



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

BETWEEN CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES

MUSIC IN EUROPE FROM
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
UNTIL WWI (1789-1914)

Virtual conference
06-09 May 2021

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MUSIC IN EUROPE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION UNTIL WWI (1789-1914)

Organized by

Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca

Research Group ERASMUSH, University of Oviedo (Oviedo, Spain)

Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française, Venice

Virtual conference

06-09 May 2021

PROGRAMME COMMITTEE

- MARIA ENCINA CORTIZO (Universidad de Oviedo)
- ROBERTO ILLIANO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française)
- FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
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 - RAMÓN SOBRINO (Universidad de Oviedo)
 - JOSÉ IGNACIO SUÁREZ (Universidad de Oviedo)



Keynote Speakers

- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane)
- YVAN NOMMICK (Université de Montpellier 3)

THURSDAY 6 MAY

10.15-10.30 **Opening**

- FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- RAMÓN SOBRINO (Universidad de Oviedo)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)

10.30-11.30 **Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (1)**

(Chair: **Massimiliano Sala**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- SOPHIE HORROCKS (Durham University), *Culture Wars in the French Peripheries: Travelling Troupes and the 9th «arrondissement» between 1824-64*
- IVANA VESIĆ (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade), *For the 'Pure' National and High-Art Values: Music Production and Performance in the Kingdom of Serbia (1882-1914)*

12.00-13.00 **Keynote Speaker 1:**

- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice), *Rethinking Interactions between French Music Schools and Paris Conservatoire during the 19th Century*



15.00-16.00 **Music for New Spaces and the Circulation of Music in Different Contexts**

(Chair: **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)

- SARAH FUCHS (Syracuse University), *Centres, Peripheries, and Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre (1900-1903)*
- CLÉMENT NOËL (EHESS, Paris), *Le «Couronnement de la Muse du Peuple» de Gustave Charpentier : un théâtre citoyen à la rencontre des provinces françaises (1897-1914)*

16.30-18.00

- ROSEMARY GOLDING (The Open University), *On the Edges of Society: The Hidden Musical Cultures of Nineteenth-century British Lunatic Asylums*

- QUENTIN DISHMAN (University of Minnesota), «*Hommes, enfants, femmes, nous répondrons!*»: *The Chantuse Patriotique in Paris' Cafés-Concerts, 1870-1889*
- FLORIS MEENS (Radboud University), «*Lust zu einer Soiree*»: *The Nineteenth-century Transfer of Music (Cultures) between The Netherlands and Germany*

FRIDAY 7 MAY

10.00-11.00 **Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (2)**

(Chair: **Ramón Sobrino**, Universidad de Oviedo)

- FRANCESC CORTÈS I MIR (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), *Mirando a París y Bayreuth: las representaciones operísticas del G. T. del Liceu de Barcelona en el cambio de siglo*
- MARÍA SANHUESA FONSECA (Universidad de Oviedo), *Acordes de una existencia: el entorno musical de los marqueses de Canillejas (Asturias–Madrid) en el tránsito al siglo XX*

11.30-12.30

FERNANDO BARRERA-RAMÍREZ (Universidad de Cádiz), *En la periferia de la periferia: música y bandolerismo en torno a la figura de Diego Corrientes*

M. BELÉN VARGAS LIÑÁN (Universidad de Granada), *Centro y periferia en la Península Ibérica: relaciones musicales entre Granada y Madrid en el siglo XIX*



15.00-15.45 **Keynote Speaker 2:**

- YVAN NOMMICK (Université de Montpellier 3): *Paris – Vienne, 1890-1914 : singularités et convergences musicales*

16.00-18.30 **Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (2)**

(Chair: **Yvan Nommick**, Université de Montpellier 3)

- ANNETTE KAPPELER – GIULIA BRUNELLO – RAPHAËL BORTOLOTTI (HKB – Bern University of the Arts), *An Italian Provincial Theatre: Repertoire, Public, Actors, Administration and Stage Material of Feltre's Teatro Sociale in the 19th Century*

Universality vs. Nationality

- BELLA BROVER-LUBOVSKY (Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance), *Music and Social Mobility in the Late Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire*
- AXEL KLEIN (Research Associate, Research Foundation for Music in Ireland-RFMI), *Music in and from Ireland: Perspectives on an Ununited Kingdom*
- IVAN MOODY (CESEM – Universidade NOVA, Lisbon), *Centre and Periphery: Symphonic Identity in Portugal*
- VIRGINIA E. WHEALTON (Texas Tech University), *Poland as Periphery and Musical Center: Wojciech/Albert Sowiński's Theorizations of Polish Musical Identity*

SATURDAY 8 MAY

9.00-10.30 Redefining Centres and Peripheries in European Music

(Chair: **José Ignacio Suárez García**, Universidad de Oviedo)

- MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS (The University of Melbourne), *Spanish Estudiantinas, the Popular Music Stage and Sonorities of the Belle Époque*
- MARÍA ENCINA CORTIZO (Universidad de Oviedo), *The Attraction of the Periphery: Sounds from a Picturesque Spain Imagined by the Other in the 19th Century*
- MIRIAM PERANDONES LOZANO (Universidad de Oviedo), *Quinito Valverde in Paris (1907-1912): An Approach to the Study*

11.00-12.30

- JONATHAN MALLADA ÁLVAREZ (Universidad de Oviedo), *¿Centro español, periferia europea? Los casos de Fuller y Frégoli en la escena madrileña (1893-1896)*
- KLÁRA HEDVIKA MÜHLOVÁ (Masaryk University, Brno), *Czech and Slovak Music Theory in the Long 19th Century and Its Contextual Transformations*
- JEROEN VAN GESSEL (State University Groningen), *«I've Been Lucky with the Operas!»: Music Tourism and the Making of European Music Capitals*



14.30-16.30 **Cultural Transfer of Music**

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- DAVID CONWAY (Honorary Research Associate, University College London), *Roma, Magyar, Jew – The Spread of ‘Gipsy’ Music in the long 19th Century*
- GLORIA A. RODRÍGUEZ-LORENZO (Universidad de Oviedo) – FRANCISCO J. GIMÉNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ (Universidad de Granada), *Between Hungary and Spain: Musical Encounters behind Europe*
- ALESSANDRA PALIDDA (Oxford Brooks University), *Music for the ‘Nation’: The Creation of a Transnational Musical Style between Paris and Republican Milan*
- MATTHIEU CAILLIEZ (Université Grenoble Alpes), *Le théâtre lyrique en Corse et en Algérie française au miroir de la presse musicale européenne (1830-1870)*

17.00-18.00

- MARIA ALICE VOLPE (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), «*Concertos Populares*» as Models of Production, Dissemination and Reception of French and Brazilian Symphonic Music in the late Nineteenth- and early Twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro
- KELVIN H. F. LEE (University of Leuven), *Enescu’s Formal Fields: Centre, Periphery and Cultural Transfer*

SUNDAY 9 MAY

9.00-10.30 **Music from the Peripheries: Genres and Repertoires**

(Chair **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)

- NANCY NOVEMBER (The University of Auckland), *Arrangement or Derrangement? Cultivating Arrangements of Public Music in the Early Nineteenth-Century Viennese Home*
- RAMÓN SOBRINO (Universidad de Oviedo), *La internacionalización de la música española a través de Sarasate y el repertorio para violín en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX: jotas, habaneras y zapateados en Europa*
- NICOLAS BOIFFIN (Sorbonne Université), *Centres and Peripheries of a Musical Genre: The Idea of «Lied» in the German Music Criticism between 1875 and 1914*

11.00-12.30

(Chair: **Roberto Illiano**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), *City Bands, Orphanages and Amateur Organists. Sacred Music in the Lombard Countryside at the End of the Nineteenth Century*
- AVIRAM FREIBERG (University of Haifa), *The Csakan as Representative of Biedermeier Culture*
- DANIELA BRAUN (Kunstuniversität Graz), *Joining the Center and the Periphery – The Viola d'amore at the Paris Opera*



15.00-16.00 **The Commercialization of Music**

(Chair: **Maria Encina Cortizo Rodriguez**, Universidad de Oviedo)

- MARTINA KALSER-GRUBER (Danube University Krems), *Viennese Operetta Composers and their Publishers: A Love-Hate Relationship?*
- PETER MONDELLI (University of North Texas), *A Goguette Assemblage: A Manuscript Chansonnier in an Age of Print*

16.30-18.00 **The Reception and Adaptations of the Canon on the Margins of Europe**

- NURIA BLANCO ÁLVAREZ (Universidad de Oviedo), *La buella bufá de Offenbach en las zarzuelas de Manuel Fernández Caballero*
- ANDREA GARCIA TORRES (Universidad de Oviedo), *Rising Modern Theatre: The Reception of «Vaudeville» on the Spanish Stage*
- JOSÉ IGNACIO SUÁREZ GARCÍA (Universidad de Oviedo), *Relatos periféricos: Richard Wagner como instrumento narrativo en la literatura menor española del último tercio del siglo XIX*

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

- **ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice), Rethinking Interactions between French Music Schools and Paris Conservatoire during the 19th Century**

During the 19th century, the city of Paris had a central role in the development of several musical fields: the main lyrical institutions were implanted there, and lyrical repertoire was first produced in the capital before being performed in other cities; musical editors, musical journals and instrument makers were mainly based in Paris and sold their products all around the country. The ‘city of lights’ was shining for all, and one can expect that Paris Conservatoire took on the same task by training French musicians, or by proposing a teaching model that could be reproduced everywhere. This actually allows it to justify being the only music school fully funded by the state. First being the only French public musical school, Paris Conservatoire also became the top of a large hierarchical system during the second half of the century, with two types of schools under its governance: ‘Succursales du Conservatoire’ and ‘École nationale’. Observed from Paris, the history of national music education would thus be the tale of a standardization of practices, decided in the capital and applied throughout the territory. But if we change perspective, and start studying the music schools of French towns one by one, the Parisian influence is far from obvious. On the one hand, other influences are at work when they are created, and the well-being of the national education system is not the main concern of the private structures that allow these births. On the other hand, the municipalities which financially support the development of conservatories may have their own music policy, sometimes in contradiction with Parisian objectives. The different examples show great disparities in the relationship with Paris: from a certain docility to demands for independence.

