**Keynote 1 / Wednesday June 1, 11:30 am**

Mark Everist, *Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and Beyond, 1800–1870*

The history of stage music in the nineteenth century trades largely in the commodities of named composer and opera in the early 21st century canon. This serves our understanding of the nineteenth century badly, and in ways in which colleagues in other disciplines would find strange. Examining stage music on a European scale, from Lisbon to St Petersburg and from Dublin to Odessa, in pursuit of an understanding of the cultures that supported opera in the long nineteenth century begins to uncover networks of activity that span the entire continent, and that engage the reception of French and Italian stage music in the farthest flung regions.

Setting forth an understanding of nineteenth-century stage music that attempts to grasp the complex reality of ‘opera’ in Seville, Klausenberg or Copenhagen, opens up the possibility not only of going beyond tired notions of national identity, or even of the ‘imagined community’ but also of beginning to understand the cultural contest in terms of urban encounter or melee.

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**Keynote 2 / Thursday June 2, 11:30 am**

Franco Fabbri, *An ‘intricate fabric of influences and coincidences in the history of popular music’: reflections on the challenging work of popular music historians*

What we now call ‘popular music’ isn’t simply the Anglo-American mainstream from the Tin Pan Alley era (or even the 1950s) onward, with the optional addition of a handful of local genres, styles, and scenes: it’s an extremely varied set of music events that became visible and audible almost simultaneously in many places around the world since the early decades of the Nineteenth century (the ‘third type’ of music, according to Derek B. Scott, emerging in the void created by the invention of ‘classical’ and ‘folk’ music). If we accept this idea, then a popular music historian has to face a number of challenging questions.
Which sources (sheet music, paintings, photographs, movies, recordings, memories and ethnographic research, ads, posters, reviews, demographic and economic data, objects, instruments, technologies, places, up to web-based documents, etc.) are available? How reliable are they? In which languages were they conceived, written or recorded? Within which theoretical framework can they be studied? It’s a huge work, but it must also produce a manageable output, in the form of handbooks, audio-visual products, web pages, and other material suitable for teaching and dissemination. The paper will address some of these questions and challenges, with the aim to avoid the sheer transferral of concepts from the study of the current mainstream to a cosmopolitan history of popular music(s).

Keynote 3 / Friday June 3, 11:30 am
Brigid Cohen, Musical Cosmopolitics in Cold War New York

New York crystallized as an archetypal “global city” under the pressure of the early Cold War, when the U.S. asserted heightened economic and military dominance, while absorbing unprecedented levels of immigration in the wake of the Holocaust, decolonization movements, and the internal Great Migration. During this period, the city built a cultural infrastructure that benefitted from, and sought to match, the nation’s enhanced geopolitical and economic power. This talk examines the role of musical “migrant mediators” who navigated new patronage opportunities that arose in this setting, helping to reinforce transnational art and music networks for generations to come. With attention to concert music, jazz, electronic music, and performance art—and figures ranging from Yoko Ono to Vladimir Ussachevsky—I highlight creators’ wildly disparate enactments of national citizenship and world belonging in the arts of the Cold War “global city,” their different cosmopolitanisms in counterpoint and contestation with one another.
German Operetta in Warsaw: Cultural Transfer and Exchange

This paper investigates cultural transfer and exchange in the world of operetta in Poland from 1906 until 1939, a period in which Warsaw saw an explosion in the number of productions of Viennese and German operettas. In his Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre (1994), Kurt Gänzl often refers to Budapest as the first city to stage foreign-language productions outside of Germany, mentioning no Polish cities.

However, in many cases it was Warsaw and not Budapest that presented first foreign-language productions: such was the case with Franz Lehár’s Die lustige Witwe (Vienna 1905, Warsaw 1906) and Zigeunerliebe (Vienna 1910, Warsaw 1910), Oscar Straus’s Ein Walzertraum (Vienna 1907, Warsaw 1907), and Emmerich Kálmán’s Gräfin Mariza (Vienna 1924, Warsaw 1924), among others. There was a huge market for the cosmopolitan element in operetta, and the urban Viennese waltz, the valse Boston (or English waltz), the tango, and dances to syncopated rhythms, such as the cake walk, the two-step and the foxtrot, were quickly adopted and made popular on the Polish stages. In this paper, I will show how readily and skillfully Polish operetta directors and theatres adapted German-language operetta to cater for the cosmopolitan tastes of their Polish audiences. I will present rare archival materials related to the first Polish performances of Die lustige Witwe and Jean Gilbert’s Die keusche Susanne (Magdeburg 1910, Warsaw 1911), and discuss the changes and adaptations made in the music and the text.

Anastasia Belina-Johnson is Assistant Head of Programmes at the Royal College of Music, and a Senior Research Fellow at the School of Music, University of Leeds, where she is working with Professor Derek Scott on ERC-funded project German Operetta in London and New York in 1907–37: Cultural Transfer and Transformation. She is author and editor of A Musician Divided: André Tchaikowsky in His Own Words (2013), Die tägliche Mühe ein Mensch zu sein (2013), and Wagner in Russia, Poland and the Czech Lands: Musical, Literary, and Cultural Perspectives (2013, co-edited edition). She has appeared in a documentary about André Tchaikowsky Rebel of the Keys, and several radio programmes on BBC Radio 3. Her current research examines performances and reception of Silver Age operetta in Poland.
The challenges of transatlantic opera: the Théâtre d’Orléans company in nineteenth-century New Orleans

From 1819 until the opening of the new French Opera House in 1859, the Théâtre d’Orléans was at the centre of social life for a wide cross-section of New Orleans’s population. It was well known for the generally high quality of its operatic productions, its unusually well-behaved audiences, and for the fact that its troupe was recruited from Europe each year. It was the first (and, for a long time, the only) permanent opera company in North America.

While the theatre provided a space within New Orleans in which local issues could be explored, its influence was much wider ranging. Through a series of summer tours, the company played a key role in transmitting French opera throughout the eastern seaboard of the United States.

Existing scholarship, however, has typically observed only that the company brought its music and performers from Paris, without giving further thought to the details or wider implications of this process. Nor have such accounts explored the ways in which French opera was transformed in its transatlantic movement, and how its new audiences might have understood it differently from those in Europe.

My paper will, therefore, take a closer look at the processes of cultural transfer at work in the movement of French opera from Europe to New Orleans. It will explore the vital role of human agency in operatic globalisation, in order to argue that the networks of people and places were by no means as straightforward as typically assumed. Nor, I will suggest, were these processes of cultural transfer as unidirectional as generally portrayed. Instead, I will argue that such a study compels us to re-evaluate aspects of the European operatic industry, and reveals an entanglement of local, national and transnational concerns that was vital to the development of a global operatic culture.

Charlotte Bentley is an AHRC-funded PhD student at the University of Cambridge. She is working, under the supervision of Dr Benjamin Walton, on a thesis which focuses on francophone theatrical culture in New Orleans in the period 1819–1859. Her other research interests include Jules Massenet, operatic realism, and the influence of media technologies on the production and reception of opera in the late nineteenth century.
Networked, Self-Organized and Mobile: the European Hardcore-Punk Scene of the 1980s and its Legacies

This paper examines the role played by the hardcore-punk scene in shaping new cosmopolitan ways of life and unusual ways to understand and use space. Time-wise, the focus will be on the 1980s, when this scene was developing in various European industrial cities, including, among others, Turin and Milan in Italy, Tampere in Finland, West-Berlin and Ruhr in the GFR and Amsterdam in Holland.

Punk bands were touring Europe by train (thanks to the InterRail ticket or illegally) or rented vans, often living on self-established daily allowances. Tours were organized autonomously, via telephone and letters, thanks to contact lists published on fanzines. Bands played in squats, DIY festivals and disused spaces, outside the normal club venue circuits.

This kind of networking was unprecedented in scale, giving often the opportunity to non-signed European bands to tour the whole US for instance, and in nature, being non-profit, DIY, self-supporting and completely external to the ‘normal’ popular music industry.

A nomadic lifestyle became the basis for the consistence of the scene and was very important for the subsequent birth of new highly mobile and highly networked music scenes (for instance rave-culture). In addition, distinctive nomadic settlements based on mobile homes, i.e. Wagenplatz or Wagendorf, began forming, especially in Germany.

In my view, the music genre and its material organization themselves gave birth to a cosmopolitan lifestyle, where mobility became the norm. Interestingly, a series of elements will later be adopted, accepted and taken for granted, in a variety of ways, by the sedentary majority. An example could be ‘sofa-surfing’, based on an online social network, which allows people to find a free place to sleep in any possible city of the world.

Giacomo Bottà is adjunct professor in urban studies at the University of Helsinki. His research has dealt with urban cultural studies on a comparative European level to determine how art and cultural expressions can be used to better understand space and spatialities on one hand, and communities and societies on the other.
Carl Goldmark and Images of Cosmopolitanism

The composer Carl Goldmark (1830–1915) stands as the very model of the highly accomplished late-nineteenth-century Central European assimilated Jew. Reared in modest circumstances as the son of a Galician-born cantor in West Hungary, Goldmark eventually earned a place at the very center of the sociocultural milieu known as Liberal Vienna, with a popular renown that rivaled that enjoyed by his friend Johannes Brahms. Seeing in the composer’s characteristic opulent style a musical analogue to both the contemporary orientalist paintings of Hans Makart (a Viennese favorite) and the monumental architecture that began to line Vienna’s new Ringstrasse in the years after 1860, Gerhard Winkler called Goldmark “the true musical representative of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the last third of the 19th century.”

It could also be said of Goldmark—and this is the point of departure for my paper—that he embodied the official cosmopolitanism of the Austro-Hungarian state in which he lived and worked. He was a Jew by ethnicity (although by no means an observant one) and a German by culture (despite his Hungarian birth), but he had no national fatherland. Unlike, say, the ethnic German Anton Bruckner or the ethnic Czech Bedřich Smetana, to cite two near Austro-Hungarian contemporaries, his only fatherland was the supranational Habsburg Monarchy itself. And yet, as I explore in a close reading of one crucial passage in his memoirs, Goldmark also felt an intense and emotional, non-national relationship of belonging to specific locales on both sides of the Austro-Hungarian border. These are what he called his zwei Heimaten, his two homes—the small Hungarian villages of his birth and childhood and the bustling Austrian metropolis in which he came of age and made his life as a cultural, but by no means national, German.

David Brodbeck is Professor of Music at the University of California, Irvine. He has published widely on topics in German musical culture of the nineteenth century, ranging from the dances of Franz Schubert and the sacred music of Felix Mendelssohn to various aspects of Johannes Brahms’s life and music and the musical culture of late-nineteenth-century Vienna. His more recent publications include “A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark’s First Opera,” Musical Quarterly (2015), “Music and the Marketplace: On the Backstory of Carlos Chávez’s Violin Concerto, Carlos Chávez and His World” (Princeton University Press, 2015), and the monograph Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna (Oxford University Press, 2014), which has been called “an impressive work of scholarship that reconstructs not only a musical but also a political and cultural history” (Times Literary Supplement).
Street Performance as Catalyst and Indicator of Cosmopolitanism

This paper examines the contribution of street performances in Hong Kong to the process and our understanding of cosmopolitanism. Hong Kong is a multi-ethnic city where traditional Chinese culture and Western culture collides. In 2010, the victory of Andrew So’s court case led to a bloom of street performances until 2014, when the government restricted the pedestrian zone usage and street performers subsequently adopt new strategies. During the umbrella movement, a civil disobedience protest of blocking traffic in 2014, street performance also functions to express political thoughts. Within the course of five years, the public conception of this urban culture dramatically changes from the labeling of low social rank to the positive symbol of cultural diversity. In fact, the culture of street performances demonstrates several cosmopolitan qualities, including the diversity and mobility of performers, the ability to engage different social classes, the emergence of cosmopolitan class performers, and most importantly, the quick response to changing environment. These qualities contribute to a form of public pedagogy, which citizens of different backgrounds are educated about new sound and new ideas in a complex and interactive way.

While contemporary research focuses on the relation of street performances to public space-time and regulations (Simpson, 2011), technology and construction of urban soundscape (Bennett & Rogers, 2014), few scholars point out its linkage to cosmopolitanism. Drawing from fieldwork and documentaries about street performances, I first provide a case-study on the bloom and development of street performances in Hong Kong since 2010. Then, I compare with related scholarly writings to reveal the mechanism behind the suggested connections between street performance and cosmopolitanism. I argue that street performance, being vibrant and highly-adaptive, facilitates the transmission and internalization of “foreign” culture, and hence boosts the process of cosmopolitanism.

Ko-On Chan is currently studying his Master in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is working on his thesis about the psychological realism and multiple stylistic influences in Tchaikovsky’s Manfred Symphony. He has written topics about 19th century nationalism, colonialism in film music, unofficial Soviet music and the influence of Japanese ACG culture on Hong Kong teenagers’ perception of homosexuality and feminism. He received the Chung Chi College Class Scholarship and Departmental Prize for excellent academic performance in 2014.
Cosmopolitanism and the ‘Contemporary’: The Politics and Non-Politics of Neue Musik in the ISCM

The association between ‘modernist’ music and the idea of aesthetic autonomy has had a range of historical iterations. Notwithstanding the dialectical character of modernism, it is still common to construe certain musical developments of the twentieth century—particularly those that came under the rubric of ‘Neue Musik’—as effectively resisting forms of politicization. The International Society for Contemporary Music (Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik), established in the aftermath of World War I as part of a broader push towards promoting cooperation between European nations, was explicit in its commitment to political neutrality, and later to the notion of artistic independence from state interference. The de-politicized standing of Neue Musik was ultimately made to serve political ends during the Cold War, with the CIA-backed Congress for Cultural Freedom promoting the notion of ‘artistic independence’ as a beacon of liberal democracy in an effort to stall the growth of Communism in Europe, funding the performance of music by a range of exiled modernist composers. Despite the ISCM’s waning influence after World War II, it was seen as having provided an institutional articulation of de-politicization that was to become, as some have described it, an “unshakable truth” for the post-war avant-garde.

This heroic narrative of the ISCM’s role in music history is shaped by an implicit assumption that the organisation’s international make-up, its commitment to political neutrality, and its promotion of Neue Musik reflected an over-arching cosmopolitan ethos underpinning its activities. While certain individuals may have cultivated a cosmopolitan stance, I will argue in this paper that all three of the above-mentioned factors, so integral to the Society’s functioning—its internationalism, its de-politicization, and its support of Neue Musik—in fact prevented cosmopolitanism from ever becoming institutionally embedded. Reflecting upon the reasons for the failure of the ISCM to consolidate a cosmopolitan position provides an opportunity to examine the politics of de-politicization, and can inform our own position as music scholars today with respect to the re-emergent cosmopolitanisms.

Dr. Sarah Collins is currently a Vice-Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of New South Wales, Australia. Prior to this appointment, she was a Lecturer in Musicology in the School of Music at Monash University. Sarah completed her doctoral study jointly through the University of Queensland and King's College London. She is the author of The Aesthetic Life of Cyril Scott (Boydell, 2013) and has articles published in the Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Twentieth-Century Music, and Music & Letters.
The Well-Mannered Auditor: Listening in the Domestic-Public Sphere of the 19th Century

19th-century etiquette books in English seemed obliged to include instruction on how the “well- mannered” (bourgeois) person of fashion should behave at urban domestic-public functions (McKee 2005), i.e. invited social events in private residences. The manuals thereby participated in producing the “docile bodies” that Foucault identified as endemic to modern society and that result from the exercise of (self-)disciplining power (Foucault 1975). The books’ prescriptions typically extended to acceptable and unacceptable manners during the impromptu musical entertainments at teas, evening parties, and musicales, when the invited guests were requested to perform. The imposed auditory practices for guests during informal music-making reveal how tongue and ear were subjected to the normalizing disciplinary power Foucault proposes.

Behind the rules for behavior within the sonic domain hovered the challenge to order created by the societal move toward the modern “crisis of attention” (Crary 1999). In the ever more confusing, distracting soundscape of modernity, the etiquette books performed a stabilizing function by attempting to regulate the bodies (and ears) of middle-class subjects in “good” society (Morgan 2012). Indeed, issues of attention to the sounds of music and speech at social events play crucial roles in the sources, which can be studied by mapping the events’ zones of acoustic space (Born 2013), identifying physical areas dedicated to sound activities: musical performance, recitation, and conversation. Auditory disruptions by guests increasingly occurred within and between these spaces; the resultant inattention led to greater rigor in the manuals’ policing of performed sound. Their regulations bespeak society’s fear of the loss of control over the bodies and sounds of auditors, which undermined the disciplining of bourgeois subject-listeners in the 19th century. This study contributes to the growing literature about the interrelationships of space, sound, listening, and embodied behavior developed by Feld (1996), Sterne (2003), and Born (2013), among others.

