged; which is, appearing the shift of a geographic centralism as well as the shift of the power holding hegemony from the elite to the public. Noting the elucidation of “Transnationalism from below” by Sarah J. Mahler, it creates “a new social space” shared by ordinary people and they “exercise power that transcends national boundaries.” (Sarah J, Mahler, 1998)

Within the framework of the above concept of “Transnationalism”, this paper demonstrates the modality of “Transnationalism” by focusing on hybrid factors in one of Korean contemporary composers, Tae-Bong Chung’s symphonic poems. In fact, Chung’s pieces are often commissioned for public occasions and he frequently utilizes Korean traditional folk tunes in his symphonic poems. Moreover, he prefers to title them from geographical sources. Using Korean sonority as a theme, a melody or motives, he asserts that his music is *not* nationalistic.

In order to clarify how Chung’s music could transcend nationalism, firstly I will attempt to position his symphonic poems in the sphere of the tradition of Western symphonic poems. Liszt’s programmatic symphonic poems were received in many different ways later on in some European countries such as the Czech, Germany, Finland, and Russia. Composers such as Smetana and Sibelius represent nationalistic ideas in their works. Meanwhile, composers like Richard Strauss, expanding the dimension of program music, consider ideological and psychological description in their symphonic poems. As such, there have been countless attempts to expand the border of symphonic poem.

Secondly, I will analyze Tae-Bong Chung’s symphonic poem “*Youngsan-gang (Youngsan River)*” (2011) to see how its program and the folk tune “*Nongbu-ga (Farmer Song)*” that is a typical folksong developed in past agricultural society play a role in his music. Chung often quotes a Korean traditional folksong in his orchestral works, but simultaneously adopts the form of WAM as a musical structure. This process of hybridity will be confirmed through this case study and show how nationalistic musical elements can be interpreted as transnationalism.

Matthew Riley

Popular and canonical nationalism in Edward Elgar's choral cantatas

Elgar's choral cantatas engage cultural nationalism through a diverse range of forms, modes, occasions, dedications and locations. Elgar drew on legends of ancient British heroes and their sacrifices (*Caractacus*, 1898) but also borrowed themes from German opera and choral music with nationalist associations (*The Black Knight*, 1893; *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf*, 1896). *Caractacus* was dedicated to Queen Victoria; *The Banner of St George* (1897) celebrated her Diamond Jubilee; *Coronation Ode* (1902) marked the crowning of Edward VII; while *The Spirit of England* (1915) commemorated fallen soldiers of the Great War. Elgar later arranged its final movement, 'For the Fallen', for open-air performance at Armistice Day at the Whitehall Cenotaph. Some pieces were composed for amateur choral societies and sold well, while others challenged even the finest choruses of the day with virtuoso writing. The compositional style ranges from the indigenous English part-song tradition to progressive harmony and tonality that indicate Elgar's Wagnerian artistic ambitions. The sentiments expressed in these pieces range from the patriotic and imperialist to the melancholic and the spiritual, sometimes in the same composition. The themes of the cantatas reflect the restrictions on Elgar's career development as he was forced to abandon the London scene in favour of commissions from provincial choral festivals and eventually royal patronage through the court connections of rural West Midlands society.

The patriotic sentiments found in some of these pieces are well known, but deeper analysis in terms of cultural nationalism is lacking. For instance, while musicologists have noticed the jingoistic sentiments of the final chorus of *Caractacus*, they have not placed its triumphant celebration of the synthesis of Roman and British cultures in the context of Walter Scott's enormously influential novels, or in the tradition of north-European primitivism that Joep Leerssen traces back to the Renaissance reception of Tacitus. Moreover, the echoes in *The Black Knight* of Robert Schumann's cantata *Des Sängers Fluch* and the affinity of *King Olaf* with the many late nineteenth-century German cantatas on St Boniface's conversion of Germany to Christianity have gone unremarked. Finally, *The Banner of St George*, *Coronation Ode* and *The Spirit of England* develop aspects of 'missionary' or 'covenantal' nationalism in the era of British imperialism, drawing especially on the idioms of Wagner's *Parsifal*.

More than any other composer of European art music, Elgar's personal style was shaped around the musical vocabulary of the 'commemorative cycle'—to adopt a phrase of the late Anthony D. Smith—and this meant that the musical realizations of his texts continually invite nationalist interpretations. Elgar's application of this style ranges from the crude to the subtle, the latter arising especially when he leaves ambiguity about whether the celebratory or mournful sides of the cycle are realized.

Ross Cole

'The Natural Musical Idiom of a National Will'? Vernacular Song and the Folkloric Imagination in England at the Fin de Siècle

Concentrating on the period 1890–1915 in England, this paper will bring to the fore hitherto neglected voices of dissent along with discrepancies between vernacular song culture and the speculative theorizing of folksong enthusiasts grounded in nationalism, primitivism, and evolutionary

philosophy. By tracing the contours of this discourse I want to draw attention to what I term the ‘folkloric imagination’—a modern nexus of ideas grounded in colonialism, nationalism, and nineteenth-century theories of evolution that have generated systematic misreadings of cultural practice. Although folkloric epistemology was vehemently contested by several contemporaneous writers and never employed by those very individuals branded as ‘the folk’, misreadings of ballad origins were disseminated and institutionalized during this period by dominant figures with agendas and anxieties peculiar to the *fin de siècle*. These collectors, I argue, acted as gates through which ‘folk’ culture had to pass in order to be recognized as such, reifying and reclassifying selected aspects of vernacular music. Positioned as a balm for cosmopolitanism, mass consumption, racial degeneration, and the inexorable onslaught of modernity, the talismanic ‘folk’ of this revivalist imagination were temporal anachronisms—living analogues of a colonialist mentality conjured up via the discursive strategies that claimed merely to describe them. Assertions by figures such as Hubert Parry and Cecil Sharp constituted national identity by vicariously defending their own values seen reflected in a subaltern milieu denied a voice of its own. Folksong, I show, is thus a series of profoundly political disagreements and contingencies masquerading as an apolitical universal.

Biography: Ross Cole is currently a Junior Research Fellow at the University of Cambridge, where he was previously Temporary Lecturer in 20th / 21st-Century Music. He holds a PhD entitled ‘Ballads, Blues, and Alterity’ from the University of Cambridge, an MRes in American experimentalism from the University of York, and an MA from the University of Oxford, where he received the Gibbs Prize. His work appears or is forthcoming in the *Journal of the Society for American Music*, *Twentieth-Century Music*, *Music & Letters*, the *Journal of Musicology*, and the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*.

Ryan Weber

Cosmopolitanism and Its Nationalist Discontents: Grainger and the fin-de-siècle Search for Belonging

In his radio broadcast on 20 June 1933, Grainger provocatively questioned the limits of universality, stating: “We often hear people talk of music as a universal language. I always wonder what they mean, for I can only see that music, as it is practised throughout the White Man’s world, is the *least* universal of all the arts.” This candid admission is followed by a thorough survey of marked traits from music across the globe. Thus, on the surface, Grainger appears to challenge the hegemonic power of Continental influences in shaping the classical canon. He seems to argue for a wider breath of inspiration, especially when he claims “The only European music that is well known in our [American] concert halls is that composed between 1700 and 1900 in Italy, Austria, Germany and Russia.” Elsewhere he similarly proclaimed, “Music will someday become a ‘universal language’. But it will not become so as long as our musical vision is limited to the output of four European countries.”

However, appearances can be deceiving. This is no less the case for Grainger, whose calls for greater inclusivity are marred by his frequent and consistent praise of the Nordic “race.” Of the many logical fallacies that spring forth between these positions, Grainger’s penchant for marking so-called national traits in music by Nordic composers is of particular note, for such statements often emerge amidst his efforts to realign the work

of perceived peripheral cultures in the hope of achieving a universal (unmarked) modernist style. This ideological slight of hand demands that we ask: How could one participate in the act of creating boundaries of belonging while simultaneously transcending them? How can we understand these competing focal points to be complementary? If we can nationalize folk music for the purpose of connecting the local to the universal, then can we “cosmopolitanize” similar material for the same reason? Indeed, many have assumed that cosmopolitanism shifts the frame of reference outward (beyond the nation) while nationalism draws the focus inward. However, Grainger’s appropriation of the Nordic race in order to construct a multivalent aesthetic at the end of the long nineteenth century calls into question the limits of an imagined community as it problematizes the creation of borders in service of a cosmopolitan discourse.

Therefore, in this study, I will deconstruct Grainger’s shifting definitions of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Using the work of Gillies, Pear, Beck, Delanty, and Malachuk as points of departure, I will explore Grainger’s means for negotiation their constituent boundaries as a critical point of entry for evaluating 1) the modes of universality claimed by cosmopolitan and national artists; 2) the limits of cohesion afforded by both movements; and 3) the latent exclusivity that animated various forms of cultural mediation. I will argue that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are not compatible simply because of their similar embrace of (often false modes of) universality, but mutually affirming because of their analogous *limitations and powers of exclusivity*.

Xavier Andreu-Miralles

Between Exoticism, Nationalism and the "Fear" of Popular Success. Spanish Music in the Romantic Era

At the mid-nineteenth century there were in Spain a clear sense of national musicality. Spanish *national airs* were remarkably popular and requested by the audiences both in Spain and abroad. They were widely used in lyrical singing and zarzuelas (a kind of lyric comedy inspired by French *vaudeville*). Paradoxically, at this same moment, most peninsular musicians were extremely concerned with the fate of the Spanish music. They used to complain about the perverse influence of these same (national and international) audiences for the development of an *actual* national music: characterized by a national opera and by a more "serious" and "elevated" music than the one normally associated with these *national airs*.

My presentation will try to shed light on this paradox by considering three interrelated issues. Firstly, it will highlight the transnational dimension of the construction of a Spanish national (and exotic) music in the era of romanticism. Since the last decades of the eighteenth century, some rhythms, tunes or dances were increasingly associated with a "national style", both in Spain and abroad. Nevertheless, it was in the first decades of the nineteenth century, in the context of the rise of nationalism and romanticism, and in the framework of the European fascination with "Romantic Spain", when the main features of the Spanish *national airs* were definitively set in a complex dialogue between European musicians who had fallen in love with a supposedly exotic and oriental land and Spanish musicians (most of them, liberal exiles) living and working abroad (Parakilas, 1998; Alonso, 2001, 2010).

Secondly, the crisis of the old patronage system and, especially, the Church music in the 1830s had also decisive consequences for the Spanish musicians. They had to rely upon a still fragile music market that grew fastly since the end of that decade: private concerts and *soirées*, sheet musics

for private use, music cafés, lyrics, etc. Spanish *national airs*, closely associated with light and comedy music, became extremely popular in all these new spaces of musical entertainment, conditioning the professional career and the musical production of most Spanish composers of the time. Finally, in my presentation I will explore the consequences (both openings and constraints) that these two processes had for Spanish musicians: the possibility of being singularly recognized in the vast ocean of European "national musics" and of making a living in the aftermath of the Old Regime; but also the difficulties to build a "serious", "high" and "modern" music upon *national airs* that had been associated since the beginning with "light", "low" and "primitive" music.