- **YVAN NOMMICK (Université de Montpellier 3): Paris – Vienne, 1890-1914 : singularités et convergences musicales**

Le 18 décembre 1894 Gustav Mahler achève la composition de sa *Deuxième Symphonie* ; quatre jours plus tard a lieu, à Paris, la création du *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un faune* de Claude Debussy. Schönberg achève le 9 juillet 1912 la composition de son expressionniste *Pierrot lunaire* ; un mois plus tôt, le 8 juin, avait eu lieu au Théâtre du Châtelet de Paris la création par les Ballets russes du flamboyant ballet de Ravel *Daphnis et Chloé*. Ces exemples, particulièrement significatifs, montrent combien Paris et Vienne, deux des capitales culturelles les plus influentes du premier quart du xx^e siècle, furent le théâtre de sensibilités, d'esthétiques et de mouvements artistiques radicalement différents. Cependant, malgré ces oppositions marquées, on observe un certain nombre de convergences. Ainsi, autour de 1900, l'Art nouveau français présente de nombreux points communs avec le *Sezessionstil* dont sera issu l'expressionnisme viennois ; dans les années 1920, le néoclassicisme musical va imprégner aussi bien des compositeurs exerçant leurs activités à Paris, comme Stravinsky, Poulenc ou Honegger, que les membres de la Seconde

École de Vienne. Cette conférence, qui abordera essentiellement la période comprise entre 1890 et 1914, se propose de montrer qu'au-delà de différences profondes, il existe de réelles convergences artistiques entre les sphères parisienne et viennoise. Du point de vue musical, l'on analysera, en particulier, l'utilisation de matériaux et de procédés compositionnels tels que les échelles exotiques, la gamme par tons, les accords échelonnés par quarts, l'élaboration formelle ou l'écriture instrumentale.

CONTRIBUTORS

Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (1)

• **SOPHIE HORROCKS (Durham University), Culture Wars in the French Peripheries: Travelling Troupes and the 9th «arrondissement» between 1824-64**

Operatic and theatrical performances in many provincial French towns during the nineteenth century were produced in musical contexts far removed from those of Paris, and which remain relatively unknown in contemporary scholarship. Many of these performances were provided by the national network of travelling troupes organised by the state, which served a collection of towns in an assigned theatrical space known as the *arrondissement*. The constant mobility of these groups and the need for performers to master roles in sung and spoken genres exemplifies the variety of challenges that troupes faced when disseminating theatrical culture across the nation. There were, moreover, certain geo-political conditions that compounded the often-precarious lives of these artists. In particular, the location of certain *arrondissements* at the borders between France and another nation made the business of bringing stage performance to small-town audiences especially difficult when the language and culture of the troupe was not always shared by their spectators. In this paper, I will explore the work and function of French travelling theatre groups performing in territories at the far eastern peripheries of the French nation between 1824-64. Taking as a case study the 9th *troupe d'arrondissement* touring in the Haut-Rhin on the borders of German Confederation, I will reveal how performance could play an important role in attempts to naturalise territories deemed problematic to the French state due to their linguistic and cultural variation from idealised national norms. In this region, the usual repertoire practices and commercial model of itinerant troupes was challenged by audience resistance to French theatre in towns such as Colmar and Mulhouse. The way in which directors and municipal prefects worked together (and at times clashed) in their attempts to circumnavigate these problems and prioritise itinerant French theatre in these regions reveals how the work of travelling singers played an important role in the processes through which these peripheries were guided towards the centre of the nation.

• **IVANA VESIĆ (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade), For the 'Pure' National and High-Art Values: Music Production and Performance in the Kingdom of Serbia (1882-1914)**

As the Principality of Serbia (1817-1882) fought for its political independence and sovereignty in the second half of the 19th century, the longstanding struggle for cultural

emancipation of its peoples was initiated by the Serbian political and intellectual elite and Serbian diaspora from the neighbouring Habsburg Monarchy. Different activities and projects that the elite carried out before the outbreak of the Great War were aimed at giving an impulse to the Serbian underdeveloped cultural space and bringing it closer to the level of the advanced European peoples. At the same time, continuous efforts were made on the shaping of Serbian culture in accordance with its presumed national characteristics. In general, there were two separate phases regarding cultural building in the Kingdom of Serbia that correspond to the reign and succession of two competing dynasties in the beginning of the 20th century — the Obrenović (1817-1842; 1858-1903) and Karađorđević dynasties (1842–1858; 1903–1941). The distinctions between dominant cultural narratives under Obrenovićs and Karađorđevićs were reflected in the functioning of different social spheres including the spheres of art and music production and performance. Changing of values was reflected in the defining of national artists, national art and folk heritage along with the approach to cultural products with lesser artistic ambitions, particularly to operetta and popular songs. As I shall document in detail, parallel to the dynasty shifts, there was a strengthening of more exclusivist and elitist views in the aforementioned spheres that left a deep mark on both music production and performance in the Kingdom of Serbia in the early 20th century. It affected the repertory of choral ensembles and the Belgrade's National Theatre, the reception of certain art and popular music genres, the evaluation of work of composers from the past, etc. As a consequence, the striving for a more pure and authentic national culture and art, with high aesthetical aspirations grounded on disregarding of harsh social and cultural reality of the Kingdom of Serbia before the Great War put numerous constraints on the local music sphere with dubious results.

Music for New Spaces and the Circulation of Music in Different Contexts

• SARAH FUCHS (Syracuse University), Centres, Peripheries, and Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre (1900-1903)

Among the many films shown at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the synchronized sound short that soprano Jeanne Hatto made for the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre stands out. Hatto's was not the only film to be synchronized with a corresponding cylinder recording during the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre's screenings, nor was she the only opera singer featured on the pavilion's program (actress turned artistic director Marguerite Vrignault had managed to persuade baritone Victor Maurel and tenor Émile Cossira to appear in scenes as well). What does seem striking about Hatto's film — in which she performs 'O toi qui prolongeas mes jours' from Gluck's 1779 opera *Iphigénie en Tauride* — is how it capitalized on contemporary fashions and current events — and one event in particular: the open-air production of *Iphigénie en Tauride* at the Théâtre-Antique in Orange on 12 August 1900. In fact, *Iphigénie en Tauride* had recently become something of a sensation in Paris: in the 1899-1900 season alone, it had been staged at the Théâtre Lyrique de la Renaissance with the renowned Jeanne Raunay as Iphigénie and at the Opéra-Comique (Rose Caron, who had won wide acclaim for her performance of fragments from the first act at an 1899 Concert Colonne, came out of semi-retirement for this production). This phenomenon can be attributed (at least in part) to the *fin-de-siècle* fascination with all things antique (Dorf 2019), as well as to the work of archaeologists, historians, and

politicians to trace France's cultural and especially racial heritage back to ancient Greco-Roman civilization (Pasler 2009), and had it been Raunay or Caron who appeared on the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre's program, we might simply locate this film within one or the other of these neoclassical contexts. But the revival of *Iphigénie* in which Hatto had starred at the Théâtre-Antique in Orange owed much to the efforts of Paul Mariéton and the Félibrige, for whom neoclassicism served other purposes: the valorization of regional (and specifically southern) identity, and the decentralization of France's theatrical culture (Ellis 2019; Moore 2014). In this paper, I suggest that Hatto's performance for the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre — which she would seem to have filmed and recorded shortly after returning to Paris from Orange — points to an important moment in French (operatic) history, in which the long-contested relationship between centre and periphery began to shift in decisive ways. Of course, the precise part the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre played in this process is difficult to determine: whatever Hatto's performance may have meant to Parisian fair-goers in the autumn of 1900, its significance must surely have shifted over the two years that followed, during which Vri gnault extended the life of the Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre by taking it on a tour of the French regions and the rest of Europe. Ultimately, Hatto's film prompts us to consider how emerging technologies interacted with and intervened in an operatic culture that was already rapidly changing, in ways that sometimes seemed to support (however accidentally) efforts toward regionalization and decentralization but other times contributed to the centralization or, indeed, globalization of French culture at the beginning of the twentieth century.

• **CLÉMENT NOËL (EHESS, Paris), Le «Couronnement de la Muse du Peuple» de Gustave Charpentier : un théâtre citoyen à la rencontre des provinces françaises (1897-1914)**

En août 1903, le journal *Musica* rapporte les propos de la grande comédienne italienne Eleonora Duse : « *Nous devrions retourner aux Grecs, et jouer en plein air : le drame meurt du parquet, des loges, des tenues de soirée, et des gens qui viennent au théâtre pour digérer leur dîner !* ». La redéfinition du lien entre théâtre et spectateur est alors au cœur de la pensée de ceux qui considèrent l'art pour tous comme un véritable outil de civilisation du peuple. Inspiré par les traditions allemande et suisse des *Festspiele*, le plaidoyer wagnérien en faveur d'un art total influence artistes et intellectuels européens qui engagent de profondes réflexions quant aux nouveaux lieux de représentations et aux formes que doivent investir théâtre et opéra. En France, ce projet passe moins par Paris que par des réalisations expérimentales en périphérie de la capitale française. Des festivals musicaux en plein air voient alors le jour, notamment dans le Midi, comme l'a montré Katharine Ellis. À l'instar des fêtes révolutionnaires, la foule fait partie intégrante de cette nouvelle forme d'art, autorisant une véritable communion populaire et citoyenne aux résonances prométhéennes. Ces formes innovantes de spectacle ont principalement été étudiées sous l'angle régionaliste et des tensions entre Paris et la province. Le *Couronnement de la Muse du Peuple*, vaste fresque républicaine composée par Gustave Charpentier en 1897 est représentée à travers toute la France jusqu'en 1951 dans des théâtres de verdure, des arènes ou devant des mairies. Mêlant chant, ballet et pantomime, ce spectacle itinérant rassemble jusqu'à 1500 exécutants principalement amateurs issus de sociétés de musique locale et placés sous la direction du compositeur et

d'un petit groupe d'artistes professionnels venus de Paris pour assurer les répétitions. Cette communication étudiera le cas du *Couronnement de la Muse* qui permet d'observer les ambiguïtés d'un spectacle revendiqué comme populaire et destiné à un public provincial mais conçu, écrit et dirigé depuis Paris, à l'aide de sources inédites comme les papiers du compositeur conservés à la Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris qui contiennent entre autres ses écrits sur le théâtre populaire, des documents iconographiques et les riches archives des représentations à travers la France du *Couronnement*.