Dr. James Deaville is a professor in the School for Studies in Art & Culture: Music, Carleton University, Canada, and has published in the Journal of the American Musicological Society and Journal of the Society for American Music, and has contributed to books published by Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, and Routledge, among others. Professor Deaville also edited Music in Television: Channels of Listening (2011). He is currently co-editing with Christina Baade the book Music and the Broadcast Experience for Oxford University Press (publication in 2016). In 2012, he received a two-year Insight Development Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to explore film trailer auralities, and just received another IDG for two years to study the related topic of production (library) music.
Cosmopolitan Capital: Musicians, Masonic Affiliation and Social Class in Late 18th-Century Paris

In 1785, Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon, a writer who played violin in the Loge Olympique orchestra, described Europe as a “commerce of fine arts.” As a Freemason, Chabanon was keenly aware of this artistic circulation. Historians including Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire have identified eighteenth-century European Freemasonry as a decidedly cosmopolitan endeavor. Kenneth Loiselle has recently argued that a cosmopolitan rather than universal ideology marked the fraternity of Masonic lodges in pre-revolutionary France. This cosmopolitan spirit, which promoted a harmonious accord with brothers from around the world, also inspired a desire to cultivate musical worldliness. Lodge concerts welcomed composers, performers, and even compositions—such as Haydn’s “Paris” symphonies—from across Europe. Therefore, Parisian lodges came to adopt musicians as frères à talens, admitted as members despite their social inferiority because of the crucial musical skills they could provide.

The membership of musicians in the Masonic lodges of pre-revolutionary Paris reveals a rapport between cosmopolitanism and social class on the eve of the French Revolution. Membership allowed musicians to mingle across Old Regime social hierarchies and to develop professional networks with one another. In this paper, I consider documents founding the Loge Olympique orchestra and writings by musician-masons and their contemporaries in relation to statistical data on musicians’ lodge affiliations to ask: how did lodge membership affect the social conceptions and mobility of musicians?

This question leads to the Paris Conservatoire’s deep Masonic roots, particularly in the Loge Olympique. Mobilizing William H. Sewell, Jr.’s recent theory of pre-revolutionary “interstitial capitalist abstraction” and Loiselle’s concept of classical republicanism in lodges, I argue that these roots represent not a Masonic conspiracy, but an opportunity for social advancement offered by the cosmopolitan spirit of pre-revolutionary lodges. For musicians, Masonic cosmopolitanism would later translate into both the national and universal rhetoric of the new conservatory’s curriculum.

Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden is Assistant Professor of Music History at the University of North Texas College of Music and a scholar of music during the French Revolution. Her research interests include the professionalization of musicians in eighteenth-century Paris, the symbiotic relationship between French Enlightenment philosophies of music and everyday musical practices, and networks of amateur and professional musicians across Parisian social institutions.

Her research has been published in journals such as Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, and presented at the national meetings of the American Musicological Society, the Society for Ethnomusicology, and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and at international colloquia in France and Portugal.

She earned B.A.s with distinction and honors, Phi Beta Kappa, in history and international studies from Penn State’s Schreyer Honors College. She received an A.M. and Ph.D. in musicology from Duke University. While at Duke, her archival research in Paris, France, was supported by multiple endowed fellowships and she was inducted into the Society of Duke Fellows.
Jean Sibelius as an American Import

There are numerous images of the man called Jean Sibelius (1865–1957). For Finns, as well as for many other people, Sibelius and his music are exclusively associated with Finland. Sibelius is the Finns’ national property, an icon that embodies the Finnish nation. Yet in North America and to a considerable degree in the UK, Sibelius is also viewed as national property – of Americans, Canadians and Britons. This kind of cosmopolitanism will be addressed in my presentation “Jean Sibelius as an American Import.” I will focus on how his persona and many of his compositions were transferred to the New World and demonstrate some of the changes that took place to his image and to his music in that new environment. The presentation will also show that the transfer was not a one-way affair: social and other exchanges took place that shaped ideas and even music on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.
Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Anglophone Reception of *Der Freischütz*

Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz* has a conflicted reception history. Hailed by some as an archetypal German opera, it was nevertheless widely transmitted and proved highly adaptable. In the years following its 1821 Berlin premiere, it was translated and otherwise modified for audiences from London and Paris to New York and New Orleans, suggesting an appeal that outstripped its German-ness. Michael Tusa resolves this apparent tension by arguing that early-nineteenth-century German identity was cosmopolitan, at least in part. This helps to explain the influence of foreign traditions like *opéra comique* on this self-consciously German work, along with its popularity abroad.

Yet scholars have said little about what the foreign consumption of *Der Freischütz* actually looked like. This paper investigates Weber’s reception in the English-speaking world by considering arrangements of music from the opera, along with newly composed interpolations, that appeared in Dublin and New York in the late 1820s. These documents shed light on the meaning of *Der Freischütz* in the United Kingdom and the United States—specifically, they show how Weber’s music was implicated in the formation of Anglophone national identities and in the simultaneous formation of a transatlantic musical culture.

For instance, “The Horn of Chace,” a song composed in the United States by Charles Gilfert for inclusion in *Der Freischütz*, was fraudulently credited in Dublin to “Carl von Gilfert of Prague.” Citing the related concealment of American authorship in London newspapers, the *New-York Evening Post* explained this misattribution as a reaction to the rising global influence of the United States. A U.S. adaptation of the *Freischütz* overture, published in New York as an “American Serenade,” similarly asserted cultural sovereignty by masking Weber’s authorship.

Blending transnationalism and localism, these examples suggest that nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism and nationalism were mutually reinforcing categories.

Myron Gray teaches music history at Haverford College in Pennsylvania and Westminster Choir College in Princeton, New Jersey. A recipient of awards from the American Antiquarian Society, the American Musicological Society, and the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, he completed a Ph.D. in musicology at the University of Pennsylvania in 2014. His dissertation, which was a finalist for the Zuckerman Prize in American Studies, connected French musical influence in federal-era Philadelphia to the emergence of American partisan politics. Parts of this work have appeared or are forthcoming in *American Music* and *Common-place*. A new project considers opera transmission and music reprinting in the nineteenth-century United States. Myron is also a consultant and commentator for colonial music programming at the Fraunces Tavern Museum in New York.
‘Unto Brigg Fair’: Cosmopolitanism, Delius, and the Identities of Place

Cosmopolitanism has been a prominent term in the reception of Frederick Delius’s music ever since the publication of Christopher Palmer’s 1976 monograph on the composer. For Palmer and others, resisting the negative trend of much writing on Delius after the Second World War, the term is frequently inflected with positive value, suggesting openness, liberation, and a progressive worldview, rather than critical approbation. Building on the recent work of Bruce Robbins, Amanda Anderson, and Kwame Anthony Appiah, however, I shall argue that the category is far more destabilizing and opaque than its appropriation frequently suggests, and that its valence in Delius studies is especially problematic.

Delius’s 1907–8 tone poem Brigg Fair, subtitled ‘An English Rhapsody’, is an indicative case study. Based on a melody collected by Percy Grainger in North Lincolnshire in 1905 and later arranged for unaccompanied choir, Delius’s set of orchestral variations offers a transformative vision of the music, whose arch-like expressive trajectory is consistent with late Romantic aesthetics. Closer attention to the score, and to its genesis and reception, however, suggests a more complex reading of the work’s multiple points of stylistic reference. Cosmopolitanism here might serve as a straightforward register of the music’s layered evocations of place, or, more pointedly, as a critique of the work’s thinly veiled colonialism. Attempting to resolve these tensions, I will conclude, prompts renewed reflection about the ideological associations of the term in a music historical context.

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https://nordicbreakthrough.wordpress.com
Edvard Stjernström’s music theatre in Stockholm and Finland in the 1850s

During the 19th century private theatres were established in Stockholm. They put on a popular repertoire and competed with the Royal theatre for a growing audience. An important theatre director in the middle of the 1800s was Edvard Stjernström. He owned a theatre in Stockholm and also made many tours to other cities in Sweden and Finland. Stjernström and his activities are the focus of this study. What was his role in deploying a repertoire to cities in Sweden and Finland? How did he choose the repertoire and the music? What relation did the plays and the music have to the debate about national identity? These questions will be discussed from a perspective of “public sphere” (Habermas) and national identity, but also from theories of distribution of a common European repertoire. Despite the national connection, the repertoire was to a great extent international. It is an interesting question how the repertoire was spread and a hypothesis is that individuals were of great importance in this respect. Stjernström is an example of such a person.

For the study it is important to problematize the concept of “opera” and to show the great variety in music dramatic genres and performances, due to different interests and possibilities at different theatres. Light opera, with spoken dialogue was very popular and possible to perform with a smaller orchestra. This kind of repertoire was performed not only at the Royal theatre but also at several theatres in cities around Sweden and by travelling theatre companies.

The theatre activities of Stjernström will in this article be compared to relevant theatres from other European countries. Not least will his tours to Finland be compared with his activities in Stockholm. The main sources for the study are play texts, music, posters from performances, accounts, and reviews and articles from contemporary papers.

Karin Hallgren is associate professor in musicology at Linnaeus University in Växjö, Sweden. She got her doctoral degree 2000 with a dissertation on the establishment of the Nya Teatern in Stockholm in the 1840’s, with special interest in the repertoire and the musicians at the theatre. Her main research interest is Swedish music history in the 19th century. In this area she has published articles on music theatre and opera in Stockholm in comparison with other European cities.
Mapping musical modernism

Due to the dependence of traditional music historiography on the aesthetics of autonomy, musical modernism is typically viewed from a tacitly universalist perspective: in terms of its immanent stylistic development, aesthetic principles and the like. Viewed through the lens of cultural geography, however, a very different picture emerges, one of an unprecedented expansion that has hardly ever been scrutinised. From its European and North-American ‘heartlands’, musical modernism has been embraced all over the world. Furthermore, while the adoption of western music and notions of modernism in many countries and regions around the world has been studied within the framework of national history, it is very rare to find comparative perspectives. As I will demonstrate, however, although the circumstances are different in each case, the diffusion of modernist music is a fairly unified global phenomenon.

Inspired principally by Franco Moretti’s ideas of world literature and his preference for ’distant reading’; as well as the use of maps and graphs in communicating ideas, I will seek to literally map the diffusion of ideas and institutions associated with musical modernity and modernism respectively. In doing so, I will draw on a number of examples from across the globe with particular emphasis on Argentina, Mexico, Japan, Brazil and Finland.

Nineteenth-Century Cosmopolitan Musicians and the Russian Aristocracy

As a country that was often perceived as an exotic, cold extreme of Europe, Russia nonetheless attracted a permanent influx of Western European musical luminaries throughout the nineteenth century. As such Russia provides a fascinating focus to study the cosmopolitanism of travelling musicians. In this paper I would like to explore in particular the role of the Russian aristocracy and court in encouraging and enabling these travels in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Fluent in French, active in various cultural centres in Europe, and providing the key to the profitable concert and opera life in St Petersburg and Moscow, Russian nobles could be – and frequently acted as – influential mediators in European musical life.

In this period, the musical world was steadily moving away from aristocratic patronage towards a more anonymous musical economy relying on the bourgeoisie, and Russia itself, too, witnessed important steps towards the institutionalization of musical life in the 1850s and 1860s. Nonetheless, the Russian aristocracy and court continued to fulfil a vital role in facilitating international mobility, by offering personal or institutional patronage, recommendations for travellers, performances at court, noble decorations or even marriage within the nobility. Drawing on a broad collection of personal documents of musicians who visited Russia in the course of their careers, I would like to explore the continuing appeal noble recognition held for musicians on the international stage, and explore to what extent, even in the heyday of romantic nationalism, this may have pulled musicians’ allegiances towards the older concept of service, rather than nationality.

Rutger Helmers is Assistant Professor in Musicology at the University of Amsterdam and Lecturer in Literary and Cultural Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen. He specializes in nineteenth-century music history, and his main interests are opera, Russian music, nationalism, and musicians’ mobility. He is the author of Not Russian Enough? Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Opera (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014).
“We have become cosmopolitans with no ties at all”: Anti-cosmopolitanism in Popular Music of Stalinist Hungary

Literary, philosophical and musical debates were all crucial episodes of the ideological war in the post-war Soviet Union on Western culture. Stalin and his henchmen showed how the anti-Western sentiment could be linked both with national pride and the growing antisemitism of the dictator. The latter also contributed to the birth of the new enemy of communists: the cosmopolitans.

At the beginning, the anti-cosmopolitan campaign was directed against the Jewish intelligentsia, but the meaning of the phrase cosmopolitanism went rapidly under a spectacular change. It became a generic term: virtually nobody escaped accusations of being cosmopolitan, who was supposed to be a representative of “fake” (Western-type) internationalism or “American lifestyle”.

The diatribes against cosmopolitanism had a particular role in musical life, especially in the sphere of popular music: jazz and dance music, claimed as “warmongering instruments” of American imperialists, became major objects of the new socialist realist critiques.

Moreover, from 1949, the Soviets helped the local Communist parties in their struggle against “cosmopolitan intruders” in music: they sent deputies to all the satellite states to show them how to purify musical life from internationalist influences. Hungary was no exception to that.

Relying on archival data, contemporary media coverage and oral history interviews, my presentation aims at reconstructing what “cosmopolitanism” meant in the musical discourse of Stalinist Hungary. I argue that “cosmopolitanism” was an element of a non-consistent (critical) language, whose terms (i.e. Americanism, aristocratism, etc.) were often interchangeable, and served the purpose of establishing a vague and contradictory system of requirements which was almost impossible to comply with. I will also examine how the communist party understood and presented the “true” (proletarian) internationalism. In this, I use the Budapest concerts of the Soviet folk ensembles (Osipov in 1949, Piatnitsky in 1950) as solid bases for comparison, as they were destined to introduce the musical examples of the new, national popular culture.

Ádám Ignácz (1981), music aesthetician. He graduated from Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE, Budapest) in history and aesthetics. He was enrolled in the Philosophy Doctoral School of ELTE, and he received his PhD in 2013. He has presented papers at conferences in Hungarian, German and English (e.g. in Campinas, Vilnius, Birmingham, Liverpool, Kiel, Luzern, Budapest). Since 2013 Ádám Ignácz has been working as a research fellow for the Archives and Research Group for 20th-21st Century Hungarian Music, Institute of Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
“What we need is more Mozares and Betovenes”: cultural transfer, music reception and the conflictive cosmopolitanism of early nineteenth-century Latin American composers

The writing of music in European “learned” styles in Latin America during the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries has been traditionally perceived by scholars as “neutral”, a direct peripheral extension of assumed “universal” parameters, given its lack of exotic or nationalistic features. However, using mostly archival sources, my research – and this paper – explores how, on the contrary, the writing of sonatas, symphonies and other similar genres by Latin American composers on that period was perceived as a very specific way of music-making, where notions of the local, the cosmopolitan and transatlantic intersect in difficult terms. Music from this period, which I situate between Bourbon reforms in the 1770s and the end of independence wars by the 1830s, was closely tied to the undergoing revolutions and contemporary notions of the limits of western culture in the nascent public sphere of which “philharmonic concerts” took part. For example, while for some composers – like Pedro Ximénez Abrill in Peru (1784–1856) –, the writing of certain specific instrumental forms – like symphonies – was closely related to their own feeling of being part of a broader European culture, for others – like Mariano Elízaga in Mexico (1786–1842) – it represented a way to break with the colonial-Spanish past and its own aesthetics. For others, it represented a way to escape a life of writing music exclusively for the church and creating a public secular way of music listening and writing, as it happened to Juan Meserón (1779–1845) in Caracas. In their music and discourses, the contradictory ways in which the “classical style” and the nascent romantic ideals were appropriated across Latin America, show how the perceived cosmopolitan appeal of such musics was confronted with such a different political, social and cultural sphere as the one transforming itself across the Atlantic.

José Manuel Izquierdo (Valdivia, 1985) is currently a Gates Scholar, PhD in Music Student in the University of Cambridge. He studied his bachelor in musicology in the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (2007) and later on received an MA in musicology from the Universidad de Chile (2011). He works on music composition and musical sources from Latin American since the times of Independence, having developed various archives in the region and coordinated the modern premiere of dozens of unknown compositions from the nineteenth century. He has published papers in various journals and has written three books on music in Chile. In 2014 he won the Ruspoli price for euro-Latin-American musicology. He is currently in his third year in Cambridge, supervised by Dr. Benjamin Walton.

https://cambridge.academia.edu/JoseManuelIzquierdo/
Cosmopolitanism and Percy Grainger's construction of Frederick Delius as an American ‘Anglo-Saxon’

While perhaps now considered a typically ‘English’ composer, the representation of Delius as a ‘cosmopolitan’ was well recognised during his lifetime. Indeed, with connections to and musical influences from England, Germany, Norway, France and the USA, Delius’s early life was almost by definition cosmopolitan. This has led to much debate about his national identity.

Percy Grainger was particularly attracted to the elements of Delius’s music that reflected his time in Florida, and when Grainger instigated a promotional ‘Delius campaign’ in the USA in 1914, it was these ‘American’ elements that he chose to emphasise. From 1918 Grainger expanded his campaign beyond Delius to include all music of ‘Anglo-Saxon’ or ‘Nordic’ origin—by his own definition ‘the music written by blue-eyed people anywhere, and showing the characteristics of that race’.

Grainger considered Delius an exemplar of this model, and began to manipulate the image he presented of Delius to fit within his constructed idea of the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ composer, in opposition to the prevailing conception of Delius as a European ‘cosmopolitan’. In exploring the intersections between Grainger’s Delius and ‘Anglo-Saxon’ campaigns, this paper argues that it was only through Delius’s detachment from national ties and ostensible ‘cosmopolitanism’ that Grainger was able to present him first as an American, then as a paradigmatic ‘Anglo-Saxon’. This, in turn, effected the reception of Delius in America.