Biography: Xavier Andreu-Miralles is PhD in Contemporary History. He has specialized in the cultural history of the Spanish nation between 1750 and 1850. His research interests are the transnational dimension of the nation-building processes, the relevance of nation to Spanish nineteenth-century political cultures, and the links between national identity and other social identities like ethnic and gender ones. He is the author of *El descubrimiento de España. Mito romántico e identidad nacional* (2016), dealing with the influence of the "romantic myth" of Spain in the construction of Spanish national identity.

Rui Pinto Magno

Symphonic rhapsodies and paraphrases as tokens of Portuguese musical nationalism

Amidst the political-motivated movement of "national consciousness" which arose in the *fin-de-siècle* – profusely fostered since the celebrations, in 1880, of the third century of the death of Camões, the author of the epic poem *Lusíadas*, and deeply nurtured by the social upsurge against England, which forced the Portuguese Crown, through an ultimatum, in 1890, to discard its pretensions on the African Colonies – the quest to ascertain a "Portuguese music" arose within composers, musicians and critics of Lisbon's musical *milieu*. Just after the upgrowth of symphonic concerts within Lisbon's musical venues, which struggled to impose over a long-termed preference for opera, the attempts for a "Portuguese music" offered by Lisbon's composers was coincidentally offered among those artistic genres. In spite of the idiosyncrasies of opera and instrumental music, the notions shared by several critics were, *mutatis mutandis*, much the same and was taken accordingly to the most renowned trends and examples of European "nationalistic schools", which was by that time included on Lisbon's concert programming. Focusing on Alfredo Keil's *Dona Branca*, Greenfield de Melo (1893) noted that a national opera should grasp not only a Portuguese *libretto*, wrote by a indigenous authour on national themes, but the Portuguese music, specifically, the popular songs (i.e., folk songs, distinct from the "popularized" themes) – which was recollected since the second quarter of the century – that retained the most "pure" and authentic aspects of "Portuguese music". Júlio Neuparth also ascertained that the resource to (that "invented") "tradition" was, due to the "purity" of that ancient and nearly untouched musical legacy, the most promising method to achieve the "essence" of a Portuguese "nationalistic" compositional school. In what concerns instrumental music, it was indeed Neuparth which credited the successful attempts of a foreign composer, Victor Hussla: although the previous use of folk songs among

opera and instrumental music by Portuguese composers, it was the notorious symphonic treatment of those musical materials, withdrawn from *Album de Músicas nacionais portuguesas* collected by João António Ribas c. 1857, which made Hussla's *Rhapsodies*, op. 9 as a seminal work of "Portuguese music". It is fair to argue that Neuparth was stating as well, with that specific legitimation, the need to reformulate the far outdated pedagogical methods of the Portuguese institutions. On the following years, Sousa Morais, Filipe da Silva, Júlio Neuparth, António da Costa Ferreira, Ernesto Maia and others chose specific paratactic genres, such as the rhapsodie and paraphrase, to display their symphonic treatment of Portuguese "popular songs"; however, their works never achieved the recognition granted to Hussla's op. 9: while Hussla's *Rhapsodies* are currently accounted for on recent academic studies, the works by his followers – most of them constituted a common *corpus* exhibited by wind-bands during the twentieth-century - remain still unnoticed.

The present paper aims to discuss the influence of the ongoing upgrowth of a symphonic culture within Lisbon's musical *praxis* in the choice for those paratactic genres and specific compositional strategies to fulfill the need for the characteristics of a "Portuguese music" as well as to address the reception of its tokens on Lisbon's musical *milieu*. While the choice for the rhapsodie proceeds, certainly, from obvious sources, such as Liszt's *Rhapsodies Hongroises*, Lalo's *Rhapsodie Norvégienne*, among others, the choice for the genre paraphrase is still unclear and requires a thorough study. Current studies have argued that some Portuguese composers, most notably Luís de Freitas Branco, took as methods for their composition the study of the most renowned works of consecrated European composers, most certainly due to the anachronic compositional methods of Portuguese pedagogical institutions. Therefore, it seems to be worth identifying presumable correlations between the symphonic treatment of popular song in some of the works presented in Lisbon at the time and the works of Hussla, Neuparth, Ferreira, Silva and Morais, as an attempt to suffice the lack of their compositional background.

Biography: Rui Pinto Magno (*1980), member of the Research Center for Studies in Sociology and Musical Aesthetics (CESEM), is currently attending his PhD in Musicology in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the NOVA University (FCSH-UNL). His doctoral dissertation, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and supervised by Prof. Dr. Paulo Ferreira de Castro, discusses the "upgrowth of a symphonic culture in Lisbon between 1846 and 1911". Rui Magno Pinto concluded in 2010 in the same institution his MA in Musicology with a dissertation on virtuosity in wind-instrument *praxis* in Lisbon between 1821 and 1870. In 2007 he concluded his degree in Musicology. Rui Magno Pinto was a fellow researcher on the following projects funded by FCT and held at CESEM: "The S. Carlos Theater: the performing arts in Portugal" (October 2007 to October 2010) and "Musical Heritage of the Jorge Álvares Foundation – the musical collection of Filipe de Sousa" (July to November 2011).

Isabel Pina

"*Viriato: a nationalist symphonic-poem by Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955)*"

Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955), one of the most recognized Portuguese composers of the first half of the twentieth-century, is described, in one hand, as a modernist, as the main responsible for the introduction, in Portugal, of impressionist, symbolist, and even expressionist aesthetic tendencies. On the other hand, and concerning some of his works from the 1920s onwards, Freitas Branco is mentioned as one of the most convict defenders of a new classicism, which attracted followers as Joly Braga Santos (1924-1988), Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos (1910-1974) and Armando José Fernandes (1906-1983), among other relevant personalities.

Given that Luís de Freitas Branco was and still is described as nationalist, one of the most important moments for the construction of his ideologies was his connection with Integralismo Lusitano, during part of the decades of 1910 and 1920. This movement, created during the first years of the 1910s by a group of anti-republican Portuguese college students, and seen, by a few scholars, as an inspiration for the Estado Novo ideology, stood for an antiparliamentary and anticonstitutional monarchy, fighting for such values as family, hierarchy, tradition, as well as for the defense of the Portuguese past and identity. During the first years of this monarchic and strongly nationalist movement, Luís de Freitas Branco was the only composer related to it, who participated in several of its activities and propaganda, with conferences (in 1915), press articles (in *A Monarquia: diário integralista da tarde*, Integralismo Lusitano's daily newspaper), and musical works, such as *Viriato* (1916), *Concerto para violino e orquestra* (1916), *Balada para piano e orquestra* (1917), *Canto do Mar* (1918) and *1ª Suite Alentejana* (1919).

The symphonic poem *Viriato*, based on the tale *Funerais de Viriato* written by Hipólito Raposo, was premiered in February 1917. The tale narrates the moment when Viriato's army perceives his death, describing the funeral ceremonies of the military hero, leader of the Lusitanian people, who fought, in the North of the current Portuguese territory, the Roman expansion. Analysing this particular symphonic poem, according to the ideals of the movement and the literary source and contextualizing it in the contemporary work by Luís de Freitas Branco, the main purpose of this presentation is to understand how can a musical work as the symphonic poem *Viriato* reflect the ideals of a political movement as Integralismo Lusitano.

Keywords: Luís de Freitas Branco, Integralismo Lusitano, *Viriato*, ideology, nationalism

Biography: Isabel Pina is a PhD student in Historical Musicology with a doctoral fellowship at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Lisbon.

Vera Wolkowicz

'*Nationalizing the Continent*': *National and Continental Discourses in Latin American Art Music at the beginnings of the Twentieth Century (1900-1930)*

Around the Centennial celebrations of Independence in Latin America, elite groups started to construct and consolidate those symbols that would shape the identities of these young nation-states. In music, composers dealt with two different aesthetics: 'nationalist' and 'universalist'. For Latin American composers, to write 'universal' music actually meant to follow the forms and structures of German, French and/or Italian art music. The ones who chose to incorporate national elements also thought that by composing national music they would reach universality, i.e., their

particularities would give them the possibility to be included in a much greater canon. However, music national elements had to be chosen from different folk and popular sources which, more often than not, sounded 'exotic' or 'alien' to an elite audience, bred within a socio-cultural European scope.

In the search for a national music, composers, music critics and other intellectuals begun to talk interchangeably of national and continental music. Their discourses showed that the national character of each country also represented the spirit of the whole continent. However, the continent meant different things, which included, and also excluded different countries. The different languages and cultural differences with North America and Brazil (excluding the intricacies of the Caribbean) made the idea of a continental unity based on common grounds quite difficult to materialize. Moreover, the colonial attitude of the United States, generated the rejection of several intellectuals from the Southern hemisphere who opposed to this country's inclusion when defining a continental unity. In this exclusion and inclusion game, terms like Pan-Americanism, Latin Americanism, Americanism, appeared as different ways in which the continent was defined. Moreover, during the first decades of the twentieth century, there was an archaeological craze on Inca and Aztec studies that intended to compare and show the importance of these ancient civilizations with those from the other side of the world, like the Greek and Egyptian. These studies became the cornerstones on the quest for a national/continental art music, intensified by the ideas discussed by Oswald Spengler in his famous book *The decline of the West* in the aftermath of World War I.

In this paper I will present three case studies from Argentina, Peru and Ecuador. Composers of these countries sought to find a continental Latin American unity through the music of the past that represented their nations, but also transcended them. In these three cases composers found in the Incan culture a way to symbolise something that was national and at the same time continental, connecting their nation with other countries of a similar heritage. Thus, art music flourished in the form of operas, symphonies and chamber music. However, the instability of this nationalist tendency did not reach the category of 'national' music, leaving this term to popular music genres that without intending to be nationalistic, became national.

Biography: Vera Wolkowicz is currently a PhD Candidate at the University of Cambridge focusing on Latin American musical nationalisms during the first decades of the twentieth century. In 2009 she won a scholarship from the National Library of Argentina to study the intersections between music and national identity in Argentina during the 1920s.

Emily MacGregor

'I don't get any kick out of so-called European modern composers...': Pan American Imaginaries in Aaron Copland's Short Symphony

U.S. composer Aaron Copland's *Short Symphony* (1931-3) negotiates a charged intersection of nationalist musical discourses, harnessing – and subverting – a genre that has been intimately packaged-up with nationalist agendas since at least the nineteenth century. Partly composed in Mexico during Copland's stay as Mexican composer/conductor Carlos Chávez's guest from late 1932 to 1933, and premiered under Chávez in Mexico City in 1934, I argue that *Short Symphony* focuses Copland's engagement in mutual musical, intellectual, and political exchange with Chávez and Mexico, overlooked in previous readings of the symphony. Copland had even initially adopted Chávez's imaginatively evocative proposed title, 'The Bounding Line'. Correspondence from this time indicates that the two men were preoccupied with breaking away from Europe, together developing an American modernist aesthetics fostered by a short-lived political and intellectual climate of North-South American admiration and solidarity. Although the roughly 1920s U.S. 'vogue of things Mexican' (Helen Delpar) formed an initial cultural backdrop to their friendship, as the 1930s progressed, the era's Pan Americanist politics became increasingly explicit: F.D.R.'s administration prioritised the strengthening of economic and cultural ties between North and South America. For all its socially utopian aspirations, then, Pan Americanism's cultural-political agenda was characterised by unequal power relations that privileged the North.