• **ROSEMARY GOLDING (The Open University), *On the Edges of Society: The Hidden Musical Cultures of Nineteenth-century British Lunatic Asylums***

Music played an important role in many of the new institutions introduced or subjected to reform by the Victorians, from schools to the military. Among workhouses, orphanages, hospitals and prisons, music was also to be found. A further set of institutions catered for a small yet significant sector of the population: the insane. Dedicated facilities for the mentally ill date back to the thirteenth century, but the first few decades of the nineteenth century saw reform both in the methods of treatment, and their management, particularly with regard to state provision. The musical practices of state and private lunatic asylums offer an important opportunity for studying the development and use of music within a closed society, as well as its uses for managing relations with the local community. This paper considers the musical nature of the asylum, its location (often both physical and social) on the periphery, and its relation to surrounding musical networks. Asylum bands provided music for recreation, drawing on a range of popular repertoire, songs, dances and operatic extracts. Music was also present in religious observance. In the second half of the century many asylums developed further performance opportunities, presenting musical and theatrical entertainments. Furthermore, a busy schedule of visiting performances provided regular amusement for patients, and illustrates the important place of institutions such as asylums in the provincial musical economy. At private and charitable asylums, catering for the middle and upper classes, musical experience was influenced by class and gender. Chamber music and Smoking concerts drew on the talents of both patients and staff. The distinctive musical activities of the Bethlem Royal Hospital form a particular focus for the second part of the paper. At this charitable institution, talented amateur musicians drawn from the hospital's management formed the backbone of an important amateur orchestra, which provided an extensive musical environment for the patients and local community. At the same time, Bethlem's physical location in central London allowed access to key musical and cultural opportunities. I will discuss how the special nature of the asylum led it to reflect, and participate in, central musical developments, while retaining a distinct focus and very deliberate separation from mainstream society.

• **QUENTIN DISHMAN (University of Minnesota), «Hommes, enfants, femmes, nous répondrons!»: The Chanteuse Patriotique in Paris' Cafés-Concerts, 1870-1889**

The *chanteuse patriotique* was a specific type of café-concert singer that emerged during the protracted crises surrounding the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune. This paper examines the careers of two such women, Rosa Bordas (1840-1901) and Amiati (1851-1889),

both of whom, despite their contrasting ideological orientations, rose to stardom for their charismatic performances of ‘patriotic’ songs. Drawing on political sociologist Robert Jansen’s work on populism-as-practice, I position Bordas and Amiati as self-conscious agents of populist mobilization within semi-opposing political projects, revolution and revenge, respectively. Through contemporaneous accounts, reviews, memoirs, iconography, and early histories of the café-concert, I show that these two performers stoked and helped instrumentalize specifically populist modes of sentiment and resentment through their onstage personas and respective repertoires. As exemplars of the chanteuse patriotique, their divergent careers offer unique insight into the dynamic, fragmented politics of the nascent Third Republic. Bordas associated herself with leftist, pro-revolutionary figures and symbols, even dressing as revolutionary heroines. At the height of her career, she featured prominently in a series of Commune-organized concerts held at the Tuileries Palace, famously singing ‘La canaille’ *en bis*. However, her career never fully recovered from the fallout of the Commune. Amiati meanwhile, addressing a humiliated, defeated public, cultivated a wide body of *chansons revanchardes* (revenge songs). Such songs called for violent retribution against Germany and gave voice to narratives of collective loss, injury, memory, and nostalgia, thus normalizing the rhetoric that later propelled Boulangism to its peak in the 1880s. Late in her career, Amiati was even dubbed the ‘consecrated priestess’ of revanchist sentiment. Despite the differing outcomes of their careers, Bordas’ and Amiati’s successes speak to larger concerns. Women’s voices came to the political fore in new, unexpected spaces and in relatively novel ways, disrupting received notions of gender, class, and political speech.

• **FLORIS MEENS (Radboud University), «Lust zu einer Soiree»: The Nineteenth-century Transfer of Music (Cultures) between The Netherlands and Germany**

In recent decades there has been some renewed scholarly interest in nineteenth-century Dutch music culture. Concentrating on public concerts in particular, musicologists and cultural historians have argued that, at least until the 1880s, The Netherlands belonged to Europe’s musical periphery. Their works suggest that since it did not produce any great musicians of its own, the country’s significance was fairly small. A quote by Johannes Brahms, who in 1879 famously lamented the deplorable level of some Amsterdam musicians («Ihr seid liebe Leute, aber schlechte Musikanten»), did not do the reputation of the Dutch any good either. Repeating these words time and again, historiography has suggested that the level of Dutch musicians was bad because a decent musical infrastructure was lacking. Various scholars have argued that it was no wonder, then, that the late birth and ripening of a Dutch national music style was heavily influenced by foreign, and specifically German examples. While it is true that during the nineteenth century many famous foreign composers, instrumentalists and singers visited various Dutch cities, their traces reveal more complex processes of cultural interaction than the beforementioned scholars have thought. Indeed, the fact that Brahms travelled to and through the country several times suggests that it was perhaps less peripheral than is often assumed. Brahms quote, then, invites us to rethink the meaning and use of the concepts of centre and periphery in music historiography by focussing on nineteenth-century The Netherlands. This paper specifically studies the reciprocal relationship between Dutch and German private music cultures. It analyses the network of Emma Engelmann-Brandes, a talented German pianist

who had studied with Clara Schumann-Wieck, and her husband, the physiology professor and gifted amateur cello player Theodor Engelmann. In their Utrecht home, they organized a music salon where they welcomed Brahms, but also the Schumanns, Griegs, Röntgens, Joachims and Rubinsteins as well as several key figures in Dutch music, including the composers Verhulst, Van Rennes and Hol, and the nobleman Johan Willem van Riemsdijk. Based on their personal documents I reveal the mutual dependence between the various actors in this international network, but also the differences and similarities in the ways in which these individuals reflected on the relationship between German and Dutch music, and the words they used to express their emotions and to categorise musical centres and peripheries. Comparing these findings with the analysis of the expressions of the members of some less-internationally oriented and less 'composer-dominated' Dutch music networks, I will further elaborate on the idea of cultural interdependency and question historiography's long-standing view that nineteenth-century Dutch music culture was merely peripheral.

Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (2)

• **FRANCESC CORTÈS I MIR (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), *Mirando a París y Bayreuth: las representaciones operísticas del G. T. del Liceu de Barcelona en el cambio de siglo***

A principios de siglo xx se emprendieron iniciativas para situar el G. T. del Liceu entre los centros de referencia europeos. Los proyectos tomaban como referencia los principales focos de producción musical europeos que marcaban los cánones dominantes, principalmente los teatros de París y Bayreuth, a la par que otros teatros alemanes de referencia, como Munich. En 1902 se abrió una convocatoria para cubrir la plaza de Director de escena del G. T. del Liceu. A ella se presentó, entre otros, el escenógrafo Adrià Gual, que en esos momentos trabajaba en el teatro del Quartier Latin de París. Redactó una *Memoria* para optar al concurso. Gual señaló que en los teatros de España «vamos siempre aquellos diez años atrás de los verdaderos centros». Un año antes, la Sociedad del G. T. del Liceo había enviado a los escenógrafos Félix Urgellés y Oleguer Junyent al teatro de Bayreuth para que estudiaran las representaciones de la *Tetralogía* wagneriana y las adaptaran al teatro barcelonés. Se interesaron en las puestas de escena de Bayreuth, en los aspectos técnicos y en el régimen de ensayos del teatro wagneriano, el cual se había convertido en el referente operístico de la modernidad. Tratemos, además, acerca de otros proyectos concebidos entre finales del s. xix y principios del s. xx en el G. T. del Liceu y otros teatros barceloneses. A partir de una metodología microhistórica nos adentraremos en las representaciones operísticas en Barcelona del período, intentando reconstruirlas y contrastarlas con los cambios que se deseaban introducir para asemejarse a los centros europeos. Así mismo se estudiarán los resultados conseguidos por dichas iniciativas, su viabilidad, y los obstáculos con que toparon dichos modelos de París y Alemania al adaptarse a la realidad española contemporánea.

• **MARÍA SANHUESA FONSECA (Universidad de Oviedo), *Acordes de una existencia: el entorno musical de los marqueses de Canillejas (Asturias–Madrid) en el tránsito al siglo xx***

Trataremos el entorno vital y musical de una familia de la aristocracia asturiana en el tránsito del siglo xix al xx: los Vereterra Armada, marqueses de Canillejas, en su discurrir habitual

entre sus dos residencias, en Madrid y en Asturias. Durante el invierno los marqueses residían en Madrid, asistiendo a los eventos de la vida social y musical. En verano se desplazaban a Asturias, al palacio de Valdesoto (Siero), donde recibían a amigos de Madrid. Además del descanso en una hermosa finca y la vida social que en ella se desarrollaba, los marqueses se rodeaban de música; allí confluían tanto los músicos e instituciones musicales de ámbito local como virtuosos de fama internacional que pasaron alguna temporada en Valdesoto por su relación de amistad con la familia. Entre los músicos de ámbito local estaba Andrés Iglesias, director de la Banda Particular de Música de Oviedo, y autor de una marcha fúnebre al fallecimiento de la marquesa en 1909, cuyo original se conserva en el archivo familiar; también Fidel Maya y Francisco Lavandera, que hacia 1908 dedican el álbum *Alma Asturiana* a los marqueses. Por otra parte, el pianista alemán Charles Beck (1849-1915), de trayectoria internacional, se contaba entre las amistades familiares y pasó algún verano en Valdesoto, donde había un piano que pudo tocar en las veladas allí celebradas. La relación de Beck con el compositor y pianista cubano-asturiano Anselmo González del Valle era conocida, pero hasta ahora se ignoraba la estrecha amistad con los marqueses de Canillejas; incluso el marqués fue testigo del accidente ferroviario que causó la muerte del pianista en junio de 1915. Conocer el entorno musical de los marqueses de Canillejas supone profundizar en repertorios minoritarios, y en la recepción de la música de moda en la periferia de los grandes centros musicales.

FERNANDO BARRERA-RAMÍREZ (Universidad de Cádiz), En la periferia de la periferia: música y bandolerismo en torno a la figura de Diego Corrientes

Desde el siglo XVIII, España era un país considerado exótico, con su frontera natural de los Pirineos, límite que marcaba el paso a un mundo de costumbres atávicas y personajes pintorescos. De entre ellos, destaca la figura del bandolero, utilizado con asiduidad en música como una idea recurrente que se desarrolla de manera especial a lo largo del siglo XIX y principios del XX, a través de zarzuelas — *El Gato Montés* de Penella (1917) —, o canciones — *El querer bandolero* de Alonso (1919). Composiciones sobre bandidos, muchas de ellas anónimas, que llegaron a transformar la imagen de personajes de mala vida convirtiéndolos en auténticos héroes para el pueblo. Del nutrido grupo de bandoleros que transcurrieron por aquella Andalucía de finales del XVIII y principios del XIX, entre los personajes vinculados a estas composiciones musicales resulta especialmente sobresaliente la figura del utrerano Diego Corrientes (1757-1781). Su sobrenombre, ‘el bandido generoso’, endulzó su imagen, elevándolo a la categoría de icono dentro de este universo serrano de delincuencia y exotismo (Botrel). Corrientes aparece de manera habitual representado cual Robin Hood castizo, que roba a los ricos y se lo da a los pobres. Así se describe en las coplas populares usadas en la obra de Gutiérrez de Alba (1848) o la canción andaluza de Sanz (1873). El binomio bandolerismo-música sigue vigente, especialmente en géneros populares como el flamenco. Precisamente, en relación a Corrientes, durante los últimos años han sido publicados nuevos cantes y revisitados otros clásicos, como las carceleras transcritas en la obra de teatro *Diego Corrientes o el Bandido Generoso*. Esta comunicación estudia las obras musicales creadas en torno al bandolero utrerano como paradigma de la presencia del tópico del bandolero en la música española del siglo XIX y principios del XX, composiciones que sitúan nuestra música aún más al Sur y al margen de la ley, en la periferia de las periferias.