Sarah Kirby is a PhD candidate in Musicology at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne, supervised by Prof. Kerry Murphy and Dr. David Irving. Her current research is on music at nineteenth- and early twentieth-century International Expositions. Other projects include work on early 20th century British music and a Masters thesis on the relationship between Percy Grainger and Frederick Delius.
Musical Cosmopolitanism and Transnationalism among Ottoman Greek Composers, 1830–1911

In the Ottoman Empire, art music represented an elite art form, transcending regional cultural practices while being partly transformed by them. In this regard, it manifested and reflected the Ottoman socio-political system that was, at once, highly centralised and a conglomerate of various nationalities and lifestyles. Oddly enough, it was just when this status quo was losing its stability (loosely from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century) that Ottoman high culture reached its creative peak, accommodating synergies between centre and periphery and tending increasingly towards the music of the western classical tradition.

Composers with Ottoman Greek roots experienced such developments both abroad and at home. Camille-Marie Stamaty’s indebtedness to his own ethno-cultural roots and aspirations inspired a compositional cosmopolitanism embracing German counterpoint as well as Czech-Moravian, Hungarian and Western styles and genres. Dimitrios Lalas drew both from German romanticism and traditions of what would later become territories of Northern Greece and F.Y.R. Macedonia. After his musical studies and tenures in the West, he permanently settled in Thessaloniki, only to realise that his acquired professionalism and musical tastes had rendered him a ‘foreigner’ in his own homeland.

This paper explores the aesthetics and the role of these two cosmopolitan musicians in initiating transnational connections and musical networks for the next generation of European composers, including Saint-Saens and Emilios Riadis. An analysis of Stamaty’s and Lalas’ music, as well as of their own writings and those of their relatives, associates and friends, reveals aspects of their cultural identity that seem to transcend the local and the national. This allows us to gain wider insights into the various kinds of dialogue between cultural elites from the European centre and periphery that form part of Europe’s cultural heritage but seem to have been written out of music history.

Sabine Koch is a post-doctoral researcher at the Ionian University. She studied musicology at the Universities of Leipzig and Edinburgh where she taught on musical analysis as well as music history and philosophy. She was awarded a PhD in 2014 for her dissertation on Mendelssohn and has been the recipient of a FfWG grant (2010) and a fellowship from the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD, 2005). She is currently working on the I.K.Y.-funded project ‘Composing Art Music from East to West in The Long Nineteenth Century: The Case of Stamaty, Lalas and Riadis’. Her publications include articles on Peter Warlock and studies of Berlioz in the Franco-German series Speculum Musicae (Brepols) and Die großen Komponisten (uni-edition), and she has presented her research on nineteenth-century aesthetics, philosophy and religious theories of art at international conferences and seminars. She has also been active as a music critic and CD reviewer while graduating in music.
Women’s Orchestras in Finland, 1870–1900: A Case Study of Urban Cosmopolitanism

This presentation aims to analyze the cosmopolitan tendencies of late 19th-century Finnish musical life by examining the activities of itinerant women’s orchestras. Surprisingly, these bands, which often originated from the German-speaking parts of Central and Eastern Europe, have been relatively little discussed within the academic community. Nevertheless, women’s orchestras offer an exceptionally interesting challenge for the canonized, nationalist- and masculine-oriented view on Finland’s music historiography. Following the example set by Dorothea Kaufmann’s and Margaret Myers’ studies, it is my aspiration to research this phenomenon and its inherently cosmopolitan nature by means of social and cultural history.

Since women’s orchestras were closely intertwined with the European café culture of the 19th century, my focus is on their functions and meanings in urban areas, namely those of Helsinki, Turku, Tampere and Viipuri. First, women’s orchestras’ repertoires and performances are analyzed in the context of other entertainment groups competing for employment opportunities in Finnish cities, e.g. military bands and family orchestras. Secondly, their audiences and employers are examined in detail to get a broad view on their socio-political status. As this presentation focuses on an era during which ladies’ orchestras were a relatively new phenomenon in Finland, special attention is paid to the bands’ public image as well as their position in Finnish music criticism.

Thus, I argue that women’s orchestras offer valuable insight to the spectrum of different musical influences and transnational interaction that can be found in late 19th-century Finnish urban history. In addition, this doubly-marginalized point of view has potential in enriching the current critical discussion on methodological nationalism in Finnish historiography. Even though this presentation does not concentrate on “cosmopolitanism” as a concept, the cultural practices in question may be of help in clarifying its meanings in an urban context.

Nuppu Koivisto (b. 1990) is currently working on a PhD thesis in music history at the University of Helsinki (Doctoral Programme of History and Cultural Heritage). In her thesis “‘Sweet maidens’ or ‘bringers of moral corruption’? Womens’ orchestras in Finland, 1870–1945”, she focuses on the social and cultural position of itinerant ladies’ orchestras in Finland during the 19th and 20th centuries. Koivisto has studied European history, aesthetics and literature in the University of Helsinki from 2008 to 2014 as well as 19th century French history in the Université Paris IV – La Sorbonne from 2011 to 2012. In her master’s thesis, she analyzed the nationalist and cosmopolitanist tendencies in the works of Countess Marie d’Agoult. Since 2013, Koivisto has also been working as a research assistant in the project “Rethinking Finnish Music History”, funded by the Academy of Finland and led by professor Vesa Kurkela (Sibelius Academy). In addition, Koivisto has been entrusted with the position of the secretary of the Finnish Musicological Society as well as that of a board member of the online art journal Mustekala. She has also won the award for the most distinguished master’s thesis of the academic year 2013–2014 of the department of history at her alma mater. In April 2015, Koivisto was granted the four-year Matti Klinge scholarship for doctoral studies in the field of European history, and has since then been working as an employee at the University of Helsinki.
“… for I have to change many things for the English public” — Franz Joseph Haydn as a Cosmopolitan Composer: His Reflections on the Performance of His Symphony No. 92 in G-Major (“Oxford”, Hob. I:92) During the 1792 Season of the Salomon Concerts in the Context of Compositional Mediation Between Viennese Classicism and Late Eighteenth-Century British Taste

With his reputable concert series the noted British impresario and violinist Johann Peter Salomon provided an important venue for the dissemination of the instrumental repertories of the Viennese Classicists on British soil, including the works of Franz Joseph Haydn composed specifically for this series. Featured in the 1792 concert series were three Haydn works that had originated during his Vienna years: Symphony No. 91 in Eb-Major (1788; Hob. I:91), Symphony No. 92 in G-Major (“Oxford”, 1789; Hob. I:92), and Piano Trio in Ab-Major (1790; Hob. XV:14)—works for which the composer had requested early printed scores from Vienna. While Hob. XV:14 and Hob. I:91 were performed in London without any change of the musical text, an anonymous hand introduced significant changes in Hob. I:92 — indeed an unusual practice to which Haydn makes reference in a letter (London, March 2, 1792) to Maria Anna von Genzinger (Vienna) “… for I have to change many things for the English public.” With the preservation of Hob. I:92, as autograph (Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale) and in a revised version authorized by the composer (Manuscript, New York Public Library, Music Division), the latter source with its careful juxtaposition of Viennese Classicism and late-eighteenth-century British taste, destined for the London performance, Haydn may have reflected on a parallel case, namely, the arrangement of George Frideric Handel’s Messiah (HWV 56), which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, in response to a commission from Baron Gottfried van Swieten, had completed in the spring of 1789 (KV 572), specifically for performances in Vienna on March 6 and April 7, 1789.

Recipient of an M.Phil. and a Ph.D., both in musicology, from Yale University, Walter Kreyszig is professor of musicology at the University of Saskatchewan, where he teaches musicology, history of theory, performance practices, paleography, organology, and music bibliography, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. A Fellow of the American Biographical Institute (Raleigh, North Carolina) and a Deputy Director General of the International Biographical Centre (Cambridge, England), Dr. Kreyszig has published widely on the music of the First Viennese School of Composition and nineteenth-century repertoires in journals (including Ad Parnassum: a Journal of Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music; Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik; Mozart-Jahrbuch; Musicologica Austriaca; Revista de Musicologia; Studien zur Musikwissenschaft: Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich; Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario), musicological series (including Boccherini Studies; RILM Perspectives; Reihe Wissenschaft und Kunst; Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Theorie und Interpretation der Musik; Speculum musicæ; Studies on Italian Music History), Festschriften (including Gernot Gruber, Christian Speck), and conference proceedings.
Escaping “the black cauldron”: Fartein Valen and Pauline Hall in the ISCM

At the moment, I consider it best to withdraw a little, if not, I might be put into the black [cannibals’] cauldron again... If I should be presented at an international music festival for the third time, some of the representatives of the extreme nationalist school would probably fly off the handle with rage.

(Valen in a letter to Hall 12.10.1948)

In the summer of 1938, after once again having been fiercely attacked by nationalist composers in Oslo, Fartein Valen (1887–1952) withdrew to seclusion in his home village, Valevåg. From this geographically peripheral position, he continued to develop what might be characterized as his poetic universalism, in an atonal musical language.

The very same summer the composer and high-profile critic Pauline Hall (1890–1969) brought some of Valen’s scores with her to the festival of the International Society of contemporary Music in London. Soon after returning, Hall established a Norwegian section of the ISCM. This was the starting point of an alliance between the two that would eventually lead to what is considered Valen’s international breakthrough at the ISCM festivals in 1947, 1948 and 1951.

The aim of the paper is to explore and discuss the cosmopolitan ideas that united these seemingly different personalities: the introvert aesthete Valen on one hand, and Hall on the other, who fiercely debated the “nationalist trolls” in public and was an outspoken organizer and delegate of the ISCM from 1938 to 1959. Although their artistic and verbal means of expression were different, I will argue that they both strived to belong to a global community in which music was “the language of all mankind” (Valen 1950) and “a uniting international force, not a vehicle for nationalist isolation” (Hall 1963).

Astrid Kvalbein is a postdoctoral research fellow in the department of musicology at the University of Oslo, specializing in Norwegian music history of the twentieth and twenty-first century. Her PhD-project (2013) was a study of the composer Pauline Hall (1890–1969), whose manifold work in the musical life of Norway related to different concepts of modernity. Her postdoctoral research is part of a project on the modernist composer Fartein Valen (1887–1952), focusing on cultural-historical aspects of his life and work. Kvalbein is also a freelance music critic for the daily newspaper Aftenposten, and a singer with a particular interest in contemporary music.
Transnationalization of Lutheran Hymns: Cultural Transfer and Exchange between Germany and South Africa

Do hymns reflect cosmopolitan musical processes and could they be used to build a post national understanding of the social and cultural influences of the musical past? The Evangelical Lutheran Church began in Germany in 1517 and since then has become a cosmopolitan belief system. The aim of this study was to investigate how Evangelical Lutheran hymns have been adopted and adapted within different cultures leading to a cosmopolitan interpretation of the words and musical form. The method was based on acculturation and an overview of the distribution of Evangelical Lutheran churches in Germany and South Africa. Six congregations in each country were visited and the singing of three hymns Tlotlang Modimo/Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr; Modimo wa legodimong/Ein wahrer Glaube Gotts Zorn stillt and Ba bohle lebogang Modimo/Nun danket alle Gott were observed and recorded in each. These recordings and observations were used for interpretation of cultural influences, social interweaving and mutual dependence, by musical analysis of how the two Evangelical Lutheran hymns were interpreted and sung in each country. The results showed that although Evangelical Lutheran churches were distributed throughout both countries, there were cultural differences in musical interpretation of the hymns in South Africa and Germany. The words have been translated into local languages and dialects and the music has aligned to indigenous rhythms, instruments and dance, yet they remain Lutheran hymns. It was also shown that the musical nature of the hymns appeared to be influenced by cultural differences between churches within Germany and South Africa. It was concluded that Evangelical Lutheran hymns are an example of musical processes that signal the emergence of a cosmopolitan society.

Dr Morakeng Edward Kenneth Lebaka is an African Musical Arts Researcher and Old Testament Scholar, and is currently attached to the University of Pretoria as a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in the Department of Old Testament Studies, Faculty of Theology. He obtained his BA (Hons), cum laude; BMus (Hons), with distinctions in Music Pedagogics and Ethnomusicology; Master of Arts, cum laude and PhD degrees in Biblical and Religious Studies from the University of Pretoria under the supervision of Prof Dirk Human. During his study for the Master of Arts degree, Edward integrated music and indigenous African religion in his thesis ‘The Ritual use of Music in Indigenous African religion: A Pedi Perspective’. He completed a Doctor of Philosophy degree with a thesis on ‘Psalm-like Texts in African Culture: A Pedi Perspective’. His research is interdisciplinary, cutting across several themes – African traditional religion, African theological thought, African music; Biblical Psalms, Pedi Psalm-like songs, Music in the Bible, heritage, African culture and identity. His research career has been diverse in focus and influenced by prolific international figures and a diversity of contacts. He has made his mark internationally in the fields of African traditional religion and African musical arts during studies and conferences in Finland, the Netherlands, Australia, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Brazil, Austria, India, London, Russia, Nigeria, Poland, Turkey, Canada, Malawi, Sweden and the United States of America. In 1999, Edward initiated a co-operation agreement for student and staff exchange between the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, and the University of Pretoria, University of South Africa (UNISA), North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus); as well as Universities in Botswana, Kenya
and Zimbabwe. This agreement is still on-going. Edward has a vast research experience and has published articles and chapters in books in a number of local regional and international peer reviewed journals. He has given invited lectures in Finland, Australia, Portugal, Brazil, India and Spain, as well as South Africa. Edward has excellent in-depth knowledge and a strategic understanding of both basic and higher education environment. He places a high premium on research and considers the creation, application and transfer of knowledge as one of its major tasks. He has a particular interest in music and theology including religious education and regularly writes and takes workshops linking these areas together. Edward was previously a teacher, principal of school, district and regional coordinator for Arts & Culture in Sekhukhune & Nebo districts (Limpopo Province), research assistant at the University of Pretoria and University of South Africa (UNISA), Head of the Magnet school of music (Gauteng Department of Education) and artistic director of the University of Pretoria Brass Band. His multi-disciplinary background has been an advantage to fitting into any field of endeavor both in the private and public sectors.
The Cosmopolitan Archive: Jurisdictions and Local Sound Worlds of Shanghai, 1930–1950

Studies of 1930s and 1940s Shanghai abound: examples include *Shanghai Modern* (Lee, 1999) and *Shanghai's Dancing World* (Field, 2011), to name but a few. These contributions have largely focused on the city as a cosmopolis. Given Shanghai’s multinational demographic, cosmopolitanism is an ever-pertinent frame of inquiry. Yet it also produces a ‘broadstroke’ music history centered on nightlife and cultural discourse, and falls short of hearing the various local sound worlds that emerged from a fissured as well as shifting urban geography. In two decades alone the city witnessed foreign-and-Chinese areas, Japanese military occupation, Chinese Nationalist sovereignty after the Second World War and the Communist takeover in 1949.

Proposing a new twist, this paper taps into the ‘cosmopolitan archive’—by which I refer to surviving and multi-lingual documents from Shanghai’s cross-cultural and pre-Communist past. Drawing on this archive, I hope to offer a sense of the different local sound worlds in jurisdictional context. First, I consider the ‘discordant’ sound world of the French Concession, evaluating French materials on municipal regulation and musical entertainment in a supposedly exclusive district. Second, I examine the perplexing sound world of ‘Little Vienna’ in wartime Shanghai, cross-analysing German musical advertisements with Japanese records to understand how and why refugee cafés flourished in a zone in which European Jewish refugees were confined. Third, I explore the purportedly distinct sound world of cafés in post-war Shanghai, discussing Nationalist administrative papers and cafés’ attempts to differentiate themselves from dance halls. Finally, I ponder how these multi-/jurisdictional sounds, coupled with the cosmopolitan archive, point to a social history of live music—one that complements but also nuances the global metropolis narrative associated with 1930s and 1940s Shanghai.

Yvonne Liao is a final-year PhD candidate at King’s College London. Her project is provisionally titled ‘Texted Sound, Unwritten Past: Western Music and Municipality in Shanghai, c.1930–1950’. Her interests revolve around popular music history and western soundscapes in Chinese treaty ports. Yvonne has a forthcoming article in *The Musical Quarterly*. She holds degrees from Oxford, SOAS and Columbia, and worked at Naxos and Universal Music Hong Kong prior to the PhD.
Perception of Music in 19th-century Travel Writings: Music Stereotypes across the boundaries of the Italian Peninsula

In recent times, the history of international relations has been affected by a transnational turn, which allows us to reconceptualise spaces and to question the validity of national categories of analysis. For many years historians have studied the role and meaning of the Grand Tour for the fashioning of a cosmopolitan aristocratic elite in countries such as Britain, France, and German lands. While its relevance to the cultural transfer is extensively discussed, we know far less about the role of music in the process of cultural transfer and in the emergence of an international canon of aesthetic appreciation, which was also posing a contrast between the internationalisation of cultural practices and the age of nationalism.