'Lurking in the background' of the Pan American movement, however, was the spectre of Europe, as Carol Hess has observed. This paper takes *Short Symphony* as a starting point for investigating a multi-dimensional network of transnational cultural, aesthetic, and political interactions, drawing on extensive archival research. Building on work by Hess and Stephanie Stallings on musical Pan Americanism, I show how Copland, Chávez, and the work both resist and rearticulate uneven distributions of power within the era's evolving Pan American relations. In the spotlight are pressing questions about how the U.S.'s cultural hegemony plays out in Copland's relationship with Mexico; just out of focus are preoccupations with Europe's global dominance in politics and culture. If *Short Symphony*'s spare chamber-like textures, classical formal balance, and balletic sense of movement epitomised what Hess has described as 'ur-classicism' – a Pan American aesthetic movement that referenced ancient Aztec and Mayan classical ideals – it nonetheless also recalled European and specifically Stravinskian neoclassicism. And as Europe haunted the politically inspired Pan Americanist project, it also haunted the *idea* of the symphony as a cultural form in the Americas. The symphonic genre drew attention to Germany's centrality in music-historical narratives. This paper, then, explores from different angles how Copland's *Short Symphony* underlines anxieties about the European musical inheritance of U.S. composers, and reveals how Pan American engagements channelled an inseparable set of contemporary concerns about transnationalism, modernist aesthetics, and power.

Stuart Campbell

Musical nationalism – between intention and reception, between nation and state: the case of Scotland

In the nineteenth century consciousness of national identity grew apace in many European communities and found political expression in varying degrees across the continent. The unification of Germany and Italy and the aspiration of Czechs, Finns, Poles and others to become independent of multi-national empires are components of this phenomenon. Artists found ways of voicing these attitudes, and some of their works in turn reinforced the attitudes in others.

But while the phenomenon as such was widespread, the ambitions were not uniform and the artistic results varied extensively in approach and nature. This paper examines the case of Scotland. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that nation with a long independent history was joined in a union with England, Ireland and Wales. In the nineteenth century, when polemics and disputes around nationalism were at their height in parts of mainland Europe, there is little evidence of an equivalent awareness, far less of action, in Scotland. The reasons for this will be explored briefly.

The kind of musical nationalism which consists in drawing on the nation's history for subjects and on folk music for musical motives is, however, present, and in the orchestral rhapsodies composed between 1879 and 1911 by A.C. MacKenzie (1847-1935) it provides an opportunity to explore the issues which occupy so much attention in the musical historiography of other nations. When Mackenzie used Scottish material he was colouring a cosmopolitan musical language with something of his own Scottish heritage. When the compositions were heard in Scottish cities they were identified as something native – what might be called 'local cultural nationalism'. Yet when heard elsewhere, including London, the imperial capital, they were experienced as something exotic, or perhaps as 'tourist nationalism'.

The Irish Rhapsodies written in the first two decades of the twentieth century by the Ulsterman Charles V. Stanford (1852-1924) will be taken as a point of comparison. Like MacKenzie, Stanford had long ago settled in London but continued to remember his roots.

This paper considers some of these seeming contradictions, and tries to reconcile these compositions with the standard framework of nationalism in music.

Elizabeth Ford

Not Scottish Enough?: The flute's place in Scottish music

The flute's exclusion from most histories of Scottish music, and also from the pantheon of Scottish instruments, is of interest to considerations of national music, especially given that the transverse flute was one of the most popular instruments in eighteenth-century Scotland. Due to long-held and frequently inaccurate perceptions that the flute was primarily a gentleman's instrument, it has been thought of only as a solo or concert instrument with exclusively sonatas or concertos as its repertoire. Yet, there is evidence that it was also played by lower-class men in more

'traditional' settings. This evidence is, however, consistently ignored in writing about Scottish traditional music, which always favours the bagpipe and the fiddle. Much of the music published in Scotland in the eighteenth century was national music, and scored for the flute. It is perhaps that the flute, as primarily a concert instrument in the nineteenth century, was not seen as Scottish enough in the Walter Scott-influenced reinvention of Scotland.

This paper will explore the idea of nationalism in Scottish music in the eighteenth century, how it relates to instruments commonly used in Scottish traditional music, and how it relates to concepts of nationalism in Scottish music today.

Katharine Uhde

Rediscovering two lost Works: Joseph Joachim's Hungarian and Irish Fantasies

Joseph Joachim, of Hungarian-Jewish descent, was the nineteenth century's preeminent violinist who spent the majority of his career in Hannover and Berlin. He toured the whole of Europe, from Ireland and England in the West to Russia in the East. When Joachim died in 1907, he was mourned as one of the greatest Beethoven interpreters of the 19th century and key collaborator of Brahms's. However, for a brief period in the 1850s, he was also an aspiring composer. As a composer he was a musical nationalist, and also a composer of national music. A Hungarian musical nationalist, he composed, in 1850, the *Fantasy on Hungarian Motives*. A composer of national music, he composed, in 1852, the *Fantasy on Irish Motives*. These fantasies were performed in some of Joachim's most significant concerts, such as at the London Philharmonic Society and reviewed in *The Musical Times*. However, the highly evocative fantasias were promptly put aside by the composer himself after their premieres. Moreover, at the end of the 1850s Joachim suddenly stopped composing and his aesthetic ideals radically altered. Some of his music had been published during the 1850s and later, and is today fairly well known, for example the *Three Pieces Op. 5* and the "Hungarian" Violin Concerto. However, the two above-mentioned fantasias have been lost since the end World War II, hidden away in a library in Lodz, Poland. In the course of my research for a book, *The Music of Joseph Joachim* (Boydell & Brewer, under contract), I have rediscovered these long-forgotten pieces. This is an interesting discovery because it overturns common conceptions not only about Joachim as a musician and the aesthetics associated with his performance style, but also of him as a composer. His aesthetics as a performer typically evoke absolute music and formalism, in other words, anything but music nationalism and national music. And whereas one of the published compositions (the "Hungarian" concerto) does have a national topic, the majority of Joachim's more widely known compositions do not. Pairing virtuosity and nationalism in the early 1850s, as Joachim did in the fantasias, is as far removed as it could possibly be from the violinist's later aesthetic agenda. In my presentation I first sketch the history of the manuscripts and their curious journey to Lodz, Poland. Secondly, I will describe and briefly analyze the music in terms of its nationalism and nationalist meaning. Thirdly, I will relate these compositions to similar compositions by Ernst and other virtuoso violinist-composers not typically associated with Joachim. My conclusion is that the two fantasias dramatically shift the aesthetic associations we typically have of Joachim. There is a need to revise

our understanding, at least with respect of Joachim as a composer of the 1850s. If history has conflated Joachim the performer with Joachim the composer, it is high time to separate the mature violin icon and “ideal” interpreter of Beethoven from the young composer and his early forays in musical nationalism and national music.

Douglas W. Shadle

Dvořák and the Contests over American National Identity.

This paper presents a densely textured context for understanding Antonín Dvořák’s well-known controversial statement in May 1893 that slave spirituals (or “Negro melodies”) should form the basis of a national American compositional style. When he arrived in the United States a few months earlier, he was only dimly aware that debates about national styles had been raging throughout the country for decades. In fact, at least four general approaches to national musical identity had coalesced among classical music critics and composers by 1893:

- 1) American composers should write in the prevailing classical (i.e., “German”) tradition because it was “universal;”
- 2) American composers should write in the progressive Wagnerian vein of composition because it was “modern;”
- 3) American composers should write music in a style that captures the political “essence” of the United States;
- 4) American composers should incorporate folk tunes or elements into their compositions in order to create a national style.

Advocates of the first three did not consider musical *style* the central source of musical *identity*. Dvořák’s prescription, of course, most closely aligned with the final approach. But Dvořák’s pronouncements and the publicity surrounding them essentially changed the terms of debate by emphasizing style over all other sources of musical identity. The subsequent surge of focus on style re-aligned debate participants into two broad camps, “nationalists” and “universalists,” and thus set up Richard Taruskin’s famous “double bind”—that “nationalists” were relegated to second-rate status as composers but rose to that rank only by virtue of being nationalists.

The first part of this paper introduces the figures who adopted or advocated for each of the four approaches to American national musical identity described above. Then I show how this multiplicity of perspectives became refracted through the intellectual lens of the folk-oriented approach in the months following Dvořák’s pronouncement. To conclude, I introduce the voices of African American critics and musicians, whose marginalized legal and cultural status ensured that they experienced Taruskin’s “double bind” more keenly than their white counterparts. Predictably, critics of the early twentieth century hailed white champions of Dvořák’s ideas as nationalist pioneers while diminishing or ignoring the contributions of African Americans.

Full Panel Title: 'Music Publishing and (Trans)Nationalism: the French Édition classique Durand (c. 1915–25) of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Piano Repertoire'

Introduction

This themed panel session focuses upon some of the early research findings revealed by a UK AHRC-funded research project: 'Accenting the Classics Durand's Édition classique (c. 1915–25) as a French Prism on the Musical Past' (2016–19), based at Birmingham Conservatoire, in collaboration with the Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester. The project aims to investigate, both musically and culturally, the national and transnational 'accent' created by a substantial French multi-edition series of European piano/keyboard music, which began publication near the start of World War I.

Whilst at one level concerned with French 'musical nationalism' concentric around Paris (in the early years of modernism, along lines of the classic nationalist theorist Ernest Gellner), this session will serve particularly to exemplify the second conference theme that 'Nothing is as transnational as nationalism'. An initial contextualisation of the Parisian wartime music publishing culture is followed by an overview of the early years of Durand's edition, its principles, cultural networks and canonical dynamics. The second half of the session comprises two more specific music editorial case studies that also negotiate the territory from a 'French on French' accent, through to more complex trans/international constructions.

Rachel Moore

Paper 1: *Marketing National Identity: 'French' Editions and the Mobilisation of Music Publishing, 1914–1918*

This opening paper engages explicitly with the national–transnational perspective by considering the reception and role of editions of Austro-German music within French editorship, concert programming and musicology during wartime. The market for musical editions in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was heavily dominated by Austro-German editions. However, with the outbreak of World War I, such domination became problematic. A law banning commercial transactions with enemy companies left German editions in short supply, and an unwritten 'moral' code made purchasing one 'unpatriotic' or 'inappropriate'. Legal, economic and moral factors combined to transform longstanding feelings of cultural inferiority into cultural rivalry, especially since the market for Austro-German classics remained buoyant. Leading Parisian firms, such as Durand, focussed on producing new editions of such works, so important to French musical life and education, with series titled as specifically 'national' collections.

These publishing projects are examined, as a form of cultural rivalry and wartime musical propaganda that aimed to claim back market space from German publishers. Such 'national' editions allowed Austro-German composers to be remade as international figures with whom French culture could assert strong association, reflecting a wider early twentieth-century phenomenon of French publications on Austro-German musicians that includes Romain Rolland's *Beethoven* (1903), Jean Chantavoine's *Beethoven* biography (1907) and Julien Tiersot's *Beethoven: Musicien*

de la Révolution française (1910). Thus this paper highlights how, perhaps ironically, editions of music by Austro-German composers formed a crucial part of French musical propaganda initiatives during the war.