M. BELÉN VARGAS LIÑÁN (Universidad de Granada), Centro y periferia en la Península Ibérica: relaciones musicales entre Granada y Madrid en el siglo XIX

Esta comunicación aborda la estrecha conexión musical entre Granada y Madrid a lo largo del siglo XIX, como ejemplo del centralismo cultural que la capital ejerció en muchos lugares del país. A partir del estudio de las fuentes de prensa, programas de conciertos y documentación perteneciente a sociedades, se describe el vínculo entre la ciudad andaluza y la Corte desde diversos puntos de vista, como la recepción de repertorios, la adopción de modelos institucionales o el flujo de artistas entre ambos lugares. Por un lado, la difusión del repertorio siguió las tendencias dictadas desde la capital. Así, las nuevas producciones presentadas en la escena granadina reprodujeron los mismos títulos en fechas muy cercanas a los estrenos de la Corte, al menos, hasta mediados del siglo. De igual modo, la música instrumental centroeuropea comenzó a difundirse entre las élites granadinas a partir de 1870 a través de agrupaciones locales que tomaron como modelo la Sociedad de Cuartetos de Madrid. La influencia se reforzó a partir de 1887, cuando la Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid presentó en Granada este repertorio en formato orquestal, observándose semejanzas entre esta recepción y la que tuvo lugar en Madrid veinte años antes. Por otro lado, algunas de las sociedades culturales surgidas a lo largo del ochocientos siguieron modelos institucionales de la capital, como el Liceo Artístico y Literario granadino (1839) inspirado en su homónimo madrileño. En otro orden de cosas, se dio un intenso tránsito de músicos entre ambas ciudades. Granada fue un destino obligado para muchos concertistas por su atractivo artístico y monumental. Pero también se dio un éxodo constante de la juventud intelectual local hacia Madrid, más acusado en la segunda mitad del siglo. La fuga de talentos provocó grandes discrepancias en los círculos intelectuales granadinos, cuyos miembros consideraron esta emigración la causa del empobrecimiento cultural de la provincia.

Models of Music Production in the Peripheries (2)

• ANNETTE KAPPELER – GIULIA BRUNELLO – RAPHAËL BORTOLOTTI (HKB – Bern University of the Arts), **An Italian Provincial Theatre: Repertoire, Public, Actors, Administration and Stage Material of Feltre's Teatro Sociale in the 19th Century**

This paper presents preliminary results of the research project «Italian provincial theatre and the Risorgimento. The organisation, repertoire and original stage décor of Feltre's Teatro sociale (1797-1866)» (SNF – Swiss National Foundation, HKB – Bern University of the Arts). The project investigates Feltre's theatre (Belluno) in the 19th-century, compared with other similar theatres in other cities situated in the Regno d'Italia — then, the Lombardo Veneto — especially the nearby Belluno and the ex-leading city of Venice, seat of the Hapsburg Government. From the fall of the Serenissima to the Hapsburg annexation to the Regno d'Italia, Feltre's theatre is a representative example of one of the innumerable Italian 'provincial' theatres of the 19th century. Moreover, it is of great significance as it is one of the few places where original scenic material from the 19th century has survived until today. Using a micro-historical approach, this paper proposes to underline the importance of Feltre's theatre as a place where forms of social life, hierarchies and networks were formed on the one hand, and the relationship of the centre to the periphery on the other. An attention to cultural transfer will play a central role in our

investigations with regard to the presence of theatrical troupes and impresarios, repertoire, musical styles, trends, popular tastes, scenic materials, painters and the scenographers' activity. Starting from a specific case study, this paper discusses the following general themes: how the events of a theatre reflect municipal pride and symbolize a competition with other urban centres; how theatrical trends help to structure the relationship between centres and periphery; how hierarchies between genres reveal social stratification based on aesthetic taste and how fashion (new and old representations) affects theatrical scheduling.

Universality vs. Nationality

• BELLA BROVER-LUBOVSKY (Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance), *Music and Social Mobility in the Late Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire*

In the late eighteenth century, the Russian empire was considered a true 'goldmine' for the European cultural intelligentsia: musicians and librettists, choreographers and dancers, painters and architects from Italy and France crowded both capitals and additional venues across the empire. Although European cultural values, genres and patterns had traditionally dominated Russian cultural life prior the rise of local and national schools, this massive migration and cultural transfer became overwhelming during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-96) and her son Paul I (1796-1801). Russian victories in the Northern and Turkish Wars, the development and settlement of Novo-Russia and the Crimea, the partitions and annexation of Poland, participation in anti-Napoleonic coalition, including providing a shelter for French royal family and aristocracy, and the hosting of the Catholic Order of Hospitallers — increased the immigrant population and nourished European cultural hegemony. What attracted European *culturati* and stimulated their transfer to Russian Empire? Apart from good work conditions, such as the imperial control of both court and public theatres, the typically Russian predilection for monumental and sumptuous representation and expanded performing forces, there were considerations that lay outside their professional interests: stable salaries fixed by the Imperial Direction of Spectacles and Music, and an opportunity to upgrade their social status. My paper explores the social upgrading of Giuseppe Sarti, Vicente Martín-y-Soler, stage designer Pietro Gonzaga, architect Giacomo Quarenghi and a French choreographer, Charles LePicq. Based on unique materials from state and private Russian archives, I discuss the dialectics of the transplantation of a cosmopolitan idiom to the local environment, and the economic and social terms of the service of these artists.

• AXEL KLEIN (Research Associate, Research Foundation for Music in Ireland-RFMI), *Music in and from Ireland: Perspectives on an Ununited Kingdom*

Despite an abundance of research published in the past 30+ years, the art music of Ireland remains a closed book to most specialists, including musicologists, musicians and the planners of concert programmes. If perceived at all, it is as part of a larger picture, a provincial constituent to the music of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' — as it was called during the period covered by this conference — including Scotland and Wales. This perception is not false and yet it does not do justice to the wealth of music this country has produced. The popularity of Irish traditional music since the 19th century has not helped in this

regard. Taking a closer look at art music in Ireland may therefore be a rewarding undertaking, starting from the notion of a factually ‘Ununited Kingdom’ that the British Isles were at the time: forcibly united by the Act of Union of 1800, with an education system copying British models, but increasingly striving for cultural and political independence that was finally achieved in 1922 with the founding of the Irish Free State. The starting point of this paper is the indebtedness of Irish musical life to British models. But I will then turn to analysing what differentiated music in Ireland from music in England and how political independence has been prepared by cultural trends including music. Composers whose music will be discussed include Irish emigrants in England but also those who stayed in Ireland and immigrants who came to teach in Ireland and identified with its culture.

• **IVAN MOODY (CESEM – Universidade NOVA, Lisbon), Centre and Periphery: Symphonic Identity in Portugal**

While, as recent studies have increasingly tried to show, the concept of centre and periphery is often limiting in its perspective, it is true that countries whose art music tradition was of relatively recent (re)establishment during the long 19th century had to send young composers to places that were considered more ‘central’ in order to return to the ‘periphery’ and align it with standards and trends imported from abroad. This was the case with Portugal during the last decades of the 19th century and during much of the 20th. An emblematic figure here is the pianist and composer José Vianna da Motta (1868-1948), who studied with Scharwenka, Liszt and von Bülow. He toured the world and was a close friend of Busoni, but also made a lasting contribution to music in Portugal; his Symphony ‘À Patria’ (‘To the Fatherland’, 1894) represents a symbolic beginning of a Portuguese national music. It is where his music, and that of others, stands on the centre-periphery spectrum that this paper aims to explore. At what point can one consider that such music becomes genuinely Portuguese? How might one view it without using the centrist lens? Vianna da Motta’s music was the victim of systemic neglect, but the later reinstatement of the composer as a national symbol makes one question the terms on which it was heard, since it was Vianna da Motta himself who provided a programme for the work. It may, then, be heard entirely in terms of Portuguese national mythology. But what if we do not know the programmatic aspect of the work? How might we evaluate it in comparison with other works of the time? I shall try in this paper to contextualize this aspect of Vianna da Motta’s work, as part of an on-going attempt to recalibrate the question of centre-periphery.

• **VIRGINIA E. WHEALTON (Texas Tech University), Poland as Periphery and Musical Center: Wojciech/Albert Sowinski’s Theorizations of Polish Musical Identity**

In musicological scholarship, Albert Sowinski, né Wojciech Sowinski (1805-1880), is typically remembered for a single accomplishment: his *Les musiciens polonais et slaves, anciens et modernes, Dictionnaire biographique* (1857), the first major study of Polish musicians in Western Europe. However, this work was just one of the nine studies and collections on Polish music Sowinski produced in collaboration with Polish activist and Polonophilic circles in his more than fifty years as an émigré in Paris. Like other Polish émigrés in the wake of the November Uprising (1830-1831), Sowinski sought to forge an identity that could survive multiple decades

in exile, reckoning with the overlapping but divergent claims of ideologies such as Sarmatism, Slavic pastoralism, liberalism, cosmopolitanism, and Lelewelian Republicanism. Poles in Paris also faced ‘the Polish question’ — whether Poland periphery in need of modernization, or whether it was a powerful cultural center and model of nationalism. I consider how Sowinski engaged with these issues in three of his most significant publications: the anthology *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires* (1830); articles on Polish music history and folk traditions in *La Pologne historique, monumentale, et pittoresque* (1835-1841); and the *Dictionnaire biographique*. Sowinski consistently sought to celebrate regions, composers, and genres on Poland’s geographical and social peripheries. However, this focus on Polish borderlands created a fundamental tension with Sowinski’s ambition to present Poland as a longstanding cosmopolitan European cultural center, requiring him to substantially redefine his constructions of Polish musical identity. Whereas his early work relied on Herderian and Rousseauian paradigms, his later works celebrated the power of a diverse array of Polish political, religious, and cultural institutions in shaping Polish national music, reclaiming their continuing influence in contemporaneous Europe and partitioned Poland.