The analysis of numerous travel descriptions of Italy, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, will allow us to reconstruct the stereotypes linked to the perception of different parts of the peninsula and its music, while at the same time adding a new interdisciplinary dimension to our understanding of the Grand Tour. While the cosmopolitan aristocracy travelled throughout Europe sharing ideals and values, their accounts (diaries, letters, treatises, etc.) are indeed linked to stereotypes which had a deep and durable impact, thus they shall be revealed as integral and substantive part of the main cultural paradigms for the self-awareness of Italians during the long Nineteenth century.

The analysis of descriptive models elaborated in these accounts, as well as of their reflection on some similar works by Italian authors, seeks to address fundamental issues regarding the construction of Italian musical identity and canon during the period preceding the political Unification. This canon will be later considered as an authentic mark of Italy as a whole, while we should consider how different cultural contests reacted to demands and judgments from abroad.

Valeria Lucentini obtained a Bachelor degree in History of Cultural Heritage (Musicology) at the University of Padua in 2013, and her Master degree in Musicology at the University of Bern in 2015. Since December 2013 she has been Forschungshilfsassistentin (Research assistant) to prof. Anselm Gerhard, in a project concerning new aspects of Verdianism mythography. She is currently a PhD student at University of Bern and at the Institute of Advanced Studies Walter Benjamin Kolleg (with an Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies program), with a project entitled “The Role of Music in the Grand Tour: 18th-century Travel Writing and the Formation of Stereotypes on Italian National Character”. She was speaker at the XVIII Colloquio di Musicologia del Saggiatore musicale (Bologna, 2014), at the bilingual conference ‘The European Salon: Nineteenth-Century Salonmusik’ (Maynooth, 2015), with a paper entitled “Music as Reflection of Aristocratic Society in pre-1848 Italy. Cosmopolitanism in Salons and Nationalism in the Street” and she gave a talk entitled “Giuseppe Poniatowski (1816–1873), an Italian aristocratic dilettante: a case study” at King’s College London (2015). She published the article “Performance as source. A new document on the genesis of Berg's Wozzeck” in Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft (2015). She has collaborated with Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, the Jürgen Höfflich Verlag and Verdiperspektiven.
Cantus and Rationalization, Commodification and Sanctification: Sociology of Western Art Music as a Cosmopolitan Discipline

Calls for "cosmopolitanization" of music history and related disciplines may be somewhat misplaced, as these already exhibit major cosmopolitan features. In this paper I show that the Sociology of Western Art Musics (WAM) is "cosmopolitan" and has employed both ideas and methodology of cosmopolitanism.

I cite studies of Cantus: of Gregorian and other chant, of troubadour, etc. musics addressing sociological facets, e.g. class relations among singers, patrons, and audiences and recruitment, socialization, status, and power in monastic, ecclesiastical, and knightly orders, which are "cosmopolitan" in all or most respects.

The emergence of notation, harmony and counterpoint are analyzed most prominently by sociologist Max Weber (1958). He relates the "rationalization" of WAM to his more general theory of rationalization and Western means-ends social action and organization, a distinctly "cosmopolitan" analysis.

Best-known among 20th Century sociologists of music, Theodor Adorno's sociology of music (1932, 1962) derives directly from his quasi-Marxian analysis (1951) of the "Culture Industry" which portrays the commodification of art and culture generally, (described by others as decline of patronage and rise of privately-promoted "musicking"). Locating composers, performers, and audiences with respect to commodification (e.g." authenticity," "truth value," status relations, listener classification, etc.) figures prominently in Adorno's "sociology" of musics which is both "cosmopolitan" in outlook and invokes "cosmopolitan methodology."

Finally, I show that "secular" WAM composers have introduced sanctifying elements, rendering their audiences "believers" or "congregations." I present examples where composers cited are artist "seekers of the sacred" in the sense of Durkheim (1961) and Sherwood (2006). For some, these are substitute belief regimes, or substitute "totems." "Sanctification" of the musics renders both performers and audiences participants in ritual-like events. Several scholars have noted the affinity of WAM to religious ritual and observance. This topic and approach too are inherently "cosmopolitan" and analysis invokes "cosmopolitan methodology."

Judah Matras is Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at Carleton University, Ottawa, and at the University of Haifa. He has degrees in Statistics (B.Sc.) and in Sociology (M.A. and Ph.D.) from the University of Chicago, has had Visiting Professor appointments at the University of Chicago, at University of Wisconsin, Madison, at University of Washington, Seattle, at Harvard University, and at Nuffield College, Oxford. Although most of his career research, publications, and teaching were devoted to social stratification and mobility, population studies, and social gerontology. In later teaching years at the University of Haifa he taught courses and seminars in the Sociology of Music. He has presented and published a number of research papers in this field.
From Italian Codification to Vernacular Annotation of Tempo: Modes of Writing and Cosmopolitan Values in the Scores of Edward Grieg

The renunciation of generic Italian tempo codes in musical scores correlates with the rise of subjectivity at the beginning of the 19th century. Most famous are Beethoven’s assaults against the ‘ordinary tempi’ Allegro, Andante, Adagio, and Presto, which no longer were capable of expressing the individual ‘character’ of the themes and movements in his works written in the ‘new style’ (Dahlhaus, 1991). In the wake of Beethoven’s revolution of musical language, composers abandoned the codified Italian system in favour of their own mother tongue, such as Schumann (Barthes, 1975).

Grieg is the Norwegian composer who (still) epitomizes the ideal of a cosmopolitan artist in the long 19th century. In this paper, I will examine how Edward Grieg addressed this responsibility in different works belonging to different genres and representing different stages of his compositional output. The question raised in this paper is to which extend Grieg’s stance towards idiomatic semantification and universal codes of tempo signifies the cultural tension between national and universal identities. Hopefully, this will bring new knowledge to our understanding of how his compositional writing conveys cosmopolitan values.

Arnulf Christian Mattes is associated professor at the University of Bergen Centre for Grieg Research. He studied the cello at the Staatliche Musikhochschule Trossingen, and gained a PhD in musicology at the University of Oslo with a dissertation on Schoenberg's late chamber works. In 2009 he received a three-year research grant from the Norwegian Research Council for the postdoctoral project 'Musical Expression in Transforming Cultures: A Comparative Study of Rudolf Kolisch's Performance Practice'. Since 2012, Mattes has been affiliated as researcher with the on-going project on Fartein Valen, funded by the Norwegian Research Council.
Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism in Music Historiography: Tensions that are not to disappear soon

Resulting from thorough research into the complexities of constructing national identities, a lot of intellectual effort has been made in the recent times aiming at rethinking the writing of national political and cultural histories. Paradigms that were dominant in the 19th century and later, until the end of WW2, have been subject to change in the last decades, mainly through questioning the national borders as decisively defining the ethnical composition of people living within those borders. The roles and contributions of other ethnic groups that had lived on those territories in earlier periods of time, as well as of national minorities then and today, are often minimised or appropriated by today’s dominant nations. In order to put things in the right perspective it would be necessary to examine the possibilities of “denationalising national histories” (M. Detienne) and more specifically for us musicologists, to “denationalise music histories“ (J. Samson). It is not an easy task, either in the spaces of traditional and popular music, or in that of art music.

The idea of my paper would be to examine the tensions between cosmopolitan and nationalist approaches to writing music histories of the Balkan nations. The majority of those nations having become independent only after the fall of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, they had to establish their separate national identities by nationalising the diverse traditions that had survived until then. National and ethnical borders not coinciding (which was a constant source of conflicts), music histories of Balkan peoples give evidence to different ways of appropriation of the past within the contested state borders. It is therefore hard to find a balanced work by insider historians. On the other hand there are works by outsider musicologists who are rather successful in achieving inclusive and complex narratives that do justice to the relevant phenomena and to the shared heritage, giving away the usual stereotyped views.

Three short case studies of contemporary Serbian composers living in the country and abroad will aim at emphasising the changed relation to cosmopolitanism in our time.

Melita Milin is senior fellow and director of the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade, Serbia. She graduated musicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade and obtained her PhD degree from the Philosophical faculty in Ljubljana. She was member of international projects on musicians’ correspondences („Musikerbriefe als Spiegel ueberregionaler Kulturbeziehungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa“, 2001–2003) and migrating musicians („Musica migrans“ I, 2007–2008), both organized by Prof. Helmut Loos, University of Leipzig. She was also leader of the Serbian team on the bilateral project “Serbian and Greek art music. Basic research for a comparative study“, 2005–2007 (the leader of the whole project was Prof. Romanou, University of Athens). Since 2011 she has been the leader of the main project of the Institute of Musicology: Serbian musical identities within local and global frameworks: traditions, changes, challenges. Melita Milin was one of the founders and editor-in-chief of the first five issues of the international journal Muzikologija (2001–2005) and has been member of its...
editorial staff since then. Melita Milin’s research is focused on 20th-century Serbian music in the context of contemporary musical developments in Europe. Special attention is devoted to the oeuvre of Serbian woman composer Ljubica Marić, then to Serbian music between the two world wars, and also to the most recent art music production. Her investigations include the study of influences of dominant ideologies (national and political) on composers’ works and their relations to aesthetical programs and practices elsewhere in the world.
Musical cosmopolitanism and the urban songs of Korça (Albania)

During the second half of the twentieth century, Albania was ruled by a communist dictatorship. On a musical level, a rigid state institutionalized system has been instigated, following soviet models. Any musical expression had to be in line with the intentions and strategies of a totalitarian state that put a particular emphasis on its national “purity” and “authenticity”. All this in a country that from the 1970s and on was almost totally isolated to the outside world.

There was however a particular urban expression that resisted to this rigid framework. An urban song genre developed in the city of Korça (southeast of Albania) provided a very interesting case-study. Experiencing a latent condition until the regime’s fall, this genre has “creolized” patterns, in opposite with that “purity” and “authenticity” that was propagated by the official ideology.

In this paper, I am going to discuss about a particular form of musical cosmopolitanism that distinguishes this song genre and that I was able to trace through a singular project. It involved a 78 years old female singer as protagonist and a small group of local musicians that performed together a number of songs from that period, thanks to a specific association between present and past musical experiences.

Mikaela Minga works as research scholar in the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Arts Studies. Areas of interest and research: Musicology; Aesthetics; Anthropology; Place; Music in Albania and Albanian Studies; Memory Studies; Popular music and Film Studies.
Ivanhoe, Pastiche Opera, and the Cosmopolitan Ideal in Nineteenth Century Paris

In the 1820s, Paris’s Odeon Theater commissioned two operatic adaptations of Walter Scott’s Ivanhoe. Both were examples of pastiche opera: a genre in which new works were created by fitting music from older operas with new plots. The first adaptation – Robin des bois (1824) – was a posthumous transformation of Weber’s Der Freischütz (1821) into a Robin Hood opera with a libretto by Castil-Blaze. The second – Ivanhoé (1826) – borrowed music from eleven Rossini operas. In both cases, these pastiches seemed to flaunt their international pedigrees: a novel by a popular Scottish author was adapted for the Parisian stage by French authors with music by prominent Italian and German composers.

My paper will examine the enduring presence of these Ivanhoe pastiches on the Parisian stage to theorize the importance of cosmopolitanism to our understanding of nineteenth century music history writ large. My focus will fall on two revivals of Robin des bois – the first a 60-performance run at the Opéra comique in 1835, the second a 201-performance run at the Théâtre lyrique from 1855 to 1867. The second run crucially postdates Hector Berlioz’s Le Freischütz (1841), a carefully edited French-language edition of Weber’s original. Castil-Blaze’s more cosmopolitan pastiche surpassed the popularity of Berlioz’s more authentic version in terms of number of performances throughout the nineteenth century, and essentially supplanted it on the Parisian stage during the second empire. Reactions from the press in 1835, 1841, and 1855 further attest to a preference for the pastiche in spite of a general acknowledgement of its inauthenticity.

These case studies highlight a disparity between the current histories of nineteenth-century music that emphasize originality, artistic independence, authenticity, and nationalism, and the cultural practices of so many artists and institutions that valued adaptation, collaboration, imaginative revisions, and cosmopolitanism.

Peter Mondelli has served as an assistant professor of music history at the University of North Texas since 2012. He is currently completing a book project, titled Opera, Print, and Capital in Nineteenth-Century Paris. He has presented his research at conferences in the US, UK, and Canada, and published in 19th Century Music.
Frederick Stock and the Sound of European Cosmopolitanism in Chicago

In the early years of the twentieth century the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (CSO), led by German-born conductor Frederick Stock, gave U.S. premieres to a number of works by well-known European composers. In addition to the American premiere of Schoenberg’s *Five Pieces for Orchestra*, Op. 16 (31 October 1913), Stock facilitated U.S. premieres of compositions by Elgar, Debussy, Strauss, and Mahler. Through this cultural exchange, Chicagoans became exposed to various strands of European musical modernism. In contrast to the struggle faced by thousands of actual European immigrants, many from Bohemia, Germany, and Austria, this music generally found a warm welcome in the American Midwest. A case study of CSO’s programming choices and their reception during Stock’s tenure (1905–1942) illuminates the importance of music as a social currency during cultural transfer. The friction between the struggles of émigré Europeans’ and the simultaneous wholehearted embrace of their compatriot’s music exemplifies the dissonance between cosmopolitanism as a moral doctrine and the realities of human migration.

The desirability of European art music, especially German and Austrian, stands in stark opposition to the experience of the average émigré and introduces several complicating factors to a discussion of Stock’s CSO. Until 1991 only European-born conductors led the CSO (founded 1891). These musicians brought old world musical tastes and training to America’s – at the time – second-largest metropolis, disseminating a particular sound culture to, potentially, millions of Americans. Those not privilege to the initial concert could still participate in this exchange through the myriad of printed reviews that were circulated in newspapers throughout the country. By providing an historical and cultural context for these musical transfers, including an understanding of discussions of cosmopolitanism by Stock’s contemporaries, we approach a methodology that reconciles musical interchange and the real experiences of migration.

Sarah Elaine Neill holds a Ph.D. in Musicology from Duke University. Her dissertation, “The Modernist Kaleidoscope: Schoenberg’s Reception History in England, America, Austria and Germany 1908–1924” explored the role of early reviews and cultural context in the reception history of Schoenberg’s early free atonal works. She is completing an article exploring *Deutschium* in Czechoslovakia and listener identity at *Erwartung*’s world premiere in Prague (1924), and is researching the social politics of Grunge in 1990s America. Currently, she is an instructor for Duke University’s Thompson Writing Program teaching at Duke Kunshan University in Kunshan, China.
Paul Robeson’s Gifted Voice, or Listening in Friendship

The art, life, and especially politics of Paul Robeson would seem obvious subjects for a study of cosmopolitanism. During his lifetime, from already quite early in his career, Robeson bore the epithet “citizen of the world”; one which according to at least one biography – Shirley Graham’s *Paul Robeson: Citizen of the World* (1946) – would define his identity. His cosmopolitics would also inform his aesthetics: his thinking about a universal music history and his own song practice. And recent scholarship has explored these relationships according to several frameworks: international labour, “colored cosmopolitanism” (Slate, 2012), black internationalism. The premise of that work, however, is that Robeson’s cosmopolitanism resided first and foremost on the level of the political. In this paper I approach Robeson’s cosmopolitanism from the other side.

Through an analysis of the discourse of several thousand fan letters I explore how the singer’s global audiences listened to him; how in particular they construed their relationship to Robeson in the terms of friendship. In other words, from this epistolary evidence of “ordinary” people I focus on what some theorists of cosmopolitanism have termed everyday or banal cosmopolitanism. What one of Robeson’s correspondents called “our musical friendship” was, I argue, an effect of affect. And so I consider, following the now commonplace that it is through affect that cosmopolitan ethics may be transformed into action, also how Robeson’s voice functioned as a gift within a global economy of affect; how Robeson envoiced a generosity that interpellated his listeners as responsible subjects.

Grant Olwage is a lecturer in the Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He is editor of *Composing Apartheid*, and is working on a monograph on Paul Robeson’s voice. His writing on Robeson appears in the *Journal of Musicology, Journal of Singing, Journal of the Society for American Music*, and is forthcoming in *The Musical Quarterly.*
Placing Warsaw on the Operatic Map of Eighteenth-Century Europe

The image of eighteenth-century operatic culture in Europe is incomplete. While musicology has been constrained by the borders of its principal focus on major musical centers, opera in the second half of the eighteenth century was unrestricted by geographical or linguistic boundaries and travelled throughout the entire continent. In the age of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism, the ascension of bourgeois musical culture, and the opening of many new public theaters, operas circulated widely, often performed by the same singers in different locations. The newly established German, Polish, Russian, Danish, or Swedish operas relied on well-known Italian and French models, while they also struggled to initiate new national operatic traditions. It is only through this broad context that the cultural significance of classical-period opera can be fully understood.

Eighteenth-century opera in Poland is one of the neglected terrains in musicology that deserves more consideration. Operatic life of Warsaw became particularly hectic during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795), when specific political and socio-economic circumstances generated a vivid cosmopolitan environment. With the opening of the first public theater in 1765, Warsaw participated intensively in the European exchange of operatic works and performers, providing a platform for Italian, French, German, and Polish troupes.

My examination of the Warsaw public theater in the first period of its activity – as part of a European labor market for singers and impresarios, a medium for a growing collection of favorite works, and a place of rivalry between international operatic troupes – reveals an energetic opera center with extensive offerings. In this paper I will argue that the membership in the broad international opera network, which eventually gave an impulse for national production, determines the position of Warsaw on the operatic map of eighteenth-century Europe.