Deborah Mawer

Paper 2: *Charting the Édition classique Durand (c. 1915–25): Musical Nationalism–Transnationalism*

A brief historical background is set out for the large-scale Édition classique Durand and its mission to offer an affordable, popular edition predominantly of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European ‘classics’ (French, Belgian, Austro-German and Italian piano/keyboard music), commencing in the early years of World War I. One of several contemporaneous competing series (alongside Costallat, Enoch, Hayet, Heugel, Lemoine, Salabert, Sénart and others), Jacques Durand’s was notable for its scale and sheer longevity, its pedagogical links to the Paris Conservatoire and because it included several big-name French composers amongst its main team of editors: Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy, Dukas and Ravel.

Fascinating editor-composer cultural networks, or complexes, may be constructed from the data of Durand’s edition, which in turn raise significant (trans)national and canonic issues. From an editorial (‘subject’) stance, beyond those big composer names we find other lesser-known French (Belgian and Spanish) editorial figures, who also worked as composers, teachers, performers, conductors and musicologists: Aubert, Bachelet, Bonnet, Closson, Emmanuel, Lemaître, Philipp and Riéra. Similarly, as their ‘objects’ of study, the European repertoire invoked, revised and sometimes unashamedly remade, includes baroque, classical and romantic music; both French and wider European works; traditional big-name composers (Bach, Couperin, Rameau, through Mozart, Beethoven, to Chopin and Liszt), but also some lesser-known contemporaries, whose historiographic positions remain more precarious: Daquin, Dagincourt, Duphy, Forgues, Loillet, Kunz, C. F. van Meert and Raick.

Of course, despite our attempts at objectivity, we as researchers are not neutral or invisible, but have our own positioning (Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’), and so a further international layering occurs as a twenty-first century Anglophone accentuation of both subject and object.

Graham Sadler

Paper 3: *Francophone Perspectives on an Eighteenth-Century French Musical Past*

One dimension of the national–transnational trajectory is concerned with various, sizeable editorial projects within the Édition classique Durand that showcase *patrimoine* or French heritage, as a ‘French on French accent’, an early–late meeting point. Several projects on eighteenth-century music reveal a perhaps surprising degree of musical faithfulness to their original French sources, sometimes mediated by later nineteenth-century editions; however, there is also evidence of an interventionist, heavy French accent that results in a recreated, fictionalised past (but that still throws light on contemporaneous performance practice).

These encounters include Saint-Saëns’s relatively scholarly edition of Rameau’s *Pièces de clavecin* (1895, reissued in 1919), contrasted by Théodore Lajarte’s notably unscholarly *Airs à danser des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, both of which precede the formal Édition classique (1915–), but were promoted alongside it and effectively incorporated. Additionally, Louis Diémer created volumes of *Les Clavecinistes français* (1912–18) which, while

founded on the canonic staple of Couperin, also included lesser-known music by Daquin, Dagincourt and others. The experienced editor-musicologist Julien Tiersot likewise promoted scholarly interest in Couperin (c. 1916 onwards), particularly with his edition of *Les Nations*.

Even in this supposed exclusively French context, however, selected extensions of repertoire occasioned by Ernest Closson's editing of *Les Classiques belges du XVIIIe siècle* (1919) and by Isidore Philipp's upholding of *Les Clavecinistes allemands* (1926) serve to signal a wider transnational agenda that is picked up again in the final paper.

Barbara Kelly

Paper 4: *Debussy's French Accent on Chopin*

The session concludes with a further extension of the national–transnational argument. Consideration is given to (Polish national) music of the adoptive Frenchman, Frédéric Chopin, who had himself been resident in Paris in the earlier nineteenth century, gaining French citizenship in 1835. As one of several high-profile collected editions, Chopin's *Œuvres complètes pour piano* was edited by Debussy in 12 volumes across 1915–17, shortly before his own death in 1918. Debussy's imprint is especially evident in the particular volumes that commence with a detailed editorial preface or critical notes: the *Valses, Ballades et Impromptus, Préludes, Op. 28*.

Debussy writes of editing Chopin as an act of homage; of the sheer beauty in his music and of its continuing influence upon contemporary (French) music. Further developing the trans/international dimension, he also alludes to Chopin's 'Italianism'. In terms of the precise notation of the music, however, there is substantial correlation with late nineteenth-century German editions (for example Breitkopf und Härtel, c. 1880), while one preface also references an edition by Tellefsen. Moreover, in practising what he preaches, Debussy's own late music – especially the sets of *Études* and *Sonates* – exhibits a strong hermeneutic relationship to Chopin's prior exemplar. Less neutrally, one might argue that aspects of Chopin are appropriated by Debussy into a refashioned French national music, which in turn plays a crucial role in the emergence of neoclassicism, both French and more broadly European.

Anna Babali

Transnational folk music elements creating a Balkan musical landscape: the works for the piano of the Seven Balkan Dances, by Marko Tajcevic, the Shumen Miniatures, by Pancho Vladigerov and the Greek Dances, by Georgios Kasassoglou.

Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece are neighboring countries of the Balkans that have shared common social and historical moments in the past. Despite their difference in language, they share many similar cultural elements related to music and to folklore. The difficult sociocultural circumstances in these countries of the nineteenth century and their will for independence after Ottoman Empire's fall, created a delay in the development of the art music, in comparison to other countries of Western Europe.

Folk music has inspired numerous composers of art music of the 20th century in the Balkans. Marko Tajcevic, from Serbia, Pancho Vladigerov (1899-1978) from Bulgaria and Georgios Kasassoglou, from Greece, are of such composers. They are contemporary creators that studied abroad and on their return to their homeland they were decisively involved in the musical matters of their countries. They incorporated folk music material in their piano music. The examples come from the following piano pieces: Seven Balkan Dances (Tajcevic), Shumen Miniatures (Vladigerov) and Greek Dances (Kasassoglou). This paper endeavors to show the common folk music elements, incorporated in these compositions, not only as local elements but as transnational ones, which may create a broader Balkan musical landscape.

Christina Michael

From Marginal to National: The Greek Art-Popular Tradition

Attempts to understand music history of Neo-Hellenism inevitably must confront the unresolved matter of national and cultural identity. The filling out of a narrative of an undisturbed and continuous history from Antiquity to modern Greece that was achieved by the late 19th century, led to the configuration of a Greek national identity which was considered pure from any foreign –mainly eastern- elements and strongly associated with ancient Greece. In fact, by the early 20th century such tracing of alleged survivals from Antiquity or the Middle Ages had become almost a required criterion of legitimacy of any genre within Neo-Hellenism.

The fate of popular music, specifically the massively accepted genre of *entechno laiko* [art-popular] song which emerged during the mid 20th century, was no different. *Entechno laiko* was a hybrid genre of Western art music, Western popular styles, Greek musical tradition and various eastern/Arabic influences, and first emerged from the works of Greek Western educated composers Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994) and Mikis Theodorakis(1925-). Even though the discourse of art-popular song makes use of words such as hybrid, amalgam and fusion, the mass success of the genre was built upon conceptions of authentic Greekness. Purity, instead of hybridity, has therefore become the prevalent rhetoric for the diffusion of Greek popular music globally: *bouzouki* is often presented as the authentic Greek popular instrument, *zeimbekiko* as the authentic Greek dance etc. However, the Greekness of art-popular composers was radically different from the romantic ‘Greekness’ proposed by the art composers of the National Music School and the intellectuals of the 19th century. For example, Hadjidakis’ notable use of the -until then- marginal, eastern-based genre of *rebetiko* caused a controversy over its appropriation due to its lack of authenticity.

In this paper I intend to discuss the ways in which the Greek art-popular tradition gained mass popularity from 1950s onwards locally as well as globally by the use of both the rhetoric of hybridity and authenticity. Composers have been adopting foreign influences and have used them in their favor musically; at the same time they have been using concepts such as (long) traditions and identity to convince audiences for purity and Greekness. Even as art-popular composers creatively responded to a variety of stylistic influences, at the same time they have appealed to (ancient) traditions and employed obvious markers of Greek identity to convince audiences of the authenticity of their music. While hybridity was musically interesting to audiences, Greek lineage had to be reinforced due to the complex relationship of Neo-Hellenism with the East.

There is a specific interest in the ways in which in a very short period of time, eastern elements, which were initially derided as oriental, as well as controversial instruments such as the *bouzouki* have been locally and globally recognised as the authentic voices of Greek popular music. Therefore, the question is not how regional popular music should be in order to maintain its local identity; it is rather how local the reception of a genre has to be in order to gain acceptance. *Entechno laiko* song urges one to consider how foreign elements can be taken, perhaps slightly modified, and transformed into the purest samples of musical tradition.

Artemis Ignatidou

Music in 19th century Greek nationalism

The emergence of the modern Greek Kingdom in 1832 resulted in a significant long-term musical problem for the Greeks, intimately connected to, and affected by 19th century Greek and European nationalisms. The philhellenic narrative of a Greece “reborn” in the 19th century to give the modern Christian Hellenes an independent national existence and a chance to continue the “civilising mission” into the east, resulted in a cultural project that employed the pictorial and literary arts as tangible proof of continuity over time, yet never achieved to accommodate its connection to European musical heritage, a parallel claimant to Hellenic intellectual heritage. The different degrees of contact with the West between the separate Greek regions (as for example the Italianate Ionian Islands) contributed to a musical tradition that could trace its eastern musical heritage through the Byzantine chant and traditional music, but struggled to come to terms with a Greek western art music genre that sounded “European”, even though produced by members of the Greek ethnic group. At the same time, the European-oriented elites and the Palace became supporters of western music, and it was from the very beginning of the new country that the national musical sphere was divided into three irreconcilable fragments, according to class, identity and personal preference: the western opera, traditional music, and the Byzantine chant. A comparison with the rest of the arts and their institutions in 19th century Athens reveals that, while for arts such as architecture or sculpture the linear connection with ancient Greece was assisted by the prominence of neo-classicism that complemented Greek nationalism at the time, the inability of the state to create national musical narrative left the country without a solid musical ideology until the last decades of the 19th century, when musical Societies were instituted by the Europeanist or Byzantinist middle-class. At the same time, the prominence of the Italian opera and French Vaudeville in mid- 19th century Athens and the constant debates on the appropriate form of the modern Byzantine chant (polyphonic/ monophonic), positioned an elusive “Europe” constantly against Greek nationalism, which was looking to define the modern Greeks as a European entity with Byzantine-Christian traditions, and a definitive connection to the Ancients. By the turn of the 20th century, the Greeks were looking for a “Greek music” not only in the historical musicological sense of resisting the central-European through the peripheral, but more importantly by desperately looking to ‘invent’ a music that would sound European enough, without denouncing the country’s (carefully defined) eastern heritage, and sustaining a continuity to the elusive ancient Greek music. The paper will examine the main bones of contention between Greek nationalism and European identity, as expressed through music, and explain how the intimate connection between national narrative and the arts was used to create modern legitimacy for a nation-state that emerged in modernity aspiring to become its past.

Krisztina Lajosi-Moore

The Gypsy in Hungarian Music. Romantic Nationalism and Cultural Imagination.

Gypsy music has long been emblematic of Hungarian national identity. The presence of Roma musicians in Hungary dates from the fifteenth century, and Gypsy music has been regarded as part of the Hungarian national heritage since the early eighteenth century, when the Roma played a significant role in the Rákóczi uprising. Roma musicians were later employed by the Habsburg army to provide entertainment during recruiting events. *Verbunkos*, or recruitment music, has become associated with the Hungarian national style. This paper explores the role of material culture in establishing the link between Gypsy music and Hungarian national identity. It examines the interactions and correlations among music, materiality, and history writing, and explores the ways in which the Roma community has been imagined and framed as part of the nation, and conversely, how Hungarian patriotic feelings have been shaped by Roma musicians.