Redefining Centres and Peripheries in European Music

• MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS (The University of Melbourne), Spanish Estudiantinas, the Popular Music Stage and Sonorities of the Belle Époque

Spanish *estudiantina* ensembles achieved immense popularity in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and were integral to the international projection of Spanish popular musical styles and associated dances. These groups of serenading musicians, formed around a core of plucked string instruments, had historical precedents in Spanish student groups dating back to Medieval times, and in the *rondallas* that were associated with outdoor music. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century these traditions were recast in the changing urban contexts of the Iberian Peninsula, and from 1878 the *estudiantina* gained an international dimension in the wake of the Parisian triumph of the Estudiantina Española. The Estudiantina Española spawned a multitude of imitators that would form part of the international popular music stage till the early twentieth century. Most of these ensembles, comprising professional entertainers, ranged in size from 10-20 players, and predominantly employed *bandurrias*, *laúdes* and guitars — a successful commercial formula that built on the terrain of American minstrel groups. The most famous of these ensembles was the Estudiantina Figaro, founded by Dionisio Granados in Madrid in 1878. These *estudiantinas* provided the impetus for the creation of different types of plucked string ensembles, and the subsequent mass production of relatively cheap fretted instruments; starting with the Italian mandolin orchestras that formed in 1878. By the end of the 1880s, the term *estudiantina* also denoted localised mixed and plucked-based ensembles, playing folk and popular repertoires, and from the 1890s, the term *estudiantina* was employed to describe the bourgeois amateur social music phenomenon of the plucked string orchestras in continental Europe. This paper will focus on two examples of the widespread impact of the Spanish *estudiantinas* in both the centre and periphery of Europe during the Belle Époque. In the first instance there is an examination of the contexts in which the *estudiantinas* appeared on the popular stage in Paris, and the ways in which their music influenced the sonority of range

of musical styles, most notably in the musical projection of Spain. The focus will then switch to the impact of the *estudiantinas* on the creation of plucked string ensembles and both national and cosmopolitan repertoires in Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire.

• **MARÍA ENCINA CORTIZO (Universidad de Oviedo), *The Attraction of the Periphery: Sounds from a Picturesque Spain Imagined by the Other in the 19th Century***

Spain's consideration as a romantic country in 19th-century Europe converts it into a source of inspiration. Diverse artists undertook a true initiatory journey to the Eastern gateway to the West, pursuing those romantic 'essences' recreated in their imagination. Following writers and painters, musicians, such as Glinka, Liszt or Rimsky-Korsakov, visit the southern border of Europe. They all end up recreating artistically 'their' Spain in different pieces, allegedly Spanish, which use to be included in the canonical repertoire. This paper will reflect on this 'contact area' between the centre and the periphery and the dialogues between this repertoire and the sounds that Spaniards propose of themselves, which sometimes serves as a reference for the foreign composers — i.e. the *Rondeau fantastique sur un thème espagnol* («El contrabandista») S 252 by Liszt on Manuel García's *polo*. We will also address the Spanish fashion in mid-century Paris reflected in *cachuchas* and *boleros*, fashionable *soirées* such as those organized by Viardot, related to the exoticism trend, which will reach the apex with Bizet's *Carmen* (1875). Furthermore, we will look at Spain's image that survives in the Parisian *Belle Époque* where live Albéniz and Granados, Zuloaga and their gipsies, Debussy and Ravel, who imagine Spanish with another glance. Living together and incorporating those foreign images, Spanish composers continuously remake up the musical imagery of Spain's sound in an exciting game of hierarchies and synergies in which adjectives such as original, authentic, derivative, recreated, invented and even parodic are confronted.

• **MIRIAM PERANDONES LOZANO (Universidad de Oviedo), *Quinito Valverde in Paris (1907-1912): An Approach to the Study***

In the first years of the 20th century, a new panorama in the Spanish music industry was established: 'light' genres or frivolous musical theatre such as the *género ínfimo*, *variétés*, operetta and, later, the *revista* monopolized the theatrical schedule, and the new and old spaces such as cafés and salons (Salón Actualidades, Salón Rouge Salón Blue, or Japonés) welcomed the new models of entertainment built, in great part, on *cuplé* and *cupletistas*. The Spanish young composer Quinito (Joaquín) Valverde (Madrid, 1875-Mexico, 1918) is totally comfortable in this cultural context; he is outside the canon of Music History, both Spanish and international, and is still today forgotten in musicological studies. However, his figure is indispensable to understand the music that was consumed in the first two decades of the 20th century because his enormous production was part of the Spanish, Latin American and even North American daily life thanks to his compositional facility and his catchy style. Many numbers of his works had an immediate success and his fame lasted for decades. Between 1907 and 1912 he lived in Paris, where he became famous and collaborated with the very popular *cupletista* La Fornarina. In the French capital he was in contact with Spanish dancers and guitarists who arrived to the city of light in search of success by exploiting Andalusian exoticism, such as Faço, Antonio

de Bilbao or the famous Antonia Mercé, La Argentina. That Valverde's period, practically unknown, will be approached in this study.

• **JONATHAN MALLADA ÁLVAREZ (Universidad de Oviedo), *¿Centro español, periferia europea? Los casos de Fuller y Frégoli en la escena madrileña (1893-1896)***

Durante los últimos años del siglo XIX, la atomizada escena teatral madrileña vive un momento de efervescencia en el que se produce la eclosión de una gran variedad de espectáculos diferentes que modifican la concepción tradicional del ocio teatral y suponen el germen de lo que posteriormente se considerará 'género ínfimo'. Cupletistas, bailarinas, cinematógrafos... todos ellos contribuyen a rejuvenecer el modelo del teatro por horas y a insuflar un aire de modernidad en los coliseos madrileños siempre con la mirada puesta en las novedades llegadas de las principales ciudades europeas y del otro lado del Atlántico. Entre 1893 y 1896 nos encontramos dos casos paradigmáticos — Ida Fuller y Leopoldo Frégoli — que nos permiten ahondar en la permeabilidad de los repertorios y en la adopción y apropiación de ciertos espectáculos extranjeros por parte de las compañías madrileñas de género chico, al mismo tiempo que evidencian la necesidad de profundas reflexiones en torno a las nociones de 'centros y periferias' aplicadas desde Europa al contexto español. El objetivo de esta comunicación radicaría en el análisis de la doble vertiente centro-periferia en cuanto a la situación geográfica de Madrid respecto a las grandes metrópolis europeas mediante la contratación de estas figuras de primer nivel artístico y, por otro lado, en un sentido metodológico aplicando estos conceptos a los escenarios teatrales en los que actuaron tanto Fuller como Frégoli y a los espacios en los que tuvieron lugar sus imitaciones, parodias y obras derivadas. La consulta de la prensa coeánea al fenómeno de estudio permite profundizar en esta problemática distinción centros-periferias, al mismo tiempo que nos posibilita trazar una nueva perspectiva en la que se incluyan aspectos no abordados por la historiografía como los contactos artísticos transnacionales entre Europa y España o la adopción de los gustos foráneos por parte de la escena española.

• **KLÁRA HEDVIKA MÜHLOVÁ (Masaryk University, Brno), *Czech and Slovak Music Theory in the Long 19th Century and Its Contextual Transformations***

19th century brings many changes to the life of the Czech and Slovak nations. It is a century of national maturation and self-awareness. The Slavic nations, which are part of the Habsburg Empire, are experiencing a revival and self-identification. In music, those tendencies of national self-awareness, spreading throughout Europe, are manifested in numerous ways, and the expansion of national musical cultures is collectively integrated into the notion of 'the emergence of national schools'. Areas outside the traditional centers are developing remarkable, new musical trends in the 19th century. Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the Nordic countries have given European music culture many valuable, creative contributions and impulses, and this is no different for the Czech lands and the territory of today's Slovakia. In the work of Jan Václav Tomášek (1774-1850), Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884), Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900), or Ján Levoslav Bella (1843 - 1936) the new idea of the national music matures. Thus a new cultural statement of two, previously marginalised, nations is created. Music theory has an irreplaceable place in those emancipation processes. A radical change in

the relationship between music theory and music practice is taking place with the establishment of conservatories. The new institutional infrastructure thus creates an environment for the development of new genres of music theory. Along with the establishment of musicology at European universities, a science-oriented music theory is also developing. With the emergence of the first systematics of musicology, attention is paid to the disciplinary structure of music theory as well. These — and other — changes in music theory are well traceable in cultures experiencing a national revival, and establishing national music schools. The paper will focus on the transformations of Czech and Slovak music theory in the long 19th century, mapping these transformation processes from the perspective of variously applied prism of centers and peripheries, and following the mechanisms of the complex development of music theory in the evolutionary environment.

• **JEROEN VAN GESSEL (State University Groningen), «I've Been Lucky with the Operas!»: Music Tourism and the Making of European Music Capitals**

During the long nineteenth century the Netherlands seems to have mirrored many other smaller European countries in the sense that it witnessed the development of a new type of bourgeois musical life with concert societies, festivals and music organisations with nationalist agendas. Most of them were fashioned after German models, and simultaneously German music dominated the concert repertoire. It would therefore be tempting to assume that an analysis of these developments would provide an exhaustive description of the relation between (mostly Germanic) centres and the Dutch musical periphery in this period. However, if we turn our attention to the musical horizon of Dutch music enthusiasts a different picture emerges, especially regarding the higher tiers of Dutch society. Although these music lovers also participated in bourgeois musical life, opera lay at the core of their musical horizon, and more specifically, opera productions in internationally acknowledged musical centres such as London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Milan. This contribution will use unknown and unpublished private documents (correspondence, diaries) to demonstrate how the growing national musical self-consciousness basically failed to impress the higher tiers of Dutch society. Instead, they continued to perceive the major capitals of Europe as the beacons of musical excellence and used opera as the yardstick. This applies not only to those Dutch music lovers who used travel abroad as an opportunity to take in an opera. It becomes especially clear in the documents about 'music tourism': the letters of those who would travel to major European capitals with the express purpose of hearing the latest operas and the best and most famous singers. As such, this contribution aims to show that the concept of centre and periphery must allow for a layered and differentiated approach in which different concepts of centre can exist side by side.