Anna Parkitna is a PhD candidate in music history and theory at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. In her dissertation Opera in Warsaw, 1765–1830: Operatic Migration, Adaptation, and Reception in the Enlightenment she explores cosmopolitan and national currents in Warsaw's operatic culture within the context of European circulation of repertory and performers. Anna's research in Poland and Germany has been supported by stipends from the Max Weber Foundation and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation. She is currently a visiting junior scholar at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw. Anna has presented papers at musicological conferences and research institutions in the United States and Europe, most recently at the 1st Transnational Opera Studies Conference in Bologna, Italy. At her home university, she has worked as a graduate teaching and research assistant. Anna was also awarded the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts (harpischord performance) in 2014.
Tip, Trinkgeld, Bakšiš: Cosmopolitan and Other Strategies in the Entertainment Business of Habsburg Sarajevo before the Great War

Touring music and dance groups, which performed in pre-Great War Europe, utilised several strategies for maximizing their audiences and earnings. A typical Viennese ladies’ salon orchestra, which often included non-German members from other parts of Austria-Hungary, concentrated on Viennese salon and popular music and Western classical music. The vocals – if any – were mainly in German but Italian and even French were also possible. Such a strategy attracted specific audiences of educated classes, mainly Central Europeans. The Serbian all-Roma band of Vaso Stanković-Andolija, on the other hand, had a large multilingual folk and popular music repertoire in Serbian, German and Hungarian which was instrumental in receiving tips from multi-ethnic audiences of various social backgrounds.

The third strategy – that of Exoticism and Orientalism – was typical of folksy ladies’ orchestras with usually cosmopolitan line-ups. These bands in folk costume (Ger. Trachtenkapellen) could specialise in one ethnic tradition – musicians from Croatia representing themselves as Bosnian Muslims and playing Bosnian music on tamburica lutes for Central European audiences and tourists. Another variation was a line-up with musical, vocal and dance repertoire of several ethnicities. The musicians and dancers changed folk costumes according to the represented ethnic tradition in question. To maximise audiences and profits, these bands could have names with almost all-inclusive epithets like ‘Kroatisches, Serbisches, Ungarisches, Orientalisches Tamburitza-Damen-Ensemble’. The show of such a band was likely to attract varied audiences and encourage generous tipping.

Risto Pekka Pennanen is an Adjunct Professor at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Tampere, Finland. Formerly a Humboldt Research Fellow at the Department of Musicology at Georg-August-University in Göttingen and a Research Fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, he is currently an Experienced Research Fellow of the Kone Foundation. Pennanen has published on the Balkans, especially the Ottoman Balkans, Greece, Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on music, politics and power, soundscape, discography and the canons of music history and folk music research in the peninsula. His current research project is named Music, Musicians, Soundscape and Colonial Policies in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918.
Comrade Frycek travels again: cosmopolitan Chopin in communist Poland

In 1945, members of the Fryderyk Chopin Institute hatched an ambitious plan: a yearlong celebration to mark the centenary of Chopin’s death would not only fete their most canonic composer, but also broadcast Poland’s wartime resilience to an international audience. By the opening of the 1949 Chopin Year, the festivities had grown in scale, with state patronage ensuring concerts in factories, a publication of Chopin’s complete works, the commission of compositions in Chopin’s honor, countless performances, and even a feature film. This paper considers how the 1949 Chopin Year operated as a vehicle for international musical exchange, as officials and musicians organized events across Europe, as well as in Mexico, Brazil, the United States, and Egypt.

By drawing on hitherto un-considered archival sources of the Polish Ministry of Culture's Office of Foreign Cooperation, I offer a new view of musical transnationalism in the immediate wake of WWII. Although scholars have long considered how contemporary political circumstances contributed to the musical opposition of Western and Soviet musical practices, I argue here that early cold war exchanges also re-interpreted longer transnational music histories. The Ministry organized "historical concerts" in the cities where Chopin had lived or performed, re-enacting nineteenth-century performances with appropriate repertoire and Polish pianists. In this way the worldwide organization of Chopin celebrations drew on the model of Chopin's own travels and exile. I consider the rich paper trail left by such efforts, showing how organizers found Chopin a convenient vehicle for international cooperation, all the while adapting his image to fit local conditions. By extending the geographical scope of the celebrations beyond Chopin's own European travels, Polish communists hoped to re-interpret an earlier history of exile and of the international circulation of musicians, while suggesting the historical roots of communist universalism.

Mackenzie Pierce is a doctoral candidate in musicology at Cornell University, where he is writing a dissertation entitled “Music and war in mid-century Poland, 1926-50.” Pierce’s research has been presented at the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting (2015), the University of California Berkeley, and the French Academy in Rome. He is a recipient of fellowships from the Beinecke Foundation, the Kosciuszko Foundation, and the DAAD. His article on Chopin’s Préludes recently appeared in the volume Piano Culture in 19th-Century Paris (Brepols, 2015).
Musicians as Cosmopolitan Entrepreneurs: Orchestras in Finnish Cities before the City Orchestra Institution

City orchestras in Finland are without exception symphony orchestras funded by the cities. Their primary duty is to play symphony concerts. In the field of music historiography this has been considered the main task of the city orchestras already in the 19th century. This certainly was the case for the “serious music audience” (music professionals, critics, lovers of “serious art music”), from which vantage point music history has mainly been written. However, this angle gives a rather one-sided view of the function of the orchestras. In the 19th century many orchestras were founded in Finnish cities, yet playing symphony concerts was just a minor part of their activity. In addition, some of the city-funded orchestras were not symphony orchestras at all. They were brass bands.

The main reason for funding an orchestra was to contribute entertainment in the theatre and public festivities in the cities. They also had an important role in presenting new music culture (mainly transferred from Central Europe) among common people. In order to earn more money, orchestras gave popular concerts with entrance fee. If time permitted, the orchestra also gave symphony concerts. The leaders of the orchestras were without exception itinerant musicians from Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

In this paper we will present two short case studies: the founding of city-sponsored orchestras in Finnish coast towns Pori and Vaasa in the 1870’s and 1880’s. More than treating the orchestras as predecessors of modern-day symphony orchestras, we consider them, especially the role of the leaders, as a continuation of the city musician (stadtmusikanten) system in the Baltic Sea area.

Saijaleena Rantanen and Olli Heikkinen work as music history researchers at the University of the Arts Helsinki, Sibelius Academy.
Approaching jazz history from transnational perspective: what for?

Going transnational: what for? is the question the historian Pierre-Yves Saunier asks in his 2006 writing on transnational history. Paraphrasing him I will pose similar question regarding the history of jazz: What for could this term be applied and what is the new knowledge the application of the concept can provide?

My argument is that transnational angle or perspective is definitely beneficial in investigating jazz history and it could be applied in several ways. First, jazz as a cultural and musical phenomenon is transnational in its very nature--it crossed the borders of American national soil immediately after its inception in 1910s. This refers to ‘cultural transfer’ approach emphasising the adaptation and appropriation of imported cultural goods. Second, transnational angle fosters de-centralisation of national angle in history writing. While I still prefer to focus on the history of one country, I propose to put it into a broader global context. And finally, transnational approach emphasises according to Michael Werner and Benedicte Zimmermann the historian’s position vis-a-vis his object of analysis and the demand for self-reflexivity. It enables the researchers to take into consideration their embarked categories, worldviews, concepts, terminologies, as they were shaped in and by their training, their language, their positions.

The empirical evidence for the arguments is mainly based on my recently completed doctoral project on Estonian jazz history of late-Stalinist era titled as ‘Jazz in soviet Estonia from 1944 to 1953: meanings, spaces and paradoxes’.

Heli Reimann’s research activities intersect between jazz research, Soviet studies, cultural history, Estonian history and jazz education. She has published in Popular Music and Jazz Research Journal, and contributed to several book chapters. Reimann recently completed her PhD project titled 'Jazz in Soviet Estonia from 1944 to 1953: meanings, spaces and paradoxes' at the University of Helsinki. Her deep interest in jazz music took her to the Sibelius Academy Jazz Department, Florida State University and Rutgers University Newark (Master's Program in Jazz History and Research).
"Le jazz et la java": when *chanson française* meets jazz

It has been largely observed that *chanson française* (French song) is a much cosmopolitan genre and that many of its most famous artists are not French (Brel, Hallyday, Moustaki, and many other).

It has also been said that French musical industry and entertainment, from the beginning of the XXth century on, is a melting pot of diverse musical styles, many of which are imported from outside the country.

This paper will focus on one particular case of musical mixture which has been realized in French chanson: the one with jazz. It begins as soon as the 1920s, with some *revues* in music-halls, and becomes a major trend in the 1930s, with Mireille, Trenet, Sablon promoting its modern sounds in music-halls, and with the existence of Le Bœuf sur le toit, a Parisian *cabaret*. Later on, in the 1950s, jazz is still of great importance in *chanson*, be it in music-hall (Yves Montand) or in more confidential and sophisticated songs of Boris Vian or Serge Gainsbourg.

What does jazz mean to these artists? Is it merely the sound of modernity? has it a USA flavor? Is it more considered as a "savage" music than as an "American" one? The exotic touch about it may be interpreted in multiple ways. A second train of question will be addressed, concerning music: what is it, actually, that sounds "jazz" in "Couchés dans le foin" by Mireille, or "Y a d'la joie" by Trenet? Hasn't that jazz sound changed a lot when, after the second world war, it is used in many songs of the Montand show at the Théâtre de l'Etoile (1954)?

**Catherine Rudent** is a researcher and a teacher at Paris-Sorbonne University and in the French CNRS. She has published many papers, which currently deal with stylistic mixtures in French popular music and with vocal styles in popular music. She is the author of *L'Album de chanson* (2011) and is preparing for Routledge, along with Gérôme Guibert, *Made in France. Studies in Popular Music*. She also runs a book collection in popular music studies.
National Musics Across Borders: Theorizing Music-Power

Histories of many nation-states have traces of changes paralleling one another in the political and cultural domains. Establishment of a new regime is usually reflected in establishment of an understanding of a new “national music”. Music in this sense can be regarded as an ideological state apparatus in Althusserian terms, considering the way the state empowers itself through music. The First National Congress of Music was assembled in Mexico in 1926, in an effort to determine the music that fits the national identity which is proper for the post-revolutionary state. Likewise, the classical music of the Ottoman court was excluded from conservatory curricula in Turkey in 1920s so as to ensure that the new state gets rid of the remnants of the fallen empire in every domain of social life. On the other hand, the power relationship between music and the state is not merely one of a hierarchy. The state can well be disempowered by music and find the only way out by despising musicians, as in the case of Shostakovich in Stalin’s Soviet Russia. Those interplays of music-power might result in emergence of new genres which, rather unsuccessfully in the eyes of the state, manage to spread beyond borders and become transnational. Chalga of Bulgaria and Arabesk of Turkey, in a similar way, emerged as a reaction against the imposed folk musics by the state and found routes to become popular in different countries in Europe. This paper aims at finding a theoretical common ground for the relationship between music and the state concerning national and transnational outcomes of political processes. Wittgenstein’s understanding of meaning, Althusser’s understanding of the state and Bourdieu’s understanding of field will be benefitted from in explaining the parallelism between interplays of music-power in different countries in the 20th century.

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Serkan Özçifci is a research assistant at Hacettepe University, Turkey. He holds an MS degree in musicology and is a PhD candidate in Music Theories. His fields of interest are music theory and early music.
Tracing Italian Opera in the Eastern Adriatic theatres: peculiarities, productions and role of national identity (1861–1918)

This research aims to track the presence and role of Italian opera within the theaters that overlook the coast of present Slovenia and Croatia in the age immediately following the unification of Italy – until the end of the First World War. From Rijeka to Dubrovnik, through Zadar, Šibenik and Split, the archival material collected so far allows us to reconstruct the circuits of the major opera companies, the relationships between impresari and theatrical directions, identifying contacts that publishers and their representatives from Milan, Rome and Venice had with the area of the coast.

Most of the documents found are written in Italian: in fact, since the beginning of the Napoleonic domination, the Italian was established as the official language for the territory under consideration. Its presence then will fade, because of the policy of "de-Italianisation" of Istria and Dalmatia, promoted since 1866 by Emperor Franz Joseph.

How far did this politics affect the musical culture related to opera? How did the Austro-Hungarian administration intervene in censorship operations?

The progressive Germanization and Slavicization of the area, pursued with the clear intention to remove the intellectual dominance of Venice, did not stop impresari in hiring Italian opera companies for one or more seasons. The companies came from the hinterland, while the musicians were for the most part local.

Can we speak of "cultural resistance" of Italian opera in the territories taken into consideration? With the end of the Nineteenth Century, Italian opera began a slow and gradual coexistence with other forms and genres (Croatian opera, operetta, etc.).

Representations, more and more often in Italian and Croatian – as in the emblematic case of the Theatre Mazzoleni in Šibenik – were a reflection of a process of mix between different cultures, at the crossroads of the Slavic, Germanic and Roman world.

Cristina Scuderi is an Italian post doc researcher working at the Karl Franzens University of Graz. Journalist and "perito musicale" to the Civil Court of Udine, graduated in History of Music and in Organ, Harpsichord and Electronic Music, after the PhD she has worked for the Universities of Fribourg (CH) and Stuttgart (DE) supported by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the DAAD. She has participated in international and national conferences all around Europe and lectured at the Martin Luther Universität Halle, the Comenius University of Bratislava and the University of Ljubljana.

Recipient of several fellowships, she has also taught at the Conservatory of Venice, the University of Padua, and has worked for the University of Udine, Teatro La Fenice Venice and MartLAB (Conservatory of Florence). Since 2005 she has been responsible for the organization of "Contemporanea" New Music Festival and for the International Composition Competition "Città di Udine". Currently she is working at her habilitation project Tracing Italian Opera in the Eastern Adriatic Theatres: peculiarities, productions and national identity (1861–1918).

More info on: www.cristinascuderi.it
**Ligeti on both sides of the Iron Curtain: from the ethnic to the cosmopolitan**

The paper explores the ethnic substance of Ligeti’s chameleon-like musical personality, relying on recent findings at the Sacher Foundation.

Before moving to Budapest (1945), Ligeti was able to experience a musical model unique to his native Transylvania, that of a free cultural exchange among Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Jews, and other ethnic groups. In this environment, he becomes familiar with the rich folk music of the region, turning, from a very young age, into a „polyglot” in terms of musical idioms.

This feature can be revealed first of all in the pieces composed behind the Iron Curtain, which took mostly the form of citation of Hungarian and Romanian folk music. A far more interesting case is the oeuvre composed from the late 70s on, when Ligeti engaged more consciously with cross-cultural influences, leading to an original interplay of musical cultures.

The abundance of references found in his late manuscripts kept by the Sacher archives bear extensive annotations of a wide array of folk sources from Africa, Romania, Hungary, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Norway, Asia, etc. A multitude of folk traditions were reactivated, as if by sounding a specific ethnic note, allowing all the other related harmonics to vibrate simultaneously in sympathy. The sonorous outcome is no longer ethnic music, but an art nurtured from the aesthetics of allusions and the mash-up technique: a reflection of his imaginary Breughelland represented as a musical tower of Babel. Ligeti’s description of his Horn Trio confirms his „pan-ethnic” attitude in composition: „as if Hungary, Romania, and the Balkans were located somewhere between Africa and the Caribbean”.

Seeming like a palimpsest of idioms, his music of the mature period results in an utterly cosmopolitan vocabulary. The multiple influences are filtered, the folkloric idioms deconstructed, giving way to an original manner of playing with tradition and musical geographies.

**Bianca Țiplea Temes** is a musicologist and Reader Ph.D. of Music Theory at Gh. Dima Music Academy, Cluj. She holds a degree in Piano and Musicology, an M.A. in Musicology granted by the Gh. Dima Music Academy, leading to a Ph.D. earned both from the Music University in Bucharest, and from the University of Oviedo, Spain.

As she holds separate degrees in Musicology and in Business Management (M.B.A. granted by Babeș-Bolyai University), she combines her academic career with her post at the Transylvania Philharmonic, where she is currently head of the Artistic Department. She also held the temporary position of supervisor at the Symphony Orchestra of the Principality of Asturias, Oviedo.
Her writings cover the historical, stylistic and analytical spectrum of a wide range of composers. A special emphasis is placed on contemporary music, her principal area of research being the oeuvres of Ligeti and Kurtág. Her books have been published in Romania, and her articles in leading journals in Switzerland, Spain, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Romania, Belgium, and the U.S.A. She participated in conferences in Romania, as well as in Oldenburg, Vienna, Vilnius, Dublin, Rome, Cambridge/U.K., Belgrade, Budapest, Szombathely, Poznań, Łódź, Lucca, Madrid, Paris, and Berlin. She has been visiting professor at the University of Oviedo, at Istituto Mascagni, Livorno, and at the Paderewski Music Academy in Poznań. She was awarded four Erasmus Grants at the University of Cambridge/U.K., studying with the renowned musicologist Nicholas Cook, she received a research grant from the Paul Sacher Foundation and obtained a DAAD Scholarship at Humboldt University in Berlin, her application being supported by Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Hermann Danuser.
Miklós Rózsa: How the American Film Noir was emotionally illustrated with a distinct Hungarian syntactical language

Hollywood in the Golden Age profited from cosmopolitanism in various ways – from directors, cinematographers, to music departments that consisted of many European trained composers from cosmopolitan backgrounds, thus creating a Eurocentric hub which came to musically define the ‘dream factory’. This paper will address how the Hungarian composer Miklós Rózsa’s Film Noir style is in relation to his assimilation of devices from multiple, stylistically divergent, sources that indicated a composer whose exploration and pursuit of a holistic integration culminated in what could be described as Hungarian cosmopolitanism. The melodic syntax of Hungarian folk song and modernist harmony combined into what became an iconic sound world that encapsulated the ‘pulp fiction’ era of the mid 1940’s to the mid 1950’s in American culture. The paper ascertains the stylistic essence, and the intracultural ideas that Rózsa integrated in films such as Double Indemnity (1944), The Killers (1946), and Naked City (1948) and how this became appropriated semantically as the quintessential ‘American’ sound to mirror the dark side of the ‘American Dream’.