KEYWORDS: nationalism, music, Gypsy, Roma, *verbunkos*, materiality

Dr. Krisztina Lajosi is Assistant Professor in the Department of European Studies at the Universiteit van Amsterdam. She holds a Ph.D. in cultural history and has published on the role of music in shaping national identity in nineteenth-century Europe. Her most recent publications include *Staging the Nation: Opera and Nationalism* (Brill, 2017), *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe* (Brill, 2015), and "National Stereotypes and Music" in *Nations and Nationalism* (20:4, 2014).

Kasper van Kooten

"Blondes et rêveuses primes donnes" and "Allies from Abroad"

Tracing the Forgotten History of German-Language Opera Companies Abroad during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Recent opera scholarship has marginalized the international significance of early nineteenth-century German opera. Sieghart Döhring and Sabine Henze-Döhring, for example, call German opera of this period a mere cultural import, compared to the lively cultural transfer taking place between France and Italy. Anno Mungen, in his turn, characterizes German early nineteenth-century operatic activities as an exclusively national, if not a regional phenomenon. Although these marginalizing statements can be read as a legitimate correction of a questionable, blatantly chauvinist historiography in which the achievements of Carl Maria von Weber and his German colleagues were excessively glorified, they hardly do justice to

the historical situation. A study of German-language opera companies performing abroad reveals that German opera indeed became a more prominent player on the international opera stage during the 1820s and 1830s.

This paper traces the phenomenon of German opera abroad during the first half of the nineteenth-century in Paris and London. These cities were metropolises with a highly-developed opera life, and share not having any form of German government, making German-language opera performance a bottom up rather than top down affair, unlike the situation in the Habsburg empire. The activities of German-language opera companies abroad have fallen through the cracks of many nationally-oriented music historiographies, but increase our perception of the transnational dynamics of nineteenth-century opera. In this paper, I will illuminate the impact of German operatic works and the discourse surrounding this repertoire in other European countries, but simultaneously show how foreign reception of German operas affected perceptions at home. The vicissitudes of these German-language companies provide a better insight into the success and failure of nineteenth-century German opera than the victorious reports of traditional German opera histories do. An investigation of music periodicals and newspaper articles shows how during the 1820s, German operas were often seen as a refreshing complement to the local operatic repertoire, but gradually lost their attraction in the 1830s and 40s. The comparative perspective enables us to see parallels and differences with regard to the reception and impact of German opera in the cultures concerned.

Biography: Kasper van Kooten is a Research Fellow at the University of Amsterdam. After completing his PhD project “*Was deutsch und echt...*”: *Articulating a German Operatic Identity, 1798-1876* in 2016, he served as a postdoctoral fellow at the same institution. Van Kooten has published on opera and national identity formation, as well as the operas of Wagner and Puccini. He studied musicology and art studies at the University of Amsterdam and the Freie Universität Berlin and theory of music at the Conservatory of Amsterdam. Outside academia, he works as an independent music theatre dramaturg and journalist.

Megan Varvir Coe

Caught Between Aesthetics and Politics: French Nationalism in the Reception of Two Salome Operas in Pre-War Paris

In spring 1910, promoters for both the Opéra and the Théâtre Lyrique de la Gaîté barraged Parisian opera-goers with advertisements publicizing the upcoming performances of an opera based on a play by the notorious Oscar Wilde – *Salome*. Or was it *Salomé*? Confusion among the opera-going public was understandable: two operas, both to libretti adapted from Wilde’s play, were being performed in Paris at the same time. The first was the creation of the German master, Richard Strauss. The second featured music by an unknown Frenchman, Antoine Mariotte. Mariotte’s opera had premiered in 1908 after a long battle between Mariotte and Strauss over the rights to Wilde’s play. Now, two years later, these dueling *Salome* operas competed for ticket sales and critical recognition in the French capital.

In this paper, I investigate the reception in 1910 of Mariotte’s and Strauss’s *Salome* operas within the fervently nationalist atmosphere that

characterized the French musical press in the years immediately preceding World War I. Drawing on the research of Frederick Brown, Jane Fulcher, Steven Huebner, and Michael E. Nolan, I position this reception within the context of a musical press that became increasingly polemical in its rhetoric at the fin-de-siècle. Then, through analysis of press reviews, I explore the musical characteristics that critics like Pierre Lalo, Léon Vallas, and Gaston Carraud identified as uniquely “German” or “French” in these operas, such as, in the case of Mariotte’s *Salomé*, its dark sound world, thick texture, and Debussyian treatment of text. These traits, which critics had previously condemned as monotonous and derivative following *Salomé*’s 1908 premiere, were now championed as antidotes to the “Germanic” excess and violent physicality of Strauss’s *Musikdrama*. Utilizing the reception of Mariotte’s and Strauss’s *Salome* operas as a case study, I examine how musical works can be hijacked as vehicles for furthering a nationalist agenda.

Amanda Hsieh

The ‘German Debussy’? —Masculinity in Franz Schreker’s Die Gezeichneten

Franz Schreker’s (1878–1934) *Die Gezeichneten* (Frankfurt, 1918) features an unconventional hero. Sensitive to both emotions and beauty, this hunchbacked, crippled protagonist runs counter to what Austria and Germany sought as representation of a singular ideal of masculinity, marked by physical virility, industrialism, and militarism at the time of the First World War. Indeed, while the opera resonated with contemporary pacifist sympathies, the composer was keenly aware of how WWI was changing his reception. As the same journal and newspaper issues that printed reviews of *Die Gezeichneten* also presented articles discussing what music in the time of War might mean, it seems that it was not simply Schreker’s protagonist that provoked the critics.

In response to Schreker’s 1918 opera, critics frequently compared the Austrian composer with Debussy. They either called him a ‘German Debussy’ (*Frankfurter General-Anzeiger*) or claimed that Debussy should really be described as a ‘French Schreker’ (*Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*). By evoking the name of the French composer, the critics condemned Schreker’s lack of disciplined formal structure representative of German music, and thus ‘formless’ or even gendered ‘feminine’ or racially ‘Jewish’. At the time of WWI, Debussy, emblematic of the enemy’s music per se, became a symbol of what some German nationalists understood to be ‘spineless’ and inherently non-German, and Schreker’s music ‘internationalist’ and ‘cosmopolitan’. Yet, Schreker’s admirers adopted similar language to praise his ‘impressionistic’ orchestral colours that were ‘sensual’ and even ‘intoxicating’.

Through examining historical sources, my paper thus considers first what ‘formlessness’ and secondly ‘Debussy’ might mean in the context of Schreker’s WWI-era reception. Following Benjamin Korsvedt’s (2010) attempt to read music criticism from the fin-de-siècle beyond the usual paradigm of the ‘conservatives’ versus the ‘liberals’, I also question why Schreker’s critics might share the kind of often over-sweeping and sensationalist language in the way they did. Indeed, much of the language used to critique Schreker’s music was written without grounds; the reviews therefore seem to function as much as introductions to readers and potential audience members to the opera (and hence the long plot

summaries), with only brief, though attention-grabbing, mentions of the music that many a time remain ambiguous in their critical positions. Joachim Beck's 1919 review in *Die Weltbühne* seems one such example, where Beck harshly criticises this 'mater of colour', a 'Debussy', and writes that 'Schreker's physical weakness' makes up one of his artistic idiosyncrasies as he also—quite paradoxically—praises Schreker's command at his opera's psychological power and synthesis of the text and music.

As various 'revisionist' writings in both musicology (Brodbeck, 2014; Karnes, 2013; Kostvedt, 2010; Notley, 2007) and history (Judson, 2016) have reviewed and resisted the more simplistic, binary portrayals of this period's politics and music criticism, I argue that it is crucial to read and understand these reviews not merely as 'objective' criticisms of the music but also as ways in which politics of gender and the nation, as well as commercial interests and strategies, were played out.

Sylvie Noreau

Songbook for school in French-speaking Switzerland: Musical nationalism propaganda?

The song choice for the schoolbook *Chante Jeunesse!*, published in 1923, opens the reflection on the nationalist ideas propaganda wishes by its creators, particularly in a multilingual and multifaith country like Switzerland. The use of various types of songs (popular, classical, patriotic, religious), in a traditional or modified form, from Switzerland as well as many European countries, leads us to think that this collection wants to show a large range of elements of the Swiss identity, which is particularly hard to define, often divided between French-speaking culture and German-speaking culture according to the canton of origin. As coming from Vaud, a French-speaking region, *Chante Jeunesse* should be French-speaking Switzerland representative, but its creators seem to want to show a more general Swiss nationalism by presenting elements of German-speaking Switzerland, even Italian-speaking and Romansh-speaking Switzerland too. The study of texts, music settings, origins and themes show that this collection embodies a model image of perfection and diversity. It is particularly interesting to see how the creators change text and music to improve the repertoire, and how that brings material for patriotism, nationalism or propaganda. It also gives the opportunity to see the links between Switzerland and its neighbouring countries, and above all, Switzerland's desire to have a distinct identity. Indeed, in inter-war Switzerland, neutral but nevertheless torn between the European powers, the search for a national identity and its promotion becomes an important issue.

Mårten Nehrfor

Canonical considerations – Johann Friedrich Reichardt's songs for children and the late eighteenth century German national community

Whereas national music has been acknowledged at least since the thirteenth century (Dahlhaus, 1980), nationalistic music did for obvious reasons emerge only with nationalism in late eighteenth century. Although closely connected, the relationship between the two is considerably more complex than is often acknowledged (Taruskin, 2001).

In the nineteenth century national music was set a nationalistic task, expressing the national culture necessary as foundation for political nationalistic ambitions. Typically these manifestations of national culture were conceived in prestigious art forms such as opera and symphony, aiming at canonical status. So far this has been the kind of nationalistic music that have received the greater part of the research interest. However, arguably more important for the national culture, was the emergence of nationalistic music in less prestigious genres, such as music for amateur choirs and children's songs. Here, ambitions to actually shape a nation and its culture were asserted, and this was music with a much more active relationship to nationalistic ideas. So far this music has unfortunately been widely neglected and is still in need of considerably more research. In this paper I show how Prussian composer, writer and *Kapellmeister* Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) sought to influence and form the German cultural community with songs, particularly through collections directed specifically at children such as *Lieder für Kinder* (4 vols.), *Lieder für die Jugend* (2 vols.), and *Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter*. By singing Reichardt's songs children were schooled into a German cultural community. At the same time the songs influenced and shaped also the character of this community.

I further show how this practice was founded on a Herderian conception of national cultural communities. Following Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744–1803) expressivist views on culture and language I focus on the active participatory character of the communities, and talk therefore specifically of expressive communities. Reichardt's songs for children were composed specifically for such an expressive community, and were intended to be a natural and intimate part of the national cultural community. Ideally they would eventually gain a sort of folksong status. In this way also these songs would obtain canonical status, albeit of a different kind than the prestigious nineteenth century operas and symphonies. Instead of the limited canonicity of the concert hall these kinds of works would become canonical through their role and position in society. This indicates a more complex nature of the canonicity concept than is generally acknowledged, something that is further explored in my paper.