Cultural Transfer of Music

• **DAVID CONWAY (Honorary Research Associate, University College London), Roma, Magyar, Jew – The Spread of 'Gipsy' Music in the long 19th Century**

So-called 'gipsy' music experienced a phenomenal success across Europe and beyond throughout the long nineteenth century. From Europe's easternmost periphery it swept across the continent both as a popular genre and as an element of art music given status by Liszt,

Brahms and other major figures — as late as World War I it remained a leading element in operetta. The origins of this musical style have long been debated, some seeking them in Roma musical traditions, others placing them in the development of Hungarian nationalism. But there was also a significant contribution to the genre by Jewish musicians. Amongst those who led the earliest popularization of the genre, and were celebrated as such by Liszt and others, were the composer and bandleader Márk Rózsavölgyi, born Mordecai Rosenthal, and the ‘gipsy’ violinist Ede Reményi, the son of a Jewish goldsmith. Association between Roma and Jewish musicians in Hungary in this musical style can be traced from the late 18th century onwards. As this music spread geographically from the periphery to the centre, it also enabled progress of Jewish and Roma musicians, with differing consequences. Jewish musicians popularised the style on the concert platform or in the operetta genre. Roma musicians meanwhile had to be satisfied with a niche in café society. What could be analyzed simplistically in terms of cultural domination of, or in terms of competition between, social minorities may also be viewed in terms of the ways in which cultural participation may allow and assist entry of outsiders into a changing society. I will review the participation of Hungarians, Roma and Jews (and others) in the development of this genre and suggest elements of the musical, political, social and economic dialogues and dynamics involved.

• **GLORIA A. RODRÍGUEZ-LORENZO (Universidad de Oviedo) – FRANCISCO J. GIMÉNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ (Universidad de Granada), *Between Hungary and Spain: Musical Encounters behind Europe***

At the end of nineteenth century, while Hungary’s and Spain’s self-representations in the visual arts evolved, their musical faces were almost unchanged (considered ‘barbarians’ or ‘Orientals’), with Gypsy musicians representing them in international exhibitions like Paris’ 1889. Although the Hungarian and Spanish tradition of actively incorporating Gypsy culture in the creation of national identity appears both in literature and in musical compositions, an intense and mutual cultural reception appeared along the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Beyond zingaros and flamencos, musical encounters between the two nations remain completely unexplored, offering a strong presence of Spanish culture in Hungary: literature, theatre, fashion... reflected right away in successful Spanish music performances all over the country. This paper aims to explore the reception of Spanish culture in Hungary to offer a wider understanding of Spanish music there through some musical case studies like a ‘Spanish operetta’ company touring Hungary, Spanish zarzuela performances in the country or the presence of Spanish musicians in Hungarian press.

• **ALESSANDRA PALIDDA (Oxford Brooks University), *Music for the ‘Nation’: The Creation of a Transnational Musical Style between Paris and Republican Milan***

In its republican season following the Napoleonic invasion (1796), the city of Milan became the capital of the so-called ‘Cisalpine Republic’ (1797-1799 and 1800-1802), supposedly a ‘free and independent state’, but *de facto* a sister republic of France. Already a cosmopolitan centre in throughout the eighteenth century as capital of Austrian Lombardy, Milan found itself at the centre of a new, intense network for cultural circulation. The mobility occasioned

by the Napoleonic Wars, as well as the constructed, yet intense participation of Lombardy in the post- revolutionary cultural and political discourses established a new axis connecting the French and Lombard capitals through the circulation of cultural products and experiences. One of the most notable cultural importations of post-revolutionary French culture into the Cisalpine Republic was that of the republican festivals, which were organized in the Milanese public spaces throughout the republican years. A Parisian product throughout (though repurposing many pre-existing elements), the republican festival had to be carefully adapted to the Milanese specificities, especially in terms of soundscape and musical content. The music for the Cisalpine festivals thus comes to constitute an interesting lens to explore and interpret dynamics of cultural circulation and negotiation between the French-Parisian 'centre', where musical models were conceived and tested, and the 'periphery' of the sister republics, where these models were transplanted. Using a rich palette of archival sources such as administrative documents, iconography and chronicles, the paper will operate the description and analysis of the cisalpine festivals' music and musicians, paying particular attention to the tension between French and Milanese features. It will also propose some remarks on the construction of a 'national' (or better 'transnational') cisalpine style and repertoire and on its consequences on later musical development.

• **MATTHIEU CAILLIEZ (Université Grenoble Alpes), *Le théâtre lyrique en Corse et en Algérie française au miroir de la presse musicale européenne (1830-1870)***

Sous la monarchie de Juillet, la Deuxième République et le Second Empire, Paris concentre l'essentiel des créations lyriques sur le sol national et son modèle domine outrageusement la vie musicale française dans son ensemble. La presse musicale européenne rend très largement compte de l'activité des théâtres parisiens, mais nettement moins souvent de l'activité des théâtres de province. Au-delà de l'Hexagone, la Corse et l'Algérie française bénéficient d'une couverture médiatique encore moindre. Sous la monarchie de Juillet, l'Algérie est une colonie française dont la conquête n'est pas achevée. Après la prise d'Alger par les troupes françaises en 1830, les autorités militaires ordonnent l'ouverture d'une salle de spectacles provisoire destinée au divertissement des officiers et des Européens qui commencent à s'installer en Algérie. Cette salle accueille quelques saisons italiennes avant l'inauguration de l'Opéra d'Alger en 1853 qui devient le principal centre musical de la colonie. Malgré le rattachement de l'Île de Beauté à la France en 1768 et une politique culturelle visant à faire accepter le pouvoir français, la Corse reste largement dominée par la culture italienne dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle. Dans ce contexte, le passage régulier de troupes italiennes à Bastia et à Ajaccio ne présente pas le caractère exceptionnel, ou du moins singulier, qui est le sien dans les grandes villes de province en France métropolitaine. L'objet de cette communication consiste en une étude de la réception de l'art lyrique à Alger, Oran, Ajaccio et Bastia entre 1830 et 1870, à travers le dépouillement de périodiques musicaux publiés à Paris, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienne, Milan, Bologne, Londres, Bruxelles et Utrecht. Si l'importante diffusion de l'opéra italien en Corse et en Algérie suscite logiquement la publication de nombreux articles dans la presse musicale transalpine, il est surprenant de retrouver dans l'*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* des comptes-rendus souvent plus détaillés sur l'activité musicale de ces territoires français que ceux publiés dans les principaux

périodiques parisiens. Cette étude se propose ainsi d'offrir un nouvel éclairage sur les rapports entre centres et périphéries dans la vie musicale européenne du XIX^e siècle.

• **MARIA ALICE VOLPE (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), «Concertos Populares» as Models of Production, Dissemination and Reception of French and Brazilian Symphonic Music in the late Nineteenth- and early Twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro**

The French influence in Brazil reached all areas, from philosophy, science, and politics, to literature, urbanism, architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. The Francophile culture in Rio de Janeiro included social behavior, values and status symbols embodied in fashion, entertainment and public spaces. This study discusses the development of symphonic concerts in the long nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro focusing on its kin relation with French models of music production, dissemination and reception. Symphonic concerts directed to a larger public took place more regularly in Rio de Janeiro's musical life only in the late nineteenth-century with Carlos Mesquita's series of *Concertos Populares* (1887-1893; 1897-1902). Mesquita was praised by contemporary music critics not only for constantly performing a substantial number of works largely unknown to the Brazilian public but also for seeking a wider audience for symphonic music. Mesquita channeled the dissemination of new stylistic tendencies that symbolized the updating of Brazil with European culture, reinforcing the nation's association with cosmopolitan ideals of 'civilization' and 'progress'. Contemporary criticism noted the relevance of public symphonic concerts in the renovation of Brazilian musical values. Paris Conservatory was Mesquita's alma mater, and his French experience was chief to his endeavors in Brazil. The profile of Mesquita's popular symphonic concerts was the judicious mixing of easy-listening pieces with more serious music, so audiences would gradually become acquainted with and fond of symphonic music. Mesquita also promoted recently composed Brazilian music by performing it side by side with French late-Romantic music. The discussion of Mesquita's endeavor takes in consideration the competing forms of public entertainment, and addresses: how popular symphonic concerts could be a sustainable music business in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro; and in which ways the joint performance of French and Brazilian music could construct a sense of national identity within cosmopolitan ideals.

• **KELVIN H. F. LEE (University of Leuven), Enescu's Formal Fields: Centre, Periphery and Cultural Transfer**

The reception of George Enescu's music has long suffered from the crude distinction between East and West. Although commentators are reluctant to describe Enescu in these terms (Bentoiu 2001; Taylor 2017), the frequent emphasis on the folk elements of his music (Cristescu 1997; Vârlan 2015) spotlights the composer's Romanian identity, portraying him as a representative of East European nationalism. This understanding of Enescu's cultural orientation, however, fails to acknowledge the cosmopolitan context that shapes his musical thought. For one thing, Enescu was educated in Vienna and Paris, spent much of his career in the latter and worked mostly with cosmopolitan genres. Squeezing Enescu's oeuvre into

the customary narrative of musical nationalism therefore risks obscuring such transcultural qualities, which remains to be adequately addressed. This paper develops an original analytical approach for negotiating the diverse influences from both the European musical centres and Enescu's native periphery inherent in the composer's early works. Reimagining James Hepokoski's notion of dialogic form (2010) via Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (1984), I foreground musical syntax as the fundamental constituents of cosmopolitan and nationalist tendencies, arguing that formal functions (Caplin 1998) serve as social fields where these syntactic properties interact. The case in point is the first movement of Enescu's First Symphony (1905). Drawing on contemporary theories of form, tonality and rhythm (Bailey 1984; McClelland 2010; Taylor 2011; Horton 2017) and studies of Enescu's folk influences (Malcolm 1990; Robinson 2017), I identify four formal fields and contend that each of them shows an intertwining of cosmopolitan syntactic practice and Romanian musical/aesthetic ideals, attesting to the cultural transfer between centres and peripheries. Such an approach in turn propounds intertextual study of musical syntax as a novel historiographical methodology for modelling the tension between forces of universality and nationality in not only Enescu's works, but also other transcultural music.