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**Boccherini’s Cosmopolitan Allemanda**

With roots in sixteenth-century Germany, the *Deutscher Tanz* became a musical migrant, acquiring new traits as it crossed borders into France, England, Italy, and elsewhere. Richard Hudson’s 1986 monograph on the dance type traces its movement and evolution until 1720, after which the genre is understood solely in the context of the suite. But beyond evolution and transmission, the story of the *Deutscher Tanz* signifies the emergence of a cosmopolitan society in Europe dependent upon common concepts and values. It becomes a site of social interweaving, binding together notions about geography, identity, and philosophical assumptions about the world.

Luigi Boccherini advertised these cosmopolitan associations by titling his 1779 contribution to the genre Der Teutsch Balzen, Il Ballo Tedesco, El Bayle Alman (a scribe added “allemande”). Boccherini composed the German dance while living in Spain; he sent it to his Prussian patron Friedrich Wilhelm and eventually to Paris for publication. Markings on the surviving manuscripts show unusual scribal interpretations and performance indications from Friedrich Wilhelm and his music teacher, offering clues about reception and interpretation. Compared with typical allemandes of the period, Boccherini’s forgoes baroque ornamentation and rhythms for galant phrases and architectonic devices, while its cadences and formal divisions identify its genre.

Ever an emigrant, Boccherini fluidly adapted his music and identity to suit the tastes of his patrons. In an era when musicians traveled widely, Boccherini’s sojourns exceeded his contemporaries’ in their geographical reach and cultural variety. His itinerant status has caused a major historiographical lacuna, since later writers did not know how to categorize his transnational mobility. The composer embedded the processes of cosmopolitanism in his music, including his allemande and several other genres. Boccherini’s dance not only represents his itinerant status, but also demonstrates his adaptability within Enlightenment-era Europe’s increasingly cosmopolitan culture.

**Michael Vincent** is a doctoral fellow in musicology at the University of Florida. His dissertation focuses on cosmopolitan culture and Luigi Boccherini’s chamber music. His paper “Goya, Boccherini, and *Majismo* in Enlightenment Madrid” earned the student paper award from the American Musicological Society Southern Chapter in 2015 and the Best of College Creative Research Award at the University of Florida. He has received several fellowships while attending the University of Florida, including the Tedder Family Doctoral Fellowship from The Center for Humanities and the Public Sphere to conduct dissertation research, a Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship to study in Lucca, Italy, and the Graduate School Fellowship Program for teaching and research.
Global Opera?

In his recent “global history of the nineteenth century,” *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, Jürgen Osterhammel proposes that “opera globalized early,” and the spread of opera companies and opera houses through parts of the Americas, Asia and Africa during this period would seem to invite a new narrative of operatic history that pays closer attention to global processes. But is globalization the best category for framing a transnational history of nineteenth-century opera? In my presentation, I will explore its potential – and limitations – for understanding the spread of Italian opera beyond Europe in the first half of the century. To do so, I want to consider overlaps and tensions with other explanatory (and disciplinary) frameworks, whether cosmopolitan, postcolonial or microhistorical. Meanwhile, I will also address critiques of the global turn as either modish or outmoded, or else, as in the view of Thomas Turino, naturalizing a story of capitalist expansion that might seem only to offer a familiar story of opera and elite culture retold on a wider stage.

As a focus for my discussion I will take as a case study the first opera troupe to circumnavigate the world, during the late 1820s and early 1830s, who took a repertory of Italian operas around South America and across the Pacific to Macao and Calcutta. Through an exploration of the ways that the troupe’s varied local receptions became caught in and shaped by a larger contemporary fantasy of “global opera,” I will argue that such intertwinings invite a history of opera that can productively loosen its ties to composers, works and premieres, towards an alternative account of performance-driven operatic mobility.

*Benjamin Walton* is University Senior Lecturer of Music at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Jesus College. His book on *Rossini in Restoration Paris* appeared in 2007; he edited (with Nicholas Mathew) *The Invention of Beethoven and Rossini* (2013), and he is currently editor (with Stefanie Tcharos) of *Cambridge Opera Journal*.
Between Hatred and Hybridity: Grainger’s “conscious, cultured, studious, complex stages” of Cosmopolitanism

In his 1921 article on “Nordic Characteristics in Music,” Percy Grainger (1882–1961) responded to Edvard Grieg (1843–1907) and declared: “We must go further and raise our racial art to the niveau of cosmopolitan art, so that foreign artists may recognize achievement in our art.” Grainger’s discourse reveals many contradictory impulses, from preserving a Nordic identity (which he thought was in danger of extinction) to promoting a cosmopolitan style that could embrace a universal perspective. In making his case, he adapted the writings of Madison Grant (1865–1937), whose ideas on eugenics provided the backdrop against which Nordic blood would become the measure of perfectibility in the process of cultural appropriation. Thus, through the conflation of racial politics and aesthetic philosophy, Grainger molded a unique perspective that aimed to realign the peripheral role of Scandinavian countries among established European discourses.

Yet Grainger’s concept of cosmopolitanism stood in bold opposition to the attitudes of his Norwegian colleague, who favored a Nordic identity that transcended race, nationhood, and religion. For the elder Grieg, the path to universalism in art meant not the injection of northern “whiteness” into the European experience, but an organic symbiosis of national and international traits. This study will explore these opposing affinities through three key points of entry, including: 1) the brief period of their friendship; 2) their evolving interpretations of cosmopolitanism; and 3) the extended period after Grieg’s death, during which Grainger assimilated and manipulated Nordic traits leading to a new racially-charged creed. In so doing, I will illustrate how Grainger’s unstable definition of cosmopolitanism vacillated between models of hatred and hybridity as he sought to cultivate so-called “conscious, cultured, studious, complex stages” of universality throughout the early twentieth century.

Ryan Weber, Ph.D., is an assistant professor of musicology at Misericordia University (Pennsylvania, USA), where he facilitates a program in Music and Culture. His research interests include the works of Edvard Grieg, Percy Grainger and their contemporaries, music and literature, and perceptions of cosmopolitanism. Dr. Weber’s recent articles can be found in the journals Ars Lyrica and Musicology Australia. His forthcoming projects include a volume on “Percy Grainger and his Cosmopolitan Imagination” for Nineteenth-Century Music Review and a subsequent study on cosmopolitanism in music and literature at the end of the long nineteenth century.
Cosmopolitanism in “A Country of Steam Engines”: The American Travelogues of Henri Herz and Oscar Comettant

During the 1840s and 1850s, a series of European virtuosos arrived in the United States. Leopold Meyer, Jenny Lind, and others toured nearly every corner of the country, performing a range of European repertoire. In this paper, I examine the writings of Henri Herz and Oscar Comettant, who published the most substantial American travelogues to appear in the Parisian musical press during the 1850s and 1860s. Although concert tours in mid-nineteenth-century America have generally been understood as promoting cosmopolitan sensibilities, I investigate the ways in which these Parisian writers suggest that Americans are not ready for—and even resist—cosmopolitan exchange, musically and socially. I argue that both musicians consciously construct cosmopolitan personae, and that Americans’ ostensible lack of cosmopolitanism prompts these authors to call for a teacher-student relationship between Europeans and Americans, in both art and politics. More broadly, their travelogues suggest a shift away from earlier French Romanticism by questioning the possibility of cosmopolitan musical development in Americans’ democratic, unequal, and increasingly technological society.

According to Herz and Comettant, America’s musical problem is two-pronged: Americans do not cultivate music, and they lack meaningful musical exchanges across religious and racial divides. Both musicians thus differ from Chateaubriand and Tocqueville, who had praised Americans’ preservation of European musical traditions, and who had recounted musical exchanges between white settlers and Native Americans. Instead, Herz and Comettant claim that love of technology and money stunts Americans’ artistic sensibilities, both as musicians and as listeners, and they often portray Americans’ mélange and warping of musical traditions as comical at best. Thus, I suggest that these musicians portray American creolization as inimical to participation in broader cosmopolitan culture. Just as importantly, I address how and why Parisian musicians such as Herz, Comettant, Berlioz, and Liszt used travelogues to cultivate a cosmopolitan public image.

Virginia Whealton is a PhD Candidate in Musicology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her dissertation, “Travel, Ideology, and the Geographical Imagination: Parisian Musical Travelogues, 1830–1870,” investigates how the Romantic generation of musicians in Paris used prose travelogues and travel-inspired compositions to craft their public personae and contribute to French sociopolitical discourse. Ms. Whealton’s dissertation research has been supported by several grants, most recently by a Mellon Innovating International Research and Teaching Fellowship. Past and upcoming conferences presentations include the Francophone Music Criticism Network Colloquium (2013, 2015), the North American Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music (2013), the national meeting of the American Musicological Society (November 2015), and the Fryderyk Chopin Institute and the Institute for Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences (November 2015). In addition to her research, Ms. Whealton is committed to interdisciplinary teaching, and she successfully has proposed a course on Women and Music that has been adopted into Indiana University’s general studies curriculum.
Becoming Cosmopolitan in the Cosmos: Mimesis, Alterity, and the Birth of Language in Haydn’s *Il mondo della luna*

As early-modern Europeans extended their reach across the globe, they also turned their thoughts to the sky. Alongside the rise of travel narratives, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thus gave rise to a large body of literature on extraterrestrial life spanning genres including philosophical treatises, novels, and staged works. As Peter Szendy has argued, this literature suggests a radical form of cosmopolitanism: one that understands the human world, and our belonging within it, in terms of an always-already aporetic relation with the Other.

I take this intersection of geographic power, cosmopolitan thought, and extraterrestrial fantasy as my starting point to examine Haydn’s setting of Carlo Goldoni’s immensely popular *Il mondo della luna*. Goldoni’s libretto tells the story of a deceitful astrologer who tricks a credulous man (Buonafede) into believing he has been transported to the inhabited world of the moon; although Buonafede ultimately discovers the truth, the farce succeeds in persuading him to agree to a series of marriages to which he was initially disinclined. My paper focuses on the second act, in which Buonafede gives his consent to these marriages in a euphonious, spontaneously invented lunar language. I argue that Buonafede’s mimetic adoption of the Other’s language stages an imagined birth of language through which sound becomes invested with social power—power that can cross individual, national, and even planetary boundaries.

Studies of *Il mondo della luna* thus far have read it as an allegory of various forms of alterity, including Turkish masquerade, female rebellion, and the American Revolution. I propose instead that we understand the opera as an ambivalent exploration of the cosmopolitan possibility of becoming-Other as such. It is this possibility that resounds in Act III when Buonafede—fully aware that the lunar world was a fiction—nevertheless proclaims: “I want to act like a lunar man!”

**Etha Williams** is a PhD student in historical musicology at Harvard University. Prior to beginning studies at Harvard, she completed an MA in musicology at the University of Minnesota and a BA in biology at the University of Chicago. Her eras of interest vary widely, encompassing repertoires such as late-medieval polyphony, eighteenth-century keyboard music, and later-twentieth-century modernism. Across these varied objects of study, she is interested in how musical sound, musical thought, and philosophical thought mutually condition and respond to one another. She has presented her work at conferences including the International Conference on Music, Marxism, and the Frankfurt School, the 2014 meeting of the American Musicological Society, and the 2015 Royal Musical Association Conference on Music and Philosophy.
Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth Century Opera Management

Nineteenth Century opera business can in itself be considered as cosmopolitan in terms of the transfer of works or the frequent travelling of singers. It was highly common that a new and successful Italian operatic composition transferred rapidly from Italy to Austria, France and England – with or without more or less changes to the work itself, depending on the singers engaged or the opera house in which it was performed. In relation to the transfers of works there also evolved a transcultural and internationally fertile market for opera singers. But not only the direct protagonists of the opera business can be considered as cosmopolitan: It was also usual among opera managers to travel to foreign countries to look for new talented singers or successful works they could present on their stage.

Benjamin Lumley, from 1842 to 1852 and consecutively from 1856 to 1858 manager of Her Majesty’s Theatre in London, was one of them. Through his various achievements in opera business (first performances of Verdi’s works in England, reformation of legal basis of singers contracts, innovative ticket policies, reformation of the management process) Lumley can be internationally considered as one of the most influential opera managers of his time. This became especially eminent when he decided in 1850 to take over the management of two opera houses in two different countries at the same time for the period of two years: The Théâtre Italien in Paris and the Her Majesty’s Theatre in London.

This paper thus aims to present the person Benjamin Lumley as well as his opera management strategies as example for the common cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth century opera. To illustrate the cosmopolitan nature of Lumley’s venture aspects like the different political backgrounds of the two countries, the collaborations in productions and singers engagements and the operas performed in France and England are taken into consideration. Furthermore opportunities and chances as well as difficulties of the Nineteenth Centuries opera business’ cosmopolitanism shall be discussed by putting the manager Lumley in the context of the European operatic world, which shall in the end contribute to a wider understanding of the transcultural and cosmopolitan nature of opera itself.
The concept of ‘cosmopolitanism’ in Soviet writing on music

Given the professed internationalism of communism as a political movement and its aspiration to create a transnational Lebenswelt, it is a striking paradox that the epithet ‘cosmopolitan’ quickly acquired a deeply pejorative connotation in Soviet cultural discourse. By the end of the Stalinist period, ‘cosmopolitanism’ was had been ‘unmasked’ (razoblachyon) by Soviet ideologues as a manifestation of a decadent bourgeois worldview, which, in spite of its seemingly innocuous and utopian character, in reality reflected the rapacious striving of capital to create optimal conditions for the maximisation of profit. During the purges of cultural and intellectual life conducted by Andrey Zhdanov in 1946–48, the word became a catch-all term of vague abuse for any supposedly baneful influences emanating from the West, and especially from America and Great Britain.

This paper will sketch its curious lexical history in the Soviet context, showing that its semantic connotations were conditioned by inherited convictions of Western cultural decline and Russian exceptionalism stretching back at least as far as the nineteenth century. I will draw on a range of writings by notable critics and musicologists, including Boris Asaf’yev, Yuriy Keldish, and Tamara Livanova to trace the evolution of the concept and to show how it not only acquired stridently xenophobic overtones, but was also in large part responsible for a marked degradation of Soviet musicology under ideological pressures as scholars felt increasingly compelled to construct tendentious and even mendacious historical narratives that downplayed foreign cultural achievements and make exaggerated claims for the supremacy of Russian and Soviet music, lest they be found guilty of nizkopolonstvo pered Zapadom or ‘toadying to the West’.

Patrick Zuk lectures in the Music Department at the University of Durham in England. He is a specialist on Russian/Soviet music of the earlier twentieth century, and is currently engaged in writing a biographical-critical study of Nikolay Myaskovsky, on whose work he has published articles in Music and Letters and The Journal of Musicology. He is also co-editing (with Marina Frolova-Walker) a volume of essays Russian Music Since 1917, which will be published next year by Oxford University Press in conjunction with the British Academy.
Music History and Cosmopolitanism / abstracts & bios
Hesselager, Jens & Jeanneret, Christine & Østenlund, Nicolai (University of Copenhagen, DK). Commentator: Lars Berglund (University of Uppsala)
Panel 1a / Wednesday June 1, 4:30–6:30 pm

Music Migration in Scandinavia – Between Cosmopolitanism and Transnationalism (1750–1850)

The cultural transfer of Italian opera to Scandinavia is a largely ignored field until now. The rare studies that exist tend to focus on the narrow framework of national music historiographies. This panel wishes to address the issues of transfer studies and shared history in a transnational perspective. Copenhagen functions as a gateway from Germany and southern Europe to the rest of Scandinavia due to its geographical and cultural position. The northern migration of Italian is a phenomenon that stands in a reciprocal relation with the Grand Tour. Italy represented a geographical, mental and imagined space, embodying the idea of a classical and cosmopolitan treasury of inspiration in matters of arts and music. The study of opera in migration is first and foremost the history of the adaptation of a foreign genre to a new space and a new cultural context.

Italian opera was associated with the aristocratic culture and the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm. The city and the theater are spaces where cosmopolitan, national and socio-cultural interests are staged. The relationships and the conflicts between an aristocratic Italianate identity and a national bourgeois culture evolve and change during the 18th and 19th centuries. The theater represents a privileged space where these relationships can be investigated.