Mila Stojadinovic

Creating National Identity: Primary School Music Textbooks in Yugoslav/post-Yugoslav Serbia

This paper presents the influence of national music on formation of identity in the former Yugoslavia and post-Yugoslav Serbia, focusing specifically on how the state ruled ideology has been carried out in the educational system through music textbooks and curricula. The idea of a united Yugoslav nation was first spread through music in primary schools, and later was suppressed after the civil war in the 1990s. This study explores the term “national” and “national music” not as musical folklore or folkloric elements as factors of national style, but as composers' musicological-theoretic work and production as contributions to the formation of the image of music culture specific to a nation. What do children learn about national music heritage? What was and is considered national in a particular timeframe in Serbia? This paper shows what composers

and works were considered national in music primary education textbooks both before and after the breakdown of Yugoslavia, demonstrating Louis Althusser's theories on the educational system as the main state apparatus contributing to the formation of national identity.

Bob van der Linden

Music, Culture and Nationalism: India and Empire in Global History

So far, the great majority of scholars have kept themselves busy with the examination of music as a carrier for the nationalization of culture in Europe rather than in the non-Western world. Yet, can one fully understand the relationship between music and nationalism by looking at European national music alone? In the context of global history, this paper investigates the 'cultivation of culture' in relation to national music making in colonial India. It argues that from the beginning of the nineteenth century the 'nation' in India was based upon, although initially rather unconsciously, reinterpreted cultural identities and that music to a great extent was part of this process. In addition, it repeatedly makes comparisons with what happened in Europe around the same time. Indeed, perhaps the study of the relationship between music, culture and nationalism in India shows better than in Europe that the 'nation' is not build from scratch.

Shobna Nijhawan

Music and the Nationalization of Hindu Culture in a Hindi literary periodical (1920s-1930s)

In this paper, I investigate the music column of the monthly Hindi literary periodical, *Sudha* (1927-1941, Lucknow, colonial India). I argue that the creation of a small musical archive in this periodical was part of the nationalization of Hindu arts, science, medicine, literature and culture. This music column offered a pre-composed raga (an arrangement of musical notes conveying a melodic mood) with accompanying lyrics. The lyrics, melody and metrical cycle were arranged in a notation system for the musically literate reader of the column who could then make use of it for educational and recreational purposes. The lyricists and melodists were prominent actors of the Hindi public sphere, many of which were also Hindi litterateurs.

The music column in *Sudha* is testimony of yet another development of the turn-of-the-century, namely the attempt to dissociate from popular oral tradition (including the immensely popular songbooks) while also building on its popularity. For this purpose, musical practice had to be reformed, musical traditions nationalized and musical notation standardized. This paper investigates how the music column offered a novel way to perform religious and devotional songs in the domestic sphere through self-study or with support of a music teacher. In the process, an orally transmitted

tradition that had been in the hands of musical families (gharanas) and dependent on courtly patronage was rendered modern and disseminated in the Hindi public sphere.

Yousuf Saeed

The Impact of 1947 Partition on Classical Music in Pakistan

While the 1947 Partition of India after the British rule led to large-scale violence between Hindus and Muslims, it also led thousands of people including artists and musicians to migrate across the border and settle in unfamiliar lands. Many musicians from almost all *gharanas* (schools) of north Indian classical music shifted to Pakistan. But as the newly created Pakistan wondered about its national identity, many components of culture such as Hindustani music were scrutinized and ‘cleaned up’ due to their supposed non-Islamic roots, although the basic form and vocabulary remained the same as in India. Very little patronage was available to the classical musicians in Pakistan and they went through tough times. However, many of them experimented with musical forms and idiom in their own creative ways to keep it (and themselves) alive in Pakistan for years. While some of these efforts meant a sort of ‘Islamization’ of hitherto pluralistic traditions of South Asian music, it also involved the appropriation of musical heroes such as the 14th century poet-composer Amir Khusrau or the 16th century Mughal composer Tansen who were projected as icons of Pakistan’s national culture. However, the biggest dilemma while redefining the musical heritage in Pakistan has been the nomenclature of this tradition itself – while in India the north Indian art music is still known as the ‘Hindustani’ or ‘Indian classical’ music, what to call it in Pakistan? While many call it the Indo-Pakistani classical music, some have also tried names like Asian classical or other variants. On the other hand, in India, at least some efforts were made to ignore the ‘Muslim’ heritage of the medieval times and go back to the pre-Islamic or ‘Vedic’ music of India, even though much of the pluralism still survives in its practice. This particular research in Pakistan by the Indian filmmaker and scholar led to the making of a documentary film *Khayal Darpan*, parts of which would be shown in the conference presentation.

Biography: Yousuf Saeed is an independent filmmaker and researcher who has been writing and making documentary films since 1990 on diverse subjects including shared culture, religious iconography, music, and poetry of South Asia. He is the author of *Muslim Devotional Art in India* (Routledge, 2012), and his films have been shown in festivals and academic venues all over the world. More details about his work at www.yousufsaeed.com

Sara Crombach

Uzeyir Hajibeyov's Contribution to National Identity in Azerbaijan

The creation of classical music in Azerbaijan is due to one single person: Uzeyir Hajibeyov. Hajibeyov grew up in Shusha, which was considered to be the “cradle of Azerbaijani culture”, and he was educated at the Tsarist Russian Teachers' Seminary at Gori. This mixed influence of a traditional Islamic background while being educated in a Russian colonial context would become of crucial significance for Hajibeyov's future role as “Father of Azerbaijan's classical music”.

Hajibeyov's first opera *Layla and Majnun* (1908) shows a unique cross pollination of the Azerbaijani Mugam, and a classical European language. It was not only the first Azerbaijani opera, but also the first opera in the Islamic world. Moreover, the fusion of European and Azerbaijani influences was absolutely unique.

In 1921, the Soviet Union was established, and Azerbaijan was, after a short period of independence between 1918 and 1920, integrated in the USSR. In order to guarantee a smooth process of Sovietization, especially in the non-Russian periphery, it was crucial to stimulate the national cultures of the different peoples, and by doing so avoiding an image as a colonizing power. Hajibeyov perfectly fitted in this ambition.

This paper examines the role of Hajibeyov as one of the founders of the complex mixture of modern European and traditional Oriental influences that are still characteristic ingredients of the current, post-Soviet national identity in Azerbaijan.

Artemy M. Kalinovsky

Opera as the Highest Stage of Socialism

In the 1930s, the Soviet union spent enormous resources building opera houses and other cultural institutions through its recently delineated republics. The paper will trace the origins of the opera in Tajikistan, its role in Tajik and Soviet nation-building, the evolving debates on music after Stalin's death, and use that as a jumping off point for a broader discussion of “modern” art forms, such as dramatic theatre and the novel, promoted (with varying degrees of success) in the Soviet period. It will focus not on the musicological aspects of this development but rather what the story of Tajik opera can tell us about how Soviet elites, both European and local, understood modernization and liberation and what the execution of their ideas can tell us about the nature of Soviet development in Central Asia.

The creation of “national” operas for the newly “liberated” Soviet people had two purposes. On the one hand, it showcased Moscow as the true centre of a “universal” culture (and not of a more provincial, imperialist, bourgeois European one). On the other hand, it demonstrated that Moscow was helping these nations achieve the kind of elevation that Russia itself had reached vis-à-vis those people who had once looked down on it as something rather wild and uncultured. But while this was a European initiated project, we cannot understand the shape it ultimately took without appreciating the role played by non-Russian intermediaries (in this case, Armenians) and local enthusiasts. Ultimately, Tajik cultural and

political elites were able to negotiate for what they saw as the most important aspect of their heritage while adopting some Soviet institutions and cultural forms and largely rejecting others.

Rutger Helmers

Rethinking Russian musical nationalism through César Cui

The composer-critic César Cui or Tsezar' Antonovich Kyui (1835–1918) is well known as one of the five original members of the *moguchaya kuchka* or 'Mighty Handful'. He made his mark in musical life mainly through his lifelong activity as a critic both at home in St Petersburg and abroad—in particular through his survey *La Musique en Russie*, published in Paris in 1878/80. As one of the central spokesmen of the Mighty Handful, he was a key figure in the formation of a Russian national school in the second half of the nineteenth century and his critical writings are often quoted as such.

Yet the figure of Cui also lends itself very well to an altogether different perspective, far more marginal to the mechanisms of Russian nation building: both his Lithuanian-French descent and his career as a military fortification expert prompt us to shift our attention to Russia's multi-ethnic empire rather than the Great-Russian nation; his compositions, moreover, show little consistent effort to develop any national folklore-inspired idiom, nor did they ever attain substantial national canonic status; and even his writings never acquired any doctrinaire following like those of Vladimir Stasov, the Mighty Handful's other spokesperson. In this paper I intend to give a fresh look at the critical writings and positions of Cui as a means of testing our assumptions about the meaning and appeal of the Russian national school for its creators and its audiences.

Stephen Downes

Longing to Belong: Nationalism and Sentimentalism in the Second Violin Concertos of Bartók and Szymanowski

The violin concertos of Bartók and Szymanowski are fascinating examples of how ideas of musical nationalism in the 1920s and 30s are ambivalently linked with sentimentalism. It's a relationship as yet under-explored.

In the movie *Play it again Sam*, as he awaits a blind date, Woody Allen wonders if he should play his LP of Bartók's String Quartet no. 5 as seductive background music. The joke depends upon the reputation of Bartók's music as the antithesis of sentimental mood music. It is a reputation of long standing: Kodály wrote in 1921 that Bartók 'does not know sentimentality, caressing, "enchanted" softness', and in a series of essays from the late 20s and early 30s Bartók developed his conviction that the 'peasant' music which inspired him is 'anti-sentimental', expressively in its primitivistic objectivity and technically in the avoidance of leading notes, the late romantic musical cliché of sentimental yearning.

Bartók's essays contribute to a wider contemporaneous discourse on sentimentalism by invoking the contrast between rural authenticity (pure, simple, primitive) and urban artifice (corrupted, sentimental, commercial). But as with so many binaries, the boundaries are unstable, with specific

fluidity in the nationalist imagination. And the violin itself is identified both with rural musics, and the associated constructions of nostalgia and imperilled 'national' traditions, and also with sentimental urban styles. The violin concertos discussed here invoke these unstable binaries and the ambiguous symbolism of its solo instrument. Bartók's second concerto (1938) was composed as an attempt at re-connection with his domestic audience through sympathetic union in anxious times. Recalling the leading-note imbued idiom of his first violin concerto, it builds to a climactic moment of sentimental expression.

Szymanowski also produced a series of essays in the 1920 and 30s, in which he praises the music of the Polish Tatra Highlanders (whose most famous performer was the violinist Obrochta) for its 'immediacy of expression' and formal clarity, which combine to ensure a 'simple, direct beauty', a counter to the 'exaggerated sentimentality' and neglect of form with which he charged romantic 'epigones'. He knew the dangerous charms, that 'our own sentimentalism' is easily beguiled by the 'mannered sadness' of nineteenth-century corruptions of 'folk song'. Like Bartók, he publicly sought in 'real' folk music an alternative to this sentimentalism, and his Second Violin Concerto (1932) evokes this Tatra folk idiom.