Music from the Peripheries: Genres and Repertoires

• **NANCY NOVEMBER (The University of Auckland), Arrangement or Derrangement? Cultivating Arrangements of Public Music in the Early Nineteenth-Century Viennese Home**

A unique window on the otherwise hidden world of nineteenth-century amateur music-making is provided by the study of domestic musical arrangements of public works. These arrangements take us from established centres of musical activity to lesser-studied peripheries. Arrangements of public music flourished in great variety in early nineteenth-century Vienna. But scholars tend to ignore them, or dismiss them as second rate. My research asks: what cultural, musical, and social functions did domestic arrangements, especially of public music, serve in Vienna ca. 1790-1830; and how did these change with changing ideas about the role musical works? In this presentation I focus on the contexts in which arrangements were performed in Vienna, and their functions in advancing sociability, and social and aesthetic understanding in the 1810s and '20s, as public concert life emerged. There was a shift away from arrangements of selected hits towards the publication of arrangements of entire works ca. 1815, concurrent with a move to publish orchestral music in full score. I show how this can be related to emerging ideals of textual fidelity, and the increasingly dominant agency of the composer. By around 1818, when an estimated 2,000 musical amateurs lived in Vienna, the prevalence of arrangements and their reprints was drawing objections from critics and bourgeois bureaucrats who saw fit to 'reform' taste. These writers' metaphors, such as 'epidemic' and 'tinsel music', can be compared to those of 'fruitfulness' and 'translation' applied to arrangements earlier. I explore how the increasingly pressing question of composers' authority affected the culture of arrangements, with a case study of Sigmund Anton Steiner's series of chamber arrangements of orchestral music by Beethoven.

• **RAMÓN SOBRINO (Universidad de Oviedo), La internacionalización de la música española a través de Sarasate y el repertorio para violín en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX: jotas, habaneras y zapateados en Europa**

Son muchos los factores que intervienen en la difusión de la música española en Europa durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. La mezcla de lo gitano, lo árabe, los toreros y las figuras andaluzas que aparecen en canciones y bailes contribuyeron a convertir a España en un país exótico. La mirada romántica de viajeros, escritores, pintores y grabadores generó una imagen musical de España que los españoles asumirán luego como representativa; pensemos en los temas literarios y musicales incluidos en *Carmen* de Bizet. Mostramos cómo el violinista Pablo Sarasate (1844-1908) contribuyó a la difusión en Europa de un repertorio de aires y danzas españolas compuestos o dedicados a él en sus interpretaciones. Sus cuatro colecciones de *Spanische Tänze*, editadas por N. Simrock en Berlín — que también encarga las *Ungarische Tänze* a Brahms y las *Slavische Tänze* a Dvořák — incluyen una malagueña, dos habaneras, una romanza andaluza, una jota navarra, una playera, un zapateado y un vito. A ellas se suman varias jotas (*Jota aragonesa* Op. 27, *Navarra* Op. 33, *Jota de San Fermín* Op. 36, *Introduction et Caprice-Jota* Op. 41, *Jota de Pamplona* Op. 50, *Jota de Pablo* Op. 52), melodías vascas (*Caprice Basque* Op. 24, *Zortzico Adiós montañas mías* Op. 37, *Zortzico de Iparraguirre* Op. 39, *Miramar zortzico* Op. 42), piezas andaluzas (*Sérénade andalouse* Op. 10, *Serenata andaluza* Op. 28), gallegas (*Muñeira* Op. 32), un bolero (*Bolero* Op. 30), un fandango (*Introduction et Fandango varié* Op. 40), peteneras (*Peteneras* Op. 35), sevillanas (*Viva Sevilla* Op. 38) o una yuxtaposición de aires nacionales españoles (*Airs espagnols* Op. 18), que dan a conocer diferentes materiales musicales de su país. Sarasate sigue así el camino iniciado por el violinista, director y compositor español Jesús de Monasterio (1836-1903) en dos obras: la *Fantasia Original Española*, escrita en París en 1853, estrenada por el autor en Bélgica en 1854 e interpretada en su gira de conciertos a través de Inglaterra y Bélgica en 1854-1855; y la *Grande Fantaisie Nationale sur des Airs Populaires Espagnoles*, firmada en París en 1855, e interpretada en Francia, Bélgica, Inglaterra y España en 1855-1856, así como en diferentes capitales europeas durante una gira de conciertos realizada en 1861-1862, en Gante, Brujas, Caen, Hannover y Burdeos, entre otras ciudades europeas. Ambas obras yuxtaponen secciones construidas sobre algunos aires nacionales españoles, entre ellos la malagueña, el fandango, la muñeira, la jota y la marcha real española, y fueron orquestadas por su amigo Gevaert. Además, Sarasate proporcionó a su amigo Edouard Lalo algunos de los temas musicales que éste utilizó en su *Symphonie Espagnole* (1875), dedicada «À son ami P. Sarasate», entre ellos *La neguita* o *El tango americano*, habanera que Lalo utiliza en el No. 3, Intermezo, o *El punto de la Habana* — también recogido por Glinka en Madrid en junio de 1846 — que Lalo emplea en el No. 5, Rondo, combinado con un zapateado. En la década de 1880 encontramos nuevas habaneras para piano solo (Chabrier, *Habanera*, 1885) y para violín y orquesta (Saint-Saëns, *Habanera* o *Havanaise*, 1887).

• **NICOLAS BOIFFIN (Sorbonne Université), Centres and Peripheries of a Musical Genre: The Idea of «Lied» in the German Music Criticism between 1875 and 1914**

The use of the word *Lied* in German-speaking countries covers a broad repertoire which is not limited to the romantic art song. Though the notion is apparently less discussed

by theorists and musicians at the end of the 19th century than it was a hundred years before, its occurrences in German writings on music between 1875 and 1914 show that its definition remains variable. Not only the stylistic trends of this period, but also the rise of public concerts devoted to the genre, together with the massive publishing of songs question the identity of the *Lied*. The ‘simplicity’ (*Einfachheit*) and the ‘interiority’ (*Innigkeit*) recommended by critics reveal a tension between two excesses — virtuosity and complexity on the one side, triviality and ordinariness on the other side — that are associated with peripheric genres such as the opera, the cantata or even the etude. Furthermore, the naming of model composers (notably Schubert, Schumann or Franz) emphasizes the construction of a repertoire and provides norms for the composition of songs. Through the study of concert and score reviews published in periodicals between 1875 and 1914, the aim of this paper is to highlight the problems raised by the delimitation and the historiography of the song-genre in German-speaking areas at the end of the 19th century.

• **ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), *City Bands, Orphanages and Amateur Organists. Sacred Music in the Lombard Countryside at the End of the Nineteenth Century***

At the end of the nineteenth century, as widely documented, the Cecilian movement radically changed the attitudes of composers and performers towards sacred music. As a consequence, some composers, such as the celebrated Giovanni Tebaldini and Lorenzo Perosi, emerged in Italy as spokesperson of the new Cecilian style. However, what was the real scope of the Cecilian reform in Italy? It rapidly spread in the major centres (Rome, Venice, Milan), but what happened in marginal and peripheral areas of the country? This relation investigates several aspects of sacred music in the Lombard countryside. In particular, it focuses on the parish archive of a small village near Milan: Canegrate, whose documents still await thorough inquiry. Through the expenses books meticulously preserved from the seventeenth century until today, some aspects of late nineteenth-century sacred music in the Lombard countryside could be reconstructed. Even though the Cecilian reform was already influencing sacred music throughout Italy, several elements, conflicting with the Cecilian guidelines, have emerged: town bands hired to offer musical services during Masses; musical performances provided by members of an orphanage / reformatory; band leaders acting as organists; and weavers who, to make extra money, have a go at being organists. The proposed case study’s main objective is to offer a different view of the Cecilian movement, and to highlight how, in reality, practices that the same movement forbade continued to survive well into the twentieth century. The present relation also aims at underlining the importance of parish archives for micro-historical musicological research. Although usually scarce in purely musical sources, they provide us with extraordinary and curious glimpses on the musical life of the time, as well as on internal practices and dynamics.

• **AVIRAM FREIBERG (University of Haifa), *The Csakan as Representative of Biedermeier Culture***

The obsolete csakan, a duct-flute instrument that was introduced to the Viennese in 1807 and soon became popular among middle-class amateur musicians disappeared from the general

music notion around 1850, together with the outfashioned Biedermeier style and culture. This lecture features the csakan, its characteristics and the music composed for it. It demonstrates the correlations between the csakan's characteristics and those of Biedermeier culture, that made the csakan so well suited for the needs and tastes of Viennese bourgeoisie, to such an extent it could be regarded as an epitome of the period and style. The lecture displays the musical and social characteristics of Biedermeier style and of the csakan and connects the story of their rise and decline with the conference's topic of Periphery-center relations. In the process of canonization of 'classical music', a whole culture (that at its prime was the prominent cultural current) was pushed aside, looked down at, removed to the cultural margins and eventually disappeared, leaving very few tracks after it. Its tracks survived in the entertainment, dance and popular music composed by canonic composers of the period and made it to our time due to the canonic status of their composers (Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn).

• **DANIELA BRAUN (Kunstuniversität Graz), *Joining the Center and the Periphery – The Viola d'amore at the Paris Opera***

The viola d'amore is an instrument that has always been on the periphery of the music world. It would occasionally take a place at the center, only to vanish to the sidelines again without ever completely disappearing. Those forays would usually be inspired by a player of the instrument who persuaded a composer to use it in one of their works. How the viola d'amore was used depended not just on the available viola d'amore player, but also if the piece was written for a specific performance or for wider use. One of those performers who inspired several composers to use the viola d'amore was Chrétien Urhan, first viola player, later concert master at the Paris Opéra in the first half of the 19th century. How differently the instrument could be used can be demonstrated by comparing two pieces: Giacomo Meyerbeer's famous *Romance* in his opera *Les Huguenots* from 1836 and Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffter's fairy ballet *Zémire et Azor* from 1824. Both pieces were composed for performances at the Paris Opéra, but while Schneitzhoeffter's ballet was clearly composed for a performance at a certain place and time, Meyerbeer already intended repeat performances at other opera houses where no viola d'amore player might be available. In the 1st act of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* Raoul sings about his love for an unknown lady he rescued from distress, his *Romance* is accompanied by a solo viola d'amore. In the original printed score *un Alto solo* is indicated, although the specifications of open strings in the part prove the intended use of a viola d'amore as well as ample documentation of Urhan playing the solo on a viola d'amore at the Paris performances. Meyerbeer uses the special sound colour of the viola d'amore, but makes sure the solo or at least parts of it can be performed on a viola as well should no competent viola d'amore player be available. In Schneitzhoeffter's ballet, a variation of the Beauty and the Beast story, the viola d'amore appears right at the beginning of the piece. The ballet opens with the merchant Sander being surprised by a storm stirred up by the full orchestra, when he chances upon a fairy palace and seeks shelter there. The magical palace is represented by a viola d'amore solo accompanied only by pizzicato celli at first before the violins and a flute join in later. This solo cannot be performed on any other instrument, unlike Meyerbeer, Schneitzhoeffter makes full use of the possibilities of the viola d'amore. This very specific use of the instrument makes it likely that

Urhan had strong influence on its creation, even more so as Schneitzhoeffler was not a string player himself. In my presentation I will compare the use of the viola d'amore in those two solos written for Urhan and speak about the challenges and problems of composing music for international use at a time when instruments could strongly differ and appear in very different guises at different places.