Giuseppe Siboni and Danish Ways with Italian Opera (Copenhagen 1820)

Jens Hesselager, University of Copenhagen

By the time the Italian *primo tenore*, Giuseppe Siboni arrived in Copenhagen in 1819, aged 39, he had a rather illustrious European career behind him, performing with many of the foremost singers and composers of his age: He’d been engaged at the Tyl-theatre in Prague as a young man, 1800–1805, he’d been at La Scala, Milan (1805–6), then at King’s Theatre, London 1806–9, including a tour to Ireland in 1808. After a spell in Italy, he joined the Italian company at the Kärntnerthor Theatre in Vienna, 1810–14, then traveling in Italy again for two years, during which period he also became connected to the political movement, *I Carbonari*. So, when he decided to go north in 1817, motivations were, it seems, not purely professional: He was on the run. An engagement to establish an Italian Opera company in St Petersburg came to nothing, so via Stockholm, he continued to Copenhagen in 1819, gave a concert there, and was soon hired as singing master at the Royal Danish Theatre – a position he held until his death in 1839.

This paper will focus on his first season in Copenhagen, particularly the Danish stagings of Rossini’s *Tancredi* and Paër’s *Sargino*. The paper will seek to address the question of how, and also to what extent, Siboni’s extensive professional experience with Italian opera came to inform these Danish performances. At the same time it will be concerned with the local practices, and audience reactions that Siboni encountered in Copenhagen.
Migration and Misunderstanding: Italian Opera in 18th-century Copenhagen

Christine Jeanneret, University of Copenhagen

Italian opera in the 18th century represents the cosmopolitan genre *par excellence*. Its roots in the national Italian culture have become the embodiment of ideals of a common artistic language throughout Europe, strongly linked to court society, urban spaces and cosmopolitan values. However, cultural transfer of opera did not always go smoothly.

Giuseppe Sarti joined Mingotti’s troupe in 1753 first as *kapelmester* and then as music director. In 1762 he penned a letter to the board of directors of the Royal Theater in Copenhagen to explain what he needed in order to perform Italian opera: from the translation of the libretto to the music rehearsals, actors, extras, scenery, machines and especially costumes. This exceptional document, recently discovered in the National Archives of Copenhagen, brings to light several issues linked to cultural transfer, migration and the misunderstanding between a Danish cultural identity and a cosmopolitan, transnational genre. Theater in Copenhagen represents an interesting place to study the relationships between a court society oriented towards a European culture (mostly focused on France and Germany with a recent interest for Italy) and a national bourgeois culture. From the letter, we deduce that the 1761 opera season was a complete disaster due to incomprehension, incompetence and lack of technical skills. The most detailed segments are devoted to costumes and scenery. Visual cues were crucial since the operas were performed in Italian for a Danish audience. Even if each opera was translated in Danish and published in a bilingual libretto, the audience could not pick up the nuances of the text or the way that music related to it. Therefore costumes and accessories were crucial in transmitting immediate information on the characters, their feelings, their social status and represent a visual marker for the audience.

Royal Amusements and Public Spectacles: Italian Opera and Urbanization in 18th-century Copenhagen

Nicolai Østenlund, University of Copenhagen

This paper explores issues of cultural transfer, migration and the formation of a national identity in confrontation with a cosmopolitan culture, by focusing on archival study.

Italian opera has been performed within the city walls of Copenhagen since the beginning of the 18th century. Opera was, however, not performed regularly every year until Pietro Mingotti’s troupe entered the city in 1747. He brought with him the composer and *kapelmester* Paolo Scalabrini who from 1753 was replaced by Giuseppe Sarti as a composer of *opera seria*. The two composers, the singers of the opera troupes and the continually expanding orchestra performed Italian opera from 1749 at the newly built Royal Theatre, one of the first national theatres in Europe, thus having a deep impact in the social and aesthetic formations of the Copenhagen audience.

Documents in the National Archives show that the Italian opera company was much favoured by the court and received heavy funding, privileges and attention both officially and through personal loans from the monarch in order to keep them in Copenhagen despite it’s costs and its declining popularity in the public. By analysing documents such
as letters, contracts and accounts, we see how the Copenhagen court like other courts in Europe uses the Italian opera as a means to demonstrate power and wealth, and to show the court’s position within a national as well as a European context. The Copenhagen opera life was not an isolated, insular affair but was continuously confronted with artists within the field of opera through travels, import of material like librettos and scores and immigration of musicians and singers.

Lars Berglund is Professor of Musicology at Uppsala University, Head of the Department of Musicology, and chair of the Swedish Society for Musicology. His research is mainly focused on the early modern period, with particular interests in cultural history, music analysis and aesthetics. His doctoral dissertation was a study of the vocal music by Christian Geist, a singer and composer from Mecklenburg active at the Swedish court in the 1670s. After that, he has specialized in sacred vocal music in the Jesuit circles in Rome, and the reception of Roman music in Northern Europe. He has edited a collection of motets by Bonifacio Graziani for A-R Editions (2011) and published a number of articles on related topics. A particular interest of his is cultural transfer and cultural exchange, and he is project leader of the network “Musical-Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe”, a collaboration between Uppsala, Royal Holloway, London and Bach-Archiv, University of Leipzig. He is also a member of the TRADIMUS study group at the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi (Venice), tracking the dissemination and reception of Italian music in Europe.

Jens Hesselager is Associate Professor of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen. He received his Ph.D. in 2002. Publications and current research interests concern, primarily, opera, melodrama and incidental music in the nineteenth century, opera culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Copenhagen, and music in processes of cultural transfer.

Christine Jeanneret is assistant professor in musicology at the University of Copenhagen. She focuses her research on the history, philology and performance practice of Italian music of the Renaissance and Baroque. She published one book on the manuscript sources of Frescobaldi’s music, *L’Œuvre en filigrane* (Olschki, 2009), she co-edited three volumes of Frescobaldi’s Complete Works for Suvini-Zerboni, and has published articles on keyboard music, the Roman cantata, the late madrigal, opera and gender studies. She is particularly interested in the performance and staging of early music, the body on stage, as well as the cultural transmission of repertoires. She is currently a Fellow at the Italian Academy of Columbia University in New York (2015–2016) working on singers, body and the expression of passions in early Florentine opera.

Nicolai Østenlund is a PhD-student in musicology at the University of Copenhagen, working on *Giuseppe Sarti and the Italian Opera in Copenhagen in 1748–75*. He focuses his interests and research on Danish music drama in a European context and is especially interested in music migrations in a historical perspective, investigating the roles of travelling musicians, singers and composers in 18th century Europe.
Music History and Cosmopolitanism / abstracts & bios
Mikkonen, Simo (University of Jyväskylä, FI) & Yang, Hon-Lun (Hong Kong Baptist University). Commentator: Björn Heile.
Panel 1b / Wednesday June 1, 4:30–6:30 pm

The Intersection of Diaspora and Cosmopolitanism: Russian Émigré Musicians’ Contribution to Cosmopolitan Shanghai in the Inter-war Years

In the 1930s and 1940s, Shanghai grew into a metropolis recognized for its importance in the development of Chinese new music with a Western-format. Shanghai had also become a major Russian diasporic community, home for tens of thousands of refugees, which formed the largest non-Chinese population in the city. Russian émigré musicians played an important role in the city’s cosmopolitan cultural life and were instrumental in shaping Chinese musical modernity.

This panel examines the intersection of diaspora and cosmopolitanism, examining how the Russian community contributed to important layers of relationships between its Russian and Chinese communities. Through analysis of music organizations, musicians, musical activities, and music compositions, it will demonstrate how Shanghai served as a rare, early microcosm for the East-West musical interaction that has since occurred on a larger scale as a result of globalization. Such can be viewed as a form of cosmopolitanism.

The proposed papers will discuss the following topics: 1) the formation of the Shanghai Russian diaspora and its émigrés’ contribution to cosmopolitan Shanghai through the production of ballet and operetta as well as other theatrical works that for them was not only cosmopolitan but also identity defining; 2) the intricate relationship between the Russian community and the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, the politics of programming Russian works in cosmopolitan Shanghai; and 3) the experimental attempts illustrated by Alexander Tcherepnin and Aaron Avshalomov that paved the way for further development of Chinese new music.

Shanghai’s Russian musical intelligentsia, 1919–1949: Russian culture in a cosmopolitan context
Simo Mikkonen, University of Jyväskylä
The majority of Russian emigration that escaped Russia in 1917–1922 headed west. Russians were a major artistic and cultural force in interwar Europe from Paris to Prague to Berlin. Russian emigration to China, however, has not received proper attention in literature, even if its influence was by no means of lesser importance. While Russians formed the biggest non-Asian nationality in Shanghai, little research exists on this community and its impact. This is a major lack for several reasons. Firstly, the influx of Russians transformed the cityscape making it a major artistic center in the whole Far East. Secondly, Russian pedagogues, composers, and musicians had an influence on Chinese classical musical tradition. Thirdly, Shanghai’s tens of thousands of Russians form an interesting community to study, existing in a city with several million inhabitants.
Shanghai Russians came to dominate the artistic scene especially in the 1930s and through WWII. Yet, instead of one community, Russians were far from united and there were several features dividing the community into smaller units. In addition to national and political lines, one factor was attitude towards Russia and Russian culture. Many in the artistic community had a cosmopolitan outlook, mingling both, with other Europeans and Chinese, while others aimed at preserving what they considered to be genuine Russian culture, free from Bolshevist influences. Despite political differences, Russians effectively established Shanghai’s first opera, ballet and operetta that remained active throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Audiences of these establishments were distinctively cosmopolitan. In their repertory, however, Russians mixed cosmopolitan repertory with traditional Russian works.

This paper uses primarily numerous Russian language newspapers and magazines published by Shanghai Russians, mixing them with some personal archival collections. Its aim is to present an overview of Russian activities in Shanghai’s developing and cosmopolitan arts scene.

**Diaspora and Cosmopolitanism: the Programming Politics of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra’s Russian Concerts**

Hon-Lun Yang, Hong Kong Baptist University

Emigration is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon for both the émigré community as well as the emigre’s adopted country. This is no doubt the case with the more than 30,000 Russians landed in Shanghai since the early 1920s who formed a diaspora in semi-colonial Shanghai. As the experience of any diaspora prior and after, music played an important role in how the émigrés maintained a sense of self-identity and communal cohesion. But at the same time, music also helped such a group reach out to other communities. In that regard, the Russian refugee musicians in Shanghai were no doubt crucial in defining cosmopolitan Shanghai, a city of ’worldliness,’ co-inhibited by an array of international residents, one receptive to all forms of innovations and experimentations. While Russian musicians contributed to Shanghai’s musical scene in many different ways, this paper focuses on their connections to the prestigious Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (hereafter the SMO), the first professional orchestra in China and the best in Asia, and also an icon of Shanghai’s cosmopolitanism. While Russians made up more than half of SMO’s members at any time after the mid-1920s, a good number of the SMO concerts featured Russian soloists and Russian compositions. Through tracing the trajectory of such events in a span of two decades by looking into the orchestra’s concert programs, meeting minutes, concert payment records, and the conductor and other administrative personnel’s internal communications, etc. as well as concert reviews in Russian, English, and Chinese newspapers, this paper will examine the politics behind such concerts. It will argue that beyond the facile cosmopolitan claims, one is not to overlook the importance of political-economy, particularly how high-brow ideals of cosmopolitanism were intertwined with low-brow politics of pragmatism compounded by race and class issues.
Simo Mikkonen is Research Fellow of the Academy of Finland and an adjunct professor of Russian history at the Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. His primary research interests include the cultural, international and transnational relations of the Soviet Union, with particular emphasis on artistic networks. He has also conducted studies about the Russian emigration. He has previously published the monograph *State Composers and the Red Courtiers. Music, Ideology and Politics in the Soviet 1930s* (Mellenpress 2009), edited the volume *Beyond the Curtain: Entangled Histories of Cold War Europe* (Berghahn, 2015), and *Music, Art and Diplomacy. East-West Cultural Interactions and the Cold War* (Ashgate, 2016). He has also authored several articles and chapters, including “Exploiting the Exiles: The Soviet Emigration in US Cold War Strategy”, *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Summer 2012) and “Winning Hearts and Minds? Soviet Musical Intelligentsia in the Struggle Against the US During the Early Cold War”, in *Twentieth Century Music and Politics* (Ashgate 2013).

Hon-Lun Yang is Professor of Music at Hong Kong Baptist University. Her research interest focuses on East-West musical encounters and musical transnationalism. She is the author of over 30 articles in such journals as *Asian Music* (2010), *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (2011), etc. and books chapters in titles such as *Music and Protests in 1968* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), *Music and Politics* (Ashgate 2013), etc. She has just finished co-edited a volume with Michael Saffle titled *East-West Musical Encounters* (University of Michigan Press) and is currently working on a tri-author book (with Simo Mikkonen and John Winzenburg) on Russian musicians in Shanghai.
Nationalism, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in Spanish musical life around the turn of the century

Recent studies of music in Spain around the turn of the nineteenth- to the twentieth-century (Parakilas 1998; Clark 1999, 2006; Hess 2001, 2005; Collins 2006; Llano 2010, 2011, 2012) have challenged long-held assumptions about musical nationalism, generating new modes of understanding the development and reception of Spanish art music by taking into account the debates between contrasting notions of national identity within Spain, as well as Spain’s role in an increasingly interconnected world. Such studies, however, have focused to a great extent, on musical composition or the reception of a limited number of musical works and composers. Questions remain unanswered about the articulation of nationalist, internationalist and cosmopolitan discourses across all spectres of Spanish musical life and the effect on those of the colonial crisis of 1898, the Bourbon Restoration, the scientific and technological advances of the time, and the influences arriving from European music and thought, among others.

The present panel aims at addressing some of these questions by contributing new perspectives on already explored areas of Spanish musical life at the turn of the century and by shedding light on other areas which have thus far remained unexplored. On the first count, Diana Díaz will analyse how the Madrid musical press helped channel the reception of Wagner’s music into a transnational discourse for Spanish music. On the second count, María Cáceres will analyse the diplomacy between the Spanish and Austrian monarchies in the International Exhibition of Music and Theatre in Vienna as study case of cosmopolitan and aristocratic patterns of music management, as well as the role of music in highlighting imaginaries of the ‘global city’ at the event, whereas Eva Moreda Rodríguez will talk about internationalist discourses and the sense of place in early recording cultures in Spain.

Pro-Wagnerian music criticism in Madrid at the turn of the century: the penetration of European models in nationalist discourses around Spanish music

Diana Díaz, University of Oviedo

From the 1990s onwards, musical historiography has reassessed the history of music criticism in European territories through the analysis of critical lines of thought in a variety of chronological eras and in connection with certain repertories. In the case of Spain, historians have studied the reception of European composers in music criticism, taking into account as well the penetration of such composers in Spanish concert life. Nevertheless, the influence of music criticism as an aesthetic experience within the debates on nationalism in Spanish music and the influence of specific critics during the late 19th and the early 20th centuries have been insufficiently studied so far. In the case of Madrid, the turn of the century cannot be understood without taking into account the effects of the irruption of the music of Richard Wagner in the context of the Bourbon Restoration; in turn, the analysis of music criticism written by such authors, as Manuel Manrique de Lara (1863–1929), is key to understand the impact of Wagner on the critical reception of other composers through the proliferation of discourses
of resistance against the introduction of innovations imported from France. The present paper will analyse the developments of an idea of modernity in Spain which grew hand in hand, under the banner of universalism, with the reformation of musical theatre according to Wagnerian principles; and the transference of those ideas, under the influence of the prevailing philosophical trends, to the reception of other composers in pursuit of a transnational alternative for the future of Spanish music.

**Diplomacy and International Imaginaries of Music: The Viennese Music and Theatre International Exhibition 1892**

María Cáceres Piñuel, University of Bern

In recent years, scholars have extended their attention beyond the constructions of nation (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1992) to notions of internationalism and globalisation (Stokes 2012). Simultaneously, there has been a move away from inscribed forms of knowledge towards those embodied in ‘performance’ (Taylor 2003). This paper responds to these currents through a study of the diplomacy between the Kingdom of Spain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the occasion of the International Exhibition of Music and Theatre celebrated in Vienna in 1892. The involvement of the two royal families in this event, intended as response to the republican aims of the *Exposition Universelle de Paris* 1889 (Fauser 2008), highlights how music management and patronage patterns connected to aristocratic networks go beyond the analytical categories of nationalism. Furthermore, these diplomatic materials provide an opportunity to discuss the role of music, as cosmopolitan aesthetic object and marketing product, on the imaginaries of “global city” at the turn of the century.

**Questioning links between music and place: early recording cultures in Spain**

Eva Moreda Rodríguez, University of Glasgow

The dissemination of early recording and playback technologies in Spain coincided in time with significant developments for both the country’s understanding of its own identity and its music: indeed, the loss of Spain’s last overseas colonies in 1898 stimulated debate among the intellectual classes about how Spain should adapt to the new circumstances and the models the country should follow while preserving its own national identity. Simultaneously, nationalist trends in Spanish music were gaining momentum, with some of their best-known names (Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Manuel de Falla) nevertheless living abroad for extended periods of time and cultivating significant international careers based on a thorough awareness of the likes and dislikes of European audiences and their expectations on Spanish music.