But in private he described his new concerto as 'horribly sentimental'. Just as Bartók returns to leading-note infused lyrical expansiveness, so too Szymanowski, at crucial moments of closure, recalls the dominant chord chromatic saturation of his first violin concerto. An apparently lost expressive style is recovered to express the sentimentalism that hardly dare say its name. Michael Ignatieff wrote that 'Nationalists are supremely sentimental', and then stripped away this sentimentality to understand the sense of belonging that drives them. The concertos of Bartók and Szymanowski, works that long for belonging, tell us that sentimentalism is too central to be so quickly removed.

Claire McGinn

'Who are the Balts to us?': 'Estonia's time' and 'Finno-Ugric modes of seeing' in music by Veljo Tormis

It has been said of Veljo Tormis (1930-2017) that 'there was such love for this man, such reverence for what he has done for our people culturally, that he could have led us anywhere – even started a revolt against the authorities – and we would have followed him'. Indeed, reference to the composer is frequently accompanied in a wider arena by emphatic espousal of his national-cultural significance and his work's relationship with Estonian cultural heritage and identity. Still, his work in re-presenting ancient Estonian runic folk song is questionable justification for applying the label 'nationalist' to his aesthetic (although the term might seem attractive in light of a career overlapping and tangled up with Soviet occupation and cultural erasure in the Baltic States and beyond).

This paper will not address questions of whether or not Tormis's music constituted 'resistance', per se, against occupation or Russification – much less any notions of the substance of identity itself. Instead, I will firstly propose possible intramusical parallels in his work to other significant, internally constructed or self-identified facets of modern Estonian cultural discourse.

While hopefully more nuanced threads can be drawn here between Tormis's music and what appear to be positive and meaningful discursive identity-constructs, issues of the exoticising and essentialising potential of the external gaze will also be addressed.

The export and transnational consumption of this type of 'Baltic music' is, I will suggest, potentially coloured by the shadow of a breed of 'evolutionist' cultural imperialism that may be theoretically outmoded but still holds sociopolitical relevance. The issue of the closely-entwined canonical marginalisation of both 'ideologically-freighted' music and generally popular or 'accessible' music, particularly choral works written to be performable by non-professional groups, is a parallel thread which is complicated by economic factors in a postmodern global market (where it might previously have carried a contrasting ideological valence in line with local or current political angles on accessibility, comprehensibility, 'formalism', etc.). Tied up with this are narratives of defeat, bloodless resistance, and peaceful transcendence, along with images of timelessness, serenity, passivity, simplicity spirituality, ritual, and closeness to nature – a brand of rhetoric with which reviews of Baltic choral music are overflowing – that may contribute to a romanticising, homogenising picture of the Baltic States.

Benedetta Zucconi

Recorded music, italianità, and the appropriation of culture for nationalistic purposes.

At the onset of the twentieth century, Italy was struggling to affirm its role as nation state both inside and outside its borders. The recently unified country was still fractionated in several local communities, and Italian population seemed not to share any sense of cultural identity. Furthermore, Italy at that time experienced a general decline of its role as an artistic – and especially musical – leader, also due to the economical crisis and a general industrial underdevelopment.

From these premises, several intellectuals started to think of musical recording as a tool to re-establish Italy's leading role in music and culture. They proposed that folk music, spread through recorded discs and cylinders, might become a source of inspiration for composers, openly questioning the musical supremacy of German and French avant-garde. Furthermore, the establishing of a national archive for folk-music recordings was intended to be a tangible monument of a new Italian musical grandeur, a symbol of *italianità* to be admired abroad, and in which Italians could finally find a sense of mutual national belonging.

In this particular framework I will focus my attention on an article written by the musicologist Fausto Torrefranca, *Problemi del dopo-guerra musicale*, published in 1918 on the journal «La critica musicale». In order to solve the Italian case, Torrefranca proposed – with an openly anti-Germanic rhetoric – the creation of a national archive for folkloric recordings. Furthermore, he suggested a general reform of roman libraries and museums, an edition of Italian musical classics and the institution of a chair for music history at the University of Rome. Torrefranca's article is not just an example of the contemporary interest in collecting recordings for nationalistic purposes; it also demonstrates how the international image of *italianità* was intended to spread not just from music itself, rather from the institutionalisation of a discourse concerning music.

Roberto Scoccimarro

Leone Sinigaglia's Activity as an Arranger and Composer of Folk Songs in the Context of Nationalist Culture in Italy, 1900-1914.

Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, at a time when opera had for at least 100 years maintained its supremacy in Italian music life, some composers attempted to revive a national tradition in the field of instrumental compositional genres. These composers belonged to a generation after that of Sgambati and Martucci and were older than the so-called “generazione dell'Ottanta” (composers born in the 1880's). Their names are today almost unknown: Marco Enrico Bossi, Giacomo Orefice, Amilcare Zanella, Francesco Paolo Neglia, Alessandro Longo and Leone Sinigaglia. As in other “peripheral” European countries, the paradigmatic musical language of these composers was the classical-romantic instrumental music of central Europe. In their aspiration to develop the dominant idiom and in their desire to revive the instrumental genres there would seem to be a kind of hidden cultural paradox. To seek elements of a national identity through the adoption of the German-Austrian compositional language meant to search in vain for a specifically Italian character in a field that was not typical of Italy's music heritage. Such an aspiration seems to have originated in a feeling of cultural inferiority and in a need to fill the economic and cultural gap between Italy and the major European powers. Thus, the desire for a revival of instrumental genres appears to be congruent with the rising nationalism in Italy in the years 1896-1914.

Among the aforementioned composers, Leone Sinigaglia, born 1868 in Turin but deeply connected to the Central European culture through his studies in Vienna with Mandycezwski and in Prague and Vysoká with Dvořák, stands out for his pioneering interest in folk songs, an interest which was apparently shared in those years only by Alberto Favara in Sicily. Sinigaglia's enthusiasm for peasants' music, which originated during the period when he was studying with Dvořák (1900-1901), led him to collect, transcribe, and arrange about 500 Piedmontese folk songs and to compose a number of works associated with his native region: *Rapsodia piemontese* op. 26 (1900), *Serenata sopra temi popolari* op. 30, *Danze piemontesi* op. 31 (1903) and the Suite *Piemonte* op. 36 (1909).

This paper aims to analyse these symphonic compositions based on folk materials with particular focus on the relationship between their more-or-less late-romantic style and their use of ethnic melodies. At the same time, it will study Sinigaglia's arrangements of the Piedmontese songs, with the goal of verifying their possible compromises with the academic language and comparing their achievements with the aforementioned symphonic works. Finally, the paper aims to understand Sinigaglia's position among his contemporaries and in the cultural context of Italy during the 15 years before the beginning of the First World War.

At first glance, the evocation of the Austrian national spirit through a sublime Alpine landscape in Ernst Krenek's 1929 song cycle *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen* suggests continuity with the Romantic Nationalism of the nineteenth century. This sense of retrospection only seems to be enhanced by the fact that the *Reisebuch* is saturated with allusions to Schubert and his music. These references to Schubert have traditionally been discussed in terms of Krenek's individual stylistic development. In contrast, I will suggest that drawing on Schubert reception studies provides a fruitful means of considering them in the social and political context of late 1920s Austria. Indeed, Krenek's *Reisebuch* can be seen to be asking: what does it mean to remember or to memorialise Schubert in the Austria of the late 1920s? From this point of view, Krenek's allusions to Schubert and his view of contemporary Austrian society appear deeply ambivalent. I argue that Krenek's *Reisebuch* illustrates how the musical representation of Austria and the memorialising of its cultural heritage had become fiercely contested during the political and socio-economic upheavals of the early twentieth century.

After the collapse of the multi-national Hapsburg Empire in 1918, the newly formed First Austrian Republic lacked a cohesive model for a specifically Austrian national identity. Pan-German nationalist sentiment was widespread. This ideology was strongly expressed and widely disseminated in 1928 by the *Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* in Vienna, a festival commemorating the centenary of Schubert's death. Examining this backdrop clearly reveals the political significance of Krenek's attempts in the *Reisebuch* to reclaim Schubert as a local, specifically Austrian figure. The Schubertian idiom of Krenek's *Reisebuch* can thus be viewed as a compelling example of how a composer might turn to and transform a particular source of national cultural heritage in the attempt to forge a musical language capable of representing – and perhaps even justifying – a newly invented nation state.

Krenek's song cycle cannot, however, be labelled straightforwardly as nationalist propaganda. The opening line of the *Reisebuch* states: 'Ich reise aus, meine Heimat zu entdecken' – 'I set out travelling in order to discover my homeland'. This process of discovery involved not only a celebration of national cultural heritage, but also a critique of contemporary Austria. Krenek's irony and satire highlight some of what he saw as the most concerning trends in Austrian society, as made manifest in the ways in which his contemporaries remembered and memorialised Schubert.

Whether it was commercialised, sentimental operetta or the huge choral festival for the 1928 centenary, Krenek was appalled by the appropriation of Schubert by the typical musical vehicles of populist national sentiment. Instead, he retreated to the intimacy and the high-art esteem of the Schubertian song cycle. The result, I argue, provides a fascinating window into the difficulties of discovering a coherent and meaningful sense of what it might mean to be an Austrian composer in 1929.

Practical Information:

Concerning papers:

Regular papers should not exceed 20 (22 max.) minutes. Every session is led by a Chair, who briefly introduces the single speakers, serves as timekeeper and moderates post-paper discussions. As this conference hosts several specialist from all over the world and with highly diverging specialisms, please try to keep your papers accessible. Try, for example, to include crucial terms or personal names in your slides in order to keep your audience on board.

Important Adresses:

Conference Locations:

Vlaams Cultuurhuis De Brakke Grond

Nes 45, 1012 KD Amsterdam

(close to Dam Square, close to light nr. 11 on Map on page 47)

Cultureel Centrum De Rode Hoed

Keizersgracht 102, 1015 CV Amsterdam

(close to dark nr. 16 on Map, on western side of canal)

Concert Location:

Uilenburgersjoel

Nieuwe Uilenburgerstraat 91, 1011 LM Amsterdam

(close to light nr. 10 on Map)

Dinner Location:

Restaurant Indrapura

Rembrandtplein 40-44, 1017 CV Amsterdam

(between light nr. 21 and dark nr. 28 on Map)

Hotels:

Hampshire Eden

Amstel 144, 1017 CX Amsterdam

(between dark nr. 28 and Muziektheater on Map)