The Commercialization of Music

• MARTINA KALSER-GRUBER (Danube University Krems), *Viennese Operetta Composers and their Publishers: A Love-Hate Relationship?*

Beginning from the late 18th century and following the example of leading Italian, French or German publishers, a music publishing system gradually emerges also in Austria, especially in the city of Vienna. Soon this profession becomes an important factor for Vienna's musical life and culture in the 19th century. As an independent part of the book trade, the music publisher reproduces and distributes compositions and musical literature on a commercial basis. The music publisher acts as an intermediary between the composer and the (especially urban) recipient, as he (and indeed they were mostly men) is in regular contact with the customers and knows their needs and requirements as well as distribution channels. He understands the musical market, its specific requirements, the preferences and technical demands or possibilities of the consumers who loved to play brand new pieces on their pianos at home, both in rural and urban areas. Music publishers communicate the consumers' preferences to the composers. Nevertheless, in historical sources publishers are often portrayed as self-righteous and exploitative. Axel Beer ascribes an important role to the music publisher as an advisory partner to the composer, who is often wrongly described as exploitative: The composers' complaints, which are sometimes discussed in reflective literature about the publisher's lack of artistic insight and the emphasis on profitability, is therefore not representative. Beer points out that cooperation always leads to discrepancies. And traces of those naturally remain more visible in sources than those of a smooth collaboration that pursues the publication and distribution of musical works as a common goal. This cooperation was usually essential more than the handling of business needs, but rather a friendly relationship, characterized by mutual respect and concessions. Many composers therefore cultivated a very close and friendly relationship with their publishers, who, through their contacts, contributed to increasing the composer's awareness. Others, however, found themselves forced to take legal action against their supposedly greedy publishers. This paper is intended to examine the power relations between publishers and composers in the second half of the 19th century in Vienna. Based on concrete examples from the era of the *Golden Operetta* the author will show how publishers and composers supported each other in partnership or (/and?) tried to take advantage of the own partner.

• PETER MONDELLI (University of North Texas), *A Goguette Assemblage: A Manuscript Chansonnier in an Age of Print*

It is easy to assume that the history of nineteenth-century music is built on a foundation of printed materials. In the study of large cities especially, print remains at the centre of our discipline's work. As concerns opera, moreover, research has focused primarily on the activities

of elite institutions like the Académie Royale de musique. Musical manuscripts can provide a view from the periphery. Often gathered by individual collectors, these documents were personalizable in a way that print was not, and were often used at a remove from official venues. Such is the case with a manuscript chansonnier created ca. 1830 (BnF Musique Vm.B Ms. 71). This collection references «La Clef du Caveau» on its title page, and functions as a handwritten supplement to the well-known printed collections of melodies released by the *Caveau moderne*, a petite bourgeois amateur singing and dining society founded in 1806. Within these *goguettes*, poets would fit popular melodies from opera and elsewhere with new texts and sing them. This manuscript chansonnier follows the social and political traditions of its printed predecessors in many regards, yet also includes some anomalies, such as operatic excerpts likely unsingable to most amateurs, pasted copies of printed poems, and so forth. It offers up numerous puzzles, indicating that it may have served different purposes. Comparisons with both printed and manuscript collections can provide some insight on how such a document may have been used, and thus how operatic music circulated in the peripheries. While my solutions to such historical puzzles remain speculative, they nevertheless provide a different perspective on opera and print around 1830. This manuscript offers an assemblage of disparate materials customized by an unknown hand, and thus stands in contrast to the more familiar view of opera in print as meticulously centralized and organized.

The Reception and Adaptations of the Canon on the Margins of Europe

• NURIA BLANCO ÁLVAREZ (Universidad de Oviedo), *La huella bufa de Offenbach en las zarzuelas de Manuel Fernández Caballero*

París resultó ser en el siglo XIX un lugar de peregrinaje para intelectuales y artistas de toda Europa, hecho a lo que los músicos españoles no eran ajenos. A mediados de ese siglo fue Jacques Offenbach y su compañía de *Bouffes parisiens* quienes inspiraron al empresario Francisco Arderús para instaurar el género bufo en Madrid. El mundo de la zarzuela absorbió ese modelo francés pero con una vuelta de tuerca para adaptarlo a la idiosincrasia del país, españolizando los textos y adaptándolos a la actualidad del momento. Fueron muchos los libretistas de zarzuelas que se sumaron a este trabajo y no pocos los compositores que escribieron música original para acompañarlos. Tal es el caso de Manuel Fernández Caballero, quien se suma a la aventura bufa con obras de gran espectáculo, fantasía e, incluso, magia, que llamaron en Francia *opéras féeriques*, basadas fundamentalmente en novelas de Julio Verne, cuyas fabulosas aventuras transportan al lector a mundos exóticos y lejanos, donde los protagonistas viven apasionantes aventuras. Emulando a *Le voyage dans la lune* de Offenbach, Caballero puso música, entre otras, a la mítica zarzuela bufa *Los sobrinos del capitán Grant*, basada en la novela casi homónima de Verne. Por otro lado, el sentir liberal de la década de los 70 del siglo XIX, muy en la línea ideológica de Caballero, abogaba por un mundo moderno, con experimentos, inventos y avances del mundo científico que también plasmará en zarzuelas como hiciera Offenbach con *Le docteur Ox*. Tampoco olvidó Caballero esas primeras obras bufas de carácter mitológico-burlesco como *Orphée aux enfers* de Offenbach que también emulará años más tarde. A lo largo de este trabajo estudiaremos las zarzuelas de Manuel Fernández Caballero que, en unión con destacados libretistas de la época, están inspiradas de algún modo en los modelos bufos de las obras de Offenbach; analizaremos

este hecho y cómo Caballero lo llevó a la escena española, estudiaremos las características musicales y literarias de estas zarzuelas, prestando además atención a su recepción tras su estreno madrileño.

• **ANDREA GARCIA TORRES (Universidad de Oviedo), *Rising Modern Theatre: The Reception of «Vaudeville» on the Spanish Stage***

Vaudeville acquired international repercussion at the turn of the 20th century. The critic José Yxart questioned if it had indeed existed a *vaudeville* genre in Spain similar to the French pattern, while Mariano de Larra stated how this spectacle promoted its humorous pure theatrical side instead of the musical one and disassociated from reflecting traditional French customs. The press became the chief platform for popularising this spectacle and published some testimonials about what *vaudeville* meant, some successful titles, relevant authors, and its closeness with other lyrical genres. From the mid 19th century, the national newspapers described *vaudevilles* as ‘French *zarzuelas*’ when they referred to the Parisian theatres’ spectacles in their international cultural sections. The Théâtre Français in Madrid was a remarkable place to promote *vaudevilles*, but other theatres specialized in local repertoire programmed these plays afterwards, hosting them in the *por horas* theatrical system. Local authors adapted a large number of *vaudevilles* or *vodéviles*, as translated to Spanish, from the French repertoire and converting them into *zarzuelas* in a similar way to what they did with *opéra-comique* and operetta. *Vaudeville* is connected to modern and urban development, associated with the rising middle-class public, which consumed it as entertainment. Its flimsy plots and lightly music provoked several detractors to undervalued *vaudevilles* by comparing them with operettas or *zarzuelas*. In Spain, only a few publications paid attention to *vaudeville*’s growth, which means the musicological bibliography is very limited, and even the most relevant works about musical theatre omitted to consider the genre. The overproduction of native lyrical plays and the diversity of spectacles offered in Madrid might have hindered the *vaudeville* reception in the capital. This paper discusses the reception, the interest, and the lack of it in Spain’s main cultural centres, merging an artistic and social dialogue between French spectacles’ fascination and the Spanish revindication of national theatre. With the rise of modern culture, more pungent entertaining oriented, and in addition to the urgency for renewing the Spanish stage, *vaudeville* became a suitable option for the public and authors between the broad panorama of spectacles in the early 20th century.

• **JOSÉ IGNACIO SUÁREZ GARCÍA (Universidad de Oviedo), *Relatos periféricos: Richard Wagner como instrumento narrativo en la literatura menor española del último tercio del siglo XIX***

Las investigaciones de recepción musical se han centrado tradicionalmente en el estudio — cuantitativo y cualitativo — de la interpretación de la obra de un compositor concreto en un determinado ámbito geográfico, la acogida de estas audiciones entre crítica y público y, por último, su influencia en otros creadores locales. Sin embargo, los escritos teóricos de Wagner y su propia concepción acerca del drama musical, plasmada en su idea de «obra de arte total» o *Gesamtkunstwerk* y, por tanto, concebida como fusión de elementos musicales y extramusicales, propiciaron que su pensamiento tuviera repercusión en todo tipo de expresiones

culturales, incluidas las artes plásticas y la literatura. Por este motivo, el alcance de la recepción de la obra de Wagner en España fue auténticamente interdisciplinar, y constituye un caso único y peculiar, pues, probablemente, nunca antes ni después de él un músico tuvo una repercusión semejante y, tampoco, en aspectos tan variados y múltiples, lo que permite precisamente el acercamiento al proceso desde una pluralidad de puntos de vista. Al igual que ocurriera en otras zonas europeas, la recepción de Wagner en España se caracterizó por una fuerte incidencia social y se documenta, no sólo en la música, sino también en otras manifestaciones artísticas que seleccionan, amplifican, manipulan o se apropian de la obra del compositor bajo las coordenadas propias de cada disciplina. Si en Francia el fenómeno wagnerista nació a través de un grupo de escritores que canalizaron su activismo a través de una revista eminentemente literaria, *Revue Européenne*, en España, los responsables del surgimiento del wagnerismo fueron fundamentalmente los cronistas musicales (musicólogos, musicógrafos y críticos), los cuales lograron activar el movimiento wagneriano a través de una profusa actividad proselitista llevada a cabo en la prensa periódica. En estos medios de comunicación de masas, tanto en prensa diaria como especializada, Wagner llegó a convertirse en instrumento narrativo de pequeños poemas, relatos y cuentos que, hasta ahora, han pasado completamente desapercibidos para los estudiosos, interesados más bien en la trascendencia del músico alemán en las grandes obras literarias españolas del cambio del siglo XIX al XX. En nuestra comunicación, por el contrario, pretendemos poner el foco de atención en estas obras menores que, sin tener el valor estético de otras manifestaciones coetáneas, revelan, sin embargo, el enorme calado social que tuvo la recepción de Wagner en la España decimonónica.



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