This paper will analyse the dissemination and popularization of the Edison phonograph and its wax cylinders in the years between 1898 and 1905 in Spain by examining the role of recording technologies at the intersection of the discourses around nationalism, internationalism and transnationalism which occupied Spanish musicians and, more generally, Spanish intellectuals around the turn of the century. Recording technologies were
disseminated relatively early in Spain, with about forty *gabinetes fonográficos* operating in various areas of the country around 1900. Whereas some saw the increasing popularity of *la fonografía* as a confirmation that Spain was joining the advanced nations in embracing technology, the *gabinetes fonográficos* indeed based their success, to a great extent, on their strong bond to the place they were based in, through the setting up of signature recording and listening rooms that the locals could visit, their focus on indigenous vocal genres such as *zarzuela* and *flamenco* (in addition to opera), and the hiring of local singers who sometimes managed to establish a career based mostly on their recordings.

**María Cáceres-Piñuel** is postdoctoral researcher at the University of Bern. Her PhD, carried out in the framework of a *cotutelle* between Bern University and the University of Zaragoza (2014), analyses the conceptual axes and international cultural transfers that led to the emergence of musicology as an autonomous discipline in Spain through reconstructing the intellectual biography of the musicologists José Subirá (1882–1980). Her new project, based on the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theatre held in 1892, has been supported last academic year by the Balzan Programme in Musicology: Towards a Global History of Music led by Prof. Strohm.

**Diana Díaz** holds a PhD *cum laude* in Musicology from the University of Oviedo, for which she obtained a Severo Ochoa scholarship from the Principado de Asturias. Her thesis on Manuel Manrique de Lara (1863–1929) was awarded the 2014 Prize of Musicology by the Sociedad Española de Musicología (SedeM). She is Associate Lecturer at the University of Oviedo and Visiting Lecturer at the International University of La Rioja.

She has been a visiting researcher at the Institute of Musical Research (IMR) in London and the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2012) and has taken part in funded research project on music and culture in twentieth-century Spain. She is also a member of the music research group Diapente XXI. Her publications on Manuel Manrique de Lara’s musical works, music criticism and folklore compilations have appeared in *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* and *Revista de Musicología*, among others.

Diana Díaz has also worked as a music critic since 2006 for the newspaper *La Nueva España* and the magazine *Ópera actual*.

**Eva Moreda Rodríguez** is Lecturer in Music at the University of Glasgow, having completed her PhD at Royal Holloway College in 2010. She specializes in the political and cultural history of Spanish music during the 20th century, and has published articles and book chapters on topics such as Joaquín Rodrigo’s *Concierto heroico*, Spanish-German music exchanges during the Second World War and the rehabilitation under Francoism of the exiled composer Julián Bautista, among others. Her book *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* will be published by Ashgate in late 2015. Her work has received funding from the Music & Letters Trust, the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland and the University of Indiana’s Lilly Library, among others.
Beyond the Nation, Before the Cosmopolis: Latin American Musicians Confront the Global

Latin American composers in the last century faced a characteristic dilemma. Embracing a decidedly European modernism ostensibly involved abandoning the specificity of their place in a politically, economically and culturally divided modern world. Localism, on the other hand, appeared indistinguishable from marginality. This panel focuses on how specific theorists and composers interpreted and responded to this challenge. Through three case studies, two Mexican and one Cuban, we seek to draw in outlines the forms of differential embrace and active resistance embodied by key figures of the region’s modernism.

Alejo Carpentier’s Internationalist Theory of Musical Form
Stephan Hammel, University of Pennsylvania

Alejo Carpentier (1904–1980) has long been considered one of the earliest and most important writers on Cuban musical modernism. During a long voluntary political exile in Paris between 1928 and 1939 he came in close contact with European modernisms. The rest of his career would be devoted to elaborating a Latin Americanist response to its cosmopolitan tendencies. That response was centered on the figure and legacy of the African slave in the Americas. For the Cuban musicologist, slavery and the (modern) culture that grew in its wake was a paradigm of the limits of modernity’s global vision.

In articulating this response to European modernism, Carpentier elaborated what amounts to a theory of the musical in the Latin American post-/neo-colonial world. His positions, however, have never received systematic reconstruction. This paper does just this for Carpentier’s theory of musical form. It focuses on his two long essays of Latin Americanist composition and in the final chapters of his 1946 La música en Cuba. I work up the argument with enough perspicuity so that one might decide on its validity.

Evaluating Carpentier’s usefulness for thinking through cosmopolitanism/internationalism in the region must begin with a clear statement of what his theory states and how it might be defended.

When was cosmopolitanism? The case of Mexico
Leonora Saavedra, University of California, Riverside

Is cosmopolitanism an identity? A musical style? Merely politically correct, Western, and liberal –in both the economic and social sense- wishful thinking? A utopia? These questions have been and continue to be debated in the social sciences and critical theory. A particularly pertinent question for music scholars, already raised by social scientists, is whether cosmopolitanism is an analytical category we can employ to understand the present and imagine an immediate future. Most important for some of us, is it an analytical category that can help us write history? If the social and political circumstances that give rise to cosmopolitanism are those of the post-national, in other words, if cosmopolitanism is defined in opposition to the nation-state and its much announced demise, can it help us understand the nation when it was at its strongest, transcending the establishment of a mere binary opposition?
And vice versa, can the nation help us define cosmopolitanism in a more profitable way?

As a historical agent, Mexican composer Carlos Chávez (1899–1978) played a determinant role in the creation of the Mexican nation and its construction through and in culture, and in the development of the nation-state’s cultural infrastructure. At the same time, Chávez’s unwavering commitment to the aesthetics of modernism, his role in the shaping of discourses on and pedagogies of modernist composition, his stylistic innovations and his binational (Mexico-U.S.) imaginary and lifestyle would seem to place him under the sign of cosmopolitanism. Taking Chávez’s agency and identity as a site of inquiry, this paper aims to probe the viability of cosmopolitanism as a historical analytical category, to test the existence of a cosmopolitan identity in historical agents with nationalist agendas, to explore the interaction between ideologies of nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the construction of the nation, and conversely, to examine the historical roots of cosmopolitan artistic agendas in the strength of the nation state.

Chávez in the 1960s: late modernism and the cosmopolitan ideal
Amy Bauer, University of California, Irvine

Despite its polysemic style and contradictory musical allegiances, the music of Carlos Chávez was always, as Leonora Saavedra reminds us, “unremittingly modernist.” Modernist musical traits—a certain asceticism, rich contrapuntal textures, and an ever-shifting rhythmic drive—are found throughout his oeuvre. Critical constructions of Chávez’s music—which vary from a patronizing appreciation tinged with racial essentialism to the valorization of its universal, pan-American essence—rarely convey this modernist essence. This may explain why, just as Chávez’s fame as a composer and conductor peaked in the 1950s and ‘60s, his compositional output split into two distinct tracks: traditional works intended for large ensembles and familiar venues, and experimental compositions primarily written for solo instrument or small ensembles. The late Solis for chamber ensembles and the Inventions for piano, string trio and harp occupy a singular position within Chávez’s late output. In their abstract language and denial of any form of pitch or rhythmic repetition—be that serial or motivic structure—the Solis and Inventions in particular share in a spirit of “eternal development” that foreshadows the music of the New Complexity.

In this paper I position these works as Chavez’s bid to be finally accepted as a contemporary, cosmopolitan modernist, rather than one beholden to constructions of Mexican, indigenous or European neoclassical ideals. The intricate structure of these works reveals a mature composer at the height of his powers, with a view towards his personal legacy. But the works’ reception history reflects on the perception of new Latin American music as a whole, defined within a fraught historiography of musical modernism informed by competing social imaginares: a continental tradition informed by social theory and Frankfurt school aesthetics versus a positivist, Anglo-American ideal.
Cosmopolitan Imaginaries and Modernist Localities in Mario Lavista’s Music
Ana R. Alonso Minutti, University of New Mexico

When asked about his international presence as a “Mexican” composer, Mario Lavista (b. 1943) replied: “Being Mexican, for me, is being part of the world…. If everything is local, then it would be only understood locally.” Mexican essence, in his view, as well as in the view of those who conformed to the predominant aesthetic panorama of the avant-garde of the second half of twentieth-century Mexico, is cosmopolitan. Lavista has been a key figure in the formation of a cosmopolitan imaginary prevalent among the musical circles of the country. This imaginary is characterized by a disdain for any overt allusion to musical material coming from popular and/or folk music traditions.

While early in his career Lavista used graphic notation, collective improvisation, and certain levels of indeterminacy, from the late 1970s until the 2000s he abandoned those and focused instead on fully written scores that showed non-developmental musical approaches—particularly medieval and Renaissance counterpointal techniques—and a conservative position regarding the role of the composer as creator of an autonomous work. An unexpected return occurred in 2011, when Lavista came back to envisioning music with a certain degree of indeterminacy and collective improvisation.

In this study I focus on two pieces that explore this return, both commissioned for art exhibitions. I argue that, while Música para un arbol (2011), and Kailash (2012), still embrace a cosmopolitan ideal, these pieces show a reconfiguration of modernist localities by positioning the composer as performer, and the ‘work’ as a collectively created soundspace. An investigation of the performance context—both pieces were premiered at elite art galleries in Mexico City—illuminates the ways in which Lavista facilitates a renewed aesthetic and sensorial arrangement where selected audiences (that of the middle-upper class of the city) experience a degree of artistic freedom rooted in a shared cosmopolitanism.

Stephan Hammel recently received his PhD in Historical Musicology from the University of Pennsylvania, where he has also taught. He writes on topics in Latin American modernism and Marxist aesthetic theory. His current project is a history of musical thought in Cuba in the decades leading up to the Revolution of 1959.

Leonora Saavedra is Associate Professor of Music at the University of California Riverside. Her work focuses on 20th-century Mexico and the United States. In 2015 she was Scholar in Residence at the Bard Music Festival and editor of the book Carlos Chávez and His World (Princeton UP, 2015). Recent publications include “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan,” (Journal of the American Musicological Society 2015), “Spanish Moors and Turkish Captives in fin de siècle Mexico: Exoticism as Strategy,” (Journal of Musicological Research 2012), and “El nuevo pasado mexicano: estrategias de representación en Atzimba de Ricardo Castro” (Resonancias 2014).

Amy Bauer is Associate Professor of Music at the University of California, Irvine. She has published the monograph Ligeti’s Laments: Nostalgia, Exoticism and the Absolute (Ashgate, 2011), as well as articles and book chapters on the music of György Ligeti, Olivier Messiaen, Carlos Chávez, David Lang, the television musical, and issues in the philosophy and reception of modernist music. She is currently co-editing the volume Ligeti’s Cultural Identities (Ashgate, forthcoming) and preparing monographs on Ligeti’s keyboard music and contemporary opera and language.
Ana R. Alonso Minutti is Assistant Professor of Musicology and faculty affiliate of the Latin American and Iberian Institute at the University of New Mexico. Her main interests are experimental and avant-garde expressions across the U.S.-Mexico border, interdisciplinary artistic intersections, intellectual elites, and cosmopolitanism. She has published in Latin American Music Review, Revista Argentina de Musicología, Pauta, and elsewhere, and is currently writing a book entitled Mario Lavista and Musical Cosmopolitanism in Late Twentieth-Century Mexico, under contract by Oxford University Press.
“Rootless Cosmopolitans”: Jewish Musicians and displacement in the mid-20th century

The displacement of Jewish artists in the years leading up to and including WWII had a profound affect on personal aesthetic output and material fragility of works and reputations. This session brings together academics collaborating on an Arts & Humanities Research Council (UK) large grant, “Performing the Jewish Archive”, to discuss the impact of displacement and the labelling of cosmopolitan to artists of that time. Just as the ‘cosmopolitan turn’ maybe considered in an ethical light today, its historical nomenclature during the turbulent years of the 1930s and 1940s carries a very particular meaning. If cosmopolitan can be transformed into a new way of reading ‘post-national understandings of the social in the musical past’, then this session will explore the way in which it was co-opted in ways to classify, suppress and marginalise a particular group of artists at a particular era in the 20th century, how those artists chose to respond to such a label at that time and afterwards, and how their aesthetic may have been influenced by ideas of ‘the cosmopolitan’.

Simon Pergament-Parmet – between Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism
Simo Muir, School of Music, University of Leeds

Simon Pergament-Parmet (1897–1969) was a Finnish composer and conductor who received his education in St. Petersburg, worked in Berlin and Helsinki in the 1920–30s, was in exile in the US during the Second World War, returning to Finland in the late 1940s. Pergament-Parmet is best known in Finland for his analysis of Sibelius’s symphonies.

Pergament-Parmet’s career in Finland appears to have been affected by Antisemitism. Though there were no anti-Jewish laws in independent Finland there was nevertheless institutional Antisemitism, and during the 1930s and the war-time, when Finland was de facto allied with the Third Reich, a considerable constituency of the intellectual elite was pro-Nazi-Germany.

The paper focuses on Pergament-Parmet’s ideas and adherence towards cosmopolitanism, and analyses his attitudes towards Finnish as well as Jewish nationalism. The paper also explores and attempts to assess how Antisemitism in the musical circles shaped and damaged his career in Finland during his lifetime. The sources used for the paper include Pergament-Parmet’s memoires, articles, interviews and correspondence.

To stay or go: Walter Wurzburger and Werner Baer, ‘enemy aliens’ and composer-musicians
Joseph Toltz, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney

In July 1940, HMT Dunera (a British passenger troopship) transported 2,542 ‘enemy aliens’ from Britain to Australia (approximately 80% of whom were Jewish or anti-Nazis). In Australia, the group was transported 750km to the rural town of Hay, in central New South Wales. A parallel deportation of another 300 ‘enemy aliens’ from Singapore arrived on the Queen Mary around the same time; this group was detained in Tatura, in northern Victoria.
This paper will focus on the pre-war, internment and post-war careers and musical aesthetics of two interned composer-musicians. Werner Baer’s career in Berlin as organist, repetiteur and conductor was interrupted by arrest and imprisonment in Sachsenhausen; after release, he escaped to Singapore where he worked as municipal organist and a pedagogue at Raffles College before internment and transportation to Australia. His post-war contribution to musical life in Sydney was significant; as a conductor and composer, he eventually rose to the position as supervisor of music for the Australian Broadcasting Commission, retiring in 1979.

Walter Wurzburger’s musical life in Frankfurt was focused more on jazz studies (under Mátyás Seiber); in 1939 he too found himself in Singapore, making the same journey as Baer. After the end of the war Wurzburger completed a music degree, joined the teaching staff at the University of Melbourne, and returned to Europe in 1950, where he resumed studies with Seiber, continued composition and made a considerable contribution to local music in Greater London, founding the Kingston Philharmonia.

Hans Keller: A cosmopolitan in the 'Land without Music'
Daniel Tooke, School of Music, University of Leeds

The proposed paper focuses on the writing and activity of the Austro-British critic Hans Keller (1919–1985) whose extensive output touched on virtually every aspect of post-war British musical life, and arguably marked him out as the country's most influential music critic. Born into a Jewish musical family in Austria in 1919, Keller fled the Nazis after the Anschluss, and settled permanently in Britain, where he worked as a broadcaster, critic and teacher, for many years holding influential positions at the BBC.

As a transnational migrant, Keller is of particular interest: his advocacy of a wide range of Austro-German repertoire, particularly that of the Second Viennese School, bore the hallmarks of a markedly different upbringing, education and outlook to his native British colleagues. My paper will therefore seek to explore and discuss Keller's cosmopolitan critical standpoint in his comparatively inward-looking and provincial new home. Both the inferiority complex and conservatism in the musical discourse of his adopted 'Land without Music' were the subject of much interest to him, and the journal he ran with co-editor Donald Mitchell, 'Music Survey', had the explicit aim of broadening the rather narrow horizons of musical discourse in Britain. Not only did Keller introduce into this discourse a wide range of new topics, but also approached them from unusual perspectives, such as drawing extensively on Freudian psychoanalysis—my paper will therefore illustrate the remarkable breadth of Keller's thinking by drawing on a range of his postwar writings.

Dr. Simo Muir is Post Doctoral Research Fellow at the School of Music, University of Leeds for the AHRC "Performing the Jewish Archive" project. His area of expertise is Yiddish culture in Finland, Finnish-Jewish relations and Antisemitism in the 1930s, and the history of the Finnish Jewish community during WWII. Dr. Muir’s present research focuses on the representation of Antisemitism and the Holocaust in the performing arts of the Jewish community of Finland including Yiddish cabaret, choral and liturgical music.

Dr. Joseph Toltz is Research Fellow at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney, and Co-Investigator for the AHRC "Performing the Jewish Archive" project. His area
of expertise is music and memory in Jewish Holocaust survivors. A former fellow at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, he is completing research on the 1946 field recordings of David Boder, the David Bloch archive, and working on a project around the first published Holocaust song book (Bucharest, 1945). In August 2014 he staged the first Sydney performances of the children's opera Brundibár.

**Daniel Tooke** is a PhD student at the University of Leeds (UK), attached to the AHRC- funded "Performing the Jewish Archive" project. He completed his undergraduate and research masters degrees at the University of Durham (UK), writing his masters dissertation on the artistic and cultural influences evinced in artistic self-image Schoenberg projected in his early atonal opera *Die glückliche Hand*. His PhD research centres on the British-Austrian critic Hans Keller and his influence on post-war British musical life.