Hotel Residence Le Coin

Nieuwe Doelenstraat 5, 1012 CP Amsterdam

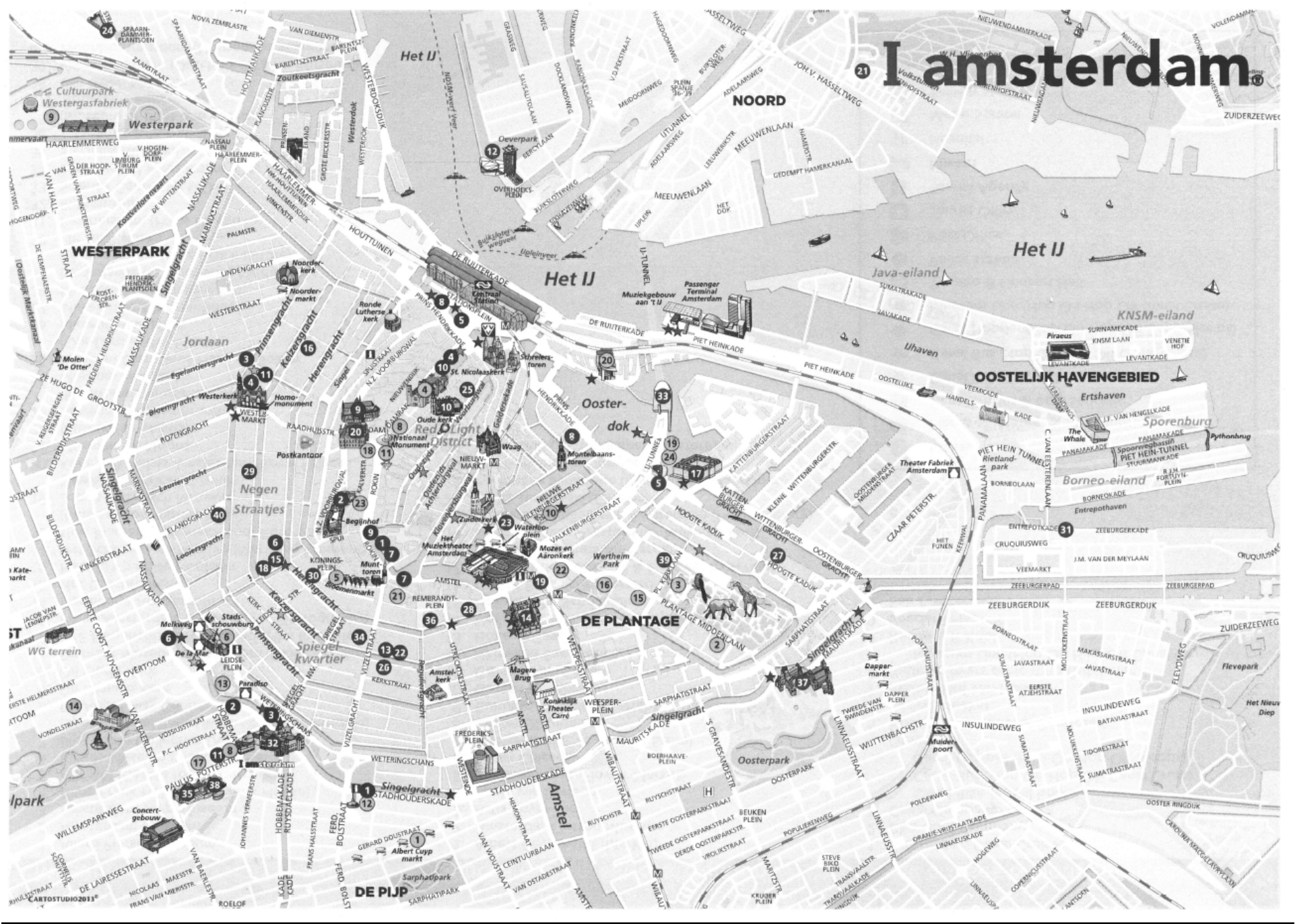
(next to the upper dark nr. 7 above Munttoren on Map)

Volkshotel

Wibautstraat 150, 1091 GR Amsterdam

(at the southern side of the Map, at the right of the Amstel and around the most southern M-sign (metro stop))

I Amsterdam



Directions to conference locations

Volkshotel

Directions from Volkshotel to De Rode Hoed

- Walk to metro stop **Wibautstraat**, right in front of the hotel (for instructions on ticket use in the Amsterdam public transport, see below)
- Take **metro 51, 53** or **54** in the direction of Centraal Station
- Get off at the final stop **Centraal Station**
- Take **tram 1** (direction: Osdorp De Aker), **2** (direction: Nieuw Sloten) or **5** (direction: Amstelveen Stadshart)
- Get off at the first stop **Nieuwezijds Kolk**
- 5 minute walk to De Rode Hoed:

Getting off the tram, you cross the street and head for the Lijnbaanssteeg (small alley). Keep walking straight on and follow the Lijnbaanssteeg, cross the canal, continue onto Blauwburgwal, cross the canal, continue onto Herenstraat, cross the canal. At the other side of the third canal, turn left onto Keizersgracht. You will find De Rode Hoed on your right after 50 metres.

Directions from Volkshotel to De Brakke Grond

- Walk to metro stop **Wibautstraat**, right in front of the hotel (for instructions on ticket use in the Amsterdam public transport, see below)
- Take **metro 51, 53** or **54** in the direction of Centraal Station
- Get off at the final stop **Centraal Station**
- Take **tram 4** (direction: Station RAI), **9** (direction: Diemen Sniep) or **24** (direction: VU Medisch Centrum)
- Get off at the second stop **Spui**
- Langebrugsteeg, to the left at Nes

Directions from Volkshotel to Uilenburgersjoel

- Walk to metro stop **Wibautstraat**, right in front of the hotel (for instructions on ticket use in the Amsterdam public transport, see below)
- Take **metro 51, 53** or **54** in the direction of Centraal Station
- Get off at the second stop **Waterlooplein**
- 10 minute walk to the Uilenburgersjoel: getting out of the metro station, head in the opposite direction and walk straight on at Waterlooplein. Pass the market (on your left) and then turn left onto Waterlooplein (you will pass a big church, the Mozes and Aäronkerk on your right). Walk 100 metres, then turn right onto Houtkopersdwarstraat. Keep walking straight on, following the Houtkopersdwarstraat to the Nieuwe Uilenburgerstraat. You will find the Uilenburgersjoel on your left after 500 metres.

Directions from Volkshotel to Indrapura

- Walk to metro stop **Wibautstraat**, right in front of the hotel (for instructions on ticket use in the Amsterdam public transport, see below)
- Take **metro 51, 53** or **54** in the direction of Centraal Station
- Get off at the final stop **Centraal Station**
- Take **tram 4, 9, 14** or **24**
- Get off at the third stop **Rembrandtplein**
- You will find the restaurant at the other side of the square.

Hampshire Eden Hotel

Directions from Hampshire Eden Hotel to De Rode Hoed

- Walk to tram stop **Rembrandtplein**: go left at the hotel entrance, walk 100 metres, turn left onto Bakkerstraat, walk 50 metres, turn right to stay on Bakkerstraat, walk 50 metres, turn right onto Rembrandtplein, where you see the tram stop.
- Take **tram 14** (direction: Sloterveer)
- Get off at the third stop **Westermarkt**
- 5 minute walk to De Rode Hoed:

Getting off the tram, you walk in the opposite direction (keeping the church Westerkerk to your left). Walk 30 metres, then turn left onto Keizersgracht and walk 500 metres straight on, where De Rode Hoed will be on your left.

Directions from Hampshire Eden Hotel to De Brakke Grond

10 minute walk:

- Go left at the hotel entrance and walk 500 metres keeping the canal to your right. Then turn right, cross the bridge and walk straight on at Rokin for 200 metres. Then turn right onto Langebrugsteeg (small alley). After 50 metres, turn left onto Nes. You will find De Brakke Grond on your right after 200 metres.

Directions from Hampshire Eden Hotel to Uilenburgersjoel

10 minute walk:

- Go left at the hotel entrance, walk straight on for 100 metres, then turn left and cross the Blauwbrug bridge. Stay on the left side of the street and walk straight on (passing the big white Nationale Opera en Ballet building to your left). After 200 metres, you pass the market (on your left) and then turn left onto Waterlooplein (you will pass a big church, the Mozes and Aäronkerk on your right). Walk 100 metres, then turn right onto Houtkopersdwarstraat. Keep walking straight on, following the Houtkopersdwarstraat to the Nieuwe Uilenburgerstraat. You will find the Uilenburgersjoel on your left after 500 metres.

Directions from Hampshire Eden Hotel to Indrapura

5 minute walk:

- Go left at the hotel entrance, walk 100 metres, turn left onto Bakkerstraat, walk 50 metres, turn right to stay on Bakkerstraat, walk 50 metres, turn right onto

Rembrandtplein.

- You will find the restaurant at the other side of the square.

Hotel Le Coin

Directions from Hotel Le Coin to De Rode Hoed

- Walk to the tram stop **Koningsplein**:

Go right at the hotel entrance, keep walking straight on, cross the canal, cross the street at Rokin, turn left onto Muntplein, then turn right onto Singel (keep the Munt Tower to your left). Walk straight on on Singel (keep the canal to your left), after 50 metres you've arrived at Koningsplein, where you'll find the tram stop to your left.

- Take **tram 1** (direction: Centraal Station), **2** (direction: Centraal Station) or **5** (direction: Centraal Station)

- Get off at the third stop **Nieuwezijds Kolk**

- 5 minute walk to De Rode Hoed:

Getting off the tram, you cross the street and head for the Lijnbaanssteeg (small alley). Keep walking straight on and follow the Lijnbaanssteeg, cross the canal, continue onto Blauwburgwal, cross the canal, continue onto Herenstraat, cross the canal. At the other side of the third canal, turn left onto Keizersgracht. You will find De Rode Hoed on your right after 50 metres.

Directions from Hotel Le Coin to De Brakke Grond

5 minute walk:

Go right at the hotel entrance, walk 50 metres and turn right onto Oude Turfmarkt, keeping the canal to your left. Walk straight on for 200 metres, then turn right onto Langebrugsteeg (small alley). After 50 metres, turn left onto Nes. You will find De Brakke Grond on your right after 200 metres.

Directions from Hotel Le Coin to Uilenburgersjoel

15 minute walk:

Go left at the hotel entrance, walk 100 metres, turn right and cross the bridge. Walk straight on following the Staalstraat, cross the bridge at Groenburgwal and walk straight on following the Staalstraat. After crossing a third bridge, you turn left onto the Zwanenburgwal (keeping the canal to your left; on your right is the Amsterdam City Hall). Follow the Zwanenburgwal for 200 metres, then turn right onto Jodenbreestraat. Walk straight on for 100 metres, then turn left onto Uilenburgersteeg. Keep walking straight on, following the Uilenburgersteeg to the Nieuwe Uilenburgerstraat. You will find the Uilenburgersjoel on your left after 500 metres.

Directions from Hotel Le Coin to Indrapura

5 minute walk:

Go right at the hotel entrance, walk straight on and cross the bridge. Keep left, then turn left onto Amstel, keeping the water to your left. Walk straight on for 200 metres, then turn right into Halvemaansteeg. Walk straight on, until you've arrived at Rembrandtplein. You will find the restaurant at the other side of the square.

Tickets

Instructions on the ticket use in the Dutch public transport (train, metro, tram and bus)

Before travelling, you need to load your *OV-chipkaart* (similar to the Oyster card in London) with credit (an amount in Euro) or add a travel product, such as a day ticket or pass.

You check in as follows: hold the *OV-chipkaart* up to or against the *OV-chipkaart* logo on the card reader when you board. Your *OV-chipkaart* will be checked when you check in. A temporary boarding fare will then be debited from your credit (a kind of deposit). Your travel costs will be offset against this at the end of your journey. When you check in, the gate will open or the card reader will beep to confirm. At the end of the journey, you check out by holding your *OV-chipkaart* against the card reader again. The gate will open or the card reader will beep to confirm.

If you have negative credit, you will not be able to check in. You will first need to load credit onto your *OV-chipkaart